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ROMAN BATHS AT ANTIOCHIA AD CRAGUM: A PRELIMINARY
EVALUATION OF BATH ARCHITECTURE AS SOCIAL SIGNALS IN THE
ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

By
Holly J. Staggs

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
For the Degree of Masters of Arts

Major: Anthropology

Under the Supervision of Professor LuAnn Wandsnider

Lincoln, Nebraska

August, 2014

ROMAN BATHS AT ANTIOCHIA AD CRAGUM: A PRELIMINARY
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ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN

Holly J. Staggs, M.A.

University of Nebraska, 2014

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In Rough Cilicia, monumental public architecture was built in the initial phase of the social and political formation of Asia Minor into the Roman Empire during the Imperial Period. As bathing complexes are the most abundant and diverse types of architecture in this region, it would be beneficial to analyze the role of the baths along with their importance in this new Greco-Roman society. This study will focus on two baths at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum, seating this effort in multi-level signaling theory to understand local scale patterning and revised world systems theory to understand regional scale patterning. By studying the monumental bath architecture as an example of the operation of the state, this research will highlight how the cities signaled their support to Rome and the rest of the empire. This attempt was likely utilized by cities in order to recruit citizens to the region and garner support from Rome. Overall, the relationship between the core of Rome and the periphery province of Rough Cilicia was a complicated one in which both sides had to balance social and political powers. A study of the bathing complex within Antiochia ad Cragum will help determine the overall role of bathing complexes in Rough Cilicia, which, in turn, will ultimately add to the knowledge of the complex relationship between the core, that of Rome, and the periphery, that of southwestern Turkey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like express my sincere gratitude to the many people who supported me in the completion of my thesis. First, thank you to my committee members for their guidance, knowledge, and support. I would like to thank Michael Hoff for the opportunity to work with the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project in the summers of 2012 and 2013. The two field seasons spent in southern Turkey were absolutely amazing and life changing. I am grateful for the encouragement and mentorship from my advisor LuAnn Wandsnider. I would also like to thank my third committee member Effie Athanassopolous for her patience and feedback on this research. All three committee members provided guidance and wisdom that made this work possible.

I am thankful for the support and contribution from the Flavia Waters and John L. Champe Memorial Fund and the Art History's Distance Education Fund. This research would not have been possible without this financial support.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their endless support and encouragement through this process. I am deeply grateful for my family for always supporting my ambitions and my career in archaeology. I am also indebted to my friends for their emotional support and advice. I would like to thank Allison Young, Nora Greiman, Jenny Hildebrand, Liza Garrett, Christine Nycz, Ashley Barnett, and Morgan Beyer.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction Statement

The objective of this thesis is to analyze Roman bathing complexes in the western Rough Cilician region of modern day Turkey in order to assess the importance of this type of architecture in these newly incorporated Roman cities. My research centers on the importance of Roman architecture in the formation of Greco-Roman cities in western Rough Cilicia with an emphasis on the economic and political implications of this type of monumental architecture. One significant feature found in every major city incorporated into the empire was monumental Roman architecture, including baths. Bath architecture in particular was a significant cultural phenomenon in the ancient world, and the ritual of bathing itself became immensely popular during this time. It is my contention that this costly type of architecture would have been a tool used by the inhabitants of these cities to draw populations into the region. It also would have been used to signal to Rome its allegiance and acceptance into the empire. As such, it would be beneficial to analyze the role of bathing complexes in this new Greco-Roman society.

Antiochia ad Cragum (Antioch on the Cliffs) is an Imperial Period Roman site located in western Rough Cilicia, a remote region along the southern Turkish coast. This site boasts numerous types of Roman architecture including a monumental gateway, a colonnaded street and agora, three bathing complexes, two churches, numerous temple tombs, a domestic quarter, a temple, and a basilica. The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP), led by Michael Hoff, Professor of Art History at the University of Nebraska – Lincoln and working in concert with Project Co-

Directors Nicholas Rauh and Birol Can, seeks to understand the vast ancient history of western Rough Cilicia focusing on the site of Antiochia ad Cragum. After seven field seasons that began in 2005, this project has helped to further enhance our knowledge of the region's ancient economy and culture.

Review of Literature

The remote region of western Rough Cilicia has been explored by epigraphers and travelers for over 100 years (Durugönül 2013:1). The site of Antiochia ad Cragum was first rediscovered in the 19th century by Captain Francis Beaufort, an officer in the British Royal Navy, who was scouting out the area for potential escape harbors for Napoleon's fleet. While exploring the Cilician coast, he was able to locate the ancient city using Byzantine-period travel guides (Hoff et al. 2006:101). He published his observations in the book *Karamainia* in 1818 (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:vii). While his account of the site and its harbor was brief in comparison to his notes from other sites, Beaufort's account is nevertheless significant as he was the first to accurately identify the site as that of ancient Antiochia ad Cragum.

Most of the early research in western Rough Cilicia focused on the inscriptions found at these ancient sites and the ruins they decorated. E.L. Hicks was one of the first to extensively travel the region in the 1890s and publish his work on the inscriptions from the cities of Lamos, Mersin, Corycus, and other nearby Roman sites (Hicks 1891:225-273). These epigraphical surveys offered new insight into the inscriptions at these sites but offered limited information about the sites as a whole. Excavation of sites in western Rough Cilicia began in the 1930s and 1940s with J. Garstang working at Mersin and H.T.

Bossert and H. Çambel at Karatepe (Çambel and Özyar 2003; Garstang 1953). However, it was not until the 1960s until extensive research in this remote region occurred.

Beginning in 1961, George E. Bean and Terence B. Mitford, two British epigraphers, were the first to intensively explore the numerous Roman sites across the region of western Rough Cilicia (Bean and Mitford 1962:185). As part of their overall study of the region, the site of Antiochia ad Cragum was visited to research the numerous inscriptions present at the ancient city (Bean and Mitford 1965). The site of Antiochia ad Cragum was investigated during three separate field seasons in 1963, August 1964, and July 1965 (Bean and Mitford 1970:184-186). A total of 14 inscriptions were recorded with several of them later translated and published; however, similar to earlier work in this region, this research focused on the inscriptions found at the site, and the epigraphers did not attempt to interpret the function of any of the structures they encountered or describe the site.

From 1963 to 1965, Elisabeth Rosenbaum working alongside Gerhard Huber and Somay Onurkan conducted one of the earliest and most extensive surveys of the coastal cities in western Rough Cilicia (Rosenbaum et al. 1967). Along with Anemurium, Selinus, Syedra, and Iotape, Antiochia ad Cragum was one of the primary sites studied in this research. Rosenbaum and her colleagues were the first researchers to record the site, its architecture, and the necropolis. This work included recording, photographing, and mapping the structures and creating a topographical map of the site. A general description of the site was included although the team was hesitant to interpret the function and date of each of the buildings (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:ix).

In the 1990s there was a renewed interest in western Rough Cilicia which resulted in a number of surveys and excavations in the region from universities and institutions from around the world. Notable among this research was the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) led by Nicholas K. Rauh. From 1996 to 2004, Rauh and his team surveyed roughly 60 km of the coast between eastern Pamphylia and western Rough Cilicia (Rauh et al. 2009:254-255). This investigation recorded eight urban sites (including Antiochia ad Cragum) along with numerous other smaller villages, farms, defensive structures, anchorages, and indeterminate scatters (Rauh et al. 2009:257-261). Each of these sites was under Roman authority, at least to an extent, during the Imperial Period from the 1st century to the 4th century AD (Burrell 2006). It was this work that ultimately lead to the creation of the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP) as the site was deemed suitable for a long-term excavation and study.

Statement and Significance

My research centers on the importance of Roman architecture in the formation of Greco-Roman cities in western Rough Cilicia with a focus on two bathing complexes at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum as a case study for this research. During the field seasons in the summers of 2012 and 2013, an archaeological survey and preliminary study were conducted at the great bath and the extramural bath at the site. Bath architecture was a significant cultural phenomenon in western Rough Cilicia and is one of the most numerous types of architecture found in the region. The research goal for this work on the baths at Antiochia ad Cragum is to describe the baths in order to examine the importance of bath architecture in the incorporation of western Rough Cilicia into the Roman Empire

and the importance of this architecture in the economic success of the cities in the province. Within this context, it may be possible to illuminate who funded these costly and monumental projects, whether it was local lineages, the Roman Empire, or a collaboration of the two.

Along with the data collected during the two field seasons, ancient historical literary sources and anthropological theories will be used to better understand the economic and political importance of western Rough Cilicia within the Roman Empire. By utilizing these multiple methods and data, it is possible to examine the role played by Roman architecture, in particular bath architecture, in the incorporation of this province into the Roman Empire. Preliminary evaluation of these data suggests that this architecture would have greatly benefited these cities as it would have garnered money from the state and attracted foreign populations to the region. Simply put, this research helps reveal the complex relationship between the east and the dominating west in which indigenous cultures were vigorous in balancing their power with that of Rome. A study of bath architecture, particularly the two baths at Antiochia ad Cragum, will be the case study for this research and will be used to test these theories.

Thesis Organization

Chapter two provides a historical context for this thesis. A background of the settlement of western Rough Cilicia is provided, which outlines the first Greek settlements in the region dating as far back as the 9th century BCE. An overview of the Roman Imperial expansion in Asia Minor focusing on this remote region is discussed next which details the fall of the local kingdoms and the expansion of Roman control in

the region. The chapter ends with an outline of the organization of this new Roman province, which underwent significant urbanization. Western Rough Cilicia saw a dramatic increase in the population, consisting of indigenous populations along with Romans during a time characterized by major political and economic change. The expansion of the network of roads and the significant amount of newly built Roman architecture, including bath architecture, completely transformed the region.

Chapter three outlines bath architecture and bathing rituals to provide a context for the popularity of this institution in Roman society. In antiquity, baths served as, “public institutions that combined the primary function of bathing with a rich blend of physical and intellectual activities” (Yegül 2010:119). The ritual of bathing was central to everyday life and for the enjoyment of the masses. However, these civic intuitions were costly and were perhaps the most expensive type of Roman architecture in antiquity. An analysis of the cost of baths will be reviewed to highlight the truly great expense necessary to construct these buildings. Despite the significant expense, baths were found throughout the Roman Empire and displayed their own regional qualities. Three common regional types were prominent on the Rough Cilician landscape, which reflects the importance of this architecture in the region. In western Rough Cilicia, architects transformed bath architecture to fit the cultural sensibilities of its inhabitants. A discussion of the characteristics of bath architecture in this remote region will provide a context for the baths at Antiochia ad Cragum.

Chapter four consists of a theoretical overview using revised world systems theory and multi-level signaling theory to situate an examination of the role played by

Roman architecture, in particular bath architecture, in the incorporation of western Rough Cilicia into the Roman Empire. In 1974, Wallerstein outlined world systems theory as, “a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence” (1974:347). Gunder Frank modified the theory and stated that the world included core and periphery nations in which the core controls the periphery nations in order to accumulate the wealth of the core nations (Gunder Frank 1966:18-9). The foundation of this theory seeks to explain the interrelatedness of social, cultural, political, religious, and economic entities in social systems. Multi-level signaling theory refers to the interaction of groups and the exchange of signals as a form of communicating a particular message (Neiman 1997). These signals can take various forms (material displays or individual characteristics) and can be sent by various individuals or groups (political allies or cities). In terms of these two theories, the indigenous cultures in western Rough Cilicia were likely using architecture to signal to Rome its allegiance and would have been active in negotiating their complex relationship with the offshore power of Rome. Thus, the research of bath architecture in this province will be analyzed under the context of these theories to determine the role of the region within the Roman Empire.

Chapter five consists of the methods used to collect data on the bath architecture during the 2012 and 2013 field seasons. A preliminary study was conducted at two of the bathing complexes at Antiochia ad Cragum, which had never been fully researched or excavated before. The field methods will be outlined which document the collection of field records, photographs, artifact analysis, and an architectural draft of the great bath. An outline of the excavation of the great bath and mosaic will be provided. The

archaeological data is presented in this chapter. Information including but not limited to the baths measurements, plan types, architectural styles, and various features such as the adornments, inscriptions, types of material, layout of the bath, and alignment of the building will be discussed.

Chapter six provides an analysis of the bath data as a case study for this type of architecture in western Rough Cilicia. The location, layout, construction materials, and decorations of both baths are analyzed in order to contribute to our knowledge of bath architecture in the region. These data are then tested under the expectations of signaling theory to validate the use of this type of architecture as a costly signal. This architecture would have been used by the inhabitants of Antiochia ad Cragum as a costly signal in order to communicate with the Roman Empire, provincial governors, and the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia. This chapter concludes with an interpretation of the data in regards to the significance of bath architecture in the establishment of Antiochia ad Cragum as a primary city in the new province of Rough Cilicia.

This thesis concludes with chapter seven. This final chapter summarizes the objectives of this research and the outcome of the two field seasons. It will also offer recommendations for future research in this field and the significance of this study for our overall understanding of the socio-political nature of the ancient Mediterranean world.

Thesis Questions

1. What characterizes bath architecture in western Rough Cilicia?
2. What was the role of bath architecture in the incorporation of western Rough Cilicia into the Roman Empire?

3. How might bath architecture have served as a mechanism for multi-level signaling in the Greco-Roman cities of western Rough Cilicia?

Conclusion

In western Rough Cilicia, architects built monumental public architecture in the initial phase of the social and political formation of Asia Minor into the Roman Empire during the Imperial Period. As bathing complexes are the most abundant and diverse types of architecture in this region, I found it beneficial to analyze the role of the baths along with their importance in this new Greco-Roman society. This thesis focuses on the two baths at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum, seating this effort in modified world systems theory to understand regional scale patterning and multi-level signaling theory to understand local scale patterning. By studying the two monumental baths as an example of the operation of the state, this research will highlight how the cities signaled their support to Rome and the rest of the empire. This attempt was likely utilized by cities in order to recruit citizens to the region and garner support from Rome. The relationship between the core of Rome and the periphery of western Rough Cilicia was a complicated one in which both sides had to balance social and political powers. A study of the bathing complexes within the city of Antiochia ad Cragum will help determine the overall role of bathing complexes in this remote region, which, in turn, will ultimately add to our knowledge of the complex relationship between the core, that of Rome, and the periphery, that of south western Turkey. Overall, the results of this research will supplement the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP), to further enhance our knowledge of the region's vast ancient history.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASIA MINOR WITH EMPHASIS ON WESTERN ROUGH CILICIA

Introduction

Asia Minor is a peninsula that connects Europe to Asia with the Black Sea to the north and the Mediterranean to the south. In antiquity, this land was conquered and ruled by various imperial dynasties that shaped the overall evolution of the social and cultural systems in the ancient Mediterranean world. This chapter summarizes the historical transformations of this land beginning in the 9th century BCE. Early Greek colonists were among the first to establish communities that were later dominated by the Hellenistic dynasties including the Seleucids, Attalids, and Ptolemies. However, the entire region underwent a significant transition when the Romans incorporated this vast territory. At this time, this new frontier of the Roman Empire experienced a dramatic increase in cultural and political development. This chapter ends with a discussion of the urbanization of Asia Minor with a focus on western Rough Cilicia and the development of the elite class of native Rough Cilicians as a result of their relationship with this new power.

The Settlement of Western Rough Cilicia

The fertile coasts and deep harbors of Asia Minor provided the perfect environment for the world's first civilizations to emerge and the later settlement by Greek colonists beginning in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE (Yegül 2010:154). Also referred to as Anatolia, the region is characterized by coastal mountains, high interior plateaus, and rolling hills (Yegül 2010:154). Evidence for this migration includes historical sources and

the archaeological records both indicating colonization and trade occurring during this time (Yağcı 2013:6-7). These communities developed through a melding of local and Greek cultures. The geographer Skylax confirms that by the 6th century BCE, Greek settlements in the area, *poleis*, were managed by the elites of the communities (Salmeri 2004:185). This type of government later transformed into the model for city formation throughout Asia Minor (Mitchell 1993; Rauh et al. 2009:269).

In the 4th century BCE, Alexander the Great conquered vast amounts of territory in the Mediterranean region, including Asia Minor, and established a number of cities settled by Greek populations and under Greek cultural influences (Billows 2003:198). It was Alexander's primary objective to unify the known world under his rule, and his actions had significant social, political, and economic consequences (Rostovtzeff 1941a:126-131). This development led to increased settlement of foreigners, both Greek and non-Greek, and continued intermixing of various cultural practices (Chamoux 2003:197). It also created new markets and increased trade between the Greeks and Persians with the establishment of new networks of roads (Rostovtzeff 1941a:129-130; 133). Asia Minor was significant in terms of politics and economics as it was located between the west and the near east (Tempesta 2013:27).

With Alexander's death in 323 BCE, there was a power vacuum with various contenders fighting for the control of territory and resources (Ma 2000). After decades of nearly uninterrupted warfare from roughly 323 to 280 BCE, the region was divided amongst his generals into various kingdoms including those of the Seleucid Dynasty in the south and southeast based in Antioch and the Attalids Dynasty in the west and north

based in Pergamon (Rostovtzeff 1941a:23; Yegül 2010:154-155). The monarchs who ruled after the death of Alexander, however, all sought to secure their reign and saw each other as rivals (Rostovtzeff 1941a:23).

The Seleucid Dynasty gained a contested possession of a vast majority of Asia Minor in 295 BCE under Seleukos I Nikator (Cohen 1995:36). The decedents of this dynasty would maintain at least partial control of the region for over a century. The Seleucids were active in colonizing Asia Minor especially along the southern coast (Figure 2.1). Their rule of this area in particular was crucial as it was a land route in between western Asia Minor and Syria (Cohen 1995:55-56). Towns were established near trade routes to ensure the peaceful movement of garrisons and commercial goods throughout the region. As well, this costal land was highly contested for its resources and its location as a significant stopping point between the east and the west.

The Seleucid Dynasty ruled through local leaders who were loyal to the Seleucids but the Ptolemies, operating out of Egypt also sought control of this area (Rauh et al. 2009:272; Rostovtzeff 1941a:429-430; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993:215). As such, the Seleucid rule was fraught with warfare as they vied for control of the territory of Cilicia with the Ptolemy Dynasty (Bevan 1985:148). As a result, the size of the empire significantly decreased by the late 2nd century BCE. While it has been heavily debated as to why the Seleucid Dynasty declined, consensus points to the overall weak control of their territories and lack of a unifying legal administration over the various different societies encompassed within their vast empire (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993:217).

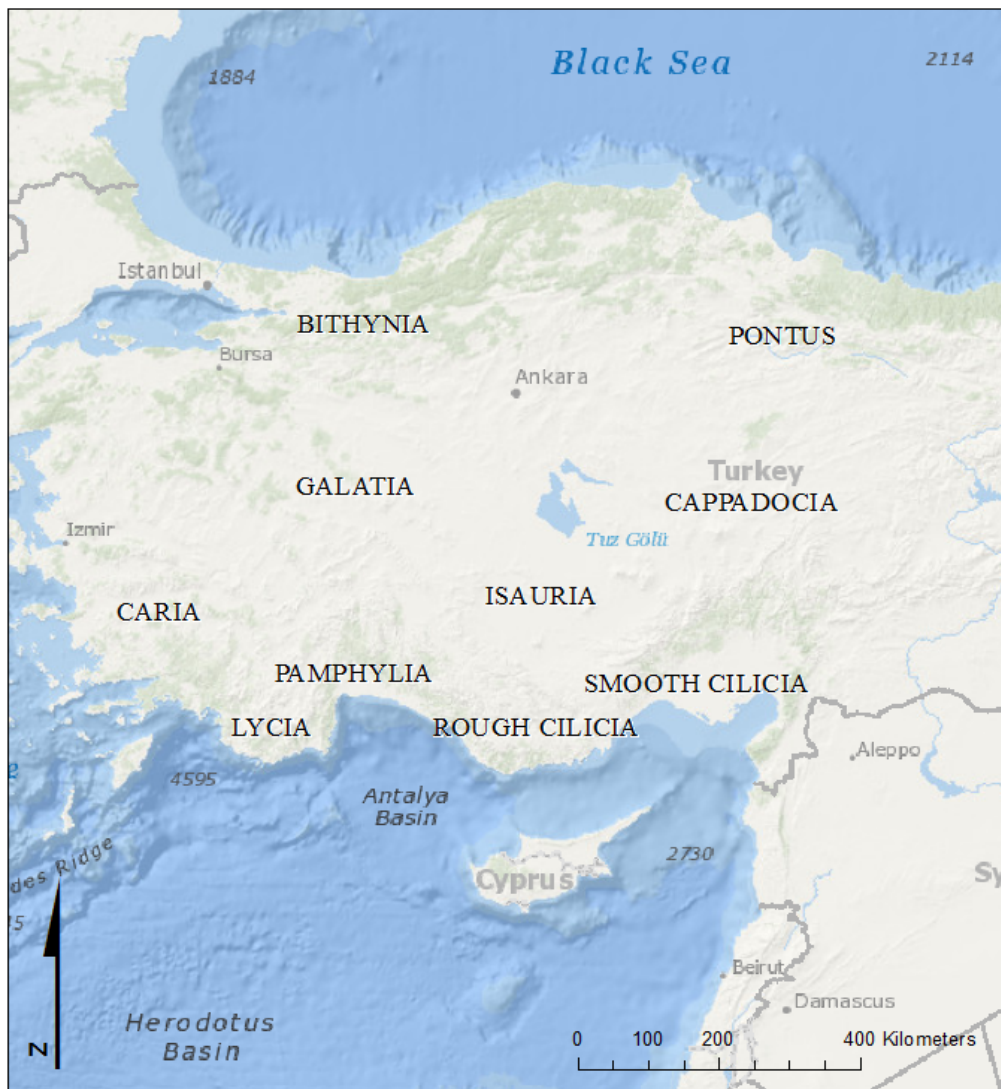


Figure 2.1. Map of Anatolian Provinces in Antiquity.

The Ptolemy Dynasty briefly ruled part of southern Asia Minor, in particular what came to be known in Roman times as western and central Rough Cilicia, from roughly 280 to 197 BCE (Tempesta 2013:36). It was this dynasty, primarily under the rule of Ptolemy III, that established a number of colonies with names inspired by Ptolemaic kings and queens such as Ptolemais, Berenice, and Arsinoe of Cilicia (Bevan 1985:148; Rauh et al. 2009:272). This region was particularly important for the Ptolemy Dynasty

for its harbors and rich timber resources, especially its cedar, which were heavily exploited. For Egypt, a country practically devoid of timber, control of Rough Cilicia aided in their goal of maintaining a large, powerful navy (Cohen 1995:56). The highly sought after cedar resources were necessary for building large artillery platform ships known as *quinqueremes* (Meiggs 1982:137f). The shipbuilding products along with the native inhabitant's skill in the art of shipbuilding were considered key resources for this dynasty (Rauh et al. 2009:272). Their reign was also militaristic as the Ptolemies recruited Cilicians into their military and did not attempt to significantly contribute to the urbanization of the region. It was widely attested that Cilicians were used for the Ptolemaic garrisons in Cyprus (Cohen 1995:56). This weak control of Cilicia allowed the indigenous populations in the mountainous and remote region in the hinterlands to continue to practice their own traditions.

