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THE IMPERIAL TEMPLE AT ANTIOCHIA AD CRAGUM:
ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY

by

Geraldine S. Dobos

A THESIS

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THE IMPERIAL TEMPLE AT ANTIOCHIA AD CRAGUM:
ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY

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Along the northeastern Mediterranean shore lies Antiochia ad Cragum, an ancient city located in the western area of the Roman province of Rough Cilicia. It is now known as the village of Guney, in southern Turkey. The Northeast Temple is the first Imperial structure at Antiochia that has been revealed in its entirety and its reconstruction is anticipated. This excavation by the University of Nebraska (Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project, or ACARP), is directed by UNL Professor Michael Hoff.

The hypothetical reconstruction of the Northeast Temple's geison course, which I present, emphasizes certain diagnostic features that may be used to estimate the original length of the structure. Additionally, a comparison of parallel temples in Asia Minor, Syria, Israel, Palestine, and Greece, suggests that the vertical and horizontal sequence and the sculptural style of the Northeast Temple's entablature reflects local architectural

traditions that may be traced back to the Seleucid reign of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic era. The religious iconography of the Bronze and Iron Age indigenous Luwians is also present on the structure. The molding profile, cassettes, and modillions of the geison block contrasts with the pediment block's *imago clipeata*, which attests to the insertion of Roman Imperial administrative policy in the provinces. The tension seen in the entablature's iconography is the same as that played out along the new Roman provincial borders and the '*ethne*' of southeast Asia Minor.

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

In the western area of the Roman province of Rough Cilicia, Antiochia ad Cragum is one of the many settlements that were once parts of the northeastern Mediterranean shores. (Figure 1.1) The excavation of its architectural structures has revealed the stylistic characteristics and astonishingly expansive quality of the site. The first structure revealed in its entirety at this site was the Northeast Temple (fig 1.2); a structure whose reconstruction is anticipated.

1.1 Purpose and scope of paper

The purpose of this research is twofold: 1) to provide essential evidence for the manner in which the geison course may be reconstructed, and 2) for the interpretation of the iconography of the sculpted reliefs that were carved on the individual geison blocks, thus providing dimensions for the structure and analysis of its imagery. The work of reconstruction depends on the quantity and quality of extant material recovered, and the precision of the modern draftsman and the architectural historian's understanding of the decisions made by ancient architects. While the qualities of the sculpted work and the material lend themselves to formal analysis, the way in which the inhabitants represented to themselves Roman imperialism and the way in which they represented themselves to the Romans are also of great interest. In this case, the significance of the pediment and its iconography must also be considered. Therefore in addition to the reconstruction, I also intend to present a formal analysis of the geison course and the pediment block, the former with ornamentation exhibiting indigenous architectural traditions and the latter attesting to the conflation of political, economic, and religious decisions made by the

inhabitants of Antiochia ad Cragum. These decisions may reflect the nuanced manner of the negotiations made between the elite of Antiochia ad Cragum and the Greco-Roman core.

1.2 Arrangement of text

This text has been arranged in five parts: Chapter one, includes information about the *Antiochia ad Cragum Research Project* (ACARP), past research, and the site and temple. Chapter two provided descriptions of the geison blocks, and the pediment that were excavated from the Northeast Temple mound. The reconstruction of these members is also included in this chapter. Architectural comparanda and remarks are presented in Chapter three. The interpretation of the iconography is presented in Chapter four. Chapter five is a Catalogue that contains all the architectural members represented by their assigned block numbers and placed in numerical order.

1.3 Anatolia, Rough Cilicia, and *Antiochia ad Cragum* the historical background

Whether it is the Pre-Greek, Greek, or the Roman era, there are various problems in establishing exactly where the various Anatolian groups lived and how they defined themselves. Inhabitation of Anatolian during the Bronze and Iron Ages is also an area of contention for scholars even with artifacts that include textual evidence. The southern portion of Anatolia, which later became part of the kingdom of Commagene, was a region originally inhabited by the Luwians and Hittites. Scholars of Anatolia have regarded various types of evidence to establish who inhabited the area, as well as the stylistic and cultural influences from surrounding kingdoms. For this reason, I present a variety of artifacts along with the historical information that spans the Bronze Age to the

Roman era. Questions pertaining to migration in particular are applied to place of origin in the Early Bronze Age and the possible settlement and shift after the collapse of the Hittite Kingdom. The significance throughout the early history of Anatolia, later Asia Minor, is the combination of characteristics in each category of artifacts that may attest to the long standing traditions and exchanges that were earlier grounded in religion and its representation. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods questions about identity are emphasized by language, philosophical thought, and administrative practices.

The earliest known inhabitants of Anatolia are associated with their spoken languages which were also recorded in the cuneiform Hittite archives at Hattusa.¹ Three Indo-European groups were known to exist in Anatolia as early as the 3rd millennium BC: the Palā, who spoke *palaumnili*; the Nesa, who are identified as *nešili*, *našili*, or *nišili*; and the Luwiya, known as the *luwili*.² We refer to the Hittite exonym,³ Luwiya, as the Luwians and they inhabited the western and southern portions of Anatolia, including

¹ Trevor R. Bryce, "History," in *The Luwians*, edited by H. Craig Melchert, 27-127, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 27, *Hurri* is also used in Hittite texts to identify the Hurrian speakers in northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria, 31, and extant texts record Luwian as is almost entirely functioning as Hittite administrative writing, with exceptions consisting mainly of correspondence between Egypt and Arzawa, or royalty from Alasiya and Ugarit, 44-45.

² Bryce, in Melchert, 27, Nesite as the official and early language of the Hittites.

³ Alice Mouton, Ian Rutherford, and Ilya Yakubovich, eds., *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 1-10, How Luwians referred to themselves is unknown, the term's appearance in Hittite texts is narrative 'in Luwian' or *luwili*. Luwian hieroglyphics eventually replaced texts, previously Luwian that was sometimes, embedded with "code switching" within Hittite texts. These Anatolian hieroglyphics, when *in situ* on 'rock reliefs and as graffiti, attest to habitation, according to Mouton. The influence of these hieroglyphics can be seen as far away as Crete with Linear A. Here, again, scholars disagree with the extent of the influence linguistically and textually, as well as where the Luwian homeland may have been. In fact, their origin and possible migration have divided scholars to the point of how Luwian is even defined. For the traditionalist explanation regarding the importance of 'origin and spread of Luwian civilization' with Anatolia Hieroglyphics originating from western Anatolia, see J. David Hawkins, 25-40, For claims that the 'script developed in the kingdom of Hattusa,' and in the multicultural and bilingual milieu of the Hittite and Luwian kingdom, which was phononeticized, see Yakubovich, 87-124, And for Rough Cilicia at Kilise Tepe and the excavation's that reveal similarities within Miletos religious practices in the Early Iron Age and evidence for Luwian speakers in Rough Cilicia as early as the late 2nd millennium BC, see Nicholas Postgate and Adam Stone, 193-214; For the Luwian migration from the Balkans, see T. Bryce and J. Melchert, in *The Luwians*.

“(Classical) Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria and Lycaonia and Cilicia”;⁴ “the Bronze Age Lukka Lands.....the Hittite Lower Land, Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna.” Figure 1.3⁵

The place names change in Hittite texts during the reign of Hattusili I and much of the territory once called Luwiya becomes Arzawiya, but this does not clearly indicate that the population changed.⁶ ‘Lukka’ is another term for Luwian speakers, but as Bryce points out, there still is no clear territorial boundaries or knowledge of how nomadic these people may have been.⁷ Luwians names, however, occur more frequently in Cilicia Aspera (Tracheia) and Lycia. For this reason continuity is more likely between the Bronze and Iron Ages in these areas.⁸ Luwian and other Indo-European languages spanned from Syria throughout southern and western Anatolia, and into the Troad, (fig 1.4) yet they disappeared in the Late Roman period. Houwink ten Cate claims that Rough Cilicia was a stronghold for Luwic population from the 1st millennium BCE to the fifth century CE, and points to Emperor Zen’s earlier name, Tarasicodissa, when he was still an Isaurian chieftain. The Luwian nomenclature was only maintained into the Hellenistic in the Olba region.⁹

⁴ Bryce, in Melchert, 27.

⁵ Bryce, in Melchert, 101. Herda, in Mouton, 434-436, Karian territory overlaps, Herda places the Karians within the land of Karkisa/Karkiya in the southwest of Asia Minor, “between the Lukka-lands in the South, Millawanda in the West, Arzawa-Mira and Kuwaliya in the North and Tarhuntassa in the East.”

⁶ Bryce, in Melchert, 32.

⁷ Bryce, in Melchert, 43.

⁸ Bryce, in Melchert, 101-102, Bryce posits that the terrain would prohibit substantial foreign influence, thus the language and other cultural features were retained at least through the first millennium. Extant epichoric inscriptions from Lycia attest to the retention of the language for more than half of the 1st millennium and because the onomastics are similar to what exist in Cilicia Aspera, Houwink ten Cate believes this continuity would hold true for both areas. See also Sanna Aro, in Melchert, *The Luwians*, 29, 97-98, Carchemish is a pivotal city that displays continuity, although scholars debate the likelihood of displacement versus ‘cultural choice’ after the collapse of the Bronze Age political system.

⁹ Mouton, 194 and 194n5, for Houwink, ten Cate. *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period*. (Leiden: Brill, 1961). Kilise Tepe is located within this region.

Nicholas Rauh and others suggest that at least five cultures were influential in the urbanization of western Rough Cilicia during the Pre-Roman era: Cilician, Cypriot, Greek, Phoenician, and Persian. Most notably, development during the Hellenistic period was significant after the arrival of Cilician pirates, who were then likely involved in the Roman slave trade at Delos.¹⁰ Regions neighboring Rough Cilicia had felt the stronger influence of conquering factions such as Babylon and especially Persia; however, the survey area contains archaeological evidence indicating that little changed economically during this Persian occupation, which may have begun as early as the mid-sixth BCE in Selinus.¹¹ The natural resources at this time were controlled by the Achaemenid Empire, which also aided the urban development in Cilicia including central Tracheia.¹² Coinage from this period attests to the Greek influence during this urbanization.¹³ This influence of Greek culture in Rough Cilicia may have lagged in comparison to the surrounding areas,¹⁴ perhaps due in part to the turmoil which Claudia Tempesta attributes to the role

¹⁰ N. Rauh, Townsend, M. Dillon, M. Doyle, C. Ward, R. Rothaus, H. Caner, U. Akkemik, L. Wandsnider, S. Ozaner and C. Dore. "Life in the Truck Lane: Urban Development in Western Rough Cilicia," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* (JÖAI) 78 (2009): 264-274. The geomorphological mapping and stratigraphic trench descriptions, and the "remote sensing analysis of multispectral satellite imagery" proved that the region's topography changed from a forested area to grassland and vineyards; suggesting surplus wine production. A maritime survey of the Antiochia ad Cragum harbor produced anchors and amphorae with some possibly dating from Early Roman which supports the argument that the pirates were involved in the Roman slave trade at Delos, according to A. Tchernia; see also Rauh, Nicholas, Matthew Dillon, and Richard Rothaus. "Anchors, Amphoras, and Ashlar Masonary: new evidence for the Cilician pirates." In *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*. edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, 59-86. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013.

¹¹ N. Rauh et al., 268. Plutarch writes of Sallune, which is assumed to be Selinus, where King Neriglissar's campaign in Rough Cilicia began in 557 BCE. This predates Cimon's 460 BCE campaigns which also began in Rough Cilicia near Pamphylia at the Eurymedon River.

¹² Claudia Tempesta, "Central and Local Powers in Hellenistic Rough Cilicia," in Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 27.

¹³ Claudia Tempesta, in Hoff and Townsend, 27. Nathanael J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 51-54.

¹⁴ N. Rauh et al., 271.

of the Seleucids in Tracheia and the coastal area at the mouth of the Calycadnus involving the Olba priestly dynasty. The Seleucids, who reigned over Anatolia and the Near East, lost the area to the Ptolemies in the third century BCE.¹⁵ The possession of this area was exchanged several times, but Antiochus III won the coastal area in 197 BCE, after the Fifth Syrian War. The remainder of the Ptolemies' territory was then relinquished to the Romans in the battle at Magnesia in 190/189 BCE, with the treaty of Apamea that followed. This area of the coast and north was the military arena for Seleucus VI and Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, nephew and uncle vying for territory in the first century BCE.¹⁶ Aside from this area under Ptolemaic control, Emanuela Borgia writes of the comparative ease of urbanization in the southern coastal area later during the Hellenistic period when the entire province of Rough Cilicia is taken into account.¹⁷ The Commagene dynasty, which I address more fully below, was actively involved in the advocacy and development of the Mediterranean.

It is within this context that Rough Cilicia has been recently understood by scholars to be a poorer territory with competing and more powerful factions neglecting the area's development, which also presented prime opportunity for the infamous Cilician

¹⁵ Claudia Tempesta, in Hoff and Townsend, 27; See Nicholas Rauh, Matthew Dillon and Richard Rothaus, "Anchors, Amphoras and Ashlar Masonry: new evidence for the Cilician pirates" in Hoff and Townsend (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 59 for Coracesium (Alanya) as a Ptolemaic territory; See also Rahim M. Shayegan, *Arsacids and Sasanians: political ideology in post-Hellenistic and late antique Persia*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 172-73, for campaigns in Pergamon in 204/203 and in Caria for which the agreement was made between Philip V of Macedonia and Antiochus III of Syria.

¹⁶ Claudia Tempesta, in Hoff and Townsend, 27-30; Kurt Tomaschitz, "The Cilician Pirates – how to approach an obscure phenomenon," In *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 58, suggests the Seleucids on the Calycadnus avoided negotiations with pirates according to Strabo (14.5.4).

¹⁷ Emanuela Borgia, "The Rule of Antiochus IV of Commagene in Cilicia: a reassessment." In *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*. edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 91.

pirates to gain a foothold along the coast beginning in the middle of the second century BCE.¹⁸ The pirates were eventually defeated by Cn. Pompeius Magnus in 67 BCE and the region was controlled by client kings and queens until the late first century CE¹⁹

Antiochia ad Cragum is located in along the south central Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor. According to Bryce, the earliest place name for this Roman province is the Assyrian identifier Hilakku, and during the Late Bronze Age the territory was known as ‘Tarhuntassa’. Homer (Iliad 6.397) is the first to write of the Cilices, natives of the Troad, who import their name when they relocate to their new home, thereafter referred to as Cilicia.²⁰

Antiochus IV of Commagene, the first client king of Rome in Rough Cilicia, officially founded Antiochia ad Cragum ca. 52 CE. The nearby city Iotape was also established by Antiochus IV and his sister-wife Iotape.²¹ Antiochus IV was an influential figure from in Cilicia and Commagene from late 37 or 38 to ca 72-74.²² The physical boundaries of this dynast’s administrative control and their diplomacy seem to be poorly recorded, although what remains testifies to the cooperation that Antiochos IV extended to Roman empire.²³

¹⁸ N. Rauh et al., 272-273.

¹⁹ N. Rauh et al., 276. Rhys F. Townsend and Michael C. Hoff, “Lamos in Rough Cilicia: An Architectural Survey,” *OLBA* 17, (2009): 15; Kurt Tomaschitz, in Hoff and Townsend, 55-58; Borgia, in Hoff and Townsend, 89-90; See Appian, *Mith*, 96, for the bases at Kragos and Anti-Kragos.

²⁰ Trevor Bryce, “History”, in Craig H. Melchert, ed., *The Luwians*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013, 102.

²¹ Borgia, in Hoff and Townsend, 89-91.

²² *ibid*, 89-90.

²³ Borgia, in Hoff and Townsend, 89-90, Antiochus IV ruled an extended territory granted and taken away by the capricious ruler Caligula. Antiochus had formed a relationship with Caligula in 37-38 before the latter took the throne. Antiochus again ruled from 41 to 72, first as client king to Claudius, then to Vespasian, who ended the relationship in spite of Antiochus’ support during the Jewish war. In addition to his intervention with the Cietae at Anemurium in 52, he also attended an international conference in 44. Vespasian’s establishment of Cilicia as a Roman province was sometime between 72 and 74. Antiochus spent his last years in exile in Sparta.

The Late Hellenistic artifacts found in the small settlements interspersed along the coast give additional support to the theory that Antiochia ad Cragum was indeed a “pirate-era harbor”.²⁴ The reaction of these coastal inhabitants to the attempts of Romanization was typical of provinces; it was a selective and subtle process of cultural assimilation.²⁵ The elites of this ranked society did negotiate with Rome’s demands for resources, and behaved in an opportunistic manner that maintained their autonomy while they simultaneously developed their region. To great strategic effect, they were also able to resist negative influences of the marauding Isaurian tribes from the eastern plains and mountains that formed the hinterlands of this province.²⁶

Provincial boundaries shifted throughout the duration of Romanization according to administrative needs pertinent to urbanization from 130 BCE to 70 CE.²⁷ These created boundaries imposed from an outside power, were notorious for ignoring ethnic borders.²⁸ The fluctuation of provincial borders and commercial exchange between regions was

²⁴ N. Rauh et al., 275. A. Tchernia hypothesized that the Roman slave trade was driven by the Roman wine trade. N. Rauh et al., 273-274. The recovered anchors range in date from Early Roman to Ottoman periods (ca. 17th century C.E.) Anchor stocks and stone weights were also discovered. In addition to anchors, dive teams have recovered a locally produced Zemer 41-transport amphora dating to the first – fourth century CE along with a Will Type 10 amphora of Italian origin. The interiors of both amphorae were coated with resin, indicating their use as wine transport vessels. Also a ship’s small bronze socket decorated with a winged horse, likely a Pegasus figure (0.222 m total length), which based on style and scientific analyses dates to the second century. The Pegasus and socket were likely an ornament from the side of a ship attached by means of a wooden timber. Carbon dating of the wood residue from the socket produced an approximate date of 125 BCE. See Rauh, Dillon and Rothaus, in Hoff, 67, 80n34, Alanya Museum in. no. AC 001.

²⁵ N. Rauh et al., 261.