The short rule of the region by the Ptolemies came to an end in 197 BCE when Antiochus III invaded the region and regained his territories along the coast for the Seleucid Dynasty (Bevan 1985:39-40; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993:201-202). In Rough Cilicia, the communities quickly surrendered to Antiochus III and his army as they fought their way further east (Ma 1999:83). Once recaptured, he ordered the rebuilding and the resettlement of the cities affected by the warfare (Reger 2004:147-149). The Seleucid conquest of the region was successful, and in 195 BCE Antiochus III and Ptolemy V signed a peace treaty (Ma 1999:88). So while the Ptolemy Dynasty briefly controlled parts of southern Asia Minor, during the 3rd century BCE and later in the 1st century BCE, the Seleucid Dynasty predominately ruled the region and was overall more

influential in the development of Cilicia as an important economic and political territory (Jones 1998:200).

During the Hellenistic era after the colonizing efforts of the Seleucids and Ptolemies, Greek traditions became integrated with customs of the indigenous population along the coastal region (Salmeri 2004:198). This contact not only modified the customs of the indigenous populations but modified those of the Hellenistic Greeks in Asia Minor. New cities that developed under these post-Alexandrian dynasties adopted Greek language and civic institutions (Billows 2003:198). These Hellenistic settlements displayed the typical Greek civic institutions such as their use of a council house with assembly members and religious cult activities in sanctuaries (Mitchell 1993:83-84). These cities functioned as centers for regional as well as local trade, which was supported by increased agricultural production and the establishment of a vast network of roads (Dmitriev 2005). Coinage, one hallmark of Hellenism, was also issued by these cities for trade transactions (Mitchell 1993:86). This currency served not only to display the autonomy of these cities but to act as propaganda for local rulers who would have been pictured on these coins (Duncan-Jones 1994:97).

The exception to the cultural change of this territory was the indigenous populations in the mountainous regions such as Isaura and Lycia, which resisted outside influence and retained their Anatolian traditions (Yegül 2010:155). Simply referred to as the “mountain Cilicians” by ancient sources, there were four known Isaurian groups: Ceitae, Cemnatae, Lasseis, and Homonadenses (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 5.94; Townsend and Hoff 2009:3). These populations in the Tauric mountain region retained

their use of the Luwian language and culture, which dated back to the Hittite period (Houwink ten Cate 1961; Mitchell 1993:175). The resistance to city life and assimilation was in part due to their location in the rugged mountains which rise to roughly 3,000 meters above sea level in some areas (Lenski 1999:415). The Taurus Mountain and the coastal plains served as a natural barrier between the barbarians and the civilized populations (Shaw 1990:200). According to Shaw, this territory was characterized by, “a form of unending ‘trench warfare’” as these tribes were never completely controlled by any outside power in antiquity, which included the rule of the Hittites and Hellenistic states (1990:261). Subduing these resilient and xenophobic populations would later present a threat to the growing Roman Empire. Western Rough Cilicia, the frontier of the Roman Empire at that time, was significant for the overall stability of the empire (Woolf 1990:48). Later the entire region would slowly (and perhaps reluctantly) be absorbed into the next monumental world power, that of the Roman Empire (Nielsen 1990).

Roman Imperial Expansion in Western Rough Cilicia

In 133 BCE, the last king of Pergamon, Attalos III, left his kingdom to the Roman Empire in his will, which ultimately led to the entire peninsula of Asia Minor coming under Roman domination (Levick 1967:20). The province of Asia was officially established in 129 BCE in order to secure the region for the expanding empire (Salmeri 2004:203). For decades Rome had seemed reluctant to directly intervene in Asiatic affairs and instead favored ruling indirectly through their allies (Mitchell 1993:29). However, the persistent attacks by pirates on Roman cities led to the expansion of Roman interference in the region. Pirates, especially the Cilician pirates who took advantage of

the inhospitable geography and popular trade route, dominated the seas along the coast of Asia Minor, with their base on operations in the area of western Rough Cilicia, from roughly 139 to 67 BCE (de Souza 1999:97; Mitchell 1993:30). The rugged and secluded harbors along the coast provided the perfect environment for the pirates to conduct their maritime attacks (Figures 2.2. and 2.3). Pirates not only disrupted trade but threatened the local populations by kidnapping citizens for ransom or selling them into slavery (Gabrielsen 2003). According to Strabo, the incompetence of the Seleucid Dynasty in the area led to the rise of piracy (*Geographica* 14.5.2). In fact, it was during the Late Hellenistic Period that the weak control of Western Rough Cilicia by the Seleucid Empire provided the perfect environment for the growth of piracy along the coastal region (Blanton 2000:57; Jones 1998:201). These highly skilled pirates took advantage of this power vacuum and even recruited some of its members from the uprooted populations of the Seleucids (Rauh et al. 2009:273). As noted by ancient sources (Appian *Mithridatica* 92, 96; Strabo *Geographica* 14.5.3, 14.5.6; Theophrastus *De Causis Plantarum*, 4.5.5), Cilicia was an area known for its ample supplies of timber which the pirates exploited for shipbuilding (Jones 1998:202). Likely advanced by Roman historians, the term Cilician itself later became synonymous with piracy (de Souza 2013:52).



Figure 2.2. Central harbor at Antiochia. Figure 2.3. West harbor at Antiochia.

These new Roman provinces, with indigenous populations, Greeks and Romans, were then organized into cities and towns by Manius Aquillius and other powerful agents of Rome between 129 and 126 BCE in order to gain better control over the region (Mitchell 1993:72). The administrative system of the Roman Empire had direct control over the geographical boundaries of its territories so that every inhabitant of the empire was accounted for under the census (Ando 2000:321). In Asia Minor, these agents established a city government similar to the Hellenistic government model where the smaller communities and towns were subordinate to nearby larger cities (Mitchell 1993:176). These communities were then ranked into a status of either primary, secondary, or tertiary that represented its reputation based on, “aspects of religion, civic affairs, and culture” (Rauh et al. 2009:288). The Roman colonies followed laws outlined in their Roman constitutions. These city institutions consisted of representatives of the citizens who were elected to govern and decide upon the affairs of the city. Known as the

boule, this institution included members who were mostly from the elite lineages of society. These meetings took place in the bouleuterion or council house, which were typically built into the natural slope of a hill with rows of seats for the members (Raul et al. 2009:294). Various duties of members of the council included managing local militias to ensure peace, collecting taxes for the Roman Empire, and governing the daily affairs of the community. Normally, these buildings would have been placed in the heart of the community with civic buildings such as near the agora of a city (Kalinowski 2002). The Romans took over these local administrative units without significant modification.

The disruption of trade, spread of violence, and the threat against Roman dominance of the Mediterranean culminated with the creation of the Roman province of Cilicia in 102 BCE (Rauh 1997:265; Spanu 2013:99). The harbors of Antiochia ad Cragum, along with their other base at nearby Coracesium, were one of the favored sites for these pirates and were even likely the headquarters for their operations (Rauh et al. 2000:133). Piracy of the ancient Mediterranean coast was not a series of small criminal activities but a serious threat to Roman authority in the region (Horden and Purcell 2000:387). The province of Cilicia was created in an attempt to put an end to the piracy in this territory (Jones 1998:202). Thus, the region once ruled by client kings for two centuries transformed into a province in the great Roman Empire (Spanu 2013:99). Manius Antonius was assigned as the praetor to this province which was designated as a center for Roman military operations (Rauh et al. 2013:63). Following the creation of this new province, Rome published the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* in 100 BCE, which stated that Romans could legally take military action against pirates or those assumed to be

associated with pirates (de Souza 2013:49). Fragments of this law were found at Delphi (lines 10-12) and Knidus (lines 28-37) and stated that,

“The Roman people will have care, that the citizens of Rome and the allies and the Latins, and those of the foreign nations who are in a relationship of friendship with the Roman people may sail in safety... no pirate use as a base of operations their kingdom or land or territories...” [Crawford 1996:231-70].

This legislation declared that those in Cilicia had to align with Rome as Roman allies or be seen as pirate supporters and be threatened with military action. Ultimately, this paved the way for Roman expansion, which led to taxation along with political and territorial domination of the region.

The Cilician pirates did not heed the warnings from Rome, and the Roman Senate was forced to take more severe actions against the pirates when they reached the western Mediterranean coast and threatened the grain supply of Rome. Many small, nucleated cities along the coast were forced to build defensive walls or else move inland due to the violence as the pirates were parasitic on these nearby communities (Horden and Purcell 2000:387). The increased interference of trade, widespread sense of fear, and the direct threat to the city of Rome became too much for the senate to continually ignore. Thus, in 67 BCE the senate commissioned Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, the famous Roman general, to defeat the pirates. Under the *Lex Gabinia*, Pompey had absolute control of all naval activity in the Mediterranean (de Souza 1999:167). Pompey, with the full force of the Roman navy and army, was able to force the pirates to surrender at Coraceium (Alanya) within a span of three months (Raul et al. 2009:276; Tomaschitz 2013:57). Surprisingly,

Pompey was fairly generous with the pirates offering them land and resettlements in urban colonies in Cilicia Pedias for their peaceful surrender (de Souza 1999:170). This resulted in the pirates accepting Roman authority in the region and surrendering their large stocks of timber resources to the Romans (Appian *Mithridatica* 96; Rauh 1997). The end of piracy was not only seen as a success for Pompey but also for subsequent Roman emperors who would then take the role of protectors of the seas (de Souza 2013:51). It has been speculated that the quick settlement was due to another dilemma forming in Asia Minor.

Aside from piracy, not every kingdom in the region was accepting of Roman rule, and beginning in 89 BCE Mithridates VI Eupator, the king of Pontus, led a series of rebellions against the empire (Mitchell 1993:29; Sherwin-White 1977). Mithridates ruled a large region in south central Asia Minor and was said to have spoken all twenty-two languages of his subjects (Mitchell 1993:86). He was also friendly with the Cilician pirates who helped supply his maritime fleets with the highland timber resources (Tomaschitz 2013:57). Mithridates' ultimate goal was for his kingdom to remain politically independent and free his territory from Roman dominance (McGing 2003:84). In 86 BCE, the Hellenized king went as far as to order the murders of Romans in Asia Minor, most notably those in political power, as an act of revenge against the empire (Mitchell 1993:30-31). With the support of notable city allies such as Athens, Ephesus, and Chios, Mithridates waged a series of ongoing wars that threatened Roman dominance in its newly conquered frontier (Rostovtzeff 1941b:938-940).

With the suppression of the Cilician piracy, the Roman general Sulla was able to focus on the ongoing wars with Mithridates. The might of the Roman army led to the defection of many of Mithridates' allies and the warfare ended with the last king of Pontus committing suicide in 63 BCE (Rostovtzeff 1941b:939.) It is estimated that roughly 80,000 to 150,000 Romans were killed during this time of extended warfare (Elton 1996:81). These events resulted in the Pontic kingdom becoming a Roman province, subsequently attached to Bithynia and controlled by local leaders who had supported Pompey during the 26 year Mithridatic wars (Mitchell 1993:31). Rome's dominance of Asia Minor increased during the late Republic after the rebellions and piracy were put down. The security of this territory was necessary for the empire as it was located between Rome and the non-Roman world (Levick 1967:24). Finally, during the Imperial Period and after two centuries of the Romans fighting for this new territory, Asia Minor was fully incorporated into one of the largest and most powerful empires in the world (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993:218).

Organization of the New Roman Province

As a result of the Roman victories in Asia Minor, the entire region underwent a significant transition that included not only a period of peace but also recovery (Rostovtzeff 1941b:955). Pompey was said to have boldly declared that due to his campaigns in Asia the region was now in the middle of Rome's dominion when it had only once been a distant province of Rome (Eilers 2003: 90; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 7.99). As was typical Roman policy, Rome organized part of its newly acquired territory into provinces under direct Roman rule while part of the new territory was ruled

indirectly through local dynasts (Eilers 2003:90). Only select dynasts were trusted to govern these territories based on their loyalty to Rome during the Mithridates rebellions. Those cities that had sided against the Roman Empire during the decades of piracy and the Mithridatic wars were demoted and made subordinate to nearby autonomous cities (Mitchell 1993:179). While parts of the population of Asia Minor still held on to its indigenous traditions, Greek influence was evident. As stated by Yegül (2010:155), “Greek was spoken in most of the “fair cities” of Asia, Greek gods were worshipped in their temples, Greek art was produced in their workshops, and Greek philosophy and rhetoric were taught in its gymnasia.” The Hellenism continued to affect the architecture in the region in particular (Anderson 1978:161). However, Roman influence began to take hold as seen in particular in the architecture present in every Asia Minor city in even the most remote communities.

Under Pompey, the province of Asia reorganized after the defeat of the pirates in 67 BCE (Rostovtzeff 1941b:955). The region that was once vaguely defined as ‘Cilicia’ on the southern coast was subdivided into Cilicia Pedias (Smooth Cilicia) and Cilicia Tracheia (Rough Cilicia) (Eilers 2003:91). This province then encompassed a large territory of south central Asia Minor and the island of Cyprus, which was added to the province in 58 BCE (Eilers 2003:91). This territory had a significant network of roads running from Laodikeia to the Cilician Gates, a pass engineered by the Hittites around 1550 BCE (Cohen 1995:45; Shaw 1990:204). According to Strabo, this road was also known as the “Common Road” and was used by anyone traveling from western Asia Minor to the east (*Geographica* 14.2.29). This region, once considered to be the

backwaters of the empire, transformed into an important Roman province in Asia Minor. Furthermore, this coastal land was significant in terms of the Roman expansion east (Blanton 2000:57). The famous Roman orator Cicero was chosen as one of the governors of the province from 51 to 50 BCE (Treggiari 1978). It is from Cicero that we have extensive accounts of this province and how Roman provinces were governed during the Imperial Period (Thomson 1965). In fact, Cicero spoke against the harsh rule of his predecessor Appius Claudius Pulcher and vowed to alleviate the financial burden on the Cilician people during his administration of the province (Shelton 1988:273-274). The importance of this province for the empire is demonstrated by the appointment of Cicero and other proconsuls being assigned to this territory (Levick 1967:24).

With the outbreaks of piracy and the Mithridatic wars, the 1st century BCE was undoubtedly a tumultuous time in Asia Minor. In the region of western Rough Cilicia during the initiation of Roman rule, multiple outbreaks of rebellions by the mountain Isaurians threatened the security of the region. Compared with the communities along the coast, which were relatively well integrated into the Roman political and economic systems, these tribes rejected Roman suppression and were organized under local dynasts (Lenski 1999:432; Rostovtzeff 1941b:976-977). Ancient sources attest to the uprisings of these groups against Roman rule, which extended long into the Julio-Claudian period (Tacitus *Annals* 6.41.1). Roman military intervention was often necessary to protect the empire from a full-scale rebellion and to secure Roman interest in the region. Following the custom of Alexander the Great when conquering vast territories, the Romans secured their new lands by settling retired soldiers in these regions (Cohen 1995:18). This was

one way to pacify these tribal groups, and these veteran settlements were typically placed in areas where rebellions were likely to occur (Mitchell 1993:70-73). Active Roman soldiers were often assigned to strategic locations to bring their new territories under control. It was also during this time that trade routes were extended in the region of western Rough Cilicia. While the Roman emperors had to deal with the hostilities posed by these mountain tribes, the region was in the process of being fully integrated into the province (Mitchell 1993:79). Nonetheless, these mountain tribes posed a constant threat to Roman security in the region (Shaw 1990:224).

The rule of the western Rough Cilician region was contested by local kingdoms throughout much of the 1st century BCE. According to Strabo, Polemo of Laodiceia ruled the region of Cilicia in 39 BCE (*Geographica* 14.6.1). However, beginning in 36 BCE and only lasting a short period, the coastal region was ruled by the Ptolemy Dynasty as a gift from Antony to Queen Cleopatra of Egypt (Rauh et al. 2009:277). Similar to the 3rd century Ptolemaic rule, this was a militaristic campaign for Egypt to recruit soldiers from the area and exploit the timber resources for shipbuilding for their fleet. Cleopatra was one of Antony's most crucial allies and their newly acquired territories allowed them to add to their resources (Eilers 2003:97). Strabo mentioned that Cleopatra only ruled the coastal region of Cilicia while Amyntas ruled the rest of the region (*Geographica* 14.5.2).

After the defeat of Antony by Octavian at Actium in 31 BCE, Octavian had to pacify the region while also providing land to accommodate his veterans. As mentioned previously, the settlement of soldiers in hostile regions was a common practice for Rome, and Octavian boasted to have settled some 300,000 men throughout the empire including

in southern Asia Minor (Mitchell 1993:90). These defensive colonies were founded in the Taurus Mountains near the extensive trade routes between the east and the west (Mitchell 1993:71). Cities such as Kestros and Juliosebaste were two such colonies that were inhabited by Roman veterans to secure the mountainous region from these attacks and protect trade. These settlements not only secure the region with the presence of the Roman soldiers but advanced the urbanization of the province. Octavian, aware of the revolts in the vast empire, declared that he would reform and oversee the administration of the provinces (Ando 2000:363). In fact, the new emperor boasted that he had brought *Pax Romana* to all of his distant provinces (Shelton 1988:287-288).

Shortly after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, the new Roman leader Augustus (formerly Octavian) established the Teucrid Dynasty to govern a large majority of the area and left the rest of the eastern principality to Amyntas, who already controlled the nearby territory of Pisidia (Houwink ten Cate 1961:37; Strabo *Geographica* 14.5.6). He was also later crowned as King of Galatia (Jones 1998:209). Due to Augustus, Amyntas controlled a significant amount of land in Asia Minor and is most remembered for his military operations in the Taurus Mountains (Mitchell 1993:38-39). However, Amyntas only ruled for a short period of time before he was murdered in 25 BCE by Homonadenses tribal inhabitants while traveling in the interior of Cilicia in the Taurus Mountains (Marshall 1966:237; Rauh et al. 2009:277-278).

After the murder of Amyntas and with no clear heir to succeed him, the region underwent a number of client kings including Polemo I of Pontus and Archeulaus I of Cappadocia (Elton 1996:63). The mountain interior of Cilicia was added to the territory

of Cappadocia in an attempt to pacify the xenophobic tribes in the region (Elton 1996:63). After the rule of subsequent kingdoms, Cilicia was annexed by the Roman Empire (Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* 53.26.2; Mitchell 1993:41, 62). Much of the surrounding region had already fallen under Roman annexation, referred to as *formam provinciae redacta* by Roman writers such as Suetonius and Tacitus (Mitchell 1993:63). In this case, important senior Roman men (normally ex-consuls) acted as governors in these provinces, and it was their duty to secure and command their territory. It was also Roman policy to use local aristocracies as provincial governors to rule indirectly through them and to prevent rebellions (Mitchell 1993:65).

Under the appointment of the Roman Emperor Gaius, Antiochus IV of Commagene ruled from AD 38 to 72 (Jones 1998). By appointing client kings to vast areas of territory, the Romans were able to maintain authority in their far-flung regions (Borgia 2013:89). Following Roman custom, Antiochus was of a royal lineage from a neighboring province who was chosen to rule the region instead of an aristocrat from Cilicia (Borgia 2013:90). Educated in Rome, Antiochus was trusted to rule as he was a friend of the emperor (Rauh et al. 2009:278). Later the Roman Emperor Tiberius transformed Commagene into a Roman province and appointed Antiochus to rule that region as well, which greatly enhanced his territory. Antiochus IV was instrumental in the development of Cilicia and established many settlements in the region. Many of these cities were likely preceded by smaller villages located along the coast and in strategic areas (Tempesta 2013:39). It is likely that Antiochus IV settled some of his soldiers in these newly established cities to secure his reign in the region (Blanton 2000:60). This

urbanization was not only aimed at weakening local leaders but of subjugating the rebellious mountain tribes (Borgia 2013:91). Antiochia ad Cragum was founded and named after Antiochus IV, and the nearby city of Iotape was named after Iotape Philadelphus, Antiochus' sister-wife (Rauh et al. 2009:279). To further show their autonomy, Antiochus IV issued a number of coins bearing his image along with his wife and sons Epiphanes and Callinicus (Figure 2.4; Houwink ten Cate 1961:40). It was common for rulers to issue coinage upon obtaining power as a form of propaganda to advertise their new political power (Duncan-Jones 1994:97).



Figure 2.4. Coin depicting Antiochus IV of Commagene.

Under Roman guidance, Antiochus IV and other nearby rulers were encouraged to politically and economically integrate the mountain and coastal territories (Shaw 1990:229). However, despite the appointment of an indigenous ruler such as Antiochus IV of Commagene to the region, tribal groups rebelled several times in the early 1st century AD with three significant outbreaks that required Roman military intervention (Houwink ten Cate 1961:39). The burden of taxes on provincial cities was one of the

most common factors that led to widespread revolts against the empire (MacMullen 1974:35). These tribes attacked the nucleated communities along the coast and then retreated back to their remote highland territories (Shaw 1990:230). These uprisings required the combined forces of Antiochus IV along with nearby provincial governors and the Julio-Claudian emperors (Rauh et al. 2009:279).

The first significant rebellion occurred in the Cietae territory in the interior of the Taurus Mountains under Archelaus II in AD 36 (Tacitus *Annals* 6.41.1). Vitellius, the governor of Syria, had to interfere by sending the legate M. Trebellius with 4,000 legionaries and auxiliaries to quell this rebellion (Tacitus *Annals* 6.41.1). The second rebellion was started again by the Cietae inhabitants in AD 52 under a local leader named Troxoborus (Tacitus *Annals* 12.55.1). Instead of retreating to the mountains, this rebellion spread to the coastal cities and besieged the city of Anemurium (Rauh et al. 2009:279). As described by Tacitus,

“the nations of rustic Cilicians whose nomenclature is Cietae, and who had often been in upheaval at other times too, chose their rough mountains for a camp and, descending from there to the shores and cities, dared violence against farmers and townsfolk and particularly merchants and ship-owners” [*Annals* 12.55.1; translated by Woodman 2004:238].

With military assistance from Syria under the command of Curtius Severus, Antiochus IV was able to defend his territory with the capture and subsequent murder of Troxoborus (Rauh et al. 2009:279). A third notable rebellion occurred in AD 62 but was quickly repelled (Magie 1950:550; Onurkan 1967:74). These major revolts occurred when

Roman officials attempted to enforce census laws on these distant communities (Lenski 1999:419). This administrative action was necessary to document the population and their property in order to impose taxes on their conquered territories (Ando 2000:353-354).