²⁶ N. Rauh et al., 263. Rhys F. Townsend and Michael C. Hoff, “Lamos”, 3. According to World Systems theory.

²⁷ Stephen Mitchell and Geoffrey Greatrex, *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, (London: Classical Press of Wales, 2000), 119, 122, an exception may be the Lycian, who remained independent of Pamphylia until Claudius’ reign. Strabo’s account of the lyciarch legal processes states their “retaining their ancestral usages.”

²⁸ Mitchell and Greatrex, 120, 126, Mitchell lists those tribes mentioned by Strabo: “Mysians, Trojans, Lelegians, Aeolians, Ionians, Dorians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, Cabalians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Solymeis, Cilicians, Isaurians, Lycaonians, Cappadocians, Cataonians, Pontici, Galatians, Paphlagonians, Maryandynis, Bithynians, Epicteti, and Phrygians.

accompanied by cultural, religious and ideological sharing.²⁹ People were also relocated and the ethnic identity that once focused on location was obscured.³⁰ It was within this period of decentralized government and during Hadrian's reign (117-138 CE), that Cilicians formed their *koinon*.³¹ From the late Republic on, the population increased until the "crisis of the third century;" a decline in the Empire viewed as the impetus for a centralized government, as A. Zuiderhoek states.³² Beneficence, especially architectural programs, was significantly affected in the late second and early third centuries by a decrease in population from the Antonine plague that swept through Asia Minor in the late second century CE.³³

The shifting provincial borders within Asia Minor during the Roman period mirror the same types of difficulties scholars have encountered when they attempt to define the regional habitation during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Archaeological evidence and onomastic studies could provide chronology, location, and religious and cultural information for Luwians, Karian, and Hittites, in comparison to the Isaurians, who maintained only an oral tradition.³⁴ The Hittites, however, have dominated the historical

²⁹ Mitchell and Greatrex, 120.

³⁰ Mitchell and Greatrex, 122, See 122-25 for the use of *koinon* and *ethnos* as terminology for provincial community as it would be regarded internally to that province, and *eparcheia* as a term for Roman provinces created administratively. Roman approval was necessary before *koinon* could be formed.

³¹ Mitchell and Greatrex, 125-26. For the Greek term "παρὰ ... τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔ[θνεσιν] Ἑλληνικοῖς (SIG 867)" applied to the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Syria. See Arjan Zuiderhoek, "Government Centralization in Late Second and Third Century a. d. Asia Minor: A Working Hypothesis," *The Classical World*, 103 no 1 (Fall 2009): 39-51, The Johns Hopkins University Press on behalf of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40599902> (Accessed: 26/05/2014), 41, for decentralized government.

³² Arjan Zuiderhoek, 41.

³³ Arjan Zuiderhoek, 40-42, 44, a series of small pox epidemics that first occurred in the late 160s and resurfaced in the 189, with death tolls as high as 2,000 per day in Rome.

³⁴ Stephen Mitchell, and Geoffrey Greatrex, 294, as a spoken language Isaurian lost its impact because it was not useful administratively. And although it was replaced by Greek, the epichoric script of the highlands, where the Isaurians lived, shows onomastic similarities to coastal (pre-Greek) Luwians; these features are in deity and family names. I compare three indigenous groups, although as Nicholas Rauh

narrative of the Asia Minor, but they were, in fact, not the only cultural influence given agency within this region by enveloping and exchanging the practices and imagery of those they conquered, or annexed,³⁵ like the Romans. One aspect of the way in which annexed groups expressed this negotiation of their new socio-political environment was through art and architecture.³⁶

For example, Karians successfully negotiated for many centuries and like the Cilicians, Homer (*Iliad*) also writes about the Karians. And Alexander Herda writes that the “Marmor Parium, a Hellenistic chronicle of 264/63 BCE (*IG XII 5*, 444; *FGrHist* 239),” claims that emigrating ‘Ionian’ Greeks, under the leadership of Neileos of Athens, arrived in Asia Minor ca 1086/5 or 1076/5 BCE. Immigrants also came from “Boeotia, Euboea, Achaea, and Thessaly.”³⁷ It was in the fourth century BCE during Persia’s control of southwestern Asia Minor that the Karians satraps, the Hekatomnids, ruled the region and Karians reached their cultural high point.³⁸ Karian builders and sculptors were active throughout Asia Minor from the west coast at Lydia and as far away as Egypt and Persia as early as the Archaic period. Strabo and Pliny credit them for the

points out, many tribal subgroups may have inhabited the area and outlying empires continue to influence them. As a parallel theory, Rauh refers to Meillassaoux’s “lineage mode of productions” to explain the nuanced manner of negotiation which occurred in colonial Africa, 263n21.

³⁵ Alice Mouton, Ian Rutherford, and Ilya Yakubovich, eds., 36-37, During the 14th and 13th centuries BCE, the Hittite ruler, Suppilulima I, is the only king whose name is not given a Hurrian parallel; however, he was responsible for establishing treaties between Hittites and Arzawans; see page 3 his wife was the daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh.

³⁶ Rauh, et al., 263, 288.

³⁷ Alexander Herda, “Greek (and our) Views on the Karians,” In *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean*. eds. Alice Mouton, Ian Rutherford, and Ilya Yakubovich (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 426. In referring to the Karians, Homer coined the word βαρβαρόφωνοι for the first time and Strabo use the term βαρβαρίζειν, ‘to speak in a Karian manner.’ 429-430. Karian was a spoken language at least until the third century BCE, when Karian script disappeared, 440-441.

³⁸ Herda, in Mouton, 442; Rauh, et al., 285 late first to late third centuries CE for cultural apex in Rough Cilicia, long after Karian script disappeared.

construction of the ‘Moussolleion’ in Halikarnassos for one.³⁹ According to Carstens, this structure’s iconography is exemplary of an eclectic “Karian-ness” that combined Karian, Phrygian, Greek and Persian architectural types.⁴⁰ Karian script may have developed as early as the 9th century BC; their mason marks appear at Palestine during this time.⁴¹

Identity and continuity for the coastal population, including Antiochia ad Cragum, which was most likely consisted of a Luwian contingent. The majority of the demographic makeup, however, cannot be currently ascertained by the scant amount of evidence excavated and studied.⁴² Language, and in particular written text, identifies and distinguishes between groups of people providing a foundation for habitation and migration. Onomastic and epichoric research of known texts has brought the contested demographics of Asia Minor to the forefront. Specifically, the location of the homeland of the Arzawan people, who may have influenced religious components of the neighboring Luwians and the Hittite Kingdom, and the extent of their influences, remains unknown.⁴³ These textual artifacts do not substantiate, nor completely support arguments

³⁹ Herda, in Mouton, 452.

⁴⁰ See Anne Marie Carstens, “Karian Identity – A Game of Opportunistic Politics or a Case of Creolization,” Academia.edu, <https://www.academia.edu/>, [https://www.academia.edu/3835658/Karian_Identity - A Game of Opportunistic Politics or a Case of Creolization In Henry O. ed. 4th Century Karia Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids. Varia Anatolica XXVIII 2013 209-215](https://www.academia.edu/3835658/Karian_Identity_-_A_Game_of_Opportunistic_Politics_or_a_Case_of_Creolization_In_Henry_O._ed._4th_Century_Karia_Defining_a_Karian_identity_under_the_Hekatomnids_Varia_Anatolica_XXVIII_2013_209-215), (accessed 5/21/14), for Ulf Haannerz’ model of Creolization, as it pertains to post-colonial Nigeria, and Carsten’s application to the hybridity that evolved during the Hekatomnid dynastic rule; Herda, in Mouton, 453.

⁴¹ Herda, in Mouton, 454.

⁴² Mouton, 18. Melchert, 38, 288. See N. Rauh, et al., “Life in the Truck Lane”, 270-271 for Phoenician influence in Luwian territory, 270 n43 and the Luwian inscription declaring land ownership of a supposed Luwian, named Urikki.

⁴³ Supra, n3

pertaining to which population may have been in the majority in these areas, only that this language was used administratively.⁴⁴

The fluidity of tribal borders is another issue that scholars have attempted to address. For instance, the chronology established through pottery types and their stratigraphy may indicate trading activity and local tastes. Changes in style, however, do not necessarily indicate movement of people groups. The inhabitants of Asia Minor enjoyed the Red-Lustral ware, common in the Balkans,⁴⁵ much the same way that inhabitants in Athens bought Corinthian pottery during the apex of its production and popularity. Onomastics works much the same way and shows at least the administrative activity, but not necessarily habitation. Thus stylistic changes in red-ware pottery may be explained as potential shifts in culture and aesthetics rather than physical movement of people groups, as Melchert and Bryce have proposed.⁴⁶ Stylistic changes and onomastic shifts are not reliable indicators of migration, because these events could also show a change in taste, lifestyle, or politics as evidence of exchange between regions and cultures.

We may observe that the Luwians and Hittites derived their hieroglyphs from plant and animal domestication, which may be shown through archaeobotanical studies. Researchers have identified and traced plant domestication, which indicates that numerous foodstuffs such as “chickpea, lentil, millet, grasspea, bitter vetch, flax, poppy, barley and wheat grains,” as well as other plants such as grape and almond have been

⁴⁴ Mitchell and Greatrex, 129.

⁴⁵ Mouton, 193.

⁴⁶ Mouton, 132, the supposed migration of Balkan peoples muddies some arguments based on onomastic evidence; therefore a renewed examination of this proposal has led to viewpoints not wholeheartedly considered. Rauh, et al., 273, Red- and Black-figure fineware and Phoenician amphora were popular, or at least used in shipping goods to and from the coastal area, perhaps as early as the eighth century BCE.

consumed since Paleolithic times.⁴⁷ The crocus, a six-petal flower for instance, is a Hittite hieroglyph used as a “symbol in the [picture] field or on the circumference of seals, alone or accompanied by [the symbols for] life and health” and it may characterize the Sun god, or appear in the winged disc above him.⁴⁸ Specialness is also indicated by the floral design seen on the headdress worn by the goddess Kubaba, on the orthostates relief at Carchemish ca. 900 BCE⁴⁹ which identifies her as the queen.⁵⁰ Lifestyle, politics and religion are also tightly interwoven for these people and extant texts describing their religious practices provide a fuller picture of how pervasive their beliefs and imagery were for them. The Hittites were known for their pantheon of a ‘thousand gods’ whom they appropriated from their neighbors, and although they initially avoided syncretism, the appearance of their god’s names written in Hurrian texts along with the inscriptions of prayers all attest to this eventuality.⁵¹ According to Hopkins, two main festivals, the Festival of the Crocus and the Festival of Haste, were aligned with spring and fall, respectively. Peasant life and various aspects of agriculture are particularly significant for iconographic analysis because of the important role it played in their religious nomenclature and ritualistic practices including augury, omens, extispicy (organ reading),

⁴⁷ Mark Nesbitt, “Plants and People in Ancient Anatolia,” in David I. Hopkins, *Across the Anatolian Plateau; Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, (America Schools of Oriental Research, Brill: Boston, 2002), 5-18, on the pre-Neolithic sites Pinarbaşı, Hallan Çemi, and early Neolithic sites and 6th century BCE and onward at Sardis.

⁴⁸ Emmanuel Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, (Éditions du Centre national de la recherche: Paris, 1960), 98, for Hacı Bebekli, Maraş 11, Tell Ahmar 2, Alep 2, and characterizes the Sun god on Yazilikaya 34, Kargamis B 33, Malatya 12

⁴⁹ Melchert, Luwians, 314, he dates this to 11th-10th centuries.

⁵⁰ Van Loon, 9, he states this is according to later Assyrian symbolism. The queen of Carchemish’s popularity waxed in the early second-millennium BCE, waned during the Hittite Empire and after the fall of that Empire, she again rose in popularity throughout Anatolia. At Carchemish, she maintained her standing and is shown on the reliefs with her husband, Karhuha.

⁵¹ Hopkins, *Across the Anatolian Plateau*. 134-135; Mouton, 18, 19 not enough cultural material known, so that this and the multiculturalism which was always a characteristic of the Hattusa combine to cause difficulties when trying to determine whether or not migration occurred.

and lot oracles that were influential even within Greek practices, not to mention Etruscan.⁵² Therefore, the springtime celebration and its name, Festival of the Crocus, as well as the six-petal floral symbol quote a natural phenomenon and a native object.

Like the six-petal flower, the double hatchet is also represented in Hittite hieroglyphics.⁵³ M. Van Loon describes the double axe as a Carian iconographic contribution. It served as an accompaniment for the second-millennium water god or his minister, as a pendant type during the seventh and sixth centuries, and in the late first millennium as the attribute for Zeus of Labraynda, all from Aydin.⁵⁴

Of course, the flower appeared on mobile items and provides evidence for the far reaches of this kingdom. The Hittite Seal from Meggido, (fig 1.5) dated from the thirteenth century BCE. Side A includes a crudely carved leonine figure and three fillers, two of which are floral-like.⁵⁵ I. Singer states that this seal was owned by a charioteer named Anu-ziti, a Hatti diplomat to Egypt. The political and military activity of the Bronze and Iron Age eras also attests to the widespread involvement of neighboring kingdoms such as Assyria and Egypt as well. Such is the case with the marriage between the daughter of Tarhundarahu, the Arzawan chief, and Amenhotep III.⁵⁶ This alliance was a military maneuver which aligned the Tarhundarahu with Amenhotep III just before they defeated the Hittite kingdom, during the reign of Tudhaliy III. Suppiliuliuma, who served

⁵² Hopkins, Across, 137-141; Mouton, 15-16; Mouton, 15, 16, augury may have begun in Alalah (north) Syria, likely Luwian inhabitants brought this practice to Anatolia.

⁵³ Laroche, 148, Kayseri 3 B and Kargamis, A 1.

⁵⁴ Maurits N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the earlier first millennium B.C.*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 1991, 37, 49, also a seventh or sixth century pendants from Aydin (Pl. XLVIIIc). A relief carving of the cassette on AT 204

⁵⁵ Itamar Singer, "A Hittite Seal from Megiddo," in David C. Hopkins, Across the Anatolian Plateau, from Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim), 145-147, this steatite seal (19 mm maximum diameter, by 11 mm thick) is part of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago's collection.

⁵⁶ Mouton, 36, 38, ca 1350 BCE as evidence that luwiya and Arzawa are still separate groups.

under Tudhaliya III's father as a general, fought back, but passed the task on to Mursili I, who eventually defeated the Arzawans. It is after this Arzawan victory that Muwatalli II pulls in additional Arzawan territory under his rule.⁵⁷

Maurits Van Loon describes the temple ruins at the Hittite capital, Bogazköy, (fig 1.6) which preserves evidence of Anatolian architectural traditions. Although some similarities exist, these Anatolian traits also distinguish the architecture from Mesopotamian traditions. Like Mesopotamian temples, the main temple is within the city, and surrounded by storage areas. The external walls are buttressed and the programmatic approach increases viewer anticipation. The higher elevation of this Anatolian structure and the low façade windows are a native tradition. Visitors entered the main court via a portico and proceeded to the back of the temple where the cult statue stood within the holy of holies and between windows, but out of reach from the outside.⁵⁸ This inland site is part of the Phrygian province, and provides evidence of architectural characteristics that fit the typical chronology within the Hittite Kingdom. From this site's collection is an example of religious iconography: the stele in the form of the goddess Matar Kubeleya. (fig 1.7) Along the sides are low-relief lions, bulls, and huntsmen. The syncretism between Matar and Kubaba has also been posited by some scholars to have progressed to the point of conflation between the image of the lion and Cybele.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Mouton, 36-37.

⁵⁸ Maurits N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 16, the façade faces NE.

⁵⁹ Van Loon, *Second Millennium*, 29-30.

H. Craig Melchert states that Imperial Hittite leonine art forms were appropriated by the Luwians.⁶⁰ When comparing portal lions, Melchert describes the Luwian lions as typically open mouthed with extended tongues, whereas a wrinkled muzzle, rounded palmettes, and “flame-shaped triangles” that delineate the clumps of mane are Assyrian features.⁶¹ The Iron Age and possibly Late Bronze Age Luwian lions from ‘Ain Dara (fig 1.8) and Malatya, and fragments from Hama and Carchemish are the earliest examples that show these Luwian features.⁶²

The sites nearest to Antiochia ad Cragum where Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions have been excavated are Hatip, from the Empire Period, and Karadağ-Kızıldağ, (sites southwest of modern Konya) from the Transitional Period. The rock relief inscription at Hatip, southwest of Konya, records the name of King Kurunta, who may have ruled from the Luwian land of Tarhuntassa.⁶³ The inscription on the Karadağ-Kızıldağ sample identifies the Great King Hartapu who sits in profile. The ninth to eighth century stylized hair and beard typical of Neo-Assyrian work juxtaposed with a 12th century Luwian

⁶⁰ Melchert, 307, several features shared by portal lions that flanked city and palace gates were that their appearance was always in pairs, the front half of the sculpture was carved in the round and the back in relief. There was a general evolution from a stocky to a more slender form and when standing, their tails were between their legs.

⁶¹ Melchert, 309, Pl. VIIb, which Melchert dates as recent as the beginning of the seventh century BCE and T. Özgüç dates as the last quarter of the eighth century BCE.

⁶² Melchert, 304-08 and a lion from Maraş, which includes an inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian on the body, has been dated to ca. 800 during the reign of Halparuntiya III, king of Gurgum. and 311-314 for examples of lion's in close association with the gods and goddesses at ‘Ain Dara, Aleppo, Malatya, and Carchemish; See also Hawkins 1982, 401; David J. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Volume I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age, Part 1: Text: Introduction, Karatepe, Karkamiş, Tell Ahmar, Maraş, Malatya, Commagene*, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 261-265. Maraş is closer to the Syrian border. For more on Assyrian, Egyptian, and Phoenicia influences seen in portal lions at Karatepe see Melchert, 308-09; See also Halet Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Volume II: Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Inscriptions: Facsimile Edition*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999, Pl. 18-23, 87-88; Irene J. Winter, “On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and Their Context,” *Anatolian Studies*, 29 (1979), British Institute at Ankara. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3642735>. (Accessed: 23/11/2013), 122-23.

⁶³ Melchert, see 92 for the role of Ura (near Anamore) during the last days of the Hittite kingdom.

inscription do not correlate.⁶⁴ This is not as helpful for dating purposes; however, it does show the extent to which Assyrian art styles had infiltrated Anatolia.

Within the Late Bronze Age settlement of Kilise Tepe lies a purported ‘shrine’ from as early as the 14th century BCE, which burnt sometime around 1200 BCE.⁶⁵ Nicholas Postgate and Adam Stone believe that Stele Building’s storage rooms and stamp seal artifacts indicate its administrative function, while the artifacts embedded in the walls and floors served as ritual items. Specifically, the Ila/b building phase contains a whole turtle shell that appears to be deliberately placed within the floor, perhaps as part of the construction ritual. Other ritualistic assemblages indicate that their religious beliefs apparently included animals in many aspects of practice.⁶⁶ Not enough comparanda exists, however, to support this conclusion.⁶⁷

Building phases Ila/b and phase IIc, in plan, indicate that the central room was maintained and given additions. The reconstruction of the thick walls, post-destruction, may have been only a structural consideration,⁶⁸ as opposed to the Mesopotamian feature of the temple at Bogazköy. While the use and location of stele associated with these types of structures may indicate cultic practice, their appearance “outside the Luwian zone” obscures whether or not the stele in this building are strictly characteristic of Luwian influences. Comparanda for stele use are at Kuşaklı and Hattusa.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Melchert, 334 and Pl XXV.

⁶⁵ Mouton, 193-95, the site is located within Rough Cilicia, at the mouth of the Calycanus, and just 45 km from Seleucia, a Hellenistic city. According to site plan, two openings exist for the earlier structure; one is oriented SW and the other ESE.

⁶⁶ Mouton, 195-202; *supra*.

⁶⁷ Mouton, 203, and 193, one ivory and four “bifacial lentoid” seals were also discovered, but not known if Luwian or Hittite. Authors note that this would not reveal demographics.

⁶⁸ Mouton, 195.

⁶⁹ Mouton, 200, 203.

When the material culture is taken into account, the identity of the inhabitants becomes less clear. Generally, the characteristics of Rough Cilician and Plain Cilician cultures are comparable, as A. M. Jasink and L. Bombardieri have observed, but it is the contrast between Luwian lingual characteristics and Cilician artifacts that are the typical complexity of Anatolia. Also, the same outside influences of Mycenaeans, Cypriots, Greeks, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Babylonians and Persians are not what distinguish the differences between the two regions. Rather, it is the topography and political environment that set the two apart in their development during the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.⁷⁰ For the area near Kilise Tepe and the coastal port of Ura, the land trade routes seem independent of the political activities within the region. At the same time, the outside influences are evident through maritime archaeological artifacts recovered and in the case of Red-Lustral Ware, which does not seem to reach Plain Cilicia.⁷¹

A similar line of argument can be used when one traces the introduction and development of Greek letter forms that brought dramatic change to the region, not only in epichoric or onomastic evidence, but in the use of language. Comparisons of inland epigraphy with examples from coastal and metropolitan areas of Anatolia show differences that indicate the level of literacy and therefore Hellenization. Inscriptions found inland were more likely to contain grammatical and spelling errors and were likely

⁷⁰ Anna M. Jasink, and Luca Bombardieri, “The Gösku River Valley from Late Bronze to Iron Age: local cultures, external influences, and relations with foreign peoples,” In *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 16.

⁷¹ Jasink and Bombardieri, in Hoff and Townsend, 16, 24. Ura’s location is not yet clear,

to have errors in the shapes of the individual Greek letters.⁷² There are, however, similarities between Isaurian (from the mountain communities) and Luwian (coastal communities).⁷³ Isaurians, by contrast, were an impoverished tribal mountain people, and purportedly bandits. Their difficult life styles are inherent to the mountainous environment they inhabited, but their reactions to these crises have outweighed their accomplishments, namely as leaders and philosophers.⁷⁴ Isaurians found themselves lumped in the same boat as “Cilician pirates”.⁷⁵ Stephen Mitchell states that Isaurians enjoyed a more nuanced identity, which they hid if necessary or advantageous, but mainly their identity was tied to lineage and geography.⁷⁶ Strabo used language as a defining element of ‘*ethne*’ and when identifying *ethne* or ‘tribes’ his list included Cilicians and Isaurian, but not Luwians,⁷⁷ therefore the Hellenization of any group essentially wiped out their language and their tribal identity.⁷⁸ In the case when language was preserved, it was through epigraphy, such as the dedicatory inscription at Pisidia for the Demosthenes family.⁷⁹ However, as a spoken language Isaurian lost its impact because it was not useful administratively. And although it was replaced by Greek, the epichoric script of the highlands, where the Isaurians lived, shows onomastic similarities to coastal (pre-Greek) Luwians; these features are in deity and family names.⁸⁰

⁷² María Pza de Hoz, “Literacy in Rural Anatolia: The Testimony of the Confession Inscriptions,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 155 (2006), 139-144, Published by: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn (Germany), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20191033> (Accessed: 07/30/2014).

⁷³ Mitchell, and Greatrex 294.

⁷⁴ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 304.

⁷⁵ Rauh, et al., 275.

⁷⁶ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 301

⁷⁷ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 120.

⁷⁸ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 121, after the fourth century BCE, Carian, Lydian and Lycian as spoken languages had gone extinct; this change was extensive in place and time.

⁷⁹ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 121-124, 130-131, this site can be traced into Roman times.

⁸⁰ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 294. Even the Isaurians would have spoken Greek, 293-94.

Hellenization of the region involved the adaptation of Greek language, but it did not involve the redistricting that occurred during the Roman era. Mitchell says a more ‘imprecise and fluid pattern’ is seen in Hellenization, than in Roman administrative practices strongly geared toward managing the territory. So many groups of people, including the Isaurians, adapted Greek language and in the case of Carian, Lydian, and Lycian, these indigenous languages disappeared from their vernacular/nomenclature as early as fourth century BCE.⁸¹ The disappearance of these languages is synchronous to the campaigns of Alexander and the expansion of the Greek Empire.

The artistic style that emerged from this Empire’s expansion is seen in sculptural quality that developed out of a mutual experience and exchange. Greek sculptors settled in western Asia after Alexander’s campaign, which began in 334 BCE.⁸² Malcolm Colledge writes that these artists adapted to their new environment by mixing Greek and Asian techniques that produced carvings’ with a plastic quality rough in appearance. This contrasts with their training because Greek sculptors were concerned with smooth surfaces and favored the use of abrasives and an angled drill which they would also run across the surface when creating channels.⁸³ Tools, such as the claw chisel, a Greek invention from the mid-sixth century BCE, was used by Ionian Greeks and these tool marks exist on monuments in Persepolis around 500 BCE. In Asiatic schools, the broad claw chisel (2 ½ to 4 teeth/ cm) was used on surfaces and the flat chisel was used for defining a crisp edge around objects. They neglected to use abrasives and allowed earlier

⁸¹ Mitchell, and Greatrex, 122.

⁸² Malcolm A. R. Colledge, “Sculptors’ Stone-Carving Techniques in Seleucid and Parthian Iran, and Their Place in the “Parthian” Cultural Milieu: some Preliminary Observations,” *East and West*, 29, no 1/4 (December 1979): 236, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente (IsIAO).
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/29756517> (Accessed: 08/04/2014).

⁸³ Colledge, 222, 229-231.

marks to show through the flat chisel work; this is typical of the “Parthian style,” which is described as “crisp” in appearance.⁸⁴ Greek Hellenistic techniques such as rounded forms, created with the point chisel, were combined with Parthian techniques. These Asiatic techniques waxed and waned in popularity in Parthian culture from the Hellenistic period to the late Imperial period. The Seleucid king Antiochus III, made a proclamation concerning the cult of Queen Laodice in 193 BCE, prior to the Treaty of Apamea; the text on a sandstone stele from Nihavand contains this edict and the sculptural quality attests to this earlier use of both Parthian and Greek technique used on the same work.⁸⁵ The “mixed” works are particularly associated with Antiochus I, who populated his Commagene kingdom, including the southern area of Anatolia, with numerous “propaganda statuary and reliefs.”⁸⁶

Between 64 BCE and the first century CE, or the end of the Seleucid dynasty and the beginning of Roman rule, Palmyra enjoyed a period of independence that allowed its own active sculptural program to develop.⁸⁷ The techniques Palmyran artists favored were a combination of Parthian and Hellenistic Greek; the use of point chisel or punch early in the carving process was Parthian, claw chisel always used in mid-process was Greek, and a finish with flat chisel was also Parthian, and the occasional use of the rasp and drill employed for flesh and fabric folds was typical for Greek technique. These

⁸⁴ Colledge, 222, 231, see 225-6, for contrasts between typical western Mediterranean and Asiatic techniques such as the definition of pupil and iris employed in eastern ateliers more often and earlier than in Athenian workshops. Although one example is the late Hellenistic Athena of Euboulides, the use is not common until Hadrian's reign (117-138).

⁸⁵ Colledge 228; See also Shayegan, 172-74, the edict was likely sent to Media, Kermansah and Phrygia.

⁸⁶ Colledge, 228-229, 236-237, a rock relief of Heracles at Bisutun (Behistun) in west Iran with inscription from June 148 B.C., the female statuette from Ai Khanum (Afghanistan) tentatively dated to the 2nd century B.C as well as the Bard-Nishandeh scene with five figures from the early first century BCE, the Palmyra reliefs and Roman reliefs from the first to third centuries CE shows an early and lasting adherence to this Hellenistic and Parthian period tradition.

⁸⁷ Colledge, 234, likely beginning in 22 BCE or earlier.

various tools and materials, such as a preference for limestone ca. 100 CE, the increase and subsequent decrease in popularity of the point chisel between the first century CE and mid-second century CE, as well as the western habits of drill and abrasives used during the mid-second century heralded the “Romanized” look that became increasingly appealing. By the third century, however, there was a second blooming of the “Parthian” style.⁸⁸ These Asiatic techniques associated with Palmyra spread widely to the west between the first and mid-second centuries CE and as it did so, it took on local characteristics at each new location as artists appropriated earlier traditions. The complexity of the prevailing styles and the cultural influences to which this attests does not presuppose a correlation between ethnicity and choice of style for patrons; wealth, status, and purpose indicated whether Greek or Asiatic styles were used.⁸⁹

Likewise, the presence of Roman ateliers located along the Syrian coast and at Antioch on the Orontes did not necessitate the insertion of any particular Roman art style, according to Colledge, as Rome earlier foresaw the advantage of choosing to allow its colonies to remain autonomous in this area. Roman artists did, however, insert their images within their colonies as they did with the she-wolf relief at the Palmyran Sanctuary of Bel.⁹⁰

If a group could create and maintain their own identity through the use of language and art, their success, for lack of a better word, seems to have made their Otherness more profound. By the mid-first century CE, the cultural milieu and Roman political policy eventually played counter to the reception of these attempts by

⁸⁸ Colledge, 234.

⁸⁹ Colledge, 237-39.

⁹⁰ Colledge, 232.

philhellenic and phil-Roman rulers of the Seleucid Kingdom of Syria and Commagene.

For instance, Antiochus IV (*theos epihpanes*) of Syria maintained some of the same strategies for assimilation or identity as his father Antiochus III. During his reign, his policies were a complicated response to the charges against his father concerning the character deficits of his military personnel.⁹¹ Antiochus IV lived in Rome in accordance with the treaty of Apamea (188 BCE). He returned home as an adult, funded the construction of temples, incorporated Roman customs into the local repertoire, and declared himself a god. His strategy was twofold: to unify the Seleucid Empire that included Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia, and to ward off these accusations of barbarianism to which he would have been prone.⁹²

The treaty of Apamea also restricted Seleucid involvement along the coast of Asia Minor to a small area at Seleucia on the Calycadnus. This colony was founded by Seleucus I in 294 BCE and the mintage attests to the role and lineage of the rulers, whose efforts are noted by Strabo.⁹³ Antiochus IV promoted the minting of municipal bronzes to develop Greek poleis in Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia, those Seleucid territories west of

⁹¹ Andrade, 51, Phylarchus and Posidonius, the Athenian historian and Syrian philosopher educated in Athens, both recounted how barbarically these Near Eastern armies behaved by riding Elephants, using Indian salves, and living immoderately as some of the primary offenses discredited any claims they may have made as Greeks citizens, see also 49-50 the ethnic diversity within Antiochus' kingdom meant that his diplomacy relied on flexible policies determined by the area's demographics; Shayegan 334-38, Romans' early impressions of Parthians as part of an exotic and wealthy empire changed after Augustus' political ideology that created a new perception of these people as decadent and worthy only as an *alter orbis/alius orbis*. Rome's reception of Greek attitudes toward the Achaemenids, or ancient Persians, was used against the Arsacids as they now occupied the former's territory. Shayegan writes that Rome's conflation of Arsacids and Achaemenids, when compared to Augustan thought concerning Parthians and Persians, resulted in Romans as equals to ancient Greeks. Naumachia performed in 2 BCE near the Tiber celebrated the victory at Salamis (20 B.C.E.) and the construction of the temple of Mars Ultor at the Forum Augustum, and was likely initiated because the Arsacids violated the peace treaty of 20 BCE.

⁹² Andrade, 51.

⁹³ Claudia Tempesta, in Hoff and Townsend, 27-29, see 40n9, 10, and 12, Holmi's mintage during Persian rule and Seleucia's mintage during the Hellenistic period shows the same gods. Athena and the "oracular god of Cape Sarpedon" appears on Hellenistic royal and municipal coinage.

the Euphrates.⁹⁴ Ethnic Greeks and Syrians formed an acceptable Greek identity and kinship (*syngeneia*) through *poleis* in which discourse and performance included the insertion of local (sometimes pre-Hellenic) symbols, and the use of foundation myths. The potential of social and cultural influence could have existed as Antiochus IV was often displayed on the obverse of coins with Zeus or a local god.⁹⁵ The combination of classical Greek deities with local divinities at Holmi and Seleucia is the same strategy used by the Seleucids in other Cilician cities and Syria. The use of foundation myths for promotion was also common to these regions in Asia Minor and Syria.

Numerous inscriptions commissioned by Antiochus I of Commagene associated the Near Eastern ruler with a type of self-praise (ἐρατνοῦς ἑαυτοῦ).⁹⁶ Antiochus also extended this type of praise to heroes and cult deities. During the Hellenistic period, when he chose this style, no delineation between rhetoric styles existed; they were used equally.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Andrade, 48-49, Antiochus likely followed the practices of his ancestors by engaging in religious ceremonies, rather than civic, in Near Eastern “temple communities.”

⁹⁵ Andrade, 50, coinage from at least 18 cities in Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia (ca. 169-164 BCE), contain images that were similar in type and contemporary interpretation to those found in inscriptions, art, and architecture. Cities also inscribed the coins with “dynastic epithets” such as “the Antiochenes,” but not as a reflection of their identity. See page 52 for Cilician, Syrian, and Phoenician coins. At Mopsus and Tarsus in Cilicia the combination of king, deity, and legend. At Hierapolis-Castabala, Tyche (personification of city’s fortune) and Perasia (deity) and Hierapolis-Manbog in Syria for a classicized Zeus with bull or lion flanking the god. At Sidon and Tyre foundation myths were used. And for the use of pre-Hellenism iconography combined with divine images Byblus, and Berytus in Phoenicia; see Mitchell and Greatrex, 127-28 for foundation myths.

⁹⁶ Dimitrios Papanikolaou, “The Aretalogy of Isis from Maroneia and the Question of Hellenistic “Asianism”,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn, Germany: Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bd. 168 (2009): pp. 59-70, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20756628> (accessed: 14/03/2014): 66, he calls himself the God-Monarch of Commagene; See 63, for Mount Nemrod, Arsamaia-upon-Nymphaeus, Arsameia-upon-Euphrates, Samosata, Selik, Zeugma, and Ancoz inscriptions, which are “dithyramb in prose” thus examples of “Asianism.”; and see pages 66-67, for the occurrences of this type of prose also seen in inscriptions to Augustus at Halicarnassos, to Caligula at Assos, to the sons of Kotys and Ioulia Tryphaina at Kyzikos, and in the fourth book of Maccabees.

⁹⁷ Papanikolaou, 65, the debate between styles emerged during mid-first century CE Rome, when a particular type of popular Greek orator declaimed in Rome. The *Attici* and their followers then coined the pejorative term, Asian, for a type of oratory that contained a certain rhythm and subject.

At Eluaissa Sebaste, a monument to Antiochus IV of Commagene reveals the stylistic traditions that he likely promoted. On the architrave, the dedicatory inscription, in Greek, likely praises an ancestor of Antiochus IV and Emanuela Borgia and other scholars have suggested that it should read:

[βασιλεύ]ς Μέ[γας Ἀντίοχο]ς Ἐπιφανῆς φιλόκαι [σαρ καὶ φι]λορώμαιο[ς -
- -]
φιλέλλην[ος καὶ φιλο]πατρίδος⁹⁸

The second line of this inscription would then indicate dedication to a forefather, not Antiochus IV. The profile of the geison block contains more moldings than typical of Greek structures and the cassettes are plain. Thus, on structures of benevolence he kept to the dramatic contrast created by the large forms.

This struggle with identity in the use of language and image continued to play out during the Roman era through the common interests of wealthy elites and Imperial rulers which pivoted on education and rhetoric, preferably conforming to the ideals promoted by the *attici*.⁹⁹ These interests emerged as a movement called the Second Sophistic, named by Philostratus.¹⁰⁰ Alcock says this is a chronological description and that the period was from Augustus into the Severan dynasty, or 50-250 CE.¹⁰¹ Based on Platonist thought, this movement was criticized for its shallow and aesthetic approach that appeared as performance without content. Because this was grounded on Greek “education” it can be understood as a way to stratify the community with the common

⁹⁸ E. Borgia in Hoff and Townsend, 87, 95 the second line appears as follows: [βασιλεύ]ς Μέ[γας Ἀντίοχο]ς Ἐπιφανῆς φιλόκαι [σαρ καὶ φι]λορώμαιο[ς - - -]φιλέλλην[- - ca. 8 - -] πατρίδος vac.