Thus, from the 1st century BCE to the mid-1st century AD, a joint effort by Romans and local client kings sought to pacify these highland tribes (Lenski 1999:420). It was believed that, “the Isaurians had been Rome’s toughest opponents” in the region (Mitchell 1993:67). With several rebellions put down by Roman forces, the colonies of Lacanatis, Eirenopolis, and Germanicopolis were established nearby to secure the region from further violence (Houwink ten Cate 1961:41; Jones 1998:212). It was during this time that the interior of Rough Cilicia was urbanized and many cities were founded in the region. Decades later, under the reign of Vespasianus, Antiochus IV was dethroned and the province of Cilicia was reorganized again (Magie 1950:576).

The Urbanization of Western Rough Cilicia

In the 1st century AD, Rome was reaching the peak of its power with its empire spanning a majority of the known world (Horden and Purcell 2000:27). With Roman’s domination, the cities of Asia Minor underwent a major transformation that would last over four centuries. Following the establishment of a new Roman colony, these provinces came under the Roman administrative system and Roman citizenship was granted to most of the population (Lomas 1993:143). These cities functioned as administrative and commercial centers in order to enact empire policies and collect taxes from the population (Dmitriev 2005; Garnsey and Saller 1987:27). In these new Romanized communities, the titles of *colonia* and *municipium* were considered to be great honor and

the titles were accompanied by economic benefits. These cities were highly nucleated and ultimately benefited from Roman rule (Alcock 1993:60). Populations underwent a dramatic increase in the Imperial period with large urban centers reaching upwards of 25,000 and most communities ranging from 5,000 to 15,000 (Mitchell 1993:243-244). While it is difficult to determine exact population figures for these communities in Asia Minor, most were small with few over 30,000 (Mitchell 1993:201). In the region of western Rough Cilicia, Blanton has estimated that the Early Roman period (65 BCE to AD 250) had a population of roughly 18,000 (2000:60). In this 300 year period, the population rose by approximately 16,000 when numerous Roman colonies were founded; however, it is unknown whether this substantial growth was due to the steady movement of populations to this new province or episodic spurts of settlements (Blanton 2000:60).

The expansion of the network of roads was one of the major factors that led to an increase in population levels of Greeks and non-Greeks (Zuiderhoek 2009). The roads also provided an increase in communication and trade throughout the region. While there was no consistent pattern for community integration in Roman territories, it is attested that Roman colonists who settled in the east were eager to,

“join in the life of the city in which they settled rather than to hold aloof from it in independent organizations of their own; they intermarried with the indigenous inhabitants, united with them in setting up honorific dedications, and held local magistracies” [Levick 1967:69].

This quick and expansive urbanization allowed for a fully integrated economy in of the ancient Mediterranean (Hopkins 2002:206). Overall, the region underwent major development and urbanization under Roman rule.



Figure 2.5. Map of Rough Cilician Cities (after Rauh et al. 2009:256).

During this period, western Rough Cilicia also experienced a dramatic increase in cultural development although relatively unequal to other neighboring areas (Figure 2.5).

This delay in part was due to the unwelcoming and rugged landscape, which was characterized by rocky peninsula, coastal plains, and steep elevations with the Taurus Mountains in the hinterlands. Nonetheless, the region did undergo major political and economic changes during this time with an increase in nucleated settlements with Romanized architecture (Rauh et al. 2009). A large majority of these communities were situated in defensible locations along the coast indicating the region's involvement with maritime trade.

In a study conducted by Blanton, during the Early and Late Roman Periods, western Rough Cilicia likely had to import some of its food as its population exceeded its agricultural production (Blanton 2000:69). This indicates the importance of this region for the Roman Empire. Some of the major urban centers even issued their own coinage, an indication of cities' economic success and autonomy. Antiochia ad Cragum minted coins from Emperors Antonius Pius to Valerian, which showcased its success as a primary city in the empire (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:viii). While these communities were first established in order to fight off the Cilician pirates, they also later served the same purpose against the constant threat of the indigenous populations in the Taurus Mountains (Rostovtzeff 1941b:975). In fact, these mountains served as a natural barrier between the Isaurians in the hinterlands and the Roman settlements on the Mediterranean coast (Houwink ten Cate 1961:1).

One significant feature in every major city was the addition of monumental Roman architecture. According to Vitruvius, architecture is the key to *mansueta humanitas* (tamed civilization) and would bring prestige to a community (*De*

Architectura 2.1.6). Indeed, the symbol of civilization in the Roman world was the city and urbanization, while the symbol of barbarism was village life and pastoralism (Lomas 1997:22). Monumental public buildings defined the landscape of these new cities and were the ultimate characteristics of Greco-Roman cities (Mitchell 1993:80-81). Local, along with Roman architectural styles, fused and flourished with one another in these Greco-Roman cities. These public buildings included agoras, theaters, bouleuteria, colonnaded streets, temples, arches, gymnasia, stoas, and bathing complexes. Bath architecture and the ritual of bathing itself became immensely popular in the region between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD (Yegül 2010). Every city and most remote community would have been outfitted with at least one bath as bathing was considered a necessity of life. This architecture would have been a tool used by the cities to draw populations and commerce to the cities. It also would have been used to signal to Rome its allegiance and acceptance into the empire. The importance of this architecture is attested from its depiction on coinage that would have displayed the civic pride of the city in its landscape (Mitchell 1993:213).

Similar to the rest of Asia Minor, the politics of urban centers of western Rough Cilicia consisted of a political hierarchy of councils and assemblies based on a constitution (Dmitriev 2005). The bouleuterion was the main meeting place for the politicians and would represent the autonomous status of the city (Townsend 2013:122). These cities were in charge of fulfilling their role within the Roman Empire by supervising their market systems and agricultural production, while maintaining the order and stability of their community (Mitchell 1993:199). Most importantly, these cities had

to facilitate the payment of taxes from its citizens to the empire. Special magistrates were responsible for overseeing council meetings and meeting with other political entities such as agents of Rome (Mitchell 1993:200). Annual elections would decide the magistrates who had the responsibility to oversee these various duties (Mitchell 1993:199). Public inscriptions recorded the power and influence of these magistrates who were in charge of the administration of their community.

The *poleis*, the primary sites in the region, displayed massive architectural structures including fortification walls, monumental tombs, agoras, temples, bouleuteria, and bathing complexes (Raul et al. 2009:293). The status of *polis* meant that a city was autonomous and relatively free from outside interference (Mitchell 1993:81). These centers were characterized by the new, Roman architecture, which signaled the cities' allegiance to the Roman Empire and engagement with the rest of Asia Minor. The council and the assembly, along with city funds and public benefactions financed the construction of these large-scale public monuments (Townsend 2013:122). The council appointed members for the management of the supervisor of public works (*epimelētēs ergōn, curator operis*), which was responsible for the construction of public architecture (Salmeri 2005:193). Funding was also raised from taxation and the charge of rent in certain structures. The cost of construction was extremely high during the Imperial Period but it was the architecture that defined the cityscape. Thus, wealthy patron contributed funds in order to enhance their public appearance and to highlight their position of power within the community (Wandsnider 2013). A citizen's contribution would have been recognized in honorific inscriptions or statues on or in the buildings themselves. As such,

while citizens enjoyed the luxuries of this new architecture, like bathing complexes, they would be constantly reminded of the certain individuals who made the construction possible.

According to MacDonald, “the bath was a vital theme of Roman urbanism, central to everyday existence...” (1986:218). Bath architecture in particular was a widely popular phenomenon in western Rough Cilicia. The ritual of bathing was seen as a necessity of everyday life for Romans, which was an idea that spread to the provinces. Thus, baths were constructed in every primary city in the western Rough Cilician region and even in some secondary communities as well (Rauh et al. 2009:288). Several of the cities even boast of multiple baths to satisfy the needs of the communities. This was an interesting occurrence under two circumstances: one, this type of architecture was highly technical and would have required specialized architects, and two, it would have been costly to build. While the question of why this architecture was so popular and quickly accepted in the region is difficult to answer, a few reasons will be presented in this thesis.

Development of the Elite Class in Western Rough Cilicia

This thesis explores costly signaling, requiring that we pay attention to whom is sending signals to whom. Given this, it is important to know about the political, economic, and social organization of the Rough Cilician landscape. Here, I offer emerging insights on this aspect of Rough Cilicia.

Contrasting with other parts of Asia Minor, our knowledge of political organization and social and political mobility in western Rough Cilicia is decidedly underdeveloped. Most of what we know comes from epigraphic texts, which are

dominated by funerary inscriptions (Tomaschitz 2003) and from architectural patterns. In these texts from Hamaxia, Corsecium, and Side, Tomaschitz notes references to political offices such as the Archon, the Gymnasiarch, Oikonomos, the colleges of the Dekaprottoi and the Probouloi, indicating the presence of some portion of Greek city apparatus.

Tomaschitz also comments on the frequent reference to kinship designations (e.g., brother, sister, wife, husband, grandfather, grandmother). On this very meager basis, scholars on Rough Cilicia argue for the elevated role of lineages in governing the small cities here, even as the involvement of Rome in the area intensified. Presumably it is these lineages that dispense justice, hold land, accrue wealth and make decisions about urban.

The number of both large and small nucleated settlements in western Rough Cilicia points to the economic and political importance of this region in terms of land utilization. It is known from historical sources that this province was significant for the Roman Empire for its production of a multitude of resources such as timber, wine, honey, oil, textiles, ceramics, and cereal agriculture (Rauh et al. 2009:285). The region was also important for its production of Rough Cilician Koan-type and pinched-handle amphoras (Rauh and Slane 2000:327-328). The mass production of these types of amphoras along with the extensive terracing of the landscape provides evidence for a significant increase in agricultural development under Roman rule (Rauh and Slane 2000:328). The urbanization of this province led to economic growth and agricultural cultivation that benefited the local aristocrats (Mitchell 1993:257). According to Duncan-Jones, land was, “the principal source of wealth in Roman society” (1990:126). When a population

increases the cost land increases as well with the urban elites owning large estates that depend on peasant farmers for cheap labor (Zuiderhoek 2009:53). Due to the scarcity of land coupled with a significant increase in population, peasants were faced with higher rents and lower wages while their landlords accumulated wealth along with social and political power (Zuiderhoek 2009:53-54). In Rough Cilicia, this land would have been held by native, elite lineages that also likely held political power in their communities. Private or imperial estates were composed of large tracts of land owned by important lineages that profited off of their landownership (Mitchell 1993:245). As stated by Zuiderhoek, this situation led to, “an increasing accumulation of wealth in the hands of the landowning urban elite that went together with growing rural misery” (2009:54).

It is known from historical records that wealth was tied to the land and that these landlords hoarded crops to later sell them during times of shortages and droughts (MacMullen 1974:37-38). These resources were exported by sea and along the major network of roads throughout the western Rough Cilician province. At the city of Aspendus in the nearby province of Pamphylia, people raided the homes of landholding elites who were accused of hoarding food during a shortage (Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 47.19, 48.9; Zuiderhoek 2009:67-68). These wealthy landowners held powerful positions in comparison with their peasant tenants who worked the land for minimal profit (MacMullen 1974:21; Mitchell 1993:244-245). These rural populations served as serfs who were tied to their landowners as laborers (Mitchell 1993:176). Their power was strengthened by city councilors which enhanced their wealth and position in society through a mutual relationship with these landowning elites. Baths would have served as

clubhouses for interaction among these upper class individuals and strengthened their social bond (Rauh et al. 2009:296). The wealth and influence of the elites was displayed through their benefaction to their cityscape (Ando 2000:307). The formation of an elite class was significantly strengthened under the influence of the Roman Empire and led to urbanization of western Rough Cilicia.

The development of the upper class in the region of western Rough Cilicia was a direct result of population growth as well as its relationship with that of the Roman Empire. Rome preferred to rule indirectly through oligarchic systems and was responsible for the narrowing of the ruling class in its provinces (Mitchell 1993:210). These elites were able to expand and strengthen their power and wealth due to their relationship with Romans. While this class supported the rule of Rome in order to maintain provincial security, they benefited in terms of influence over their communities and the honors they received from agents of Rome (Mitchell 1993:210). It is from this complex and reciprocal relationship that an elite class was able to flourish. In Asia Minor, the upper ruling class was characterized by interrelated families who distinguished themselves from the lower class based off of their descent from honorable ancestors (Zuiderhoek 2009:140).

It would have been in the best interest of the native aristocratic class to associate themselves with the Romans as their elite powers were tied to and strengthen by their relationship with the agents of Rome. The presence of the imperial cult was strong in western Rough Cilicia as demonstrated by the substantial number of honorary inscriptions for Roman emperors (Rauh et al. 2009:290-291). Statues were commonly dedicated to both imperial and local elites, which reflected their intimate political and

culture ties. This mutually advantageous relationship served to empower the local elite by displaying their public generosity as well as strengthen Roman rule in this frontier province. It was common Roman practice to form alliances with local leaders in order to gain loyalty from the community (Ando 2000:58). In western Rough Cilicia, these imperial dedications served to, “reflect an effort on the part of the local gentries to accommodate Roman authority in the region” (Rauh et al. 2009:291). Further, public benefaction for these Greco-Roman institutions was an instrument for the elites to strengthen class divisions. By donating large sums of money to public buildings, the lower classes were then able to enjoy these urban amenities while overlooking sociality struggles with the upper elite classes (Zuiderhoek 2009:74). This elite class was likely aligning itself with and signaling its alliance to the agents of Rome through monumental architecture.

Summary

This chapter outlined the historical background of the settlement of western Rough Cilicia beginning with the early Greek settlements up to the Roman expansion into the region during the Late Imperial Period. Knowledge of the history of Roman expansion, settlement, and occupation is necessary for understanding the social systems present in western Rough Cilicia during this time. The formation of this province was then integrated into a wide political system composed of the movement of material goods, people, and information (Morely 1997:51). Roman architecture would have been a valuable tool used by agents of Rome to politically and culturally unify its vast territory. According to Yegül, bath architecture, a popular phenomenon in the ancient world, was

used to, “integrate the individual in the mainstream of national culture” (1992:4). The next chapter will provide an overview of this type of architecture and the ritual of bathing in the Roman Empire to provide a context for this institution in antiquity.

CHAPTER THREE

BATHS AND BATHING IN THE ROMAN WORLD WITH AN EMPHASIS ON BATH ARCHITECTURE IN THE PROVINCE OF ROUGH CILICIA

Introduction

The ritual of bathing was central to Roman society and rooted in Roman culture. Baths enhanced the landscape of a city and also helped define what it meant to be Roman. As stated by Yegül, “not to bathe would have been un-Roman” (1992:4). Bathing complexes were not only hygienic facilities but also served as recreational spaces for exercise, education, relaxation, and socialization. Given the centrality of bathing in Roman culture, this chapter will first overview baths and the ritual of bathing in the Roman Empire. This will provide context for the development of bathing in antiquity, the architectural aspects of baths, and the elements necessary in the functioning of baths including the hypocaust and aqueducts systems. Next, I review the cost of the construction of bathing complexes found throughout the empire, thereby demonstrating the significant expense of building and maintaining this type of architecture. It has been argued that baths were one of the most expensive types of Roman architecture, which would support its role as a costly signal in the Roman Empire. Finally, bath architecture in the region of western Rough Cilicia will be summarized to provide a context for the baths at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum. This effort will focus on the work of Yegül who has extensively researched the baths of Rough Cilicia (1992:301-304; 2010:176-180). Overall, baths were a significant cultural institution in the Roman world and “the bath-house, therefore, more than any other building type, can be taken as the architectural symbol of the new cities of the imperial period” (Mitchell 1993:217).

Baths and the Ritual of Bathing

For the Romans, bathing was a necessary and enjoyable event. The tradition of communal bathing was present in ancient Greece as well and was later adopted by the Romans who enhanced bath architecture. The popularity of this type of institution is attested by the numerous baths found throughout the Roman Empire and the abundant historical records that provide testimony for this daily social event. Baths served not only as places to bathe but also as clubhouses for Romans to relax after work among each other. Thus, a summary of the development of bathing in antiquity will be provided along with a description of the various bathing rooms and the overall function of this institution in Roman life.

Development of Bathing in Antiquity

The tradition of bath architecture was already present in Asia Minor when the Romans incorporated the territory into its empire. The Greeks, who had colonized Asia Minor, established the cultural institution of bathing in public bath houses. While the elites of society had private baths in their homes beginning around the 7th century BCE, the Greek public bath did not become popular until around the 5th century BCE (Nielsen 1990:6). In the early development of these facilities, bathing in these complexes was reserved for the athletes and the elites of society, but over time, it became a practice enjoyed by the common people.

The gymnasium was a significant Greek institution that incorporated public bathing rooms (Yegül 1992:7). Public education, called ephebic education, was also held

at the gymnasia where courses and lectures would have been offered for young males (Yegül 1992:7). While the gymnasium was a popular Greek institution, it was a later addition to Roman bathing complexes. During the 2nd century BCE, gymnasiums were renovated to include hot baths (Yegül 1992). While the Greeks independently developed a heating system for the bathing complexes, the Romans vastly improved the institution with the invention of the hypocaust system. In some of these complexes, the baths and bathing rituals began to evolve as the focal point of these institutions over the gymnasiums. However, the addition of the gymnasium to the baths provided symmetry to the bathing complex (Boethius 1978). This new monumental architectural type established in Asia Minor is termed the bath-gymnasium to reflex the multiple uses of these complexes.

One major difference that distinguished Greek baths from Roman baths was the fact that the Greeks utilized individual tubs for baths, unlike the Romans who had open bathing complexes. These tubs were characterized by a *tholos*, a circular room that was carved out of natural rock or built of brick and mortar (Nielsen 1990:8). These cluster of rooms consisted of individual hip baths that were arranged along the walls (Yegül 2010:41-42). While most of the baths utilized cold water, some baths were heated from steam that would have emitted from a charcoal brazier (Yegül 1992:24).

The Romans first encountered these bathing complexes through their contact with Greeks who had colonized Sicily and southern Italy (Yegül 2010:41). The Romans greatly improved the functioning of these baths with the development of the hypocaust system to control the heating of these spaces (Yegül 2010:41). By the late 2nd and early

1st century BCE, bathing in these public complexes was a common practice and the popularity of this institution spread throughout the Roman Empire.

Bathing Architecture and Functions

Bathing complexes were found throughout the Roman Empire and were diverse in layout, design, and function. However, the one fundamental tradition of the bath plan was the routine order of bathing in the warm, hot, and cold pools (MacDonald 1986:210). As stated by Pliny the Younger, “I am oiled, I take my exercise, I have my bath” (*Letters* 9.36). This quote sums up the proper schedule for an afternoon at the baths (Yegül 1992:33). In antiquity, bathing was not just a daily practice but it was an important ritual that every Roman saw as a necessity. After a day of work, which normally ended around lunchtime, Romans would spend several hours at the baths and would normally not retire until dinnertime (Yegül 1992). Bathers would first enter a bathing complex and change their clothes in an *apodyterium*, or dressing room. These rooms had shelves and niches where the bathers could store their personal belongings. In a nearby room, the *destrictaria*, they could receive massages with oils and perfumes by a professional masseuse or by the slave that would accompany them to the baths.

After being covered with oil, Romans would then participate in light exercise in the palaestra or gymnasium. Ball games, fencing, wrestling, boxing, running, and lifting weights were the main exercises that would have taken place in these colonnaded spaces. The gymnasium would have not only been a place for exercising but would have also been for socializing and learning. The layout of the gymnasium was normally a square or

rectangular shaped peristyle court and would have normally been outdoors. Halls for the classrooms and libraries would have surrounded the colonnaded gymnasium (MacDonald 1986:115). Similar to the Greeks, the Romans believed that it was important to have a healthy balance between the mind and body (Yegül 1992:35). Therefore, exercise in the gymnasium was followed by bathing.

At the end of these activities, Romans would bathe in the *tepidarium* or warm water, second in the *caldarium* or hot water, and finally in the *frigidarium* or cold water (Boethius 1978). On the floors of some baths, mosaics of bathing sandals were used to indicate the order of the movement from bath to bath. While this was the normal sequential order, it was not fixed and could be changed according to the preference of the person or depending on the layout of the bathing complex. For the Romans, this everyday routine was considered necessary for maintaining good health and spirit (Yegül 1992).

As stated by Yegül, the bath was a, “self-sufficient world created and dedicated to the cultivation of the body, health, and to a certain extent, the mind” (2010:102). Imperial baths included large palaestra, running tracks, libraries, cult shrines, gardens, and lecture halls (Yegül 2010:101-102). There were *laconica* or sweating rooms that would focus heat on the bathers and natation or swimming pools for more intensive exertion (MacDonald 1986:211). Some baths had a special room, the *heliocaminus*, with large windows for sunbathing (Yegül 1992). In larger facilities, there were gardens and promenades that served as meeting areas and places of leisure (Boethius 1978). Vendors and restaurants selling food and wine were also available for the bathers (Yegül 1982). Performances with musicians and artists occurred in the complexes for the entertainment

of the bathers. Overall, these facilities were multi-purpose to serve the various needs of the Roman citizens.

This important civic institution was enjoyed by almost everyone in society as a large majority of the baths were open to the public (Yegül 1992:2). The bathing complex was a crucial institution in society for Romans of practically every class and sex. There was a small fee to enter the baths that virtually everyone could afford so various classes would be able to intermingle. Servants were allowed to use the baths when they were off duty. Only slaves were restricted from using the baths, and they went instead to assist their masters. Slaves would carry all of the necessary personal belongings for bathing including towels, oils, and exercise clothing (Yegül 1992). While a majority of baths were communal for both sexes, some baths did offer separate bathing facilities and designated times for men and woman. Evidence of this practice is found in several historical sources and from inscriptions in the baths (Ward 1992). One of the most notable sources comes from Pliny the Elder who wrote, “If only Fabricus could see these displays of luxury... and women bathing with men” (Ward 1992:135). Ovid, a popular writer during the reign of Augustus, even wrote on how women could escape from their guardians to meet with men at the baths (Yegül 1992).

In the Roman Empire and especially in Asia Minor, baths also served as tools of propaganda for the imperial cult. Larger baths would have been elaborately decorated with marbles and mosaics (MacDonald 1986:210-211). These grand-scale baths, or *thermae*, would have been commissioned by emperors in order to win the support of the public. One purpose of such decorative bathing complexes was to remind the bathers of

the power and prestige of the empire (Yegül 1992:2). Some baths had *Kaisersaal* halls, or lectures rooms, which likely served as places for the worship of the imperial cult (Yegül 1982). In these lecture halls, there were shrines and niches where statues of emperors and gods would have been placed in a layout similar to a temple. Imperial cult worship was highly popular in Asia Minor where there was the long tradition of divinity and kingship. Beginning in the 3rd century BCE, cult activities occurred in gymnasiums of bathing complexes as they served as civic facilities for Greco-Roman citizens (Yegül 1982). These activities included sacrifices and banquets in honor of the defied rulers along with other traditional gods.