⁹⁹ Papanikolaou, 64.

¹⁰⁰ Philostratus, *Lives*, 15

¹⁰¹ Susan Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 38.

members as uneducated in Greek archaism, and the elites with their education and interest in Greek archaism.¹⁰² Their ties to a local identity and the promotion of their locality are how these sophists in Asia Minor served their communities. They were often called to perform acts of generosity and occasionally military leadership; their role as decision makers was the causality of their positions.¹⁰³ Their aesthetic decisions were based on “archaistic tendencies,” or this turning back to an imagined perfect and classical past that shaped a broad spectrum of daily life such as “forms of measurement.....epigraphic letter forms, art and architecture.”¹⁰⁴ Many cities in Asia Minor were associated with Greek foundation myths used to promote the city and support local identity.¹⁰⁵

It was during their survey work in Rough Cilicia Figure 1.1, when Bean and Mitford discovered an inscription at Antiochia ad Cragum honoring victors in the *Leonideia* games, which were established by “Leonidas, s. Leonides, s. Kendes (or Kendos).” These had been practiced during Kendes’ father’s presidency, according to the epigraphers.¹⁰⁶ The cultural milieu of the Second Sophistic was expressed in civic activities which drew from this archaism, and according to Nigel Kennell, it is likely that

¹⁰² Alcock, *Archaeologies*, 38-41. See Glen Warren Bowersock, *Greek sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon P., 1969, 93. See Philostratus, *Lives*, 207, for examples of how these rustic or eclectic qualities of Asianists and their homelands were fully attested by the stories and reputations of the sophists associated with this non-Attic and “unpure” form of the movement. The writing of sophists has been connected with the personas they projected and records their competitive natures. The Asiatic sophist, Philagrus, preferences for the rustic and native set him apart. Lollianus was Philagrus’ teacher. And, Bowersock, 46. See Philostratus, *Lives*, 185, for Antiochus, and 203, Antiochus the sophist was born at Aegae in Cilicia and Alexander the Clay-Plato was also from Cilicia. Alexander’s teacher was mostly Favorinus, though he spent some time with Dionysus. And Alcock, *Pausanias*, 85 for “The Borysthenisan Discourse Which I Read in My Native Land,” Dio describes the Borysthenes as a rustic Greek community

¹⁰³ Alcock, *Archaeologies*, 40.

¹⁰⁴ Alcock, *Archaeologies*, 38-39.

¹⁰⁵ Mitchell and Greatrex, 127-28, see 297 n33 for “Kilix, son of Agenor, as the eponymous founder Cilicia”; see K. Tomaschitz in Hoff and Townsend, 57, for Appian’s description of “Kilix” (Mith 92.421) as a synonym for “pirate.”

¹⁰⁶ Bean and Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, (Wein, 1965), 36.

Trajan's enthusiasm for Sparta was born out of Plutarch's promotion of Spartan ideals. Thus, these *Leonideia* games were popularized by Trajan (98-117 CE), who encouraged them as foundation myths. They were widely accepted in the provinces of Asia Minor, where they were especially revived during the late second century CE.¹⁰⁷ This particular myth may have been part of the Antiochian's history and self-promotion.

In the late second century Marcus Aurelius and Commodus had travelled through Cilicia, after the revolt of Avidius Cassius, and Commodus was also planning a return trip to Africa.¹⁰⁸ It is noteworthy that Cassius was likely a descendent of the Commagene royal line.¹⁰⁹ Olivier Hekster states that Commodus maintained his popularity in the provinces throughout his reign and after, even though Commodus was accused of selling government positions. He was so well liked that his own change toward Lysippian type statuary, coinage iconography, and Heracles as deity was well received in the provinces.¹¹⁰

It was through the refounding of Rome as the "immortal, fortunate colony of the whole earth" that Commodus intended to present the capital as a unifying world colony of the Empire that inhabitants could embrace as a "symbolic possession."¹¹¹ His beneficence included assistance after the earthquakes that occurred Antioch in 181 CE, and in Nicomedia and Ephesus in 182 CE. In Antioch, he rebuilt the bath complex

¹⁰⁷ Nigel M. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, (Wiley, John & Sons, Incorporated: West Sussex, UK, 2009), 189, 192, the Euryclea Games also saw a revival during this period, supposedly with Commodus' encouragement.

¹⁰⁸ Olivier Hekster, *Commodus: An Emperor at the Crossroads*, (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2002), 36-37, 85. Cassius' revolt began in the spring of 175 and lasted into July, which Dio claims a three month and six day duration. Commodus' sister Faustina died in Cilicia (ca. late 175) during their travels between 175 and late 176. See 94-95, Commodus did not travel after his father's death.

¹⁰⁹ Hekster, 31.

¹¹⁰ Hekster, 178.

¹¹¹ Hekster, 94-95. Political problems in the provinces required Commodus to present himself as the priest and "religious champion of all."

Commodianum, the Temple to the Olympian Zeus, a Xystos with seats and colonnades, and restored of Temple of Athena. He also reinstituted and funded the city festivals, including the Olympic Games, which his father had banned. This last action was perhaps the influence of Pompeianus, who was from Antioch. Commodus was especially well liked in Antioch and Africa; in both locations he funded the cities' infrastructure, fortified the limes, and provided food.¹¹²

In summary, the southwestern region of Asia Minor and specifically Rough Cilicia has been inhabited since the second millennia. The indigenous people were likely Luwian and Hittite and they were actively engaged with neighboring civilizations and cultures. Although Ionian Greeks immigrated to Asia Minor as early as the 10th century BCE, it wasn't until Alexander's campaigns that large changes in language and art occurred. The ideas surrounding identity were also burgeoning during the expansion of the Hellenic Empire. The Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE and its stipulation of foreign royal heirs' education in Rome, promoted a philhellenic and philoroman attitude that young Asiatic rulers introduced and maintained in their homelands well into the Roman period. Romanization of the area further obscured tribal and local identity. Architectural and sculptural tendencies from the Hellenic and indigenous pre-Hellenic periods, however, were maintained in some instances.

1.4 Antiochia ad Cragum Research Project (ACARP)

From 1996 to 2004, Nicholas Rauh, from Purdue University, directed the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project (RCASP), with the goal of documenting standing

¹¹² Hekster, 83-84.

architecture within the ancient cities near Antiochia ad Cragum and to conduct a diachronic survey of the region of western Rough Cilicia.¹¹³ The architectural component of the survey was carried out by Michael Hoff and Rhys Townsend, Clark University. In 2005 Hoff and Townsend, along with architectural engineer Ece Erdogmus also of UNL, formed the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP). The remains of the Northeast Temple were systematically excavated each field session from 2005 to 2012, with the exception of 2010. It was possible to analyze certain expectations about the structure once excavations were completed in 2012. From 2011 through 2013, I worked alongside Michael Hoff, and Rhys Townsend. I also worked with Project assistant director Birol Can, Associate Professor of Archaeology at Ataturk University in Erzurum, Turkey, who joined the project in 2011. During the 2011 and 2012 seasons, I assisted Brian Canon, Project Surveyor, who also completed 1:1 profiles of the podium molding and measurements of the column remains. The work I completed includes documentation of the structure with architectural drawings and photographs, assisting with data management of the block images and their dimensions, training new participants who also documented architectural members on the temple mound and block fields, and assisting with the removal and placement of the blocks from their find spots on the temple mound to the block fields. Additionally, I have worked as videographer and photographer for the site, when I documented the excavation process and interviewed participants during the 2013 and 2014 seasons.

¹¹³ Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, eds., *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013) vii.

1.5 Early exploration

The recent research by RCASP and ACARP was preceded by several archaeologists and epigraphers. The earliest exploration of this area was undertaken by F. Beaufort and then R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, who described the regions' architecture and epigraphy at the turn of the twentieth century.¹¹⁴ Later, the British epigraphists G. Bean and T. Mitford, visited the region's archaeological sites during several tours in the early 1960s, recording mainly inscriptions but also in the course of their epigraphical surveys described discernable architectural remains.¹¹⁵ E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum also visited during that decade, and her team published the first architectural plans of many of the sites' standing buildings.¹¹⁶ Her work is especially significant, for the temple tombs at Iotepe and Selinus no longer exist.¹¹⁷

1.6 Site and Northeast Temple description

The Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum is located in the present day village of Güney near Gazipaşa, in southern Turkey.¹¹⁸ Antiochia ad Cragum covers more than 25 hectares in area, and is several hundred meters inland and uphill from the Mediterranean coast. The temple is topographically at a higher elevation just northeast of the city gate and colonnaded street (fig 1.3) temple and bath complex with mosaics, the

¹¹⁴ F. Beaufort, *Karamania, or a Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity*, London, 1818; R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, "Studii e Ricerche Archeologiche nell'Anatolia Meridionale," *MonAnt* 23 (1914): 5-274.

¹¹⁵ G. W. Bean and T. B. Mitford, "Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia," *AnatSt* 12 (1962): 185-217; iidem, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, *DenkschrWien* 85 (1965); iidem "Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968," 3. *Ergbd. TAM, DenkschrWien* 102 (1970).

¹¹⁶ E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia*, Preliminary Report (1967).

¹¹⁷ Rhys F. Townsend and Michael C. Hoff, "Monumental Tomb Architecture in Western Rough Cilicia," *ÖJh*, 73 (2004): 253, 268-75.

¹¹⁸ Michael C. Hoff, Rhys F. Townsend, and Ece Erdoğan, "The Rough Cilicia Archaeological Project: 2005 Season." *ANMED* (2006-4), 99-104.

colonnaded peristyle, as well as two other bath buildings, a palestra, churches and tombs.¹¹⁹ The orientation of the temple has a southeast and northwest axis. The podium's height is approximately 2.63 meters with a two-step crepis adding 0.62 meters to its height, for temple plan and B. Canon's section illustration see (fig 1.9). The *in situ* step along the southwest end was used to determine the approach.

The Romans admired Greek temples, and ideally Greek temples were oriented on an east-west axis with the main entrance facing east.¹²⁰ There was also a preference in urban areas for elevating the temple in order to create more visibility.¹²¹ Although this was not the case at Antiochia ad Cragum, and due mainly to this temple's hillside location, the podium was generally the preferred solution in tightly packed urban areas, where it helped distinguish the temple from all the other structures. As comparative architectural parallels, temple tombs cannot be entirely ruled out as they do, in some instances, resemble podium temples in plan and elevation. Early in the excavation the Northeast temple was distinguished from temple tomb structures.¹²² The NE temple's accessible cella, and a hinged doorway are key distinguishing features. The trim of the jambs include three fascia and moldings that lack ornament such as the typical egg and dart or reel and dart.¹²³ Also, two large, inscribed blocks containing dice-oracle verses

¹¹⁹ Hoff, Townsend, and Erdoğan, 100-104.

¹²⁰ Vitruvius, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, Translated by Morris Hicky Morgan (New York, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), 116. The first choice in orientation placed the cella and temple statue so that these structures faced the western quadrant of the sky. If the topography hindered this ideal, the temple entrance and its gods would be given the widest view of the city.

¹²¹ William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 137.

¹²² Rhys F. Townsend, Rhys F. and Michael C. Hoff. "Lamos in Rough Cilicia: An Architectural Survey." *OLBA* 17, (2009): 1-22; Townsend, Rhys F. and Michael C. Hoff. "Monumental Tomb Architecture in Western Rough Cilicia." *ÖJh*, 73 (2004): 251-280.

¹²³ George E. Bean and Terence B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963* (Graz-Wien-Köln: Hermann Böhlau Nachf, 1965), 37, 41.

have been recorded. Zeus appears numerous times within the inscriptions, but a cult center dedicated to Zeus is not known to exist in the area.¹²⁴

The Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle temple is built of marble blocks, likely procured from a local quarry. Its blocks were laid with the grain oriented horizontally, for maximum weight bearing strength and preservation of the stone while it was under compression. The region is known for its tectonic activity, and the temple is in a dilapidated state from previous earthquakes and spoliation. The front of the temple is in the worst condition with only three *in situ* step blocks surviving, but noticeably disturbed. The remaining step blocks are now kept in the block field. The northwest podium blocks, two-step crepis, and first course remain *in situ*. The edges of the geison blocks give an impression of haste or carelessness that could seem logical to apply to the overall construction of the temple. The corners of the blocks are not carved with precision, thus those edges that are hidden by joints or that faces the interior of the roof portion do not have crisp 45° angles. However, in spite of this appearance, the builders were careful about the squareness of the structure. The craftsmanship of the block decoration is also inconsistent. For instance, the decoration found on the geison blocks' modillions and cassettes is sometimes finished smoothly, but more often it is rough with tooth chisel marks left on its surface (fig. 1.10). Additionally, the geison blocks' decoration differs in width and depth to a degree that cannot be attributed to weathering.

¹²⁴ Hoff, Townsend, Erdoğan, ANMED, 2006-4, 99-104.

1.7 State of preservation

The state of preservation for the geison blocks is very much like the entablature in general; one side may have several good examples that define the typical dimensions and sufficient diagnostic marks to reconstruct at least that portion. The entablature of the Northeast Temple preserves more whole geison blocks on the south side, but more whole frieze blocks on the north side. Thus, our reconstruction efforts have been frustrated by the lack of frieze blocks with pry marks that would correspond to the geison blocks' joints. These diagnostic marks on the frieze blocks should ideally be overlapped by the edge of the geison block above it. When these elements correspond to one another, it confirms the placement of the blocks in their respective courses. If this were the case on at least one side of the temple, we could be assured of our reconstruction decisions. The geison course preserves approximately half of its 38 members largely intact, with the exception of blocks AT 241 and AT 242, which are joined together. The remainders of blocks are fragments, some of which can be combined to reconstruct a substantial portion of a block. There are examples of four of the five possible types of geison: namely, the lateral, horizontal, raking, and pediment geisa, but the two apex geisa are not found. These apex geisa would have been placed atop the front and back tympana and would have also supported the ridge pole. There are eight of the supposed sixteen lateral geisa that exemplify the characteristics of the blocks that form the north and south flanks of the geison course. Two of the six horizontal geisa are whole, as well as two of the four pediment geisa. Only two of eight possible raking geisa are whole and autopsy of these blocks established the characteristics for this type; four others are in fragmentary states, and two of these are in such a mutilated state that their identification is unclear.

Additionally, all blocks show signs of weathering and in some cases the larger ornament, such as the lion-head water spout, are worn to a soft, but identifiable protrusion such as AT 202. The cuttings for the rafters and moldings weaken the blocks structurally. As such, blocks like AT 241 and AT 242 broke in half at the mid-point of a rather cutting, presumably when the temple collapsed. Others, such as AT 350, broke during construction and were repaired. The overhang and molding, especially the cyma recta, is thinner and prone to breakage that often confounds attempts at determining the exact height from the under resting surface to the lower edge of the fascia.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ While trying to determine the features that distinguish the lateral geisa from the raking geisa, it was hypothesized by R. Townsend, that the height from the under resting surface to the bottom of the crowning fascia might be different.

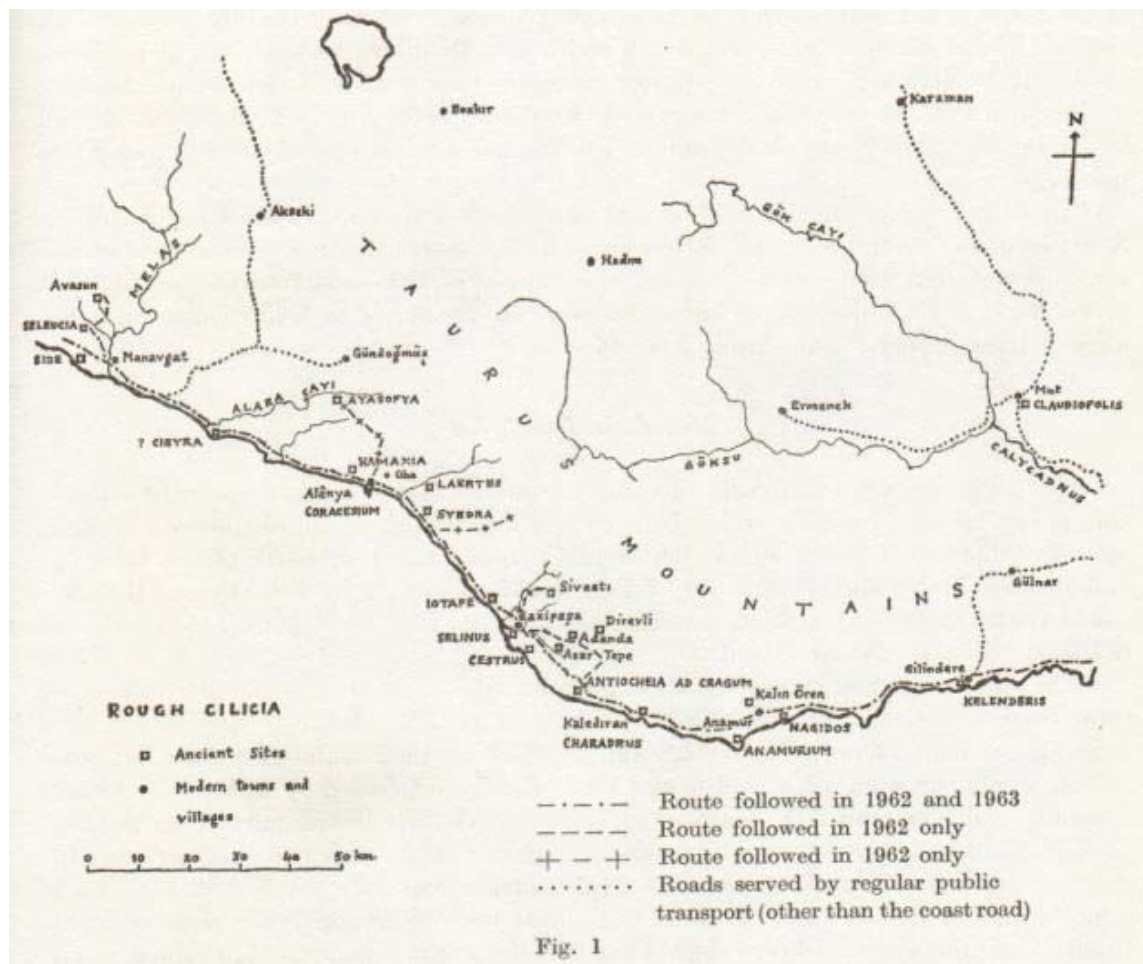


Fig. 1

Figure 1.1 Map of Asia Minor



Figure 1.2 Northeast Temple, aerial view

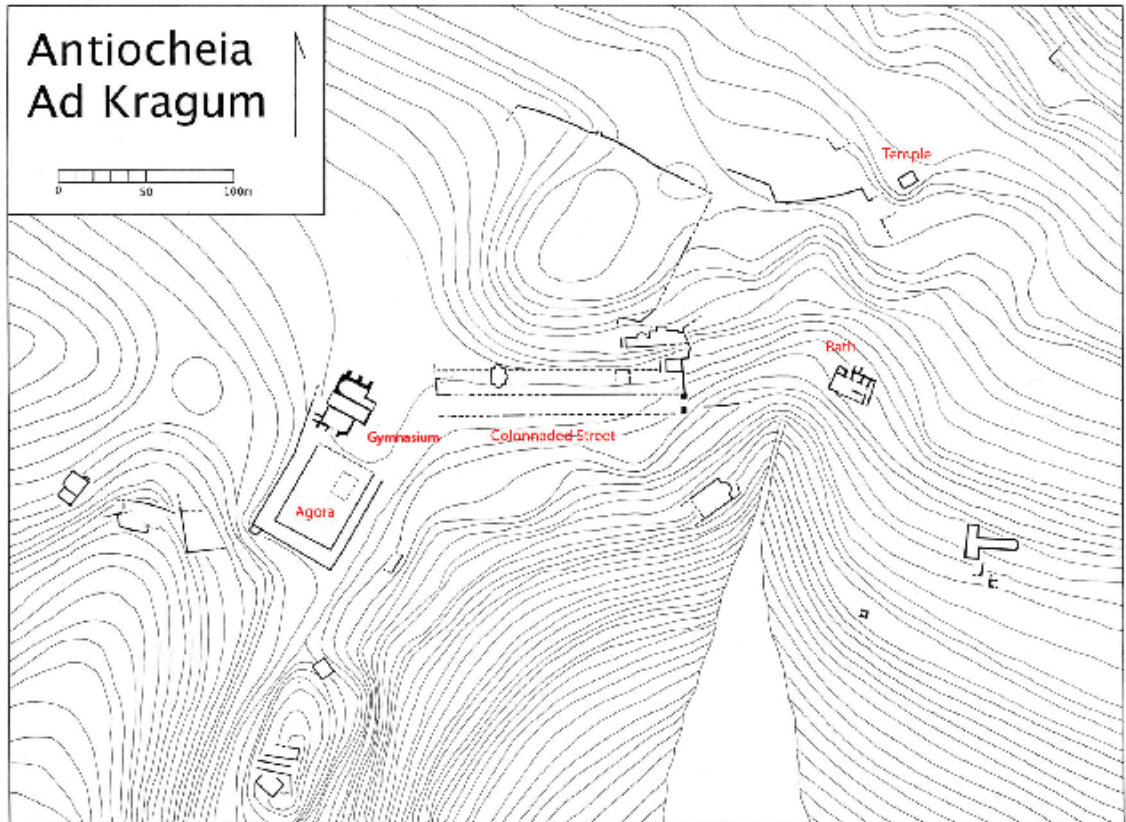


Figure 1.3 Northeast temple, site plan

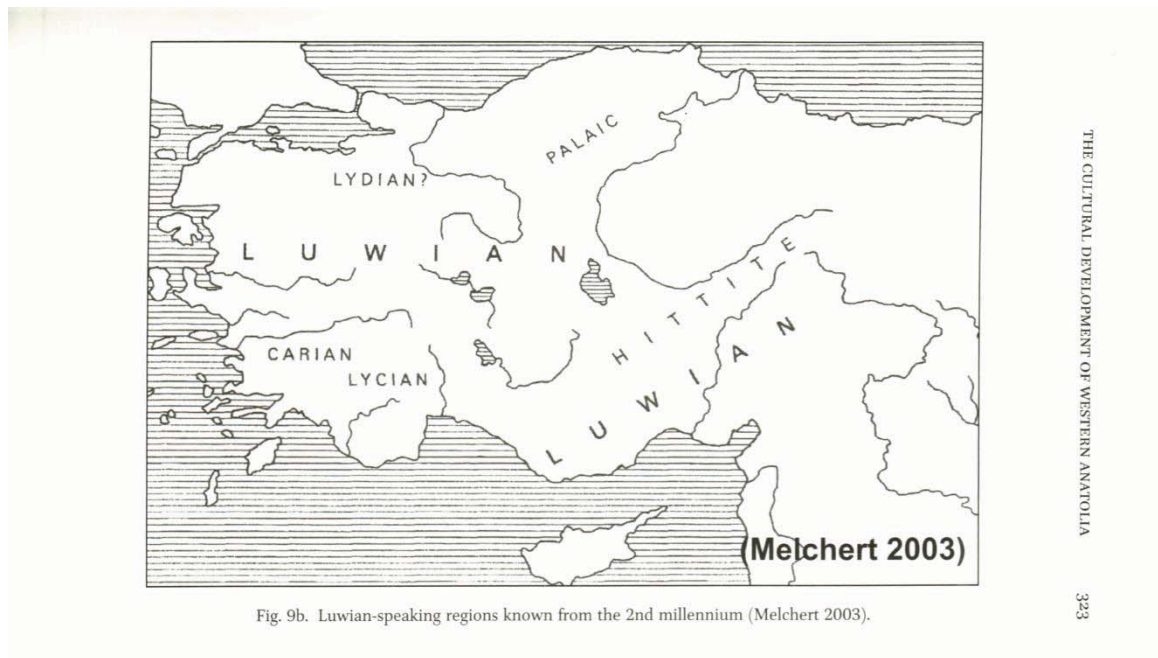


Fig. 9b. Luvian-speaking regions known from the 2nd millennium (Melchert 2003).

Figure 1.4 Anatolia, Second millennium, Luvian speaking lands



Figure 1.5 Seal of Megiddo

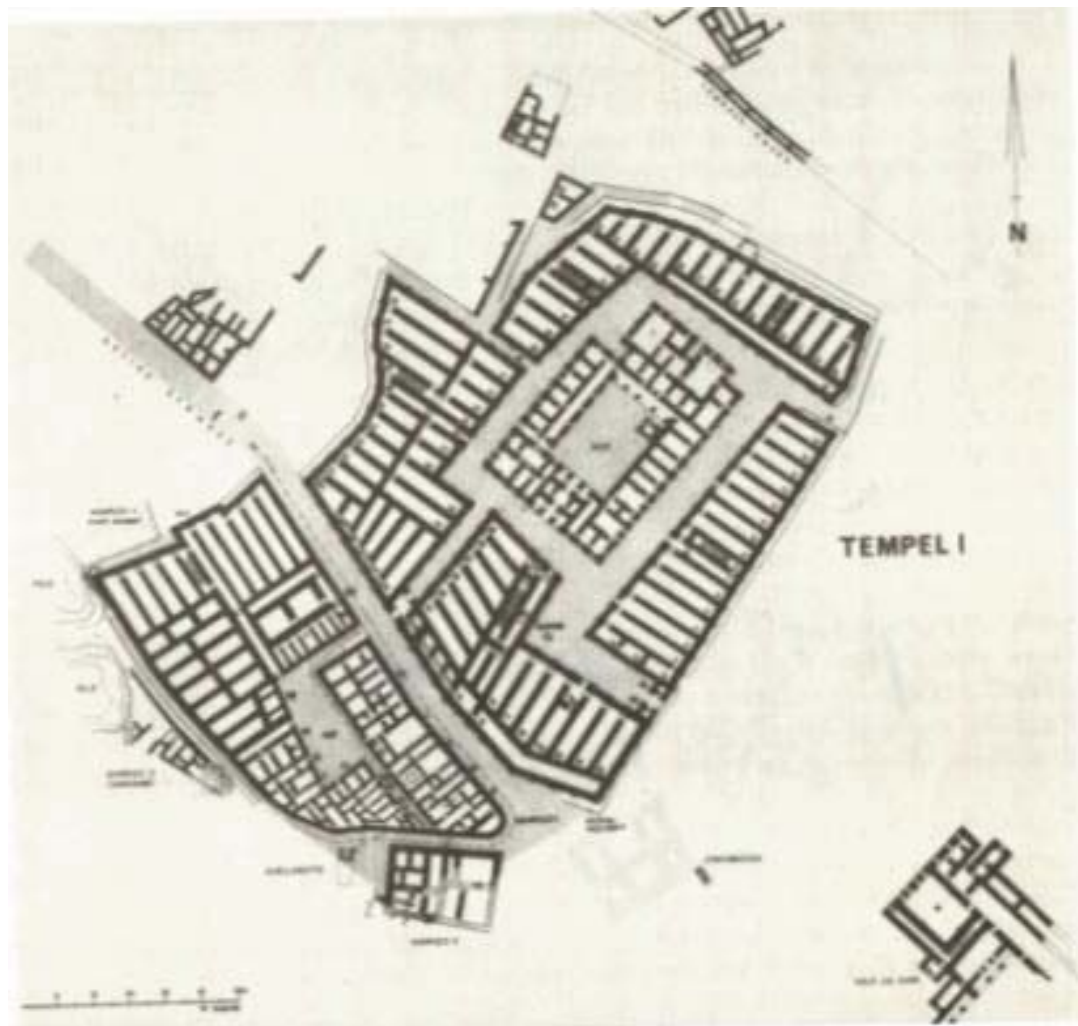


Figure 1.6 Bogazköy, second millennium, temple, plan

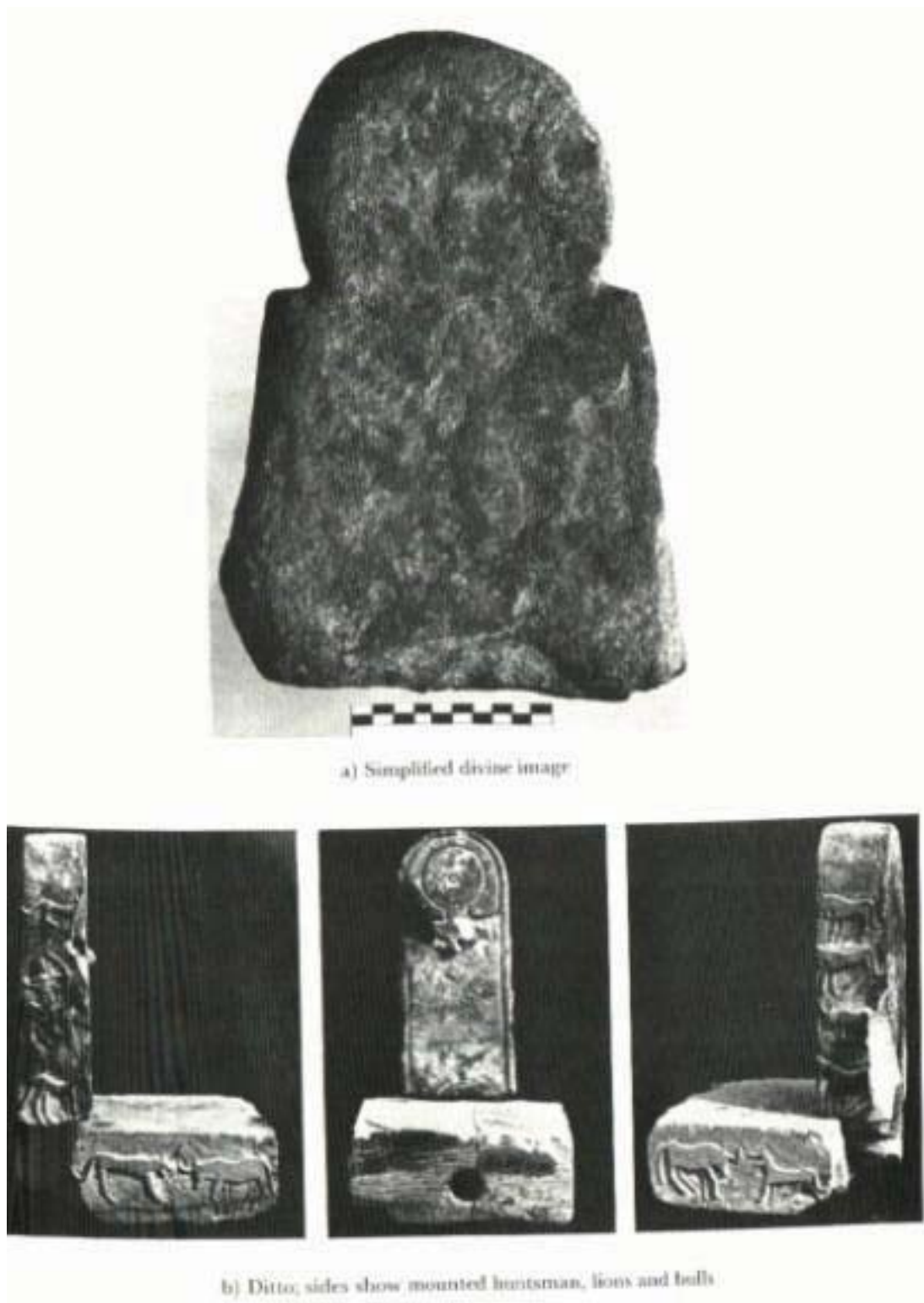


Figure 1.7 Bogazköy, Matar Kubeleya Stela



Figure 1.8 Ain Dara, Luwian lion

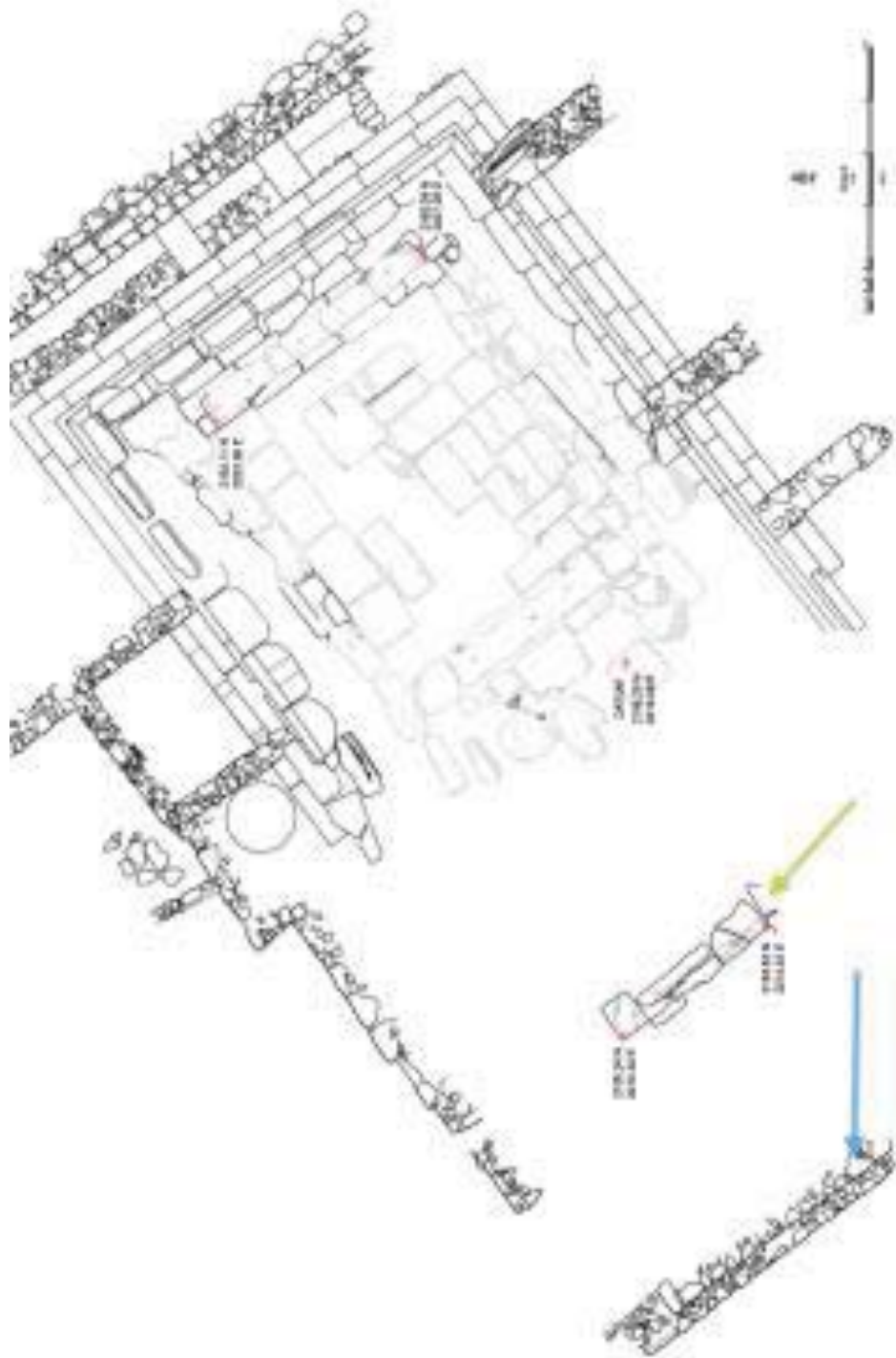


Figure 1.9 Antiochia ad Cragum, Northeast temple, plan



Figure 1.10 Northeast temple, AT 158

Chapter 2 ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS AND RECONSTRUCTION

2.1 Problems: Material, Craftsmanship, and Precision

Through analysis performed on the stone used in the construction of this temple, it is known that the material is marble, not limestone, as M. Spanu has suggested.¹²⁶ The quality of this marble is not of the highest quality, with the large veining making it often more susceptible to cracking. If the marble is local, it likely originated from the seams of Mesozoic or small areas of Permian formation that appear between modern-day Alanya and Anamur. (fig 2.1)¹²⁷ Lower quality material like the Precambrian metaclastic rock, an Upper Cambrian-Ordovician schist formation, as well as a Lower-Middle Cambrian undifferentiated dolomite, quartz, and marble formation occur in the coastal region of Rough Cilicia. Seams of marble exist along the coast and so the stone was likely available to the ancient builders. C. Malacrino states that the marble used for building construction is generally of a lower quality than that used for statuary.¹²⁸ For the majority of the blocks at this site, it would be reasonable to assume that the marble would have originated from a local quarry and would have spared additional expense for the benefactors. In fact, one nearby operational quarry is currently being tested for chemical similarities. If however, any blocks were imported, they would have been shipped with a “sacrificial surface” to be removed at the final destination.¹²⁹ The capitals, which were

¹²⁶ Conversation with M. Hoff, who has consulted with geologists, see also Marcello Spanu, “Architectural Decoration in Roman Rough Cilicia: preliminary remarks,” In *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 99.