The Hypocaust and Aqueducts Systems

According to Yegül, the water supply system and the heating of the baths serves as, “one of the outstanding technical achievements of the ancient world...” (2010:80). The initial construction and subsequent maintenance of the hypocaust and aqueduct systems required the work of specialized architects and engineers. Overall, these two systems were necessary for the proper function of any Roman bath and facilitated the overall enjoyment of the bathing experience.

The heating of the baths was one of the three main requirements for the proper function of a bathing complex along with an adequate water supply and drainage area (Biers 2003:310). While baths were heated through solar energy by typically constructing large windows and placing the building facing the south, the hypocaust system was the secret for creating the flow of warm to hot baths (Ring 1996:717). The hypocaust system

was invented in the 2nd century BCE and consisted of a raised floor on brick pillars that allowed hot air to flow into the rooms from a furnace (Yegül 2010:84). The walls of the heated rooms would have also been hollow and lined with pipes to allow the heat to radiate out (Fagan 2001:404). Seneca described this building technique, “...with pipes let into the walls for the purpose of diffusing the heat which maintains an even temperature in the lowest as well as the highest spaces” (*Letters* 90.25). The use of this floor heating system changed the way Roman architects organized the baths (Ward 1992:126). To conserve the heat, the warm bath rooms would have been placed close together so they could be heated by a common furnace, the *praefurnium* (MacDonald 1986:217). The furnace was typically placed along the exterior walls of the heated rooms and baths (Yegül 2010:90). The floors in the heated rooms would have been lined with clay tiles and were normally fenestrated.

Perhaps the most innovated of Roman inventions, the aqueduct system allowed for the construction of baths in the most arid regions of the empire (Yegül 2010:97). In fact, aqueducts were almost always built in order to supply water to public baths (Mitchell 1993:213). Aqueducts were constructed on a gentle downward gradient to supply water to the baths with the simple use of gravity (Fagan 2001:405). Water was supplied from natural springs and reservoirs, which at times fed multiple aqueduct systems. Baths were often built near these water sources as seen at Antiochia ad Cragum where both buildings were constructed next to natural springs and valleys. Aqueducts were also typically accompanied by cisterns and distribution tanks to store water and assist in changing out large amounts of water from the baths (Yegül 2010:99). It was

common practice to empty and clean out the baths every night to ensure the cleanliness of these public facilities (Blyth 1999:89). Constructing these monumental aqueducts, which were built underground in tunnels and above ground as bridges, was also highly technical work that required accurate surveying and building techniques (Mitchell 1987:352).

Vitruvius provides a detailed description of how to locate water supplies and build aqueducts (*De Architectura* Book 8). Water, an obvious necessity for a bath, was, “another mode of conspicuous consumption symbolizing the wealth and the might of the Empire” (Yegül 2010:98). This important piece of Roman engineering was necessary in order to sustain the bathing complexes at Antiochia ad Cragum and confirms the importance of baths in the western Rough Cilician province.

Costliness of Bath Architecture in the Roman Imperial Period

During the Roman Imperial Period, the Mediterranean was the center of Roman expansion and urbanization. The cities established during this time were valuable to the empire in terms of the trade of not only material goods but of information and people. As such, each city would have been outfitted with public architecture although the size and money put into the cityscape varied across the empire. It is known that bath architecture in particular was a costly endeavor in comparison with other types of buildings due to the highly technical nature of its construction. The need for frequent maintenance and repair was also considerable and would have added to the expense of these buildings (DeLaine 1999:67). All in all, it has been argued that baths were the most innovative and expensive types of Roman public institutions in terms of its architecture and technology (Ring 1996:717).

While we have some cost estimates of baths recorded in inscriptions, it is minimal when compared to the overall number of baths built throughout the vast empire (Nielsen 1990:121). Further, in most cases we only have accounts of the expense of bathing complexes from our historical sources and epigraphical material with minimal knowledge available from archaeological studies. Regardless, bath architecture was a costly cultural institution in the ancient Roman world as attested by historical sources (Nielsen 1990:119). In order to provide a holistic understanding of this architecture and fulfill the requirements of costly signaling, analyses of the costs of baths in other Roman provinces will be reviewed to highlight the truly great expense necessary to construct these buildings. The data collected from Antiochia ad Cragum may be better elucidated when compared with baths in other Romanized cities.

While it is difficult to exactly estimate the cost of the baths at Antiochia ad Cragum, we can nevertheless infer that it was a monumental undertaking in terms of the expense of labor, construction materials, and constant upkeep. Several key studies have investigated this matter and provide a comparative analysis for this work. While seemingly obvious, the money set aside for the construction of this architecture determined the design of the bath. The finances influenced the overall size of the building as well as the building materials and decorations (Boersma 1999:192). Baths, the most diverse type of Roman architecture, could be modified by the architects who had influence on the arrangement, shape, and height of the rooms (MacDonald 1986:213). Skilled architects were a prized commodity in the Roman world as attested by Pliny who on several occasions requested talented architects for building projects in the province of

Bithynia from the emperor Trajan, which reflects the demand of such specialized labor (Mitchell 1987:338). The construction of the hypocaust system and large scale aqueducts would have required specialized architects as well which would contribute to the expense of these complexes. All of these factors would have added to the monumental cost of these civic institutions.

Historical Sources and Epigraphical Material on Bath Costs

Duncan-Jones analyzed epigraphic texts in Italy to determine the price of public baths in Italy. Out of the six studied, the cost of the baths typically ranged from roughly 60,000 to 2 million *kastrenses modii* (Duncan-Jones 1982:124). However, three of the larger baths in this study ranged in cost from approximately 300,000 to 350,000 *kastrenses modii*. The Baths of Neptune at Ostia was a gift from the emperor Hadrian to the port city. This 67 X 67 meter bathing complex cost over 2 million *kastrenses modii* to construct (Duncan-Jones 1965:194; Meiggs 1960:410). Antoninus Pius also contributed to the decoration of this medium-sized building commenting that he, “added all the extra money required” to complete this project (Fagan 1999:173). This bath data provides us with the most reliable knowledge on the cost of this type of architecture as it is one of the only bathing complexes to have extensive information from both archaeological research along with historical sources on construction expenses (Nielsen 1990:121).

In a similar study, DeLaine calculated that the *Thermae* of Caracalla cost somewhere between 12 to 14 *kastrenses modii* (1997:207). With one *kastrensis modius* equivalent to roughly 10 sesterces, the construction of this bath would have been a staggering cost of 120 million sesterces (DeLaine 1997:220-223). The construction of

this thermae lasted six or seven years so that the annual cost was roughly 2.3 million *kastrenses modii*. When referencing this study, Yegül compares the annual cost to amount to almost three times the expense for the annual corn dole for the city of Rome during the end of the third century, which would have had a population over 1 million at the time (2010:118). As noted by DeLaine, these baths served as a, “powerful investment as a symbol of status” and proved their importance in Roman society beyond basic utilitarian use (1997:223). The Thermae of Caracalla was an imperial thermae and its large expense would have been funded through the emperor as well as the empire itself (Nielsen 1990:122). Further, the location of this thermae along with the Baths of Neptune at Ostia must be taken into consideration given the fact that the cost of construction would have been much higher in and near the capital (Nielsen 1990:121).

While the information for evaluating the expense of the decoration of baths is also ambiguous and incomplete, we have some historical sources that specifically mention bath decoration costs. Pliny the Younger donated 300,000 *kastrenses modii* to decorate the bath in his hometown of Comum, which suggests that the total cost of construction would have been upwards of 600,000 *kastrenses modii* (Nielsen 1990:121). While we do not know the exact size and grandeur of this bath, it must have been ornate considering Pliny’s generous donation (Fagan 1999:174). A dedicatory inscription from the site of Epamantadurum in Germania noted that 300,000 *kastrenses modii* was anonymously donated for the marble decoration of the bath (Nielsen 1990:122). The mosaic floors in the bath at the site of Thubursicum Bure cost 41,200 *kastrenses modii* in AD 260-262 (Nielsen 1990:122). However, the inflation rates of the 3rd century AD must be

considered in this instance (Duncan-Jones 1982:66-67). The skilled artisans required to create these bath decorations would have added to the costliness of these buildings (Mitchell 1987:363). The elaborate decoration of these bathing complexes should be accounted for in the overall expense of this architecture.

The everyday running of a bath would have also added to the overall expense of this institution. The heating and water supply systems were crucial for the maintenance of the bath and would have been quite costly in antiquity. To add to the technical and costly endeavor of running a bath, extensive aqueduct systems had to be built to supply the large amount of water necessary to maintain a bathing complex. The building of the hypocaust system would have required a highly trained architect specialized in this type of construction. The constant heating of the furnace would have been the most costly expense in the everyday running of the baths (Duncan-Jones 1982:137). An inscription from Altinum in Venetia recorded the donation of 12,000 *kastrenses modii* for fuel for each of two baths in the city annually (Blyth 1999:88). This amount was estimated to cover the cost of buying and transporting the wood from nearby landowners to supply the baths. While the dedication at Altinum does not include funds for the emptying and cleaning of the baths, it was likely a costly task that would have been performed daily (Blyth 1999:89). Thus, the aqueducts necessary to provide water for these baths along with the hypocaust system to heat the baths provide evidence for the extensive and expensive type of undertaking of constructing and running these complexes.

Public Benefaction for Baths

In terms of public benefaction, we have a number of examples from epigraphical material and historical sources. In antiquity, cities relied on funding from its revenues as well as from contributions from wealthy individuals to build these public intuitions (Nielsen 1990:120). It has even been argued that no city would be able to afford to set up its necessary public architecture without the generous benefaction from its wealth citizens (Mitchell 1993:211). While bath inscriptions were often vague and do not provide precise details for the expense of these buildings, some examples provide evidence for the costly nature of euergetism (Fagan 1999:173-175). An anonymous individual donated a total of 1.4 million sesterces for the baths at Altinum. This donation specified that the money be divided to be used for a number of tasks including the repair, heating and upkeep of the bath (Fagan 1999:173-174). An unknown but likely substantial amount of money was donated by Julia Memmia, the daughter of a consular, for the construction of a bath at the site of Bulla Regia in Tunisia (Yegül 1992:44). A dedicatory statue and inscription were discovered in the entrance to the bath as a typical acknowledgement of the public benefaction. Multiple wealthy individuals donated 252,000 kastrenses modii to the construction the bath at Corfinum in AD 122 and were honored with a dedicatory inscription (Nielsen 1990:121). This funding supplemented money that had previously been set aside for this construction and suggests the total cost of construction would have been quite high. The bath at Aquileia cost a total of 1 million kastrenses modii and was paid for with city funds and donations from M. Antistius Nereus (Duncan-Jones 1982:157,224). M. Antistius Nereus was a wealthy elite citizen of the city and was able to

fund half of the construction costs. These examples showcase the prevalence of elite benefaction in the ancient world.

As mentioned previously, there was social pressure placed on the wealthy who were expected to financial contribute to the urbanization of their city (MacMullen 1974:142). In return, these individuals and families received social advancement and prestige in their community for their benefaction (Duncan-Jones 1982). The ultimate benefit of this redistribution of wealth would come in the form of honorific inscriptions that showcased their patriotism (Mitchell 1993:211). This imperial architecture would be a long-lasting reminder of the morality of the benefactors (Mitchell 1987:334). There are historical accounts of wealthy citizens going bankrupted from such generous donation to public building contributions (Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 46.3). These examples of public benefaction provide an overview of the sources of euergetism for building bathing complexes for the Roman inhabitants. In provincial cities in particular, the wealthy classes likely contributed more to these building projects due to the small public funds available (Duncan-Jones 1990:182). These studies also elucidate the role of the elites and provincial governors in the operation of these provinces (Nielsen 1990:119).

Cost of Public Architecture in Antiquity

In comparison with the cost of other public institutions, bathing complexes were one of the most expensive buildings in antiquity. While we have incomplete data for the overall cost of public buildings, some comparative studies have been conducted which highlight the price of major public buildings in the Roman Empire (Nielsen 1990:122). Duncan-Jones provides a study of the building costs in Italy and North Africa based on

historical accounts and dedicatory inscriptions (1982). While this study notes the lack of prices available for temples and the abundance of prices available for baths in Italy, it is still a worthwhile study to summarize (Duncan-Jones 1982:124). In Italy, the most expensive type of architecture included in this study was bathing complexes. In particular the bath at Ostia was the costliness at an astounding 2 million *kastrenses modii*. Following this expense is the library at Comum, which cost 1 million *kastrenses modii* (Duncan-Jones 1982:157). In North Africa, the temple at Lambaesis was the highest cost at 600,000 *kastrenses modii* (Duncan-Jones 1982:75). Only three baths from the African province were included in this study; however, each were quite costly as the *thermae* at Thagura was priced at 400,000 and the two baths at Mastar and Gibba both were priced at 100,000 (Duncan-Jones 1982:91). This study highlights the great cost of bathing complexes found throughout the Roman Empire.

Another comparative study was conducted by MacMullen who studied city financing and urban development in Roman cities (1974). Drawing from numerous previous studies, this work compared the median figures for the cost of public institutions based on a Roman city the size of Pompeii (MacMullen 1974:142-145). While omitting the costs of other public monuments such as arches, statues, and aqueducts, this provides the most comprehensive overview of the price of Roman urbanization in terms of public architecture. As shown in Figure 3.1, MacMullen averaged out the number of different types of architecture that would be expected in a typical Roman city. Thus, there would be roughly three baths, three small temples, and three fountains in a medium-sized city such as Pompeii. In assessing the price of each of these buildings, libraries would have

been the most expensive followed by theaters and baths. However, as noted by Nielsen, the bathing complexes would have been the most expensive as three would have been necessary for a medium-sized city (1990:122). In fact, the cost of three baths would comprise a third of the total cost for public buildings in this study. Thus, this comparative study supports the notion of the importance of bath architecture in a cityscape as well as to its costliness as a public institution.

Theater	400,000 sesterces
Curia	100,000 sesterces
Basilica	120,000 sesterces
Macellum	100,000 sesterces
Library	500,000 sesterces
Three Bathing Complexes	$400,000 \times 3 = 1,200,000$ sesterces
A Large Temple	100,000 sesterces
Three Small Temples	$60,000 \times 3 = 180,000$ sesterces
Three Large Fountains	$50,000 \times 3 = 150,000$ sesterces
Gymnasium	150,000 sesterces
Total Cost	3,000,000 sesterces

Table 3.1. Cost of Public Architecture in a Roman City (after MacMullen 1974:144).

Cost of Baths at Antiochia ad Cragum

While the baths noted above were likely more expensive than the baths at Antiochia ad Cragum, this review nonetheless demonstrates how significant these structures were for the empire and how much money was invested in their construction. In a study conducted by Duncan-Jones, he concluded that it would take roughly 30 years for an average city council to construct a nice bathing complex (1990:177-178). Antiochia ad Cragum would like fall into this pattern with the additional financial assistance of public benefaction as demonstrated on the great bath inscription. To add to the expense of constructing the bath, the highly specialized architects would have likely been non-local and would have had to travel to the remote region to produce this work. Exotic materials would have also had to be imported to enhance the grandeur of the baths. All of these factors demonstrate the expense of building this type of architecture at Antiochia ad Cragum.

Aside from the overall cost of the construction, the upkeep of the bath would have been an additional expense in the everyday running of the facility. The fuel for the furnace and the oils for bathing would have been paid for through fees accrued from entrance into the facility but would have also been donated by wealthy individuals to reflect their generosity to the public (DeLaine 1999:72-73). The fee for entering the bath was minimal would not have been a significant revenue for the overall upkeep of the complex (Yegül 1992:45). While our knowledge of construction costs and repairs is incomplete for the two baths at Antiochia ad Cragum, this review has shown the significant amount of expense that was allotted for this architecture. Given the timber

resources of western Rough Cilicia, the cost to heat the furnace would have been insignificant compared to the costly initial investment to build these bath complexes. Thus, the construction of bath architecture was not only a costly investment for a new city as it would have also been a costly endeavor which spanned the years of its use.

Bath Architecture in Western Rough Cilicia

Within the context of a growing economy after the inclusion into the Roman Empire and the cultivation of the rich resources in the region, architects greatly modified the organization of bathing complexes in Asia Minor. As noted by Ward-Perkins, “baths of Asia Minor were not, however, mere slavish copies of those in Italy” (1981:292). In the Roman province of Rough Cilicia, bath architecture had distinct regional characteristics that were influenced from architectural styles from both the east and the west. Fikret Yegül, a prominent scholar of Roman architecture, examined the variations of bath designs in Rough Cilicia to emphasize the social and cultural aspects of this type of architecture in provincial Rome. Another prominent scholar of ancient history, Andrew Farrington, established a typology of the basic plans for bath architecture in southwestern Asia Minor. I summarize the work of Yegül and Farrington to present a comprehensive view of bathing complexes and their architectural styles in this remote region of the Rome Empire. The regional characteristics of these baths reflect the cultural sensibilities of these Rough Cilician communities.

Rough Cilician baths utilize unique layouts that reflect the preference for particular bath plans. These baths, which date from the 2nd to 5th century AD, display local regional characteristics that represent the remote provincial cities and their cultural

sensibilities (Yegül 1992:301). This architectural design centers upon asymmetrically placed rooms with the combination of small and medium sized barrel vaulted halls (Yegül 2010:176). A majority of these baths have open apses and windows that face the sea to the south to take advantage of the sun. There are three common bath plans found throughout Rough Cilicia: the hall type, the asymmetrical bath building on a block arrangement, and the row arrangement. Each of these plans has unique, regional characteristics that separate them from other baths in the Roman Empire.

One common design is known as the “hall type” as it is characterized by a long, central gallery with heated rooms on one side and unheated, smaller rooms on the other side of the bath (Yegül 2010:178). The central gallery typically served as the frigidarium and was connected to all of the other bathing rooms. The main entrance typically connects with the middle room through a hallway or corridor (Yegül 1992:301). This room would have had high ceilings and would have likely served as public meeting spaces (Farrington 1995). Also known as the, “bath with a central rectangular gallery,” this open layout allowed the bathers to easily move from one room to the next and decide their preferred bathing order (Farrington 1995). In Rough Cilicia, the best examples of this architectural type are the baths at Anemurium (Baths II-7A and II-11B), Antiochia ad Cragum (the Great Bath or Bath 1-2A), and Syedra (Bath II-1A) (Yegül 2010:178). Each of these baths reflects the regional characteristics of this plan type popular in this region. While this plan was popular in Rough Cilicia, variations of it are also found in the nearby provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia as well as north Syria (Yegül 1992:304).

The “asymmetrical bath building on a block arrangement” plan is characterized by a rectangular-shaped bath with rectangular rooms in each of the bath corners (Garis 2001:13). This layout is asymmetrical and provides easy movement from room to room. While this bath plan is economical as the rooms are placed to maximize its use of space, it is also original and enhances the flow of circulation throughout the bath (Yegül 1992:291). Some baths with this unique plan incorporated a palaestra, which varied in its location within the complex (Farrington 1995). This layout was utilized for small to medium-sized baths, and its flexible plan was effective for the mountainous terrain of southwestern Asia Minor (Yegül 1992:291). This bath type is common in Rough Cilicia and the nearby province of Pamphylia as seen at Side (Bath 1) and Korasium (Bath 1).

Finally, the “row arrangement” was the most common plan type found in Rough Cilicia. This layout was simple and characterized by a row of bath rooms parallel to one another (Garis 2001:14). These baths were small and consisted of a row of three or four rooms parallel with a rectangular gallery or corridor (Farrington 1995). Typically, the *caldarium* would be placed at one end of the bath followed by the *tepidarium* and the *apodyterium* and *frigidarium* on the other end (Garis 2001:14). The circulation of the heat in these baths was always retractive. This bath plan was functional and economical in comparison with the two previous bath plans. In Rough Cilicia, the best examples of this row arrangement are found at Antiochia ad Cragum (the Extramural Bath or Bath I-4), Anemurium (Bath III-2B), and Selinus (Bath 3). This plan, along with the other two plans outlined above, reflects the typical layout of bath architecture in Rough Cilicia.

The three regional bath plans of Rough Cilicia demonstrate the variation of this architectural type in provincial Rome. While variations of these plans are found in other Roman provinces, the uniqueness of the bath plans in Rough Cilicia indicates the importance of this facility in daily life. As noted by Yegül,

“Fully aware of the beneficial role played by baths in the health, education, and entertainment of the people, the Roman state and its leading citizens placed the building and maintenance of baths at the top of the list of social responsibilities and strove to make them as attractive and accessible as possible to the masses” [1992:2].

These provincial plans display an effort to change and enhance this popular cultural institution for the public.

Summary

Baths were a fundamental intuition in Roman society that served a multitude of functions in everyday life. As this chapter outlined, this type of architecture served as community centers for bathing, exercising, socializing, and relaxing in a civic space for the enjoyment of the public. While bathing complexes were a necessary institution in any proper Roman city, it was quite costly to construct and maintain. Thus, support came from the city as well as local benefactors who gained public prestige for their generosity. The significant amount of money invested in these institutions supports their role as fundamental aspects in Roman society. The bath architecture in Rough Cilicia and nearby provinces in southwestern Asia Minor reflects the great cost and investment put in to

these civic buildings. Theories of revised world system analysis and multi-level signaling are used in the next chapter situate an examination of the role played by Roman architecture, in particular bath architecture, in the incorporation of this region into the Roman Empire. These theories will aid in the understanding of the economic and political importance of western Rough Cilicia within the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW: REVISED WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY AND MULTI-LEVEL SIGNALING THEORY IN REGARDS TO MONUMENTAL BATH ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

The region of western Rough Cilicia was powerfully impacted by Rome in late Republican period. As Asia Minor was slowly incorporated into the expanding Roman Empire, the cities in this newly conquered province vied for the economic and political benefits of the *Pax Romana*. The relationship between the indigenous cultures in the east and the dominating Romans in the west was complex and both were vigorous in balancing their roles in this new political stage. Once the region was peacefully settled, important local elite lineages would have signaled their allegiance to the Empire in order to continue their control of their cities and gain power under the guidance of the new regime. In turn, Romans relied on these local elites to help enforce their new sovereignty in the region (Mitchell 1993). This history illustrates the intricacy of social interaction and sociocultural imposition in the ancient Mediterranean world.

One way to analyze the organization and operation of these ancient cities is to look at the architecture produced during this time. Similar to other Roman provinces, western Rough Cilicia was transformed by the architectural endeavors that significantly altered the landscape (Spanu 2013:99). During the Early Roman Period (66 BCE to AD 250), the cities in western Rough Cilicia saw significant population growth along with a substantial increase in the production of monumental architecture (Blanton 2000:60). This architecture required substantial financial investments and points to the significance of the development of this region for the Roman Empire itself (Spanu 2013:99). The

interaction between the core of Rome and the periphery of western Rough Cilicia can be analyzed by studying the architecture at these cities – in particular the bathing complexes. According to Yegül, “bathing helped to integrate the individual in the mainstream of national culture. Not to bathe would have been un-Roman” (1992:4). Thus, bath architecture, a truly Romanized type of monumental structure, was a crucial component to the economic and political success of all Roman cities.

Wallerstein’s world system theory has been used to study both short and long term social change based on economic and political developments. This social-political framework focuses on the relationship between the core and the periphery among various individuals, communities, organizations, and states (Hopkins 1982:12). This theory has been employed by several key archaeologists to analyze the complex social relations associated with the inclusion of the periphery into the core of Rome. The Roman Mediterranean world was widespread and encompassed numerous polities. In this study, revised world system theory will be utilized to understand the relationship of the indigenous cultures of western Rough Cilicia with the offshore power of Rome through the architecture found at Antiochia ad Cragum. Further, it will be utilized to study the inter-regional interaction between the various communities within western Rough Cilicia.

Similarly, signaling theory refers to the act of “signaling” as a form of communication among various entities. Signaling can come in the form of a behavior or can be displayed as a physical material entity (Wandsnider 2013:176). This theory has been used recently to explain human behavior patterns and the various ways we communicate (Boone 2000; Bird and Smith 2005; Maynard-Smith and Harper 2003;

Plourde and Glatz 2011; Roscoe 2009). Costly signaling refers to the act of signaling through expensive action in order to guarantee the honest quality of the signal. In regards to western Rough Cilicia, the indigenous cultures in the region were likely using this monumental and costly type of architecture to signal to Rome its allegiance. It was also possible that this architecture was used as a signal of unity with the empire to other citizens and cities in the region. This communication is seen in the many messages associated with the construction of the costly architecture that appeared in the Late Roman Period. Bath architecture, a popular Roman pastime, would have been crucial in this endeavor. Thus, multi-level signaling will be used to analyze not only the interaction of western Rough Cilicia with Rome but the interaction of the communities within the new province.

This chapter will review and integrate revised world systems theory and multi-level signaling theory. This will include a discussion of previous research conducted under this framework and the limitations of both of these theories. These models and their use in the study of architecture and Roman provincial urbanization will also be presented. While Rome would have been eager to exploit this new region for taxation purposes and other economic benefits such as the timber resources, the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia would also have been eager to collect the economic benefits provided by the inclusion into the empire such as financial support for the growing infrastructure in the region in terms of architecture, road improvements, and regional security. The popularity and appeal of baths in western Rough Cilicia will also be further elucidated to provide a context to this type of architecture in the Romanization of the

province. In particular, I will showcase the work of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) in recording the monumental and numerous bathing complexes in the region.

Revised World Systems Theory

Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1976, 1980, 1989) introduced the idea of a world system to analyze social change in the context of historical development, capitalism, and the structure of the world (Sorinel 2010:220). This theory seeks to interpret, “history, society, and economy in global perspective” (Sorinel 2010:220). World systems theory focuses on the world as a whole system with interconnected parts emphasizing the mechanisms that create the core, semiperiphery, and the periphery and the relationship between those three entities. Wallerstein argued that a new world economy began in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the western world and that the whole history of the west could be explained through the emergence of capitalism. With the failure of feudalism and the rise of Western Europe, capitalism evolved as a way for elites to exploit resources and labor from the lower levels of society (Wallerstein 1974:15). While this theory was created to analyze capitalist societies, it is possible to apply this theory to the ancient world. Wallerstein’s theory provided a “new theoretical paradigm to guide the investigations of the emergence and development of capitalism, industrialism, and national states” (Sorinel 2010:220).

Wallerstein drew his inspiration for the theory of world systems from two key influences: Karl Marx and Andre Gunder Frank. Karl Marx explained history through a series of economic steps from feudalism to capitalism (Sorinel 2010:220). Marx’s theory of internal relations viewed, “all things, structures, ideas, people, commodities, etc.” in

relation to each other for they would not exist without this network of relations (Ollman 1971:39). The idea of interdependence is a useful model when examining world systems in antiquity. Andre Gunder Frank originally proposed a system in which the core and the periphery were divided in order to analyze the economic relations between the two. His theory was to explain the nature of capitalism through the wealthy core and the impoverished periphery where the core was active in exploiting the periphery (Gunder Frank 1966:18-19). Thus, Wallerstein drew from both of these ideas to form the world system theory in 1974 that focused on the capitalist economy. In Rough Cilician society, this theory can be useful in terms of examining the economic and political factors of this periphery society in regards to their relationship with the core of Roman society.

For Wallerstein, “a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence” (1974:347). While the feudal system was tied to religion, capitalism transcends that boundary to encompass various political, cultural, and economic structures in a society. This system focuses on the various factors that revolve around resources and labor. This relationship is based on the balance between the superior and inferior entities and their fight for domination. Wallerstein further adds that, “its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage” (1974:347). The core and the periphery are inherently different on a multitude of levels including geographically and culturally (Sorinel 2010:222). The core is characterized by high-profit goods extracted from the free labor provided by the periphery (Wallerstein 1974:401). Periphery societies lack strong central governments

and are able to be manipulated and exploited by the core societies which extract wealth from the periphery (Ekholm and Friedman 1993:61). This relationship fosters the dependency of the periphery on the core (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991). The theory of world systems is useful in that it divides the world into a complex web of interconnected parts that can be analyzed through their various interactions.

While this framework recognizes that periphery states are inferior to that of the core, it must be noted that these core states owe their advantageous position to their relationship with these lesser states (Hopkins 1982:10). The successful and continued development of powerful states depends on the exploitation of peripheral regions as much as the periphery depends on the core for its own development. The core evolved from trade and coerced labor from periphery societies while the periphery benefited by the increased commercialization of the region (Alexander 2008:386-389). With the expansion of peripheries, semiperipheries arise to new social and economic positions within the political landscape. These semiperipheries are composed of elites and merchants who try to take advantage of new economic opportunities in the region (Alexander 2008:390). In turn, periphery societies can evolve into core societies while the core can devolve into the periphery. The instability of these systems leads to a cycle in which centers on rise and fall of societies in power (Ekholm and Friedman 1993:63). Cultural interaction cannot be viewed as unilinear but as a diverse, multifaceted process. As stated by Stein, “the diversity of economic, political, social, and ideological processes inside each polity is as important as external processes (such as long-distance trade or colonization) in shaping the overall organization of the network” (2002:907).

As previously stated, the usefulness of world system theory in the analysis of pre-capitalist societies has been heavily debated by scholars (Schneider 1977). Beginning in the early 1980s, archaeologists began to question its use in non-capitalist systems (Alexander 2008:384). Some archaeologists have discounted the theory for its overtly economic focus and denounce the use of this modern theory in an ancient setting (Kardulias and Hall 2008). Others such as Price note the necessity of developing a sufficient argument for the incorporation of archaeology and the economic system before applying this theory to a pre-modern society (1986). Wallerstein himself stated that precapitalist societies tended to either quickly collapse to transform into major world empires (1979:156-160). With these concerns in mind, archaeologists adapted this theory in order to fully understand ancient interregional systems.

In the 1990s, the theory of interregional interaction evolved as a new perspective for studying the social complexity of ancient systems (Algaze 1993; Hall and Chase-Dunn 1993; Kardulias 1999; Stein 2002). This theoretical framework offers insight into the interregional polities for understanding local and regional political and economic exchange. In an effort to elucidate the factors that influence the study of social change in ancient societies, archaeologists began to focus on agency and social identity (Stein 2002:905). This effort supports the notion that individuals and small groups play a large role in social change and interaction. The paradigm for interregional interaction must recognize that all participants in a system contribute to its complexity and evolution (Stein 2002:906). Instead of viewing the ancient world in terms of core and periphery systems, this model illustrates the complex nature of these interconnected communities

(Ma 2003:15). This dynamic centers upon internal as well as external processes such as local and long distant trade of goods, people, and knowledge (Stein 2002:908-909). The Roman world was composed of a series of separate but interrelated entities which were connected socially, politically, and economically. The factors underlying the nature of their interaction must be fully elucidated in order to fully examine the relationship between these various systems.

Instead of focusing on the limitations of world systems theory in the archaeological record, it is possible to develop a framework for analyzing the interaction of ancient societies through their material remains utilizing aspects of revised world systems theory along with interregional interaction theory. As outlined by Chase-Dunn and Hall, social systems can be analyzed through not only trade but warfare, political interactions, religion, and all forms of contact in a world system (1993:856). One applicable way to approach revised world system theory with the paradigm of interregional interaction in the archaeological record is to focus on agency and identity in ancient societies. For this chapter, analyses of the economic and political meanings behind the architecture implanted from Rome to western Rough Cilicia will be conducted through the lenses of this revised theory embedded with multi-level signaling theory.

Multi-Level Signaling Theory

Signaling theory is used to examine social relationships and interactions among various entities. This theory can be used to analyze communication and the social and material benefits to individuals, groups, or communities from these actions (Bird and Smith 2005:221). Simply put, a “signal” is a form of communication that is sent to an

audience or audiences (Plourde and Glatz 2011:35). This theory can be applied to a variety of contexts and aspects of social behavior past or present. Analysis of the meanings and benefits behind such communication provides a deeper meaning of human endeavors. The transfer of information from one culture to another can have political, economic, and cultural significance depending on the content of that message. Overall, this theory provides a way in which to interpret information intentionally displayed to analyze cultural ideologies in a society or state.

Simply put, signals are transferred from senders to receivers. Senders emit a signal which can come in the form of a social or material display such as a political gesture or a costly display. The message is intended for the receiver who then assesses the message and the meaning behind the signal. This type of communication can be used by the sender to accrue certain benefits from those receiving the information (Wandersnider 2013). This communication can also convey the capabilities and characteristics of the sender to the receiver. A signal can be viewed from the individual level and from the community level depending on who is sending and receiving the information. As outlined by Wandsnider, at the individual level the signal is meant to benefit that particular individual and at the community level the signal is meant to benefit the community as a collective whole (2011:2). When the message is received, it is then up to that individual or group to assess the signal and determine whether to ally or avoid the signaler.

Signaling theory was not developed by one individual but evolved out of the fields of ecology, economics, anthropology, and biology to explain human behavior and

variation (Plourde and Glatz 2011:35). It was from these various fields that cultural practices were analyzed in terms of group benefit and cooperation (Wandsnider 2013). It was first used in anthropology by Neiman to analyze Maya pyramids and stelae in the interpretation of the Maya collapse (1997). The use of this theory in anthropological applications has significantly increased as it has been found exceedingly useful in understanding discernable signals found in various societies. Recently, it has been used to analyze various issues such as the political development in the New World (Boone 2000), cultural variation in subsistence behavior (Bird and Smith 2005), social structure in the contact-era of New Guinea (Roscoe 2009), and even animal signals (Maynard-Smith and Harper 2003). Mostly notably, this theory provides a basis for exploring communication in an innovative way. According to Bird and Smith,

“Signaling theory provides a new interpretation of such symbolic performance as aesthetic elaboration, initiation rites, ethnic boundaries, ceremonial feasting, wealth circulation, monumental architecture, and costly provisioning of collective goods” [2005:222]

Overall, signaling theory offers archaeologists a new framework to understand and interpret social complexity and the material record.

In the last decade, signaling theory has also diverged into another distinct theory with one focus. Costly signaling focuses solely on human behavior and communication in terms of expensive material culture. The materialistic social cues projected out into society can be used to understand a variety of factors behind those actions. This theoretical framework is distinct in that it focuses on the elaborate signals associated with

extravagant or revered materials or objects. Thus, the material display of wealth (wearing extravagant clothing, constructing a monument, or funding a public event) can be seen as advertising admirable qualities of an individual or a group (such as being charitable, talented, honorable, intelligent, logical, etc.) (Wandsnider 2013). According to Bird and Smith this type of costly signaling involves, “the communication of attributes that are relatively difficult or expensive to perceive directly and that vary in quality, intensity, or degree between signalers (either groups or individuals)” (2005:224). The cost of these signals is great in that the sender must spend a significant amount of resources in this effect to project this communication to the receiver (Wandsnider 2013). Thus, this action situates, “individuals as strategic decision-makers,” in the effort to accrue benefits from such costly, and sometimes seemingly wasteful, endeavors (Bird and Smith 2005:221).

As mentioned previously, signals can be sent by individuals or groups. At the individual level, signals are emitted to convey a message about the individual. In most cases, this communication is to advertise the abilities and qualities of that particular individual to either an outside group or to individuals within the community (Wandsnider 2011). The advertisement of such qualities may be necessary if they are difficult to perceive. On the other hand, a group can also send out signals, which are emitted to convey a message about the group as a collective whole. At this level, a signal is sent out as a collective message with the contribution of multiple individuals. Simply put, this is a collective action and represents the solidarity of a community. This action requires the unity of various individuals in a community, which also emits an image of power out to

the receiver (Roscoe 2009:98). In the case of Late Hellenistic Greek cities and later Greco-Roman cities, individuals were constantly competing for prestige and power.

The noteworthy aspect of this type of communication is that they are displayed by senders who can afford, both socially and financially, to send these costly signals. Only prestigious individuals or groups are able to emit such costly and difficult endeavors in the hopes of benefiting from this communication. In this regard,

“signaling theory provides a way to articulate idealist notions of the intangible social benefits that might be gained through symbolic representations of self with more materialist notions of individuals as self-interest by socially embedded decision makers” [Bird and Smith 2005:222].

The cost of this communication is supposed to reflect the honesty and validity of the message to the audience (Plourde and Glatz 2011:35). This is one way for the sender to emit to the receiver that the signal is accurate and honest. In a way these extravagant signals can be viewed as a handicap to the sender due to the excessive, and at times wasteful, use of resources necessary for such costly signaling. However, these signals are always tied to a particular agenda for the social benefit of the sender. It is through these endeavors that the signaler hopes to accrue a social, political, or economic gain.

As outlined by Bird and Smith, there are multiple factors associated with signaling theory that need to be understood before applying this theoretical framework to an individual or society (2005:224). These criteria are supplemented by evolutionary ecological theory and focus on four main conditions. The first condition centers upon the fact that various members of a group have different attributes that may only be

distinguished in a signal. These attributes may only be reliably projected in the form of a signal. Second, 'honest' signaling, or the act of projecting accurate information is beneficial not only to the receiver of this information but also to the sender. It is necessary that the sender to be honest in their signals and for the receiver to accurately interpret those signals. Third, it is accepted that the sender and the receiver would have conflicting interests in various situations. In some cases, it would be beneficial for the sender to be somewhat deceitful at the expense of the receiver. Finally, the cost and subsequent benefit of signaling depends upon the quality of the signal itself. While the cost may be great, the benefit may be greater if the sender is successful in the endeavor. It is when all of these conditions are met that costly signaling can be a useful theoretical framework.

In regards to monumental architecture, multi-level signaling theory can be useful when analyzing the role of this type of architecture in urban development. The construction of public architecture requires contributions from individual benefaction and city (and maybe state) revenues (Wandsnider 2011). Architecture, especially monumental architecture, could be used to signal the power and wealth of an individual and group as it would have required a significant amount of money and labor to construct. While this architecture can be costly, the rewards have the potential to withstand time as they can be in use for a long time and seen by multitudes of people. For a new community, this can create and strengthen group identity against other groups (Abrams 1989). Constructing this type of monumental and costly architecture sends a clear message that the community is capable of uniting as a collective whole to enhance their cityscape. Thus,

this multilevel theory can be useful when analyzing the architecture in the new province of Rough Cilicia.

For the purposes of this research, multi-level signaling will be utilized along with revised world system theory in an effort to understand the development of western Rough Cilicia and the role of the Romanized architecture in these cities. Signaling theory at the local and regional scales, integrated with a modified world systems thinking at the super regional scale, frames this thesis research.

Expectations of Signaling Theory in Bath Architecture

Before utilizing multi-level signaling theory in regards to bath architecture, it is necessary to ensure the expectations of this theory are met for this particular test case. As outlined by Bird and Smith and discussed above, there are four main factors associated with signaling theory as it applies to a social situation (2005:224). The signal must: 1) convey attributes about the senders that would otherwise be difficult to perceive, 2) provide a benefit for the receivers who receives this information, 3) benefit the sender at the expense of the receiver based on their varying interests, and 4) be of high quality. If these four expectations can be met in the application of multi-level signaling theory to monumental bath architecture, then it would prove this theory a worthwhile framework in this research. Overall, these variables must be met for signaling theory to be proven as a useful tool in which to study architecture and state formation. Each of these four conditions will be expanded upon below before applying this theory to the study of the city of Antiochia ad Cragum as a sender to various agents of Rome, local city dwellers, and highland Isaurians as potential receivers.

Underlying Attributes

The first condition when accessing the reliability of signaling theory in a social application centers upon the attributes of the individuals involved in the situation.

Individuals or groups would seek to showcase these underlying attributes by the act of signaling to the potential receivers. For this theory to be applied successful to the study of bath architecture during the Roman Imperial Period, there must be underlying attributes of the Rough Cilician city that would be difficult to be perceived by the Roman Empire. Possible characteristics signaled could include pro-social orientation shown in the ability of the city to mount a sign of their collective efforts. These attributes could perhaps only be observed by the receivers of this information through the information signaled in this process.

Signaling Benefits

The second criterion involves the potential gain of information from signaling. This action presents the receiver with information that benefits the receiver in how they interact with the sender in the future (Bird and Smith 2005:224). Further, this signaling benefits the sender in turn by increasing their position in their relationship with the receiver. The relationship of the Roman Empire with the cities of western Rough Cilicia was a complex with both sides vying for political and economic benefits from their relationship with one another. Thus, I must show that both sides benefited from actions involving honest signaling.

Conflicting Interests

The third condition outlined by Bird and Smith focuses on the conflicting interests of the two groups. Their conflicting interest must be great in that the successful deceit of the receiver would benefit the sender in taking such a risky action (Bird and Smith 2005:224). The sender would be motivated by the potential gain of the deceitful action in order to complete the signal. Further, this signal would benefit the sender at the expense of the receiver (Bird and Smith 2005:224). In order to apply this theory to the case of Antiochia ad Cragum, I need to demonstrate that the cost of deceit was likely quite high for the city.

Honest Signaling and Quality of Signaling

Finally, the last attribute stipulated by Bird and Smith involves the cost of the signal and the potential benefit of the transfer of this information from the sender to the receiver. The signal must be of high quality in order to insure its accuracy. The acceptance of the transfer of information is directly dependent upon the honesty of the signal. While this action can be seen as wasteful, the high cost ensures the reception of the message. Thus, the signal is costly to the sender in hopes of yielding the intended results of such signaling. If these four criteria are met, this study may validate this theory in examining bath architecture and socio-cultural state formation.

Appeal of Bath Complexes to Rough Cilicia Inhabitants

Before presenting the data on the two bathing complexes at Antiochia ad Cragum, I will first review information on the occurrence of baths in western Rough Cilicia. The

Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) was a multidisciplinary study led by Nicholas Rauh that identified more than 50 Roman Period sites and extensively documented a total of 14 sites from 1996 to 2004 (Figure 4.1; Rauh and Slane 2000:319; Rauh et al. 2009:254).

This architectural survey examined the region of western Rough Cilicia roughly 60 kilometers along the coast and 10 kilometers inland, which stretched from the ancient site of Iotape to Charadros (Townsend and Hoff 2009:2). Out of the 14 recorded cities, seven sites were classified as primary sites based on their known historical significance amount of architecture including temples, bouleuteria, agoras, and baths (Hoff 2013:144). “These include Iotape, Selinus, Cestrus, Lamus, Nephelis, Asar Tepe/Juliosebaste, and Antiochia ad Cragum” (Hoff 2013:144). Each of these cities was under Roman authority, at least to an extent, during the Imperial Period from the 1st century to the 4th century AD. The primary city status of these sites would have indicated their autonomy and power in the region (Wandsnider 2013:177). Public architecture was an indicator of status, and Roman architecture would have been a clear representation of civilization (Lomas 1997:23). In these urban cities, bath architecture was the most common type of architecture found, and several of these cities had two or more bath complexes (Table 4.1). Even a secondary site, the veteran community of Juliosebaste, was outfitted with at least one bath for its inhabitants. The number and size of these Roman baths located in the remote region of western Rough Cilicia points to the importance of this monumental architectural type in this province.

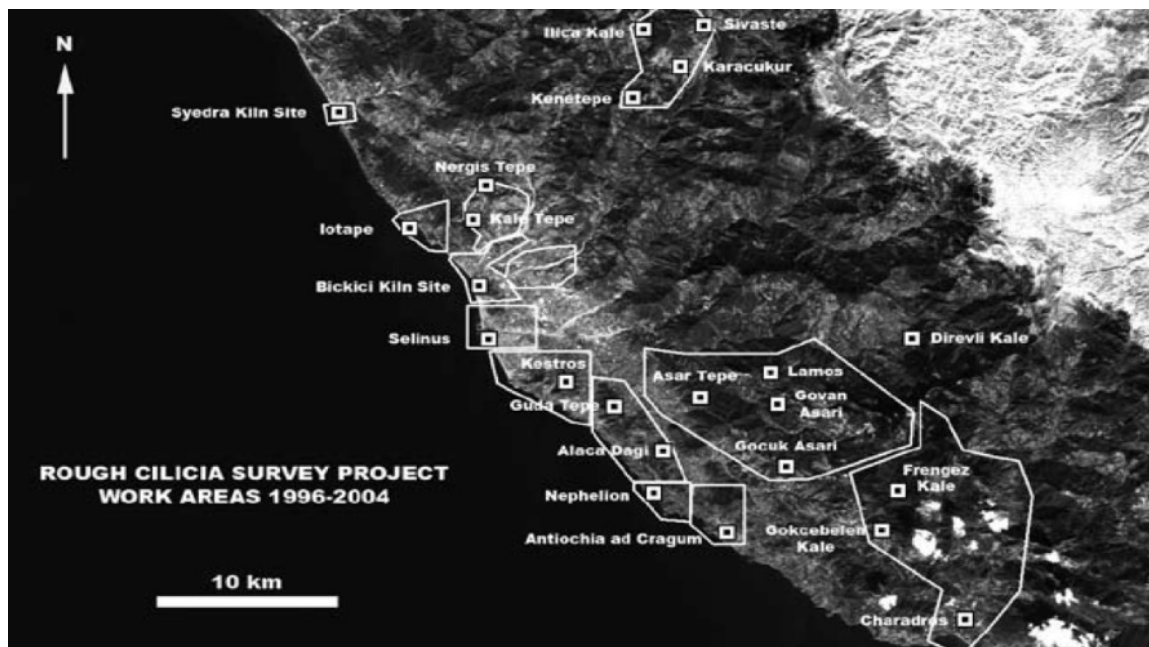


Figure 4.1. Satellite map of the work areas for the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (Rauh et al. 2009:256).