¹²⁷ Geological Map of Turkey, General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration, General Director, Ali Kemal İşiker, compiled by Mustafa Şenel, Ankara, Turkey, 2002.

¹²⁸ Carmelo G. Malacrino, *Constructing the Ancient World: Architectural Techniques of the Greeks and Romans* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 38.

¹²⁹ Malacrino, 38. This is also referred to as the “quarry skin.”

often imported, may have been accompanied by journeymen sculptors familiar with the qualities of the marble, who would have completed the decoration at the site and trained local workmen as well—a practice common in Asia Minor and the Near East.¹³⁰ M. Spanu, however, considers the use of local limestone a hallmark of Cilician architecture.¹³¹ Marble from Asia Minor was shipped to Israel and Palestine, where imported and local stone were also used.¹³² The use of local and imported stone is typical for both Asia Minor and Near Eastern architecture.

Weathering is an important consideration when embarking on reconstruction work. As K. Zorlu's study points out, "carbonates are particularly susceptible to solution weathering" meaning that a block may look unweathered and therefore an acceptable candidate for reconstruction. He warns, however, it may be hollowed out from within.¹³³ Zorlu's research at Olba is applicable to any stone structure along the Mediterranean and confirms that sculptors were aware of their materials properties. Studies made during the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion on Cyprus shows that the material did effect decisions about construction and decoration; a similar condition is

¹³⁰ Malacrino, 13. Yehudit Turnheim, "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Gölān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996): 132.

¹³¹ Spanu, in Hoff and Townsend, 102-108.

¹³² Turnheim, 131-32.

¹³³ Kivanc Zorlu, "Description of the weathering states of building stones by fractal geometry and fuzzy inference system in the Olba ancient city. (Southern Turkey), *Engineering Geology* 101 (2008),– 133. www.elsevier.com/locate/enggeo (accessed September 10, 2013), 124, description of the weathering states of building stone, 131, in addition to the visual classification, the Schmidt hammer rebound number and a fractal dimension were used as inputs to produce a numerical value through the fuzzy inference system. These non-destructive methods help quantify the level of weathering in blocks, 131.

posited for the Northeast Temple.¹³⁴ Experiential knowledge that guided ancient architects in their decisions may be unravel through these studies.

Unlike the architectural members of a Greek structure like the Parthenon, the carved blocks of the Imperial temple were not executed with a high standard of accuracy. Rough edges that were carved imprecisely appear more or less at a 45° angle, requiring careful scrutiny and additional measurements for the preparation of our technical drawings. Even so, the margin of error in molding alignment that occurred when making potential joins is assumed to be 1 cm. Inconsistencies in the width of the ovolo trim on cassettes and modillions from one block to the next are noted during the autopsy of each block. This low standard, plus the accidental factors in construction, is compounded by the weathering of the blocks. Nonetheless, reconstruction of the temple requires a set of criteria, based on diagnostic features, to not only identify the type of geison block, but also to establish their placement within the entablature.

¹³⁴ Erdogmus, E. Freeland, J., Jording, A., Kousgaard, A., Buckley, C.M., “Material Condition and Deterioration Assessment Program for A 3rd Century Roman Temple,” Architectural Engineering Institute conference, 2013, reports analysis of material and identifies patterns of deterioration on ACARP site with an assessment standard referred to as Temple of Antioch Block Assessment Protocol (TABAP) based on the 2008 International Council on Monuments and sites – International Scientific Committee for Stone (ICOMOS-ISCS) Illustrated Glossary on Stone Deterioration Patterns (ICOMOS 2008) and field assessments using nondestructive evaluation (NDE) and Impact-echo-based condition assessment process along with lab testing using x-ray fluorescence (XRF). Soren, David., ed. *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion*, Cyprus. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987, 54, 59, 123. The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, Cyprus, bears a number of similarities in material and plastic quality of the carved blocks of the Imperial temple at Antiochia ad Cragum. Local and distant quarry resources supplied the second building phase of the Cypriot temple during the first century CE. Locally quarried rock belonging to the Khalassa Member Phakna Formation is characterized by the uneven qualities of fine to coarse grain. The resulting ashlar blocks were cut lengthwise with this grain, revealing the inherent weaknesses of the bonded material of silt, sandy pebbles, and shell fragments. See page 152 for description of geison, which also lacked clamps, and 206, for the east-west exchange of architectural influence seen in the “Cypro-Corinthian” capitals and crenellated ornament of the entablature, thought to be attributed to the spice trade and Nabataean access to the Red Sea and Mediterranean.

While these inaccuracies and inconsistencies previously mentioned may not have caused structural deficiencies in themselves, but combined with the variance in rafter cutting spacing leads to some uncertainty in the reconstruction. As an example this rafter cutting variation may be found on AT 002, whose three cuttings range in dimension from the widest to one of the narrowest preserved examples: a spacing of 0.56 m from the left to middle cutting, versus 0.505 m from the middle to right cutting. The largest spacing, of 0.59 m, is on the AT 241 and AT 242 combination, where the break in the block occurs in the middle of the widest rafter cutting (0.24 m). We can probably eliminate the possibility of a truss roof system, which would have required a more regular spacing of the rafters than exhibited here. However, the majority of these blocks contain cutting that maintain the average spacing of 0.55 m. Herein lies the importance of establishing and applying the seven interrelated criteria for joins presented in chapter 2.1.

2.2 Methodologies and procedures: Excavation and recording

During the excavation process, the faces of the already exposed blocks and those that were then revealed were drawn and labeled as the “F side”. Throughout this document, however, the sides of the blocks will be referred to as either right, left, under resting surface, upper surface, back edge, and face. Each block was also systematically surveyed by means of a total station in order to document each block’s position after falling from its original position in the temple. The blocks were then photographed *in situ*. In addition, each block was inventoried, preliminarily described, and measured. The blocks were then removed from the temple mound by means of a truck-mounted crane, soil and debris brushed off, and more photos were taken of the remaining sides before

each block was placed in the block field. The documentation and removal process took four years to complete and more than 700 complete or partial blocks were recorded and transported.

The survey coordinates taken for each block while *in situ* were then plotted to create site plans (fig 2.2), that were made for the combination of years 2005 – 2007, as well as 2008, 2009, 2011, and 2012. In order to manage the collection, these site plans were then divided into quadrants aligned to the cardinal directions. This was accomplished by bisecting the temple plans from the front to the rear, or west to east, of the building using the datum point on the threshold as front and center of the structure and the center of the measurement of the podium orthostate at the rear. A line was projected from the rear of the temple approximately 6 m into the cella to create the north to south axis. These working site plans were then overlaid onto the state plan, which reconciled the east-west axis of the excavated blocks in their find spots with the *in situ* blocks of the temple.

2.3 Marble Working Techniques

Unless the block face is too weathered and pitted, the back face of these blocks always shows the use of a hammer. The left and right edges generally begin at the rear of the block with loosely spaced hammer marks, and gradually tighter intervals of these marks occur toward the front of the face where the sculptor used a point chisel. Typically the left and right edges end in anathyrosis adjacent to the molding. The upper and under resting surfaces preserve tooling characteristic of claw chisels with three or four teeth.

The carvings within the cassettes often contain the marks from these smaller pointed tooth chisels as well.

An unfinished dressing occurs at the joints of blocks typically along the face at the molding edge; in some cases it appears as an undefined area approximately 0.01-0.02 m wide running vertically from the cyma recta, fascia, and to the half-round. Examples of this appear on the left edge of the face of AT 204 and the right edge of face AT 006. Likewise, the left edge of the overhang AT 001 contains an unusual squared-off terminating ovolo, perhaps a protective strip or unfinished.¹³⁵

The bead and reel, egg and dart, and other typical embellishments are not part of this temple's decoration. Instead, all the astragali and ovoli are plain and undecorated. This austerity is not due to an unfinished state, or the quality of the material, but rather appears to be a stylistic decision. Where there are instances of unfinished work, such as the crepis (?), the join of those blocks are finished. This does not occur in any instance of the decoration. For example, none of the the ovolo trim along the overhang, nor the half round or ovolo on the molding have any indication that the sculptors began to refine these elements any more than what is seen throughout.

2.4 Reconstruction: Determining the Geison type

There are four types of geison: lateral, raking, horizontal, and pediment or corner geison. The lateral geison, raking geison, and horizontal geison can be distinguished by the height of the block. The average height of a preserved lateral geison is ca. 0.513 m.,

¹³⁵ Notation made R. Townsend, July 5, 2013.

while the average height of the fully preserved raking and horizontal geisa are less than 0.50 m and 0.30 m, respectively.¹³⁶ Likewise, there is no discernable difference between the measurements taken from the under resting surface to the lower edge of the sima. Because the overall block height and overhang height on the lateral and raking geisa are similar, these blocks have been distinguished by the presence or lack of rafter cuttings, and whether the overhang [“soffit”] slopes or is horizontal.¹³⁷ The peculiar shape of the pediment geison makes it identifiable; it contains both the pediment support and the lateral return. The pediment support cradles the sculpted pediment blocks at the front and rear of the temple. Atop the pediment rests the raking geison, which shows an increase in the projected overhang that corresponds to the progression of pediment block sima projection. Measurements that were taken from the inner edge of the cassettes to the drip increased in depth toward the peak of the roof. A projected crown of the raking on AT 194 produced 0.235 m at the bracket closest to the pediment and this increased to 0.245 m at the inner edge of the pediment geison. Also, the vertical face between the horizontal and raking geison is closer to a 40° angle near the pediment and greater than 45° closer to the return.

The back sides of the lateral and pediment geisa have cuttings for the rafters and ceiling beams, whereas some of the raking geison have beam cuttings. The back of the horizontal geison, or pediment floor, contains no cuttings. These cuttings for the roof system support may appear in their full or half widths: full rafter cuttings are ca. 0.20 m.

¹³⁶ AT 164, AT 006, and AT 263 used for raking (0.480) and AT 074 and AT 158 for the horizontal (0.272).

¹³⁷ This angle is described later with the pediment geison, where the degree of angle of the vertical face increases closer to the corner/ return for the lateral geison.

wide, and full ceiling beam cuttings are ca. 0.30 m., measured from left to right as one would face the block from the front. Its location on the block face may influence the cutting's size as well. For instance, if either type of cutting appears near the left or right edge of the block, then its width is generally halved, and in these cases the corresponding half cutting should appear on the adjoining block. Full width rafter cuttings exist at the middle portion of the upper surface, whereas full width ceiling beam cuttings are more likely to exist on the back end of the block and may or may not extend from the under resting surface to the upper surface. The beam cuttings on the raking geison would support the ridge pole and other beams running the length of the roof. There is no difference in height between the lateral geison and the raking geison, so the lack of rafter cuttings distinguishes the two types. Only two horizontal geisa remain; both AT 074 and AT 158 lack the sima and are less than 0.30 m in height. The horizontal geisa have an upper resting surface that slopes along the front of the block that creates a margin approximately .27 m. wide. This allows the pediment and the horizontal geisa to lock into one another.

2.5 Seven Criteria for joins

The evaluation of potential joins was based on the following seven criteria: 1) the blocks' proximity to one another in the excavated findspot; 2) the correct alternation between the cassette and modillion at the joins, and the presence or absence of a terminating ovolo; 3) the spacing between the rafter cuttings, as well as the 0.20 m. width of the cutting itself when it spans across two adjacent blocks; 4) alignment of the moldings; 5) closeness of join extending along the sides of the blocks, and including the

join of the molding from one block to its neighbor; 6) the spacing of the lion-head water spouts; and 7) the presence or absence of a ceiling beam cutting.

While the blocks' proximity to one another was crucial, because their clustering and placement on either side of the temple was assumed to be their original resting spot at the time of destruction, all the ancillary factors were applied to determine their reconstructed order. For instance, the second criteria concerns the decorative sequence of alternating cassette and modillion, which appears on individual blocks, and should be reasonably assumed as an essential and continuous pattern along the entire flank of the temple. Ideally, the ovolo trim for the cassette and modillion should also continue from one block to the next, indicating that either the modillion or cassette at the edge of a block would terminate with this feature. Although the rafter cuttings are listed third in priority, their uniformity in spacing became the basis for calculating the placement of the block and the lion-head water spouts. There is no correlation between the placement of lion-head water spouts and rafter cuttings when these features occur on the same block. Blocks containing multiple rafter cuttings were proof of a structural constant; rafter beams approximately 0.15 m in width were typically placed ca. 0.55 m apart¹³⁸ in cuttings that were approximately 0.08 m in depth. When the block faces are aligned using the corona of the molding as a guide, the depth of the molding and overhand should be similar. Likewise, any gaps along the length that affect the closeness of join should not exceed the 1 cm margin of error, in either the drawing or workmanship of the ancient builders. The joins of two clusters of blocks from both the north and south sides of the

¹³⁸ See chapter 6, on craftsmanship and precision, as there is some variation, but this average was more typical than not.

temple were used to calculate an estimate for the lion-head water spout spacing. Each lion-head is roughly 0.26 m wide, although there is considerable variance with a range of 0.22 to 0.32 m. Lastly, ceiling beam cuttings are located on the back edge of a block, either center or at left or right. These cuttings, which are approximately .30 m in width, fortunately appear on the same cluster of blocks from the north and south flanks that produced estimates for the spacing of the lion-head water spouts, and could also be used to establish the joints of those block groupings.

2.6 Special characteristics and exceptions

In addition to what seems to be poor craftsmanship and mediocre quality of the stone, other anomalies in the execution such as the terminal ovoli and the bisected cassettes need to be addressed.

Terminating ovoli should appear on only one edge of one of the joining blocks, covering any resulting gaps, and thus creating a finished quality to the joint. This finish that delineates one decorative element from another would be an aesthetic ideal; however, it was not always present at joints. And in some cases, such as the right of AT 001 and left of AT 003, the angular appearance of these terminal ovoli seems to function as a protective strip rather than as a decorative treatment. It was also assumed that the overhang of block faces could be described as either with or without this terminal ovolo, but one fragment stored in the depot presented another possibility: a block that ends with approximately .01 m of a cassette.

There are at least three examples of this type of abbreviation: the fragment from the depot, the left front of AT 202 and the right front of AT 158. The depot fragment is

unique, for it is cut approximately 1 cm from the ovolo trim and preserves none of the adjacent decoration, whereas the cassettes of AT 202 and AT 158 are bisected almost perfectly in half, thus abbreviating the decoration. These exceptions perhaps speak of the last decisions that the architect was forced to make. Although the overall width and length of the temple were laid at the foundations, the small details were not thought out beforehand. This lack of rigorously calculated minutiae can also be seen in the irregularities of the frieze, where the dentils and viae are in some cases narrower.

The craftsmanship along the edges of the blocks that exhibit such abbreviations is more careful. The depot fragment, F 13, is the most exact and tightly carved piece from the entire block field collection. The difference was so noticeable that confirmation of the find spot for this fragment seemed necessary. AT 158 and AT 202 are also carefully carved near the front of the blocks. In both cases the molding seems to be worked at a slight angle as if a tight fit were needed for the join. The left edge of AT 202 contains the abbreviated cassette, but even the right edge of the block the molding angles inward 0.02 m and more so at the cyma recta than at the drip edge.

2. 7 The proposed reconstruction dimensions

Rhys Townsend has proposed the temple's minimum dimensions as 6.31 x 9.56 m. The reconstructed length that I propose is 12.01 m. His calculation for the intercolumniation uses the approximate radius of the lower column diameter of 0.30 m and produces an axial spacing of 1.915/1.95 m. The axial spacing across the front of the temple is 1.915 and the axial spacing of return, from corner column to anta is 1.95m. The

length from the back wall to the front of the threshold block is 7.31 m.¹³⁹ The minimum length of the temple would be 9.56 m, and this figure will increase when any projection of the antae from the door wall is discovered, according to Townsend.

2.8 The Geison: Information from the South Flank; Lateral Geison course

With a total of six intact blocks, as well as the combination of AT 241 and AT 242 that make up a single block, the south flank of the temple preserves slightly more whole geisa than does the north flank, and thus the south flank provides more examples that define the typical dimensions and diagnostic features of a lateral geison block.¹⁴⁰ It was first assumed that these blocks constituted the entire collection necessary to reconstruct the south side geison course, and that they possessed all the essential ornamental features. However, the combined length of these blocks (7.856 m) is less than the minimum length of 9.56 m of the *in situ* platform, and leaves a difference of 1.704 m. If the length of the foundation blocks, 13.63 m, is taken into consideration then a difference of 5.774 m would mean that nearly half of the temple plan is occupied by the porch. So, from the south side (fig 2.3), I have calculated the span of the reconstructed resting surface of the geison course as 12.01 m. Yet even with the more plentiful remains of the south side, there are several instances where the hypothetical reconstruction fill-blocks was required in order to maintain a logical rhythm for the lion-head water spouts. The find spot for the AT 202, AT 203, and AT 204 grouping, (fig 2.2) provided the

¹³⁹ My thanks to Rhys Townsend who provided these figures. His calculation for the minimum length of temple is as follows: $7.31 + 1.95 + 0.30$ (approx. radius of lower col. diam.) = 9.56 m.