As suggested by Hoff, the inhabitants of western Rough Cilician cities would have been active in choosing the type of architecture constructed in their region (personal communication 2014). Bath architecture was obviously preferred as it is the most common in each of the cities and at times the most ornate type of architecture. To add to this idea is the fact that there are no theaters or stadia found in this region (Townsend and Hoff 2009:16). Theaters and theatrical productions were a popular pastime for Romans and were found throughout the Roman Empire. However, no theaters are recorded in western Rough Cilicia nor are there space found for this architecture (Hoff 2013:145). Interestingly, the landscape of this region would have been ideal for the building of theaters. Architects of theaters took advantage of the landscape by building theaters into hillsides, and the territory encompassing western Rough Cilicia is notoriously

mountainous. However, none have been found. It has been postulated that theatrical productions could have taken place in spaces such as bouleuteria but there is no historical evidence noting that theaters existed in the region. The lack of theaters, commonly associated more with the masses, may symbolize the elite power in western Rough Cilicia and their influence in choosing architecture which fit with their tastes (Townsend and Hoff 2009:16).

In comparison to the lack of certain architectural types, it is unknown why baths and the rituals of bathing were such a popular phenomenon in western Rough Cilicia. Regardless, evidence points to the fact that the inhabitants of these newly Romanized cities were active in choosing architecture that, “appealed to their cultural tastes and sensibilities” (Hoff 2013:145). The appeal of baths and social bathing would have benefited the community and encouraged social interaction among its inhabitants (Duncan-Jones 1990:159). As noted by Zuiderhoek, these complexes became, “focal points of civic life and citizen interaction in the public sphere, combining leisure, sport, religion (most bath-gymnasium complexes included a sanctuary for the imperial cult), education and sociability, all in one building” (2009:83). So while this type of architecture was expensive, it was also a necessary civic institution in Roman life.

Sites	Status	Size in hectares	Temple	Bouleuterion	Agora	Bath
Antiochia ad Cragum	Primary	24.0	X		X	X (3)
Asar Tepe	Primary	3.7	?	X		X (2)
Göçük Asarı	Secondary	2.7				X (1)
Iotape	Primary	17.9	X	?		X (2)
Kestros	Primary	2.9	X	?	X	X (2)
Lamos	Primary	37.4	X		X	X (2)
Nepheleis	Primary	1.8	X	X	?	?
Selinus	Primary	41.4	X	X	X	X (2)

Table 4.1. Primary and Secondary Sites in Rough Cilicia (after Rauh et al 2009:288).

Summary

The research reviewed in this chapter endeavored to present the impact of the inclusion of the region of western Rough Cilicia into the Roman Empire through the integration of the theories of revised world system and multi-level signaling. The theoretical framework of these two theories was elucidated to present a holistic approach to the evolution of these thought-processes and their implications in this research. Revised world system theory can be useful in the study of both short and long term change in the development of the new province. Thus, multi-level signaling theory can serve as a mechanism to study the communication among the two entities. This chapter outlined those two theories as well as the expectations for multi-level signaling in this thesis. Bath architecture, a popular institution in western Rough Cilicia, was presented through the data collected by the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP). This multidisciplinary study recorded the vast number of baths in the region and showcased the wide appeal of this architecture to the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia. These theories will further the study of the role of baths in the economic and political development of this region within the Roman Empire. The next chapter will present the data collected on the bath architecture found at Antiochia ad Cragum during the 2012 and 2013 field seasons.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANTIOCHIA AD CRAGUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECT AND BATH DATA

Introduction

The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP), led by Michael Hoff, Professor of Art History at the University of Nebraska – Lincoln and working in concert with Project Co-Directors Nicholas Rauh and Birol Can, has been underway since 2005. With the contribution and collaboration of architects, geographers, conservators, and archaeologists, this project has helped to further our knowledge of ancient western Rough Cilicia. This project seeks to understand western Rough Cilicia in antiquity focusing on the establishment and development of the site of Antiochia ad Cragum during the Imperial Roman Period. Bath architecture was a major architectural type found in these cities. As bathing complexes are the most abundant and diverse types of architecture in this region, I found it beneficial to analyze the role of the baths in these new Greco-Roman societies focusing on the bathing complexes at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum as a case study for this research. This chapter consists of a description of the physical layout of the site along with the fieldwork that was conducted during the 2012 and 2013 field seasons. A description of the methods used to record the two bathing complexes will be detailed along with the presentation of the bath data.

Physical Layout of the Site

Antiochia ad Cragum (Antioch on the Cliffs) was one of the largest Roman communities in western Rough Cilicia occupying an area of 240,000 square meters (Figure 5.1). The city was established by Antiochus IV of Commagene (AD 38 to 72) during the reign of the Roman Emperor Gaius (Hoff et al. 2006:100). The site is next to

the modern day village Güney Köy and is roughly 13 kilometers south of the town of Gazipaşa. In ancient times, it was also known as Antiochetta and Antiochia Parva (Little Antiochia) to distinguish it from other cities also named Antiochia. The name Antiochia ad Cragum is Latin for Antiochia ad Kragos which refers to the city's location on what was known as Kragos Mountain in antiquity (Rauh et al. 2000:167). The site itself sits on top of high cliffs approximately 300 meters above sea level and is strategically placed between the slopes of the Taurus Mountains and overlooking the Mediterranean Sea.

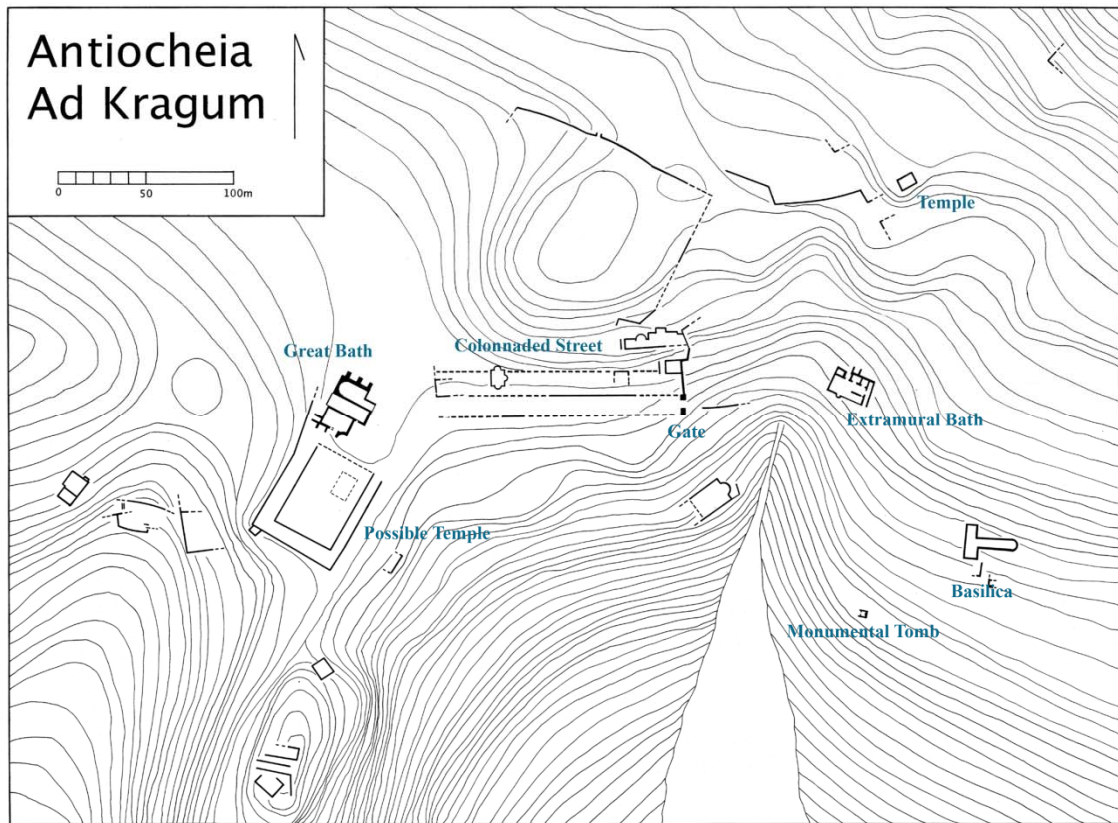


Figure 5.1. Site Map of Antiochia ad Cragum.

The site includes a monumental gateway, a colonnaded street and agora, three bathing complexes, two churches, numerous temple tombs, a domestic quarter, a temple,

and a basilica (Rauh et al. 2013:64). Along the western slope of the ancient city was a 250,000 meter squared pristine harbor rightly called the “pirates’ cove” as it was one of the centers for Cilician pirates in antiquity. The site occupies a hilly area with steep slopes and minimal alluvial soil (Blanton 2000:52). During the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project (RCASP), a survey of Antiochia ad Cragum in 1997 found that the site was mainly inhabited from the Late Roman into the Byzantine Period (Rauh et al. 2000:167). This survey was also able to determine that the inhabitants of the city were active in shaping the landscape of the city by creating terraced platforms, which the architecture was constructed upon (Rauh et al. 2013:64).

In antiquity, the site would have been entered from the east gate, a massive structure which stands 250 meters tall and was constructed of quarry stone of micaceous slate mixed with limestone and smashed tiles (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:18). The vaulted roof is not preserved but the two columns remain and provide a picture of how monumental this structure would have been in antiquity (Figure 5.2). Before entering the main gate into the city, visitors would have passed by the extramural bath that is located east of the site (Figure 5.3). This is one out of the three baths that would have been enjoyed by the Antiochia ad Cragum population. A valley with several natural springs separates the bath and the gate. Continuing west is a long colonnaded street roughly 150 meters east-west and 15 meters north-south (Blanton 2000:53). This street would have been lined with multi-storied shops built into the terrace with a clearly defined staircase to the upper shops (Figure 5.4 and 5.5). The granite shafts that decorated the colonnaded street were exotic imports from the Troad and Mysia (Spanu 2013:101).



Figure 5.2. Monumental gateway.



Figure 5.3. Extramural bath.



Figure 5.4. Colonnaded Street.



Figure 5.5. Staircase to second story.



Figure 5.6. Corinthian temple.



Figure 5.7. Pediment of the temple.

Further east of the site is the great bath and potential second temple at the site. The great bath was over 18 meters high and was partially destroyed during a series of earthquakes in antiquity. It is situated on a flat hilltop that would have been visible from the sea as well as from the city center. South of these structures are a number of temple tombs that sit on a high ridge overlooking the sea (Blanton 2000:53). To the north is the domestic settlement as indicated by the large amounts of surface pottery which date to the Early Roman to Byzantine Periods. Constructed on one of the highest points at the site at the northeastern end of the city is a Corinthian temple, which was possibly dedicated to an Antonine or Severan emperor (Figure 5.6; Hoff et al. 2006:104). Placing the temple at the most principle part of the city followed the tradition in Roman city planning (Anderson 1978:171). This prostyle temple is oriented north-south and was decorated by a striking pediment which depicts two winged Nikai surrounded by an oak wreath portrait of an emperor (Figure 5.7; Hoff et al. 2006:103-104). Down slope to the south of the site are the remains of the third bath, additional temple tombs, and the harbor (Figure 5.8). To the southeast are two churches and a basilica, which point to the early conversion of the populations of Rough Cilicia to Christianity (Figure 5.9). The region of Cilicia was the birthplace of Paul the Apostle, and it is known from historical sources that Antiochia ad Cragum was listed as sees of bishops in the *notitia episcopatum* (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:viii).



Figure 5.8. Monumental tomb.



Figure 5.9. Remains of a church.

This site contained a total of three baths in order to meet the demands of the population, estimated to have been roughly 8,000 inhabitants in antiquity (Hoff personal communication 2014). In a study conducted by Blanton, Antiochia ad Cragum's highest population was roughly 9,030 and would have peaked in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (2000:77). The Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project (RCASP) surveyed the area between eastern Pamphylia and western Rough Cilicia and recorded an immense amount of Roman architecture (Rauh et al. 2009:255-261). The number of baths at Antiochia ad Cragum, as well as the number of baths at other western Rough Cilician cities, points to the popularity of this type of architecture in the region.

Fieldwork at Antiochia ad Cragum

The fieldwork at Antiochia ad Cragum was conducted during the summers of 2012 and 2013 during the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project Field School (ACARP). This field school is led by faculty from the University of Nebraska, Atatürk University based in Erzurum, Turkey, and Clark University based in Worcester, Massachusetts. Each year the field school instructs roughly 35 students in archaeological methods including excavation, mapping, surveying, artifact analysis, and site

conservation. During the summer of 2012, students participated in the excavation of the Corinthian temple, the colonnaded street, and the great bath. Under the guidance of Dr. Hoff and with the assistance of one graduate student, I conducted a preliminary survey of the extramural bath. During the summer of 2013, the focus of the field school shifted to the great bath and an adjacent building that might be a second temple. A preliminary survey of the great bath was conducted, and I also assisted the Turkish team and surveyor in mapping the building. The fieldwork for both summers provides insight into the construction and design of the two bath complexes.

Fieldwork Goals:

1. Preliminary study of the extramural bath.
2. Clear the problematic brush in the survey area of the great bath.
3. Excavation of the great bath and mosaic.
4. Mapping of the great bath and mosaic.

Survey of the Extramural Bath and Initial Excavation of the Great Bath, 2012

The 2012 field season was conducted from July 15th to August 14th. During this fieldwork, I conducted a preliminary examination of the extramural bath, which had never been fully researched or excavated before. First Dr. Hoff and I surveyed the bath to determine the architectural styles present in the building. This work included walking in and around the building while recording the features of the bath. The various features in the rooms were observed in order to determine the use and function of each room. It was during this documentation that we were able to elucidate the various functions of each of the rooms in the bath and denote the overall layout of the bath. Next, a record was kept of

the material types used in each of the rooms such as limestone, brick, marble, and micaceous slate. A record of the use of various architecture styles including vaults, apses, arches, and niches was also noted. Finally, other attributes such as the adornments and the alignment of the building were recorded.

With the assistance of a graduate student, I mapped the extramural bath. This work began by measuring the dimensions of all of the rooms. A tape measure was placed at the exterior corners of the walls to measure the size of the rooms. These data were then used to determine the overall size of the bath. An analysis of the location of the bath within the urban center and its relationship with other monumental architecture will be taken into consideration in the interpretation. Thus, this work cumulated with an overall understanding of the construction materials and adornments present in the bath along with the overall size of the complex.

Excavation also began at the great bath during this field season. In 2001, the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) noticed tesserae from a floor mosaic, which had been plowed up by a local farmer. The team notified the Antalya Archaeological Museum, which sent out archaeologists two years later to uncover more of the mosaic. In 2012, the museum approved the project to start to clear the mosaic, located in the forecourt of the great bath. Thus, an archaeological investigation was started at this bath, which revealed 1,500 square meters of the mosaic. Excavation began at the exterior of the palaestra and moved inward to reveal the wall foundations surrounding the complex. The units were excavated in arbitrary levels down to the wall remains and the mosaic. The mosaic, which was uncovered in a piecemeal fashion, was then carefully cleaned with water and soft

brushes. To preserve the mosaic for future research, it was set in a special mortar and covered with sand and blankets. At the end of the field season it was postulated that only 40 percent had been uncovered so far. It was during this excavation that a section of a shallow, long pool was also uncovered in the middle of the forecourt of the bath complex.

Architecture Survey and Excavation of the Great Bath, 2013

The 2013 field season was conducted from July 16th to August 15th. During the 2013 fieldwork season, I conducted a preliminary examination of the great bath and the excavation continued on the palaestrae area. The area around the bath was heavily overgrown with weeds and brush, and the first two weeks were spent clearing it out with machetes. As with the extramural bath, Dr. Hoff and I walked in and around the great bath noting the various architectural features of this monumental building such as the vaults, apses, arches, and niches. I recorded the types of the materials utilized in the construction of the bath along with the bath layout. From this initial survey, we were able to determine the sizes of each of the rooms and postulate the functions of each of the rooms. Finally, other attributes such as the adornments, inscriptions, and mosaic were recorded. Along with the Turkish surveyor team, the great bath was also mapped. These sketches were then rendered in AutoCad to produce a preliminary map of the great bath.

The excavation of the mosaic continued on from last year which uncovered the west half of the mosaic. When the mosaic was fully uncovered, it was mapped and photographed. It was during the 2013 season that the shallow, oval pool was fully excavated to reveal the extent of the pool. As with the east half of the mosaic, at the end

of the excavation it was repaired with mortar and covered with sand and blankets for conservation for future research.

This investigation of the great bath also resulted in the excavation and collection of hundreds of Imperial Roman artifacts. This artifact assemblage included pottery, coinage, roof tiles, bronze jewelry, and a life-sized Aphrodite head sculpture that was primary uncovered during the excavation of the shallow pool and the clearing of the mosaic floor. The artifacts were mapped, photographed, and collected for further analysis.

The Great Bath Data

Great Bath Plan

The great bath dates to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD and is approximately 360 square meters. The large bathing complex is categorized as the, “bath with a central rectangular gallery” or “hall type” plan as it has a long central gallery or plaza with unsymmetrically placed rooms (Figure 5.10; Yegül 2010:178). The bathing rooms are organized in two main rows which are connected to the ambulatory, the hallway on the east side of the bath. While approximately half of the building is in a dilapidated state, it is possible to preliminarily examine the function of each of the rooms (Figure 5.11). The layout of the complex is functional and mirrors the organization of the baths found in Eastern Pamphylia and Rough Cilicia (Garis 2001:47). This bath plan is unique and is also seen at the nearby sites of Anemurium (Bath 1) and Syedra (Bath 1) (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:27).

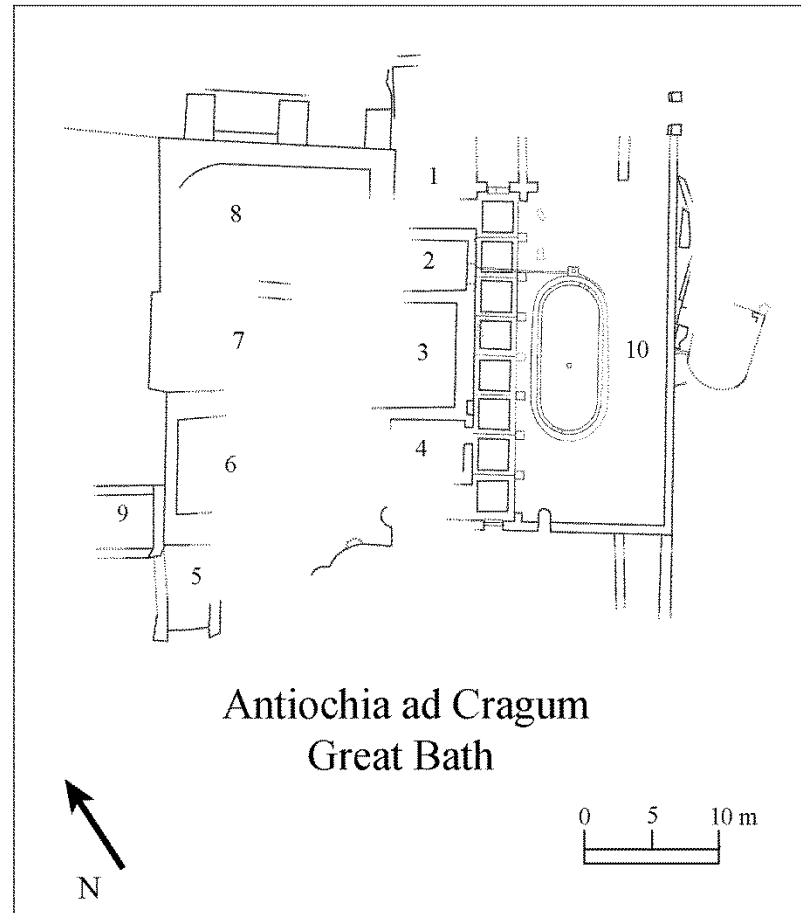


Figure 5.10. Plan of the Great Bath.

There is at least one entrance on the eastern side of the bath that leads into the apodyterium, the dressing room (Figure 5.12). This narrow and long room, designated as room one, was barrel vaulted and led into room two, which was also barrel vaulted and connected with each of the rooms in the large bath. This room had a rectangular arched niche in the wall between two rooms (rooms seven and eight) to the west (Figure 5.13). To the southwest of this room was room three, another barrel vaulted room, which also had a rectangular arched niche in the wall between two rooms (rooms six and seven) to the north. Room five on the second room of baths had a doorway connecting it with room four. Room five also had a corridor connecting it to room four to the east of it. Baths six,

seven, and eight consist of a row of baths, which were connected to one another by the main room, room two, and arched doorways. These rooms were symmetrically arranged and likely consisted of the main baths in the building. Room six was square and was rather small in comparison with the others. Bath seven was one of the most elaborate of the rooms with a large window on the northwest wall with three niches below it, one curved niche in the center surrounded by two rectangular niches. There were also two curved niches on the other two sides of the walls in this room. To the northeast of this bath and next to the entrance was room eight. This bath had one arched window on the northwest wall, which was slightly higher than the one found in bath seven. Bath nine was one of the smallest rooms in the bath and located on the northwest side of the bathing complex.

To the east is the large plaza area, designated as room ten, with the mosaic floor and shallow frigidarium. This area of the bath was roofed and enclosed on three sides to form an open-air courtyard. The shallow 8 meter long, oval pool had two stairways leading into the pool, and there was also built in benches along the sides of the pool (Figure 5.14). This marble lined frigidarium would have been uncovered and exposed to the sun. The plaza and frigidarium were connected to the rest of the bath by two entrances on either side of the room. Running north to south, there was a drain to carry the waste water out of the bath and into the valley (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:72). This layout allowed direct access to all of the other rooms in the bath and it also allowed bathers to easily move from one room to the next. This bath plan was versatile as bathers were able to decide which rooms to visit and the order of them (Yegül 1992:301).



Figure 5.11. Overview of the great bath. Figure 5.12. Great bath facing northeast.



Figure 5.13. Interior of bath facing east. Figure 5.14. Shallow pool in the plaza.

Construction Materials

The invention of concrete revolutionized the ways in which Roman architects could construct buildings (Ward-Perkins 1981). However, the region of Rough Cilicia lacked the volcanic sands necessary to make concrete, and traditional materials were utilized instead. Thus, the great bath was constructed with the use of local resources similar to other baths in western Rough Cilicia. Local stone, micaceous slate, brick, and limestone were used to construct the various sizes of each room (Figure 5.15). The substructure was constructed of quarry stone. Brick was the most effective building material that was somewhat comparable to concrete and was used to construct the high

vaults in the bath. Bath seven was unique in that its vault was constructed out of limestone. These materials would have been faced with flat stones and covered with smooth plaster, which contained brick dust. Brick dust was composed of crushed up brick and used as an aggregate for ancient mortar (Acun and Ersen 2005:295). There is also evidence of fresco remains near the apse of the building (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:27). Marble panels, likely long removed by later city inhabitants, were used to decorate the bath, which points to the expensive nature of this bath. Compared with nearby buildings, the quarry stone work was neatly constructed and dressed (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.15. Construction material

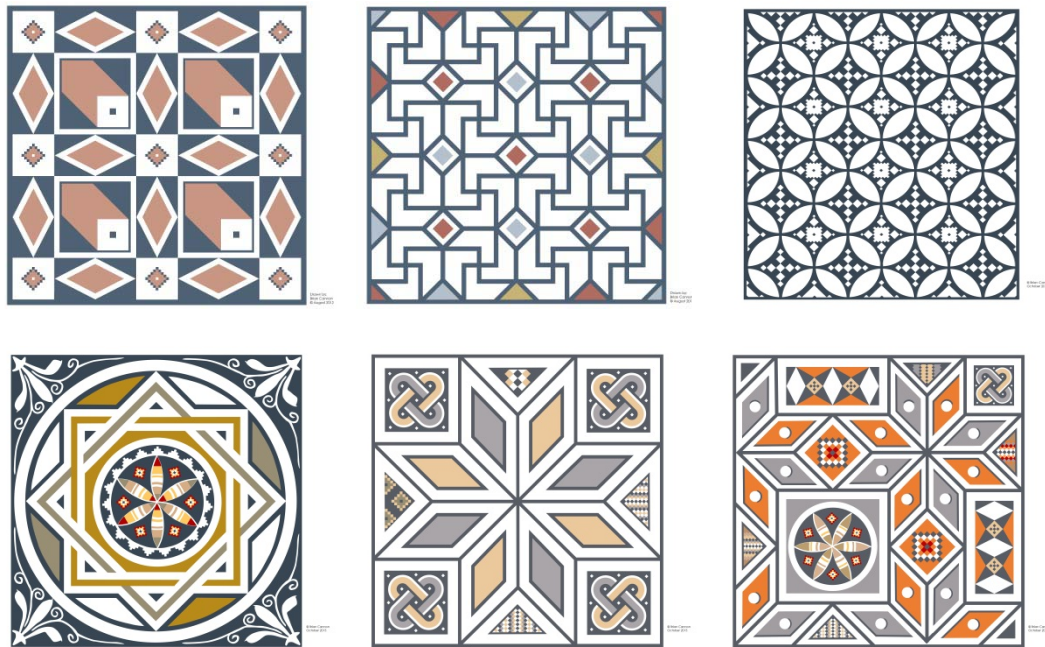


Figure 5.16. Close up of the quarry stone.

Mosaics

The 1,500 square meter marble mosaic decorated the floor of the plaza and surrounds the shallow pool in the great bath complex. As of the 2013 excavation, the rectangular mosaic consists of 12 large panels that each have their own distinct design motifs (Figure 5.17a-f). Each of the panels were placed directly next to each other and are

roughly square. The polychrome mosaic was made of tesserae from local limestone and marble. The geometric designs and associated materials at the bath date the mosaic to the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD. Excavation of this mosaic floor found that it continues from the palaestra into the great bath. This find suggests that the geometric mosaic may decorate the interior floor of the bathing complex as well. This was an unprecedented find as it is the largest intact mosaic found in southern Turkey.



Figures 4.17. Mosaic panels: (a) number two, square and diamond; (b) number 6, square and line; (c) number 10, star (d) number 12, eight pointed star with multi-color rosette; (e) number 14, eight pointed star with twisted-ribbon rosettes; (f) number 15, variation of star motif. Images courtesy of Brian Cannon.

This polychrome mosaic predominately consisted of white, red, blue, olive-green, and yellow colors. The geometric motifs use various sizes of diamonds, circles, squares, triangles, and lines (Figures 5.17a-b). Figure 4.17c is composed of blue-on-white interlaced circles with the white tesserae serving as the background for the blue tesserae.

The one of the most common motif found on the mosaic panels is the star design.

Variations of an eight pointed star are found on several of the panels. Mosaic number 12 is one of the more elaborate panels found at the bath (Figure 5.17d). The design centers upon an eight pointed star composed of two squares. In the center of the star is a multi-color rosette surrounded by the outline of a white circle. Surrounding the entire panel are four flower designs. Mosaic number 14 also depicts a large eight pointed star surrounded by four square designs filled with twisted-ribbon rosettes (Figure 5.17e). The twisted-ribbon rosettes are also known as the Solomon's knot motif and are commonly used in this mosaic. Variations of the rosette motif are also used in a number of the panels and are depicted in various sizes (Figure 5.17f).

Inscription

There was one dedicatory inscription on the great bath that was recorded and translated during the 2013 field season. The dedication was on a statue base that likely decorated a niche on the east wall of the bath. The inscription was written on one block, which is now broken down the middle so that the remaining lines are on two blocks and one fragmented piece in between the two blocks (Figure 5.18). The first line or lines of the inscription have been destroyed except for some letters on the right end of the inscription. Unfortunately, there is not enough left of the first few lines of inscription for it to be translatable. The first block, the left side of the inscription, is 495 millimeters in length and 180 millimeters in width with a depth of 550 millimeters. The inscription itself is 430 millimeters in length. The second block, the right side of the inscription, is 355 millimeters in length and 170 millimeters in width with a depth of 530 millimeters. The

inscription itself is 340 millimeters in length. The fragment piece has a length of 100 millimeters and a width of 60 millimeters.

Block 1	Fragment	Block 2
BIOCKAICOYPBI.O.I.	...	ABTOYCOYPBIOC
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙΤΟΝΑΚΚΛ	[Ε]Π.Ι	ΟΝΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

Translation:

... βιος καὶ σουρβιοὶ ... αβτου σουρβιος

ἀδελφοὶ τὸν Ἀσκ[λε]πιὸν τῇ πατρίδι

... and the brothers, the sons of Sourbios ... Sourbios [set up] Asklepios to the fatherland.

While this inscription is only a fragment of the original dedication, some insight can be gained from the translation of the last two lines of the text. The top line has several letters missing but appears to be part of several names associated with the ethnicity of the people mentioned in the text. The καὶ indicates the beginning of a name sequence associated with σουρβιος. Σουρβιοι is in the plural masculine nominative form which indicates that it is a name. However, the name Σουρβιοι is not found in any form in the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names and therefore cannot be considered a Greek name (Jennifer Irving, personal communication 2014). It is also not a known Latin name which suggests that the dedicators are non-Greek and non-Roman. The name Σουρβιοι is most likely Luwian and points to wealthy, indigenous benefactors for the construction of the bath complex.

The second line of the inscription τὸν Ἀσκ[λε]πίον can be determined due to the accusative endings. On the small middle fragment of the block reveals the letters of Lambda and Epsilon for this translation (Jennifer Irving, personal communication 2014). This text makes clear reference to Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine, healing and cleanliness. Asclepius is often associated with bathing rituals and commonly mentioned in dedicatory inscriptions on bathing complexes (Bassett 1996:501). The last part of the inscription clearly reads τῇ πατρίδι, which is in the dative singular form. This is translated as “to the fatherland.”



Figure 5.18. Great bath inscription.



Figure 5.19. Aphrodite sculpture.

Sculpture

During the 2013 season excavation of the shallow pool at the great bath, a life-size marble head of the goddess Aphrodite was uncovered (Figure 5.19). While her face was chipped and scarred from time and wear, the sculpture was clearly identified as Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty. The body of the goddess sculpture (along with other marble sculptures and panels) was likely burned by later inhabitants at Antiochia ad Cragum in a lime kiln in order to create mortar. As previously mentioned, the region of

western Rough Cilicia was converted to Christianity in the late 4th century and the inhabitants were eager to destroy any remnants of the pagan past. As Aphrodite was a Greek deity, the sculpture was an easy target for the early Christian zealots. While the body of the sculpture was missing, the find was incredible and validated that sculptures would have decorated the multiple niches in the great bath.

The Extramural Bath Data

Extramural Bath Plan

While the extramural bath has not been excavated, preliminary research suggests that it was constructed in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. This bath complex is described as having the “row arrangement” plan as its main rooms are arranged in a row (Figure 5.20). The bathing rooms are organizing in one main row, which is connected to the one long room, perhaps serving as a palaestra or courtyard. As is typical of bath architecture in Asia Minor, this complex was mainly composed of rectangular and square rooms. This symmetrical layout is well-organized and would have made it easily accessible, allowing bathers to easily move from room to room. This plan was also the most basic and economical in terms of bath layouts (Garis 2000:14). As such, this was the most commonly used plan in Rough Cilicia and nearby regions (Garis 2000:18). For example, this bath plan is also seen at the nearby sites of Iotape (Bath 2) and Selinus (Baths 1 and 2) (Garis 2000:66-67). While this bath is only partially preserved, it is possible to preliminarily examine the bath layout and the functions of each of the rooms.



Figure 5.20. Extramural bath from northeast. Figure 5.21. Interior of tepidarium.

The extramural bath is named so due to its position directly outside of the city gateway. Its location right along the road leading into the city suggests that any visitors would have passed directly by it. The building is small and measured approximately 33.65 meters by 22 meters. All of the rooms ran north-south and were barrel vaulted. There is at least one entrance on the west side of the bath that leads into room one, which is likely the apodyterium, the dressing room. Room one along with the other three parallel rooms were connected to one another through a small corridor and the palaestra or courtyard. Directly next to the apodyterium to the west was room two. This room was domed and was likely the frigidarium of the bath. Following the natural circulation of baths, room three was the warm bath room, the tepidarium (Figure 5.21). This room consisted of one niche on either side of the walls with three niches on the back wall. On the other side of the bath was room four, the caldarium. It was a square room with three niches on the back wall and two on either sides of the west and east walls. While traces of the hypocaust system have yet to be uncovered, this room was likely the caldarium due to

its position in the bath. At the opposite end of the bath was room five. The wall of this room was built into the terrace. While its function is questionable, room five may have served as the *praefernium*. These long parallel rooms allowed the bather to move through each room and exit through the *apodyterium*. The *palaestra* mirrors these rooms on the south side of the building. This bath was small and simple but had all of the necessary baths to function as a bathing complex.

While this building's purpose as a bath has been disputed, there are several indicators that secure its function as a bathing complex. This building is situated on a high terrace next to an aqueduct and natural spring, which would have been necessary to supply sufficient water for a bath. There are also several drainage canals for the removal of the waste water that would have been carried into the valley. Like a large majority of Roman baths, this one faces south in order to take advantage of the sun in heating the bath (Ring 1996:99). This use of radiant heating allowed for the open rooms in addition to the heat provided by the hypocaust system. Further, the size and placement of the rooms indicate their use as bathing rooms. This bath contains numerous small rooms of various sizes that are connected to each other through a small corridor. Roman baths are known to have incorporated rooms of various sizes to serve as the different baths. It also incorporates all of the typical architectural features of a bath including brick vaulting, apses, and niches. Overall, while the building and its hypocaust system have yet to be excavated, it can most certainly be identified as a bathing complex.



Figure 5.22. Local construction materials. Figure 5.23. Niche next to entryway.

Construction Materials

Similar to the large bath, the extramural bath was also constructed with the use of local resources similar to the large bathing complex. Local stone, micaceous slate, brick, and limestone were used to construct the various sizes of each room (Figure 5.22). Mortar served as the facing on the walls. Compared to the large bath, this building lacks the use of fine materials such as frescos, marble, and brick dust. The stone work on this building was also not as neatly constructed as the great bath. However, excavation may reveal the exotic materials that were used in the construction of the great bath.

Adornments

There are no known inscriptions or adornments at the extramural bath. The only decorative feature of the bath was a large niche next to the entrance to the bath (Figure 5.23). This niche measured 45.21 millimeters height and 19.56 millimeters width. Due to its size and position next to the entryway, it likely held a dedicatory statue and

inscription. Further research and excavation at the extramural bath may reveal these unknown features.

Summary

This chapter outlined the 2012 and 2013 fieldwork at the great and extramural baths at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum. The fieldwork methods included surveying and mapping of both of the baths and the excavation of the great bath to provide a preliminary study of the two bathing complexes that had only been minimally researched before this endeavor. This work produced a dataset for the interpretation of these two monumental structures within the greater context of the cultural history of the western Rough Cilician region. These data will be presented and analyzed in the next chapter to examine the role of this architecture in the relationship between the core of Rome and periphery of southwestern Asia Minor.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: ANTIOCHIA AD CRAGUM AS A CASE STUDY FOR BATH ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN ROUGH CILICIA

Introduction

The overall objective of this chapter is to examine this monumental architectural type and its role in the formation of Roman provinces under a theoretical framework. An analysis of the various entities within the baths will first be interpreted, which include the construction materials, adornments, mosaic, and inscription. These data will then be examined under the theoretical framework of both revised world system and multi-level signaling to better understand the Greco-Roman cities in western Rough Cilicia. Whereas Rome would have been eager to exploit this new region for taxation purposes and other economic benefits such as the timber resources and agricultural goods, the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia would also have been eager to collect the economic benefits provided by the new states such as financial support for the growing infrastructure in the region in terms of architecture, road improvements, and regional security. This chapter will also examine the assumption that bath architecture was used in western Rough Cilicia cities to signal to the state of Roman its new allegiance. This research centers upon the two main bathing complexes at Antiochia ad Cragum as a case study for this analysis.

Bath Architecture Analysis

As outlined in chapter five, the two baths studied were remarkably different in terms of construction, size, and overall grandeur. The great bath was richly decorated with marble, mosaics, and sculptures. It was also a monumental building that once stood

at over 18 meters high. In comparison, the extramural bath was significantly smaller with no known use of costly materials marble, mosaic, or sculptures. However, the extramural bath has never been excavated or fully researched before and these expensive construction materials may just be undiscovered as of present. With this in mind, it is possible to examine both baths in the context of their design as a costly and specialized type of Roman architecture. Each of the attributes of the baths presents data about not only the provinces within the Roman Empire but of the western Rough Cilician society.

Great Bath Data Analysis

The great bath at Antiochia ad Cragum was truly monumental and grand. Located at the end of the colonnaded street, it would have been viewed by everyone who visited the city as well as from quite a distance. This was one of the largest buildings at the site and points to the importance of this architecture in the city. As it was monumental and grand, its facilities were likely used by the elites and citizens of the city. As there were two other smaller baths in the city, one could postulate that this particularly grand bath was used by the higher tier of society who would have been also expected to contribute to the construction and continued maintenance of this costly structure.

The layout of the great bath is known as the, “bath with a central rectangular gallery” or “hall type” plan as it has a long central space with unsymmetrically placed rooms. This plan is quite unique in comparison to other baths found throughout the Roman Empire. However, it is a layout that is quite common within the province of western Rough Cilicia. Similar plans are found at the nearby sites of Anemurium and

Syedra, which could suggest several things (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:27). The use of this particular layout in the region could suggest that the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia were active in modifying this Roman architecture to their preferences. Elites likely would have been in charge of deciding the type of architecture to fill the landscape with. Bath architecture was a highly popular phenomenon in the region and its organization could have been determined by the citizens. As suggested by Yegül, these baths also served several functions due to their open and large plans. They likely provided the space for social community gatherings and meeting places (Yegül 2010:178). On the other end of the spectrum, this plan may have been replicated in the region by architects who would have repeated this organization in each of the baths that they constructed. In most cases, architects had an influence on the construction and appearance of these baths (Boersma 1999:192). Either theory is plausible because we have no clear evidence of why this was a popular layout for baths in western Rough Cilicia. Overall, these regional characteristics point to the popularity of these public baths, which were considered to be necessary for everyday use.

The construction materials used for the great bath were local and traditional resources used in the construction of most of the architecture found at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum. The use of local stone, micaceous slate, brick and limestone were to be expected for this large bath. It was common practice throughout the Roman Empire to use easily obtainable and local materials to reduce the cost of construction (Boersma 1999:192; Ward-Perkins 1981:273). However, the construction was meticulous and well-made by skilled architects. As noted previously, the bath was constructed with more care

than other nearby buildings. Further, there is evidence that marble panels once decorated the bath, which points to the high cost of its construction. The use of marble would have only been used in the most luxurious building which, “stood as proof of the munificence of wealthy local *euergetes* as well as of the more or less direct interest of the emperor in a city’s affairs” (Spanu 2013:102). Frescos were also recorded by an early investigation of the bath although they no longer remain (Rosenbaum et al. 1967:27). The use of imported material would have been costly in terms of not only the quality of the material but the transportation of it out to the city. While the bath was primarily constructed out of local resources, it would have also been finely decorated with exotic materials such as marble and frescos to display the wealth of the city of Antiochia ad Cragum.

Finely decorated with geometric mosaic panels, the palaestra of the bath served as a place for the bathers to socialize and exercise. While work at the mosaic is preliminary, it is possible to attempt to interpret the nature of this polychrome mosaic and its designs. In antiquity, mosaic workshops made tesserae and hired contract craftsmen to work at sites to produce mosaics. The use of the same motifs and variations of the motifs can be found throughout the Roman Empire and throughout the time span of the empire (Campbell 1979:288). Contract craftsmen would use guidebooks with illustrations of various motifs to reflect on when recreating mosaic patterns. Many of the geometric motif patterns, such as the checkerboard and interlaced circle, became popular throughout the Roman Empire in the 2nd century AD which helps to date the construction of the great bath (Packard 1980:340). The similar variations of the designs found at the great bath at Antiochia ad Cragum are also found in other cities in western Rough Cilicia. This is

evidence for the likelihood that there was a local mosaic workshop supplying the mosaic materials and qualified craftsmen for producing these ornate mosaics. The mosaicist was likely non-local who would have studied the most current Italian trends to produce this work. The production of this large, intricate mosaic also points to an overall economic rise for the city itself as well as the elite class who would have contributed to its construction.

The inscription found at the great bath was a monumental find as it provides insight into the construction of the bath. The dedicatory inscription was on a statue base that likely decorated a niche near the entrance to the bath. While fragmentary, two lines of the inscription were translatable and read, "... and the brothers, the sons of Sourbios ...Sourbios [set up] Asklepios to the fatherland." As Sourbios was a non-Greek and non-Latin name, it is most likely Luwian. While Greek and Latin functioned as a *lingua franca* in this provincial city, the native Luwian would have been the dominant language in the region (Elton 1996:27). In fact, epigraphical evidence from sites in western Rough Cilicia shows that Luwian names predominated over Greek and Latin names, which demonstrate the prevalence of the strong indigenous culture in this region (Rauh et al 2009:297). This dedicatory inscription points to wealthy, native benefactors for the construction of this monumental bathing complex. While it is difficult to estimate the cost of the construction of the great bath, it would have been a massive undertaking that only the most elite lineages could afford to bear. The inscription would have been seen by everyone who visited the bath and would have served as a reminder of the generosity of the benefactors.

Finally, the sculpture of Aphrodite signals the great cost of the bath and its fine decoration. The decoration of the mythological figure in the bath would be for the delight of the visitors as well as remind them of the patrons who contributed to the construction of the complex (Bassett 1996:502). This statue would have symbolized the wealth and power of the city of Antiochia ad Cragum for its ability to afford such a monumental display. While the sea-born goddess is often associated with love, cleanliness, and bathing, she also manifests other Greek ideals (Bassett 1996:501; Marcovich 1996:55). Aphrodite is commonly associated with politics as a patron of harmony, and there are numerous examples of Greek politicians and magistrates offering dedications for the goddess (Sokolowski 1964:1). In particular,

“The goddess was given epithets which reveal the reason of the dedications: she is called *Epistasie*, a protectress of the officials called *epistatai*; *Timouchos*, warden of the body of *timouchoi*; *Synarchis*, patroness of the team named *synarchia*; *Nauarchis*, guardian of the naval commanders, the *nauarchoi*; *Nomophylakis*, protectress of the body of *nomophylakes*” [Sokolowski 1964:4].

The goddesses’ association with those in power is unsurprising as Aphrodite is often portrayed in arms and as the wife of the Greek god of war Ares (Marcovich 1996:48). Aphrodite could have played a similar role in the Greco-Roman cities in Asia Minor. In this regard, the goddess could have been important for the integration of imperial power along with the local elites at Antiochia ad Cragum (Edwards 1994:711). Further, the numerous niches in the great bath would have displayed statues of other mythical figures as well as portraits. Throughout the Roman world, portraits of the imperial family,

politicians, and local benefactors served to decorate bathing institutions as a form of homage to elite power (Bassett 1996:504). Similar statues and portraits would have decorated the great and extramural baths at Antiochia ad Cragum.

Extramural Bath Data Analysis

The extramural bath is located just outside of the city gate to the east. The location of the bath has multiple implications in the overall layout of the city. While the bath is technically not included within the city, it is located only a few hundred meters from the city gate and therefore would have been viewed by anyone visiting the city of Antiochia ad Cragum. Before entering the city, the extramural bath would have been one of the first buildings that visitors saw. While it is a modest and simple bath in comparison with the great bath, it would have signaled to visitors that the city had the resources to build and maintain multiple bathing complexes. Its position and modest appearance also points to who would have used the bath. While at this time it is unknown who would have bathed here, this bath could have been used by either visitors to the city or perhaps non-citizens who lived outside of the city. In comparison to the great bath that would have likely been used by the elites and citizens of Antiochia ad Cragum, this extramural bath may have been reserved for the lower end of society.

The bath plan is categorized as the “row arrangement” plan as the bathing rooms are situated in a simple row. This layout was common in western Rough Cilicia and nearby regions perhaps owing to its functionality. This bath arrangement allowed for the bathers to easily move from one room to the end and chose their bathing order. Beyond

the flexible movement from room to room, this layout was basic and could have been easily constructed by architects in comparison with more complex baths. As such, the construction of this bath would have been less costly than other bath architectural types. However, in terms of the construction, upkeep, and maintenance, this would have still be a costly building for the city of Antiochia ad Cragum and its elite benefactors.

The extramural bath was composed of local materials such as local stone, brick, micaceous slate, and limestone. These resources would have been readily available for the architects to use in the construction of this bath and the most economical in terms of transportation. While the great bath utilized these materials as well, it also incorporated more costly and exotic resources such as marble and frescoes, which appear to be missing from this extramural bath. This small bath was not as neatly constructed in comparison with the great bath. The use of local limestone limited the type of carved decoration found on the great bath due to its poor workability (Spanu 2013:103). Currently, there are no known adornments or inscriptions associated with this bath. However, there is a large niche next to the entryway that likely held a dedicatory statue and inscription. This suggests that an elite individual may have sponsored funds for the construction of this bath and received a dedicatory inscription for his benefaction.

Testing the Expectations of Signaling Theory in the Study of Baths

Having described the two bathing complexes at Antiochia ad Cragum, I now turn to an examination of these pieces of architecture as potential signals constructed by the city institutions as a means to, in effect, communicate to agents of Rome, the province of

Rough Cilicia, and to its citizens and nearby non-citizens. As discussed in chapter four of this thesis, Bird and Smith outlined four main factors that must be met when applying the theory of signaling to human interactions. For this theory to be applied in the study of bath architecture in the formation of the Roman province of Rough Cilicia, these conditions must be analyzed under the implications of the relationship between the core and the periphery.