¹⁴⁰ From left to right, as one would view the temple while standing on the outside: AT 194, AT 191, AT 202, AT 203, AT 204, AT 241, AT 242, and AT 257.

primary reconstruction order beginning with AT 202 as the block closest to the temple front (fig 2.4). The appropriate alternation between cassettes and modillions, a logical sequence and distance for rafter cuttings, an adequate alignment of moldings, and the closeness of the join between these three blocks were all taken into account for determining a basis for the lion-head water spout spacing of 1.78 m. Initially, it was assumed that this distance would also be a reliable constant in formulating the remainder of the lateral geison reconstruction. The front pediment geison AT 194 and the rear pediment geison AT 257, along with lateral geisa AT 202 and AT 204, preserve the only extant lion-head water spouts for the south flank, although as will become evident below, these lion-heads were not enough to establish any pattern in their spacing. The remaining lateral geisa, without the lion-head water spout decoration, are AT 191, AT 241 and AT 242.¹⁴¹ Blocks AT 202 and AT 203 each contain one full and two half rafter cuttings and establish the typical 0.55 m spacing. Although AT 191 lacks the lion-head feature, it does contain two full rafter cuttings ca. 0.55 m apart, which may be used to calculate the spacing between AT 194 and AT 202. A direct placement of AT 191 between AT 194 and AT 202, with AT 194 placed at the left edge of AT 191 and AT 202 at the right edge of AT 191, seemed adequate initially. However, there were two difficulties with this potential join: the misalignment of the molding on the right edge of AT 194 and left edge of AT 191; and the 0.01 m gap between the right cassette of AT 194 and left modillion of AT 191, at the beginning of the overhang join closest to the resting surface. The 0.01 m gap is within a tolerable range, and this join could remain categorized as a possible join

¹⁴¹ The block combination of AT 241 and AT 242 are halves of the same block and hereafter are referred to as AT241/242, and although AT 620 and AT 263 lain in the southeast quadrant, they are more likely a part of the raking geison.

on the condition of reconciliation of any discrepancies in the drawings. The next block in the sequence would be AT 202, but the abbreviated modillion at the left edge of AT 202 created a quandary. Joining AT 202 with any extant blocks would not produce a likely reconstruction because no other block possesses the missing .04 m of this cassette. Additionally, the modillion at the right edge of AT 191 projects 0.01m and would cause the left cassette of AT 202 to appear even narrower. The determining factor for not making this sequence of joins with AT 194, AT 191, and AT 202 was the extensive distance of 3.031 m it would create between the existing lion-head features on AT 194 and AT 202. Likewise, the joint between AT 204, AT 241/AT 242, and AT 257 would a mere 1.481 m distance between the lion-head features in this instance.

Based on similar irregularities noted in the fifth-century BCE Athenian temple, the Hephaisteion, a solution may be derived from its reconstruction, for which W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. calculated the block placements based on dowel holes, cuttings for the roof system, and roof tiles. His work revealed architectural decisions that caused an irregularity in the lion-head water spout spacing which resulted in overcorrections.¹⁴² It should seem plausible that if the Hephaisteion contained uneven yet notably predictable spacing, then the same could be said of the Northeast Temple and lion-heads spacing could be calculated using a similar reconstruction formula. In order to apply this approach to the south flank of the Northeast Temple, I have inserted filler blocks on either side of AT 191 and one between AT 204 and AT 241/242. The filler block between AT 194 and AT 191, I will refer to as Filler 1, (fig 2.5) the second filler block between

¹⁴² William B. Dinsmoor Jr., "The Roof of the Hephaisteion," *AJA* 80 no 3 (Summer 1976): 223-246, Published by AIA, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/503036>, (accessed 28/08/2013), 223-246.

AT 191 and AT 202, I will call Filler 2, (fig 2.6) and that between AT 204 and AT 241/242 I call Filler 3. I attempted this on the south flank first, because more blocks are preserved on this side, and the more regularly spaced rafter cuttings potentially predict the spacing of the missing lion-head water spouts. The distance from the first lion-head on the return of AT 194 to the second proposed (absent) lion-head on Filler 1 would be 2.095 m. This distance was calculated by using the length of AT 191 (1.415 m) and adding the shortest allowable distance for the lion-head placement on either side of the AT 191 block, which lacks the lion-head water spout. The half-length of AT 191 ($1.415/2$) is 0.708 m + 0.235 (shortest known distance of lion-head feature, on center, from edge of block) = 0.943. This 0.943×2 produces 1.886 m from the second lion-head to the third lion-head. This leaves spacing of 2.095 m from the extant block AT 194 (with the assumption of 0.55 m on center spacing between rafter cuttings) and the Filler 1 with its proposed accompanying lion-head. For Filler 2, when the same equation is applied, a distance of 1.886 m. exists between the lion-head of Filler 1 and Filler 2. For the remainder of Filler 2, I have proposed a length of 1.0 m. When added to the 0.835 m of AT 202, the distance from the left edge of AT 202's lion-head feature, produces a distance of 1.835 m. from the third lion-head to the fourth on AT 202. Therefore, the preceding equation applied along the south flank produces the following spacings:

- 0.325 edge of resting surface to first lion-head on AT 194
- 2.095 first lion-head to second lion-head (includes Filler 1)
- 1.886 second lion-head to 3rd lion-head (includes AT 191 length of 1.416)
- 1.835 third lion-head to fourth lion-head (includes Filler 2 and 0.835 of AT 202)
- 1.780 fourth lion-head to 5th lion-head (includes AT 203; left portion AT 202; right portion AT 204)
- 1.860 fifth lion-head to sixth lion-head (includes AT 204; portion of filler block)
- 2.03 sixth lion-head to seventh lion-head (includes Filler 3; AT 241/242; AT 257)
- 0.20 edge of resting surface of AT 257
- 12. meters approximate total length of resting surface of south flank

With the proposed intervals between the lion-head water spouts, the grouping of AT 202, AT 203, and AT 204 allowed the ceiling beam cutting, on the back face of AT 203, to occupy the approximate midpoint of the cella. The purpose of one other cutting, at the back right edge of AT 241/242, is unknown.

Another consideration for the Filler blocks 1 and 2, on either side of AT 191, is the fit of the cassettes and modillions (figs 2.5 and 2.6). In general, the geison blocks seem to maintain some level of consistency in spacing. So, a drastic change in the length of cassettes on a single block is not typical. There can, however, be some change from one block to its adjoining block. For Filler 1, I assumed that the cassettes would be in the range of 0.26 m to 0.28 m, with 0.24 m and allowed for 0.02 m variation at either end of that range. The modillions of AT 191 are not well preserved and those on the right and left edge tend to be narrow, as 0.12 m and 0.13 m, respectively. Additionally, the right modillion is an exceptional case with the 0.01 projection along the edge. This means that there was an attempt to create a tight join with the supposed missing block, Filler 2. As for the trials within the detail of the reconstruction drawing, the combination of modillions of 0.14 m and cassettes with a length of 0.27 m created a successful

alternation. In all cases, the sequence contained a modillion on the left end of the block. The left cassette of Filler 1 was 0.28 m long and I included the terminating ovolo at edges of the block sides. And for Filler 2, I used the same schema. There was no terminating ovolo on the left and the length of modillions and cassettes are 0.15 m and 0.28 m., respectively. With the 0.01 m overlap of AT 191, I used no terminating ovolo on the left side of this block's cassette. Also, the 0.15 m remaining for the right cassette creates a perfect joint with the abbreviated cassette on AT 202, thus a full 0.28 m cassette can be hypothetically reconstructed.

2.9 Information from the North Flank: Lateral Geison course

The length of the temple cannot be confirmed with the three full geisa, combined with the six fragmentary blocks that have been reconstructed along the north flank geison course.¹⁴³ However, the beam cutting on the back face of AT 003, similar to the beam cutting from AT 203, may be used to place the AT 003, AT 002, and AT 001 group by aligning these cuttings. (fig 2.7) The find spot for these intact north side lateral geisa blocks was just opposite that of AT 201, AT 202, and AT 203 along the south side. The join of these blocks meet all seven join criteria and blocks AT 002 and AT 003 contain the lion-head water spout features with 1.79 m spacing; nearly the 1.78 spacing with AT 202/203/204 grouping, but this feature on the north flank does not align east and west with south flank feature. The six lion-head water spouts of the north flank confirms that

¹⁴³ From left to right, as one would view the temple while standing on the outside: AT 127, AT 003*, AT 002*, AT 001*, AT 032, AT 156, AT 045, AT 047, AT 333. (* indicates a fully preserved block). These three full blocks from the north side were located as a group, just as the AT 202, AT 203, and AT 204 of the south side.

there should have been at least as many on the south side originally, but only four now remain among those six full blocks. Additionally, two of these six lion-heads belong at the front and back corners, three of the remaining four belong to the northwest portion of the flank and the fourth within the northeast portion of the length. There is a large 4.2 m gap between the lion-head on pediment geison block AT 127 and lateral geison AT 003, where there should have been at least one more lion-head. Therefore the necessity of filler blocks to recreate the south side, where I have proposed seven, can be supported by the remains of the north side.

2.10 Information from the Front Pediment

The front pediment, AT 178, with a length of 3.445 m, contains an *imago clipeata* thought to show Apollo. No apex geison block has been recovered, but the upper resting surface of AT 178 would accommodate a 0.77 m block. The slope of the left upper resting surface is 1.43 m and the right is 1.41 m. To this the bracket of AT 047 provides an additional resting surface on the left of 0.38 m and AT 194 provides 0.47 m, creating a total of 1.81 m and 1.88 m left and right, respectively. Additionally, this block contains four indented cuttings on the underside, spaced approximately 0.10 m apart. The horizontal geisa, which have concave cuttings around the periphery and a raised middle, are a likely fit for these indentations.

2.11 Pediment Geison; bracketing for Pediment and Raking Geisa

Pediment geisa are “L-shaped” blocks; the front portion, or gabled end, contains a raking geison and a horizontal geisa, with the latter beginning at the return of the block.

The tympanum, AT 178, is framed by the pediment geisa AT 047 on the left and AT 194 on the right as one faces the front of the temple. These pediment geisa also cradle a portion of the raking geison within a bracket that is cut out of the upper middle portion of each block; these cuts face one another. The upper surface of AT 194 is the only instance of a plinth for an acroterion, although this feature is not wholly preserved. The front vertical face between the horizontal and raking geison, on these pediment geisa, creates an approximately 40° angle near the tympanum that increases to a greater than 45° angle closer to the return at the corner of the block. Thus, the overhang of the raking portion of a pediment geison, such as that of AT 194, increases in depth from the corner toward the peak of the roof such that the cassettes also increase by 0.010 m in depth. While this may seem insignificant, the projected depth of cassettes should be at least 0.25 m. There are only four blocks that may currently be considered for use in the front raking geison: AT 043, AT 019, AT 164, and AT 544. Not enough remains of the overhang decoration on AT 544, but this angle is quite evident on AT 043 and AT 164. The depth of the back edge of the cassette to the drip edge of AT 043 is 0.245 m at the left and 0.255 m at the right. This slight angle that increases from left to right is echoed in the sima. AT 164 shows the same angle with 0.245 m in the left cassette depth and 0.24 m in the right. The sima is only partially preserved, but shows an increase of 0.020 m within a 0.40 m length decreasing left to right. Therefore, taking the modillion cassette alternation into account, AT 043 would have been part of the left raking geison, but not a likely joint with pediment geison AT 047. However, this cannot be determined, because the raking sima of AT 047 is missing. AT 164 would have been part of the right raking geison, a possible joint with AT 194.

The well-preserved AT 194 provides examples of the beam and rafter cuttings typical for this structure. The back face of the gabled front contains a ceiling beam cutting and the back face of the lateral return contains a well-defined rafter cutting. Just behind the raking geison support bracket, the back face preserves a beam cutting ca. 0.40 m in height extending from the under resting surface up to the back of the bracket cutout, or approximately half the total height of the block. This cutting is intentional, rounded, and the beam would rest on the upper surface of the frieze block below. The rafter cutting along the back face of the lateral portion of the pediment geison is ca 0.20 m near the back face and ca 0.235 m at its widest area where the rafter would stop.

AT 158 is an exceptional block for three reasons: it is the only extant portion of the front horizontal geison, the right hand cassette is abbreviated, and the right hand modillion is decorated with the only instance of three parallel lines. Its height of 0.255 m with only a drip edge and half-round for molding, also identify and place this under the pediment. It is a rather small block, only 0.72 mp (maximum preserved) length, and because this block type contains no diagnostic marks on the back face or upper resting surface, the specific location is indeterminable. It exhibits the typical floral motif associated with the pediment cassettes: the left hand cassette with five rounded petals and indented heart; the abbreviation of the right hand cassette removes two of what would have been five petals.

2.12 Information from the Rear Pediment

The rear gable is not made of a single pediment block, but several smaller blocks. Some of this group of pediment blocks have been recovered, but not yet reconstructed.

There is an aedicule pediment block that would have been seen only from the interior of the cella just above the cult statue.

As you face the rear of the temple, the rear pediment geison AT 257 would be on the left and fragments AT 127 and AT 130 would make up the right pediment geison. Not enough remains of the raking geison on AT 257 to take a vertical measurement of the face. A cutting on the upper resting surface extends from the face of the block to the rear edge ca. 0.42 m from the edge that would join the tympanum. Its purpose is unknown. AT 127 is so damaged that the small fragment of a lion-head water spout on the sima had been overlooked until the 2013 season. AT 130 shows some indication that it shares similar cuttings as AT 194 and perhaps the fragments AT 047/045/333 may have as well.

With a height of 0.29 m, AT 074 is the only other example for the pediment floor. The modillions, unlike AT 158, are unremarkable; however the middle cassette contains a variant floral design with ten pointed petals. Just like AT 158, it lacks diagnostic marks that would indicate a specific location, but the length of 1.45 m somewhat limits the number of possible locations. The left and right modillions of AT 074 could join with either cassettes of the horizontal portion of the pediment geisa AT 257 or AT 130.

There are two raking geisa, based on their lack of rafter cuttings and the presence of ceiling beam cuttings: AT 006 and AT 263. The beam cutting along the right edge of AT 006 has no match in the lateral course; there is no indication of a lion-head water spout even near the broken portion of the sima. Not enough material remains of the raking portion of AT 127 to tell if AT 263 could have joined this part of the pediment geison. AT 263 contains a shallow cutting on the upper surface rear and middle. It is not

likely to have been cradled in the bracket of AT 257 as the modillion cassette alternation would not be contiguous. Additionally AT 620 should be considered as a possible raking geison, but its fragmentary state prevents clear distinction as either raking or lateral geison.

2.13 The Architect of the building and Parallels

The building plan and elevation of the Northeast temple are typical of Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle temples during the Roman Imperial period; the use of proportions and the podium, the overall appearance with the antae and the engaged columns are evidence that the architect was following formulae.

Wright suggests that the differences in the ashlar masonry building techniques used by the Romans did not deviate greatly from those of the Greeks per se, but the appearance was different. Both Greek and Roman load-bearing block types were used, with the former being more rectangular and the latter appearing taller and squarer on the outer surface. The Romans seemed to prefer the softer stone types as well, which Wright sees associated with the use of “striking” tools, rather than the “struck” tools typically used by Greeks sculptors, with the effect of a less precise block edge. This same imprecision is what is seen at the Northeast Temple, which exhibits rough edges throughout with the exception of the polished surfaces of the molding. In fact, the sculpture within the cassettes remains unpolished; a characteristic specific to Syrian sculpture techniques. The contrasting elegant quality of Greek structures when compared to the masonry of Roman structures, carries over to the roof system and entablature. The

Romans used and continued to develop the truss system along with the barrel-vault,¹⁴⁴ while the gable roof remained common in temple construction.¹⁴⁵ The raftered roofing system was used on the Northeast Temple and this is another subtle way in which this structure deviates from Greek tradition. A greater span, perhaps over 6 m, could have required trusses or props.¹⁴⁶ Not only did the raftered roofing system create an unattractive interior, but the transverse beams that were used provided the framework for a ceiling which would have been installed.¹⁴⁷ Although the rough qualities of the Northeast Temple's blocks and their decoration seem to indicate that the architect did not think through the small details before embarking on the project, the entablature was constructed with a strategy: to take advantage of the locally available materials, both timber and stone. The entablature was designed to be stabilized by the weight of the stone, rather than relying on metal clamps to unite the blocks. The width, or distance from front to back, of each geison block is greater than the width of the frieze blocks below, so the geison cantilevers over the frieze. This means that the ceiling's supporting beams likely fit into the squared cuttings that exist on the interior face of these frieze blocks, like AT 285. The frieze blocks for porch also preserve these cuttings; therefore the porch would have been given a ceiling and likely coffered as well. The modillions are appropriate for the entablature of the Corinthian order, and follow a tradition that began in the first century BCE in Italy.¹⁴⁸ Mark W. Jones describes their three forms: the scroll,

¹⁴⁴ G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building Technology*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 113.

¹⁴⁵ Wright, 104.

¹⁴⁶ Wright, 103-104.

¹⁴⁷ Wright, 103.

¹⁴⁸ Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, 141.

acanthus leaf, and rectangular bracket.¹⁴⁹ Their appearance also distinguishes the Corinthian order from the Ionic, and their rhythmical quality serves to visually “enliven” the overhang with this light and dark contrast.¹⁵⁰

2.14 Conclusions about the Imperial Temple’s dimensions

Excavation completed during the 2012 season indicated that the bedrock is at a slightly higher elevation along the south side and that supporting material and a terraced wall had been built along the north side.¹⁵¹ Brian Canon’s longitudinal section of the temple indicates that the face of the most westerly preserved entrance step is 16.17 m from the northeast corner of the lowest foundation block, whereas the distance between the preserved foundation blocks is only 13.63 m.¹⁵² The reconstruction measurements that I have proposed (12.01 x 6.54 m.) is complicated by this last piece of evidence. If the length of the temple foundation is 13.63 m, then the entablature may be less than 12 m because the short distance of the *in situ* step blocks would require a steeper angle to the podium platform. An alternate explanation is that the steps extended beyond the 13.63m of the preserved foundations, and rested on the parallel wall built in front of the structure, as was the case with the Early Imperial Temple at Sardis.¹⁵³ If the use of this parallel wall as the foundation for a stairwell was the case for the Northeast Temple, then there would be plenty of room for the proposed 12 m entablature.