Underlying Attributes of Antiochia ad Cragum Society

The elite inhabitants of Antiochia ad Cragum likely contributed to the construction of bath complexes in order to signal several attributes of their society to the various agents of Rome. These traits were likely unobserved by Rome and therefore had to be signaled to be perceived by them. It is likely that the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia wanted to signal their collective power to that of the core. The construction of a bathing complex was a timely undertaking that would have required the cooperation of the city council along with the provincial governor. These baths showcased the abilities of the inhabitants to work as a collective whole to produce and support this type of Roman architecture. Constructing monumental bathing complexes would have been a collective effort impossible for an individual to realize on their own, yet would benefit the group as a whole (Roscoe 2009:70). The ability of wealthy elites to donate large sums of money for the construction of public architecture for the benefit of the city is suggested by the dedicatory inscription found at the great bath.

With the numerous outbreaks of rebellion by the tribal Isaurians in the Taurus Mountains, it would have been crucial for the inhabitants of the coastal cities of western Rough Cilicia to present a united and peaceful front to the Roman Empire. The security of the periphery was a constant concern for the core, as the instability of the provinces directly impacted the stability of the empire (Woolf 1990:48). The ability to produce such architecture would have signaled several attributes of Rough Cilician society to the agents of the Roman Empire. Bath architecture, a necessary component to any Roman city, would have signaled their successful status to the Roman Empire as well as to the indigenous groups that rejected Roman rule. The ability to mount this significant collective action would be emitted as a signal of strength and the community solidarity, which would have likely been overshadowed by the rebellions. Thus, these underlying characteristics of the city of Antiochia ad Cragum would have to be emitted through signaling to be perceived by the rest of the empire. Bath architecture in this case seems to be a classical case for signaling theory because of its longstanding endurance and its high visibility on the landscape (Trigger 1990:127).

Signaling Benefits for the Roman Empire

The second expectation in the study of utilizing bath architecture as a signal is that the signaling provides benefits for both parties involved in the interaction. The signalers, that of Antiochia ad Cragum society, would have to benefit from emitting the signal, while the receivers, that of the Roman Empire, would have to benefit from receiving the information projected in the signal. First and foremost, the Roman Empire, composed of the senate, governors, and citizens as well as the provinces would benefit

from the communication provided by the construction of bathing complexes. Baths, a highly regarded Roman institution, would be used to showcase the pacification and acceptance of Roman authority. The adoption of this architecture would not only show their willingness into Roman society, but the grandeur of these baths would show their costly investment in this civic institution. The Roman Empire, constantly quelling rebellions in their numerous, far-flung provinces, would welcome the seemingly subjugation of the inhabitants of Antiochia ad Cragum.

Bath architecture would also benefit the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia in a number of ways. While signaling their allegiance to Roman through the costly production of this architecture, the inhabitants of these cities would hope to benefit from this interaction by increasing their position with that of Rome. The province, tied to the Roman Empire politically and economically, would use this architecture to attract trade and settlement to the region. Visitors provided a significant source of local revenue to these communities (Mitchell 1993:206). Having the amenities of a typical Roman city would show their inclusion within the empire and would likely attract populations into a city over one that lacked such public buildings. Further, the provincial governors often supplied funds for building projects in the province they were connected to which would have lessened the burden on the city councils (DeLaine 1999:70-73). As noted previously, cities often competed with one another for prestige and with imperial approval came new honorific titles for the favored cities (Mitchell 1993:206).

Finally, the inhabitants would simply benefit from this public architecture. Baths were a popular pastime for Romans and Rough Cilicians and bathing rituals provided,

“physical, social, and mental pleasures” (Yegül 2010:10). Bathing complexes served as a meeting place that encouraged sociability and interaction (Fagan 1999:4). While bathing was a basic necessity in terms of health, it was also an enjoyable everyday luxury (Yegül 1992:30-31). Baths were a necessary institution for any Roman community in the vast empire. Overall, both the signaler and the receiver would benefit from this communication.

Conflicting Interests of the Province and the Empire

The conflicting interest between the Roman Empire and its provincial cities in western Rough Cilicia is clear and evident. The Roman Empire depended upon its distant provinces for the trade of material goods. The importance of the movement of exotic goods into Rome is evident from the extensive trade routes in the region. Further, the empire required money from the provinces in the form of taxation. The Roman practice of taxing the provinces was one of many tools in order to successfully dominate its vast territories. The tributary system was enacted as soon as a province was included into the empire, and the poor inhabitants of these cities were often taxed the most (Garnsey and Saller 1987:9). It was in the best interest of the empire to control the region of western Rough Cilicia through taxation at the expense of its newly conquered inhabitants.

On the other end of the spectrum, the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia were active in seeking benefits from their new Roman rulers. The local elites in the region were most likely to benefit from their relationship with the Roman Empire. It was a common practice for the Roman Empire to seek the loyalty of their far-flung provinces

by developing relationships with the elites of society (Woolf 1990:46). The association of the local aristocracy with the power of Rome strengthened both in economic and political terms (Rose 1997:117). These relationships would benefit both as it would secure the region for the empire, while promoting and increasing the wealth of the elites. As noted by Woolf,

“...the extension of the empire itself was in effect the extension of a system of power in which poleis and their ruling classes were allocated an important place... Roman rule also generated a new degree of hierarchy in the system, partly by overtly ‘ranking’ urban settlements and distributing governmental functions among them...” [1997:13].

Thus, it is the elites who would have the most to gain from deceitful signaling to the empire. Despite the rebellions and power struggles, it would have been in the best interest of the elites to project the image of a peaceful province to the empire and provincial governors. Constructing public architecture such as baths would emit a signal that the cities were prosperous and peaceful, which may have been less than honest at times. According to Ando, “residents demonstrated their faith in the system when they played by its rules and especially when they attempted to exploit them” (2000:374). Baths would have been a value type of architecture in order to promote their elite inclusion in the empire (Townsend and Hoff 2009:16). Overall, the Roman Empire and the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia had significant conflicting interests and were eager to exploit each other in hopes of benefiting from such actions.

Honest Signaling from Antiochia ad Cragum Inhabitants

The signaling of the acceptance of Roman rule can be seen in the costly display of the construction of Roman baths in the region. Bath architecture, an expensive and timely endeavor, would signal that the inhabitants of the province, including those of Antiochia ad Cragum, were accepting of Roman cultural practices and sensibilities. Construction costs were high in antiquity and would not have been a small matter for the community. It has been estimated that a medium size temple in North Africa during the 2nd century AD would have cost roughly 60,000 to 70,000 sesterces (Duncan-Jones 1990:177) or, “the equivalent of the annual subsistence for some 500 people” (Wandsnider 2013:177; Zuiderhoek 2009:25). The cost of a medium size temple would have been more or less similar to the cost of a bathing complex. While this was an overtly large and lavish bath, it shows just how costly bath architecture could be.

Overall, the initial construction and the subsequent upkeep would have been costly in antiquity. Bathing complexes were commissioned and operated by the empire and by the local, wealthy citizens for the benefit of the city. A common practice throughout the Roman Empire was the combination of patronage from the empire and from wealthy citizens in maintaining these costly complexes. Prominent citizens were counted on to contribute to these public institutions, and in return, received inscriptions and statues recording their generous donations (Fagan 2002:174). This benefaction was a form of patriotism for citizens who wished to display their loyalty for their city (Mitchell 1993:207). There were also other means in which to raise money as bathing complexes were required to pay a tax to the empire. This included a small entrance fee and money

from the selling of oils, perfumes, and towels. Services provided by masseuses and personal trainers also generated revenues. The upkeep of the baths was of great importance for the health and entertainment of the Romans. These responsibilities belonged to an administrator called a *balneator*. The main duties included cleaning the rooms and heating the baths. The pipes and water reservoirs also needed to be routinely inspected. A *balneator* would have had a staff to assist in the maintaining of the baths (Yegül 1992:46-47). Bathing complexes were a crucial institution in antiquity that required constant care for the welfare of the citizens. Finally, in fulfilling the four conditions set out by Bird and Smith in the use of multi-level signaling, it is now possible to examine the bathing complexes in Antiochia ad Cragum under this theoretical framework.

An Analysis of Bathing Complexes in Western Rough Cilicia

The frameworks of modified world systems theory and multi-level signaling theory can help organize the analysis of the relationship between the core of Rome and the periphery of western Rough Cilicia. The elements of these two theories will be applied to the study of the two bathing complexes at Antiochia ad Cragum as an example of the operation of the state. This type of monumental architecture can also be used to analyze the relationships between the citizens of western Rough Cilicia with local citizens and non-citizens and those in the semi-periphery such as nearby governors and other *poleis*. These signals point to the relationship of the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia with that of Rome as well as the relationship of the communities within the new province with one another. While these signals can be employed by individuals and

groups as a whole, this analysis will center upon the cities of western Rough Cilicia, and in particular that of Antiochia ad Cragum, as group entities using public architecture as a costly tool for their agendas.

Western Rough Cilicia and the Roman Empire

On the large scale, monumental public architecture would have been used by the city as a whole to communicate its allegiance to that of the Roman Empire. This message would be intended for the Roman emperor, the senate, provincial governors, and Roman citizens and non-citizens. This message would be sent to each of these entities within the Roman Empire with various objectives in mind. The acceptance of this Romanized type of architecture would first and foremost send the message that the citizens of western Rough Cilicia were accepting of Roman rule in the region. The adoption of Roman institutions and customs would be a clear signal of their willing acceptance of the new government.

The Roman emperor would need to be recognized as the most powerful agent in the empire. Building this costly type of architecture would signal to the emperor the cities' acknowledgment of his rule. The province benefited from this relationship as the emperor had the power to control the revenue and offer tax exemptions to these communities (Mitchell 1987:364). The senate would also be important in this regard as they passed or rejected laws that could significantly impact the province as whole. Further, senators often owned land in distant provinces and were known to have contributed to them through public benefaction (Morely 1997:49). Provincial governors were the next entity that had the power to influence the economics and politics in the

regions they controlled. These governors were perhaps most important as they had the power to sway politics in the region and had the duty to report back to the empire. Among the various responsibilities of these governors, their main duties were to supervise their province and maintain judicial order (Marshall 1966:231). The nucleated settlements in western Rough Cilicia also relied on their governors to maintain peace and protect the province from the bandits in the highlands (Shelton 1988:271).

Roman citizens and non-citizens were also a factor in the overall communication between the west and the east for recruitment purposes (Pomeroy 1997:108). For the province of western Rough Cilicia, it was important that Roman citizens knew of the peaceful nature and prosperity in this region in order to entice trade and the movement of people to these distant provinces. According to Shelton, Roman expansion allowed, “a greater freedom of travel and communication from one part of the Empire to any other part, and thus increased security, trade, and prosperity” (1988:288). The primary status of a city would have also added to the attraction of the city to entice settlement in the region as this superior title brought economic and political advantages for the community (Marshall 1966:238). Overall, in regards to the various entities and agents within the Roman Empire, it was necessary that the message of approval and acceptance was heard from the cities within western Rough Cilicia in order to benefit from the *Pax Romana*.

Western Rough Cilicia and Local Provinces

At a more local level, this type of monumental architecture would have been used as a tool to communicate with nearby provinces and cities. Throughout the ancient world, elites would seek alliances with one another while simultaneously competing for power.

Architecture was an easy tool in these actions as grandiose agoras, gymnasiums, bath complexes, and other public buildings formed the landscape of these cities. With the benefaction of wealthy citizens, cities were able to compete with each other for prestige. As stated by Dio Chrysostom, “one could hold one’s head up higher visiting another city if one’s native city were known for its fine public buildings; it was painful to blush for ramshackle shops and dilapidated bathhouses when the governor came to towns” (*Orations* 40.9). Baths in particular symbolized imperial status, and “membership in the broader Roman community” (MacDonald 1986:219). Thus, it would have been important to build and improve the cityscape in order to project a powerful message to nearby cities.

Further, the construction of public buildings displays the effectiveness of the city’s operations. Building monumental architecture would require numerous discussions among the council, assembly, and important resident individuals (Wandsnider 2011:23). Building these monumental public structures was also a highly technical process, which required hiring specialized architects and engineers. These workmen would be well informed of the proper building procedures necessary when constructing the technical hypocaust system and bathing rooms in addition to managing the flow of water in and out of the building. This would signal to nearby provinces and *poleis* that the city was capable of acting as a successful collective unit. As noted by Ando, “Romans characterized membership in their community through participation in political and religious rituals,” and the construction of civic architecture, such as bathing complexes, would have required political organization within the community (2000:339).

Monumental architecture would be an effective tool to advertise the wealth and unity of the community to outside groups.

Western Rough Cilicia and Citizens and Non-Citizens

In addition to the Roman Empire and nearby provinces, public architecture would have also been used by the local elites to emit a message of unification to the citizens of western Rough Cilician cities and resident non-citizens. The inhabitants of the city, both citizens and non-citizens, in particular would be influenced by this type of architecture and the messages emitted from its construction. Baths would have been elaborately decorated with marbles and mosaics to remind the bathers of the power and prestige of the empire (Yegül 1992). Beginning in the late 1st century AD and lasting for over 200 years, the Roman colonies were safe from Isaurian raids; however, in the mid- to late-4th century AD, Isaurians renewed their attacks on the nucleated settlements along the coast (Lenski 1999:423, 430). With the constant threat of rebellion in the interior of the province, this public architecture attempted to emit the message of a strong, unified Roman province to the region. The acceptance of Roman expansion and rule, symbolized by its architecture, would demonstrate that they shared, “a vision of humanity that bound residents of the empire together in opposition to those outside” (Ando 2000:337-338).

Further, it would have reminded the bathers of the power of the local elites and their relationship with Roman leaders. The elites had political power in these provincial cities that was supported and strengthened by their relationship with Rome. In the act of gaining the loyalty of new regions, local elites were enlisted to maintain control. Roman rule was maintained, “more by the support of Romanized elites than by a substantial

military or governmental establishment, especially in the early empire” (Garnsey and Saller 1987:20-40). The Roman Empire strengthened the hierarchical order in these societies by rewarding the loyalty of the aristocrats with wealth (Rose 1997:109). In this effort, it would have been important for the elite class to show gratitude and loyalty to the empire, which was symbolized through costly endeavors. As bath architecture would have been built by and tailored for the top tier of society, it would likely symbolize the power of the elite class within the new province and their allegiance with the Roman Empire. Bath architecture would have been financially supported by the aristocrats as it would serve as a forum for showcasing their generosity and high social status (Fagan 1999:222). The practice of benefaction shaped and supported elite behavior in the Greco-Roman world (Mitchell 1987:334). Thus, this grand architecture openly adopted from the Romans would likely be associated with elite activities (Waelkens 2002:66).

Summary

The bath architecture in this research serves as a case study for the interpretation of sociality formation in the province of western Rough Cilicia during the Roman Imperial Period. The data provides evidence for the mechanisms involved in the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire and its subsequent development as a province. Antiochia ad Cragum gives evidence for the importance of the cities in the province in the context of the Roman Empire due to its extensive and costly urbanization. While it is hard to estimate the exact cost of the baths at this site, the expense would have been monumental for a Roman city. The expansion and development of western Rough Cilician cities such as Antiochia ad Cragum signal a number of messages. The investment

of the region by the empire supports the notion that the security of the new province was necessary for Roman expansion east. Baths were a highly popular type of architecture and would have been crucial for the settlement of the region and in particular for Romans who would expect this luxury. As noted by Stambaugh baths became,

“a way of life for the Romans. It was the setting in which they washed themselves, took their exercise, spent their leisure time, were exposed to art and cultural programs, made business and political contacts, and conducted their social activities” [1988:201].

Further, the contribution by local elites to this foreign building type would emit their acceptance of Roman rule along with their cultural practices. Overall, costly baths provide the proper context in which to examine the complex nature of Romanization in western Rough Cilicia.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The region of western Rough Cilicia underwent a dramatic change in the Roman Imperial Period when it was incorporated into the most powerful empire in antiquity. The objective of this thesis was to explore the complex nature of the formation of this remote region into a province in the Roman Empire by investigating the archaeological remains of the monumental bath architecture found in this region. In particular, this work centered upon the baths found at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum as a case study for this research. These data, along with historical and anthropological frameworks, were interpreted to add to our knowledge of the socio-political nature of the ancient Mediterranean world.

Bath archaeology is an important component in the study of Roman sites and in the interpretation of the expansion of Roman influence in the ancient world. To Romans, baths were considered to be a basic necessity in any city as, “an institution rooted in the rhythm and structure of their day, ensconced in the very concept of time” (Yegül 2010:5). As bathing was an important element of a Roman’s day, it is no surprise that baths were among the most abundant and diverse types of architecture found throughout their vast empire. Overall, bath archaeology is a significant element in understanding cultural interaction and urban life in the study of Roman sites.

As such, bath architecture, a significant cultural phenomenon, was studied as a mechanism of this incorporation of western Rough Cilicia into the Roman Empire. As a part of the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP) during the summers of 2012 and 2013, two baths were studied to analyze the role of bathing

complexes in this new Greco-Roman society. The great bath and the extramural bath were documented and mapped to serve as the basis for this research. These data were interpreted along with historical and theoretical frameworks to provide an analysis of this ancient history. From this research at Antiochia ad Cragum, I was able to come to several conclusions. Bath architecture would have been a necessary component in the incorporation of western Rough Cilicia into the Roman Empire. The large number of baths in this remote region points not only to its popularity as a public institution but to the inhabitants' willingness to accept Roman cultural practices. The production of this costly architecture signals a number of messages throughout the ancient world.

First and foremost, the adoption of Romanized architecture symbolized the acceptance of Roman rule in the region. This message would have been intended for the Roman Emperor, senate, and the provincial governors as an act of pacification. This message was emitted through the construction and subsequent upkeep of these public buildings in an effort to gain a number of benefits from the new relationship between the local inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia with that of the Roman Empire. The pacification of the region, which had underwent a number of rebellions by indigenous mountain tribes, would signal the subjugation of these peoples and the acceptance of their organization into a Roman province. This would have been a necessary action to gain funding for the urbanization of the region in terms of the building and maintenance of roads and public institutions. This action would have also been undertaken in an effort to lower the harsh and crippling taxes imposed on the province. Thus, in order to garner

money from the empire this new periphery province would have had to successfully prove their devotion to the core state.

The construction of this architecture would also signal to local *polies* and provincial governors the success of these cities. The ability to organize as a collective whole was required to construct such monumental architecture and would send the message that these cities were capable of handling such an undertaking. In antiquity, it was common for cities to compete with each other for power and prestige which was often emitted through their grand cityscape. The monumental baths in the region of western Rough Cilicia projected the success of these cities in improving their landscape. As noted by MacDonald, “baths early on became badges of imperial status, of membership in the broader Roman community...” (1986:219). This architecture would have also been used to attract settlement into the region as foreign populations would likely settle where they had access to familiar public institutions.

Finally, this architecture would have signalized the acceptance of Roman rule and cultural practices to nearby citizens and non-citizens. This was likely intended for the hostile tribes in the Taurus Mountains, which had staged a number of rebellions during the Roman Imperial Period. During the early years of Roman expansion into western Rough Cilicia, the indigenous tribes were slow to accept Roman imposition and were intent on preserving their independence and native practices. As argued by Houwink ten Cate, these xenophobic populations may have never been fully pacified by the Romans (1961:1). The inhabitants of the cities of Rough Cilicia, such as Antiochia ad Cragum, emitted their support of their incorporation into the empire by constructing and

maintaining Romanized architecture. Bath architecture, a costly undertaking, would have sent a powerful message of the allegiance of the indigenous elites with that of Rome.

Limitations and Future Research

Research of the baths at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum sought to reveal the importance of this type of architecture in Roman expansion in the ancient Mediterranean. While this work was preliminary, additional research may be necessary to further enhance our understanding of the complex social systems in Roman Rough Cilicia. The research at the two baths could be expanded upon in a number of ways as this study was limited due to time restraints and unforeseen logistical issues. The large number of artifacts proved impossible to fully document and analyze under my timeframe. Under Turkey's Antiquities Law, all artifacts are required to stay in the country, which limited the time to fully analyze the artifacts. A more detailed sketch of both the great and extramural baths would be beneficial along with the artifacts that resulted from the excavation of the great bath. Further excavation of the great bath and an excavation of the extramural bath will likely produce valuable information in the study of Roman occupation at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum. In addition to these limitations, further examination of historical documents that reference the province of western Rough Cilicia along with the city of Antiochia ad Cragum would also provide a more in-depth understanding of the complex history of this region.

Future research will need to further elucidate the costs and benefits of signaling theory in order to fully study monumental architecture through this framework. Each of

the four factors required by Bird and Smith would need to be expanded upon to meet the basic requirements of costly signaling theory (2005:244). A holistic study of baths in other western Rough Cilician cities may support their costliness and would showcase the monumentality of this architecture. This additional data would likely add to our knowledge of bath archaeology as well as its success as a costly signal. Testing the usefulness of this framework in the study of monumental architecture may provide support for future research into the benefits of this theoretical application on archaeological materials. A more comprehensive study of other architectural types could also be addressed under the assumptions of multi-level signaling theory.

Regardless of the limitations of this research, the use of multi-level signaling in this study suggests that this model is effective in examining architecture as a costly endeavor. Analysis of bath architecture at Antiochia ad Cragum points to its significant role in the newly incorporated cities of western Rough Cilicia and was a costly signal of its importance in this new position as a Roman province. However, the data collected from the baths needs to be studied more in-depth to provide a more comprehensive study of bath architecture as an expensive endeavor. Further research needs to be conducted to enhance the support for bath architecture as a costly signal and how it is reflected in the measure of the success of western Rough Cilician cities.

Significance and Conclusion

The research presented in this thesis demonstrates the significant impact on the cityscape of western Rough Cilician cities as a direct result of Roman expansion and

urbanization. The two baths at Antiochia ad Cragum present a case study for the importance of this type of architecture in the operation of the state. The data analyzed under the anthropological theories of revised world system and multi-level signal help to elucidate the complex nature of the ancient Mediterranean world. The core of Rome and the periphery of Rough Cilicia were active in balancing political and economic power with one another. Bath architecture was studied as a mechanism to understand the cultural interaction between the two entities. As shown in this thesis, baths were a costly type of architecture that were likely used as signals by western Rough Cilician inhabitants to communicate messages otherwise difficult to perceive. The Roman Empire exploited its provinces through taxation and imposition, while the indigenous inhabitants sought to benefit from the advantages of the *Pax Romana*. Bath architecture found at Antiochia ad Cragum was a prime example of how provinces could reap these benefits by projecting a strong image of solidarity and acceptance of Roman subjugation. In this case study, the archaeological data from Antiochia ad Cragum interpreted within these historical and theoretical frameworks, add to our knowledge of this region within the context of the Roman Empire.

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