¹⁴⁹ Wilson Jones, 142.

¹⁵⁰ Wilson Jones, 142.

¹⁵¹ Michael C. Hoff, Rhys F. Townsend, and Birol Can, “The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project: 2012 Season.” *ANMED* (2013-11), 155.

¹⁵² This figure is derived from the measurement taken on the preserved south side and front of the temple.

¹⁵³ Christopher Ratté, Thomas N. Howe, and Clive Foss, ‘An Early Imperial Pseudodipteral Temple at Sardis,’ *AJA* 90 no 1 (Jan., 1986): 50-53, including illustration 5.



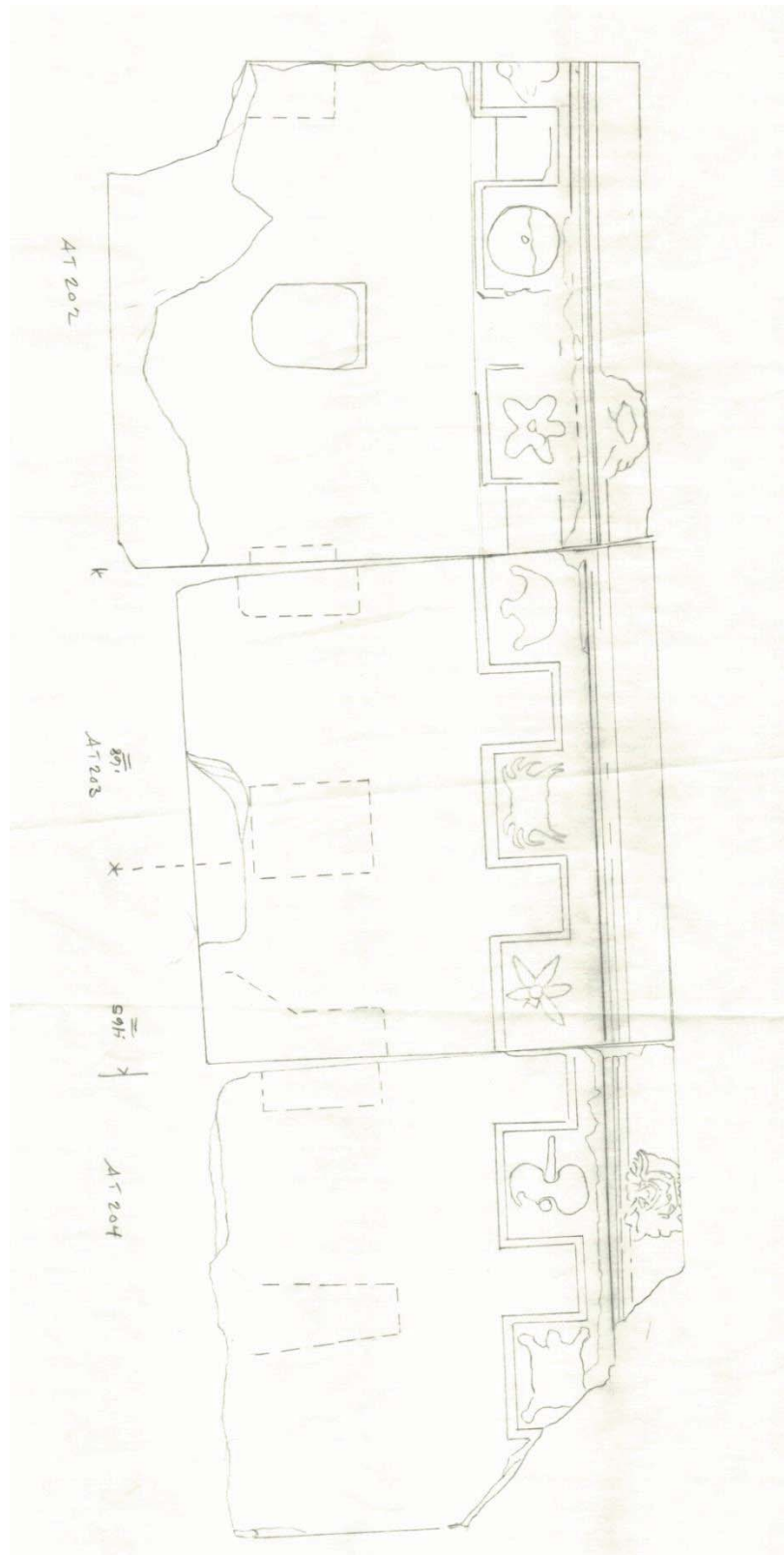


Figure 2.3 Northeast temple, AT 202, AT 203, AT 204, reconstruction sequence

Figure 2.5 Northeast temple, AT 194 and AT 191 with hypothetical fill block 1

Figure 2.6 Northeast temple, AT 191 and AT 202 with hypothetical fill block 2

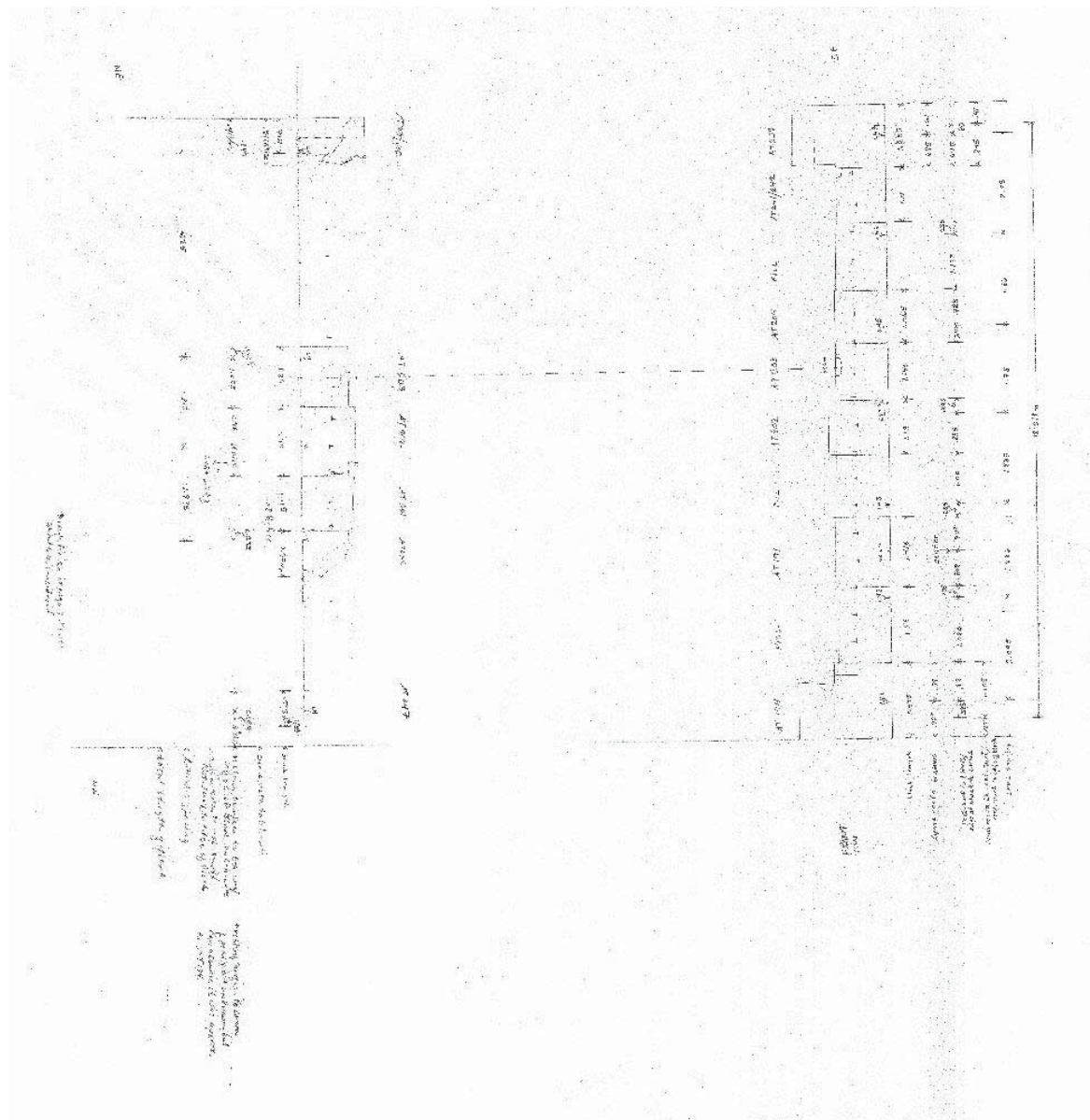


Figure 2.7 Northeast temple, North and South flanks, reconstruction

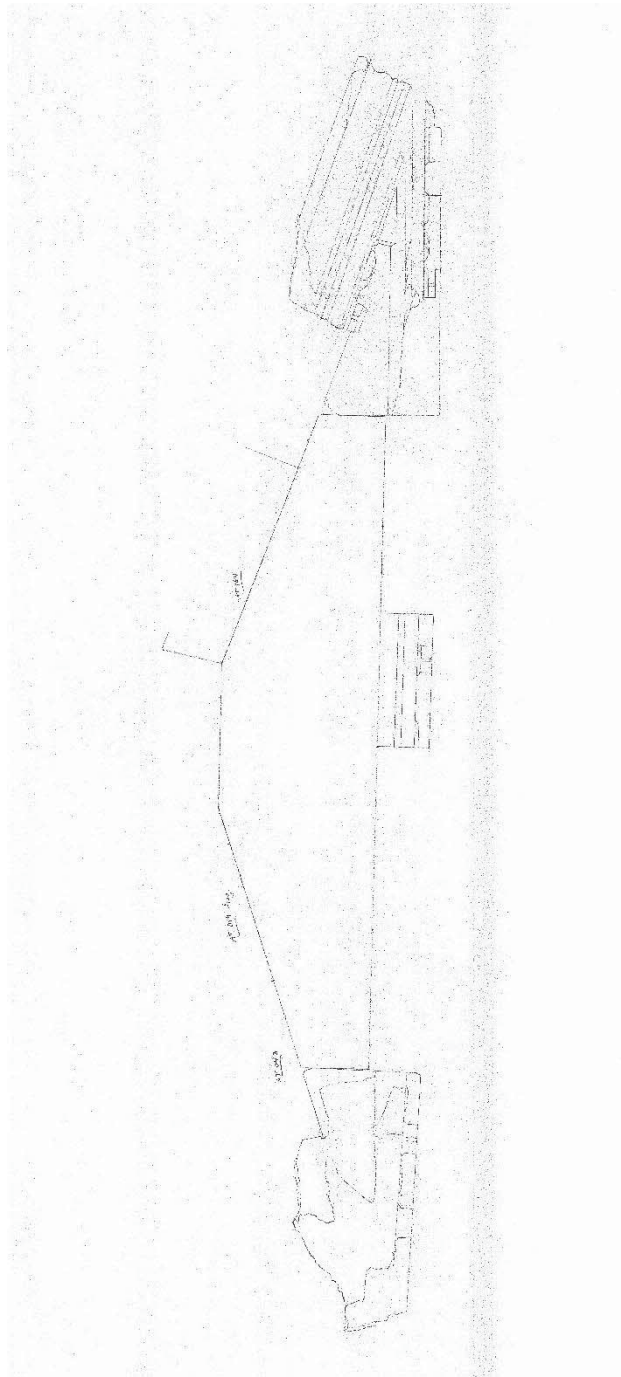


Figure 2.8 Northeast temple, entablature façade reconstruction

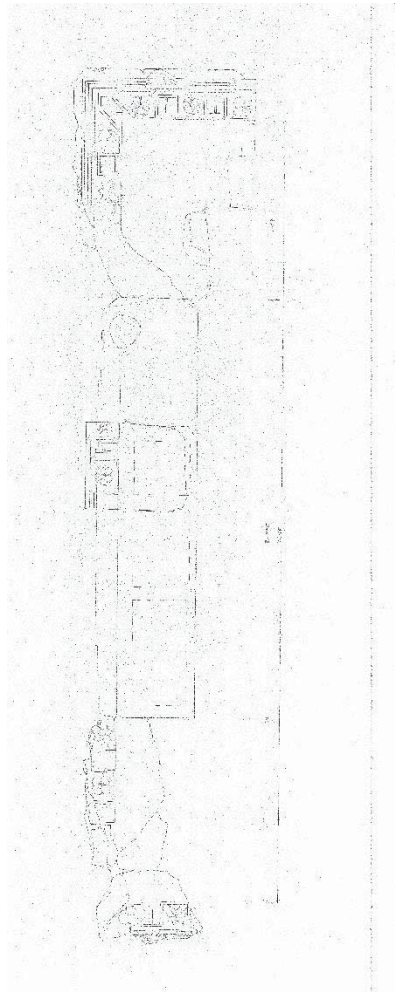


Figure 2.9 Northeast temple, entablature underside reconstruction

Chapter 3 CHRONOLOGY

3.1 Chronology and archaeological evidence: Dating and Parallels within ACARP survey area, nearby provinces and Corinth

The late second to early third centuries AD dating of the pediment is supported by the pottery sherds excavated from the trenches surrounding the Northeast temple.¹⁵⁴ This information establishes a starting point for parallels to consider. The comparanda cited in the following sections have been selected because the stylistic changes that can be connected to structures associated with inscriptions either to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus or Commodus alone indicate that a stylistic change did occur from one ruler to the other in the provinces and in the Roman core.

Few parallel imperial temples exist from the late second century CE with decoration treatment as simplistic as the geison molding on the Northeast Temple, and even fewer have inscriptions.¹⁵⁵ The dedicatory inscription for the Temple of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (169-177 CE) at Cremna, and its parallels at Sagalassos, which have been dated based on stylistic characteristics, contain less decoration, but are not as austere as the Northeast Temple. On the basis of stylistic similarities of geisa decoration, I have included the following structures in the list of parallels at Sagalassos: North West Shrine, ca. mid-second century CE, Nymphaion of the Upper Agora, ca. 160-180, Theater, ca. late second century CE, and the South West Temple, ca. mid-third century CE.¹⁵⁶ However, none are as plain as the Makellon at Sagalassos, which does contain a

¹⁵⁴ Hoff, Townsend, and Can, "2012 Season." ANMED, 2013-11, , 156.

¹⁵⁵ *Supra*, for the kaisareion at Carallia, with a possible inscription to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, And for the temple tombs in the ACARP survey area, such as Lamos, and Asar Tepe, and Ariassos in Pisidia, as well as those in the Olba area, Imbriogon Kome, and Anemorium (Anamur).

¹⁵⁶ Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997, 99, 105, 112, 118. Vandeput notes

dedicatory inscription to Commodus.¹⁵⁷ The other examples with austere profile decoration are from the West Forum in Corinth on Temples J and H. Those in Corinth contain dedicatory inscriptions documenting Commodus' lineage with his name removed.¹⁵⁸ Cleander was involved in Commodus' building programs during the latter part of his reign;¹⁵⁹ however, the Emperor's taste in design may be better understood through the Triumphal relief panels he commissioned for his father. These four relief panels depict the victories and activities of Marcus Aurelius that are now part of the collection at the Musei Capitolini, piazza del Campidoglio, Rome. One of the Triumphal Panel shows Marcus Aurelius in a chariot, (fig 3.1) but the extra room and the extra wreath in the hand of the *nike* indicate that Commodus was accompanying his father. Part of the background contains architecture, including a temple that closely resembles the appearance of future reconstruction of the Northeast Temple.

Although the structure predates the Northeast Temple, the profile molding of the monument to Antiochus IV of Commagene at Elaiussa Sebaste is included, because it seems to be the earliest example of that tradition in Cilicia. Geisa located along the beach of Anemurium (Anamur) are included because the temple to which these belonged is dated late second or early third century CE. Sculptural traditions brought into the region by Antiochus IV of Commagene are evident on the funerary stele and columns in the Olba region, which are included as well. Architectural elements from Northern Israel

the contrast of light and dark, likely only useful from a distance on the SW Temple, also the variety of modillion consoles increases from the late second century on, see 118.

¹⁵⁷ *Supra*, comparanda; Vandeput, 106, 192.

¹⁵⁸ Robert Scranton, "Two Temples of Commodus at Corinth," *Hesperia: the Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 13 no 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1944), 344, for *damnatio memoriae*; Charles Morgan, "Excavations at Corinth, 1938," *AJA*, 43 no 2 (Apr. – Jun., 1939), 263. See Hekster, 83, Commodus' popularity in the provinces didn't wane and his return was anticipated.

¹⁵⁹ Hekster, 68-9, this freedman's privileged life further outraged the senate.

and the Golan are included as examples of stylistic development, which stemmed from Pheonician traditions also seen at Palmyra that may have chronologically paralleled developments that occurred in Asia Minor. Temple tombs are also included as parallels that attest to connoisseurship and social assertion of the elites most often within Cilicia, and neighboring Pamphylia, Lycia, and Pisidia.¹⁶⁰ Generally, honoring the deceased through monumental architecture shifted from the heroa of the Hellenistic period, which were delineated by a temenos wall, to the podium temple tomb during the Roman period.¹⁶¹ This influence spread into Syria, where tower tombs were also replaced by the podium-style temple tomb.¹⁶² And lastly, I include a Hellenistic example from Cyprus for its simplistic decoration treatment and weathering, which is a common problem throughout coastal regions.

3.2 Anamur (see appendix A)

3.3 Temples in Rough Cilicia from ca 2nd century AD:

Calybrassus, Laertes, Carallia, and Diocaesarea, Corycus, and Elaeusa Sebaste

Several of the larger temples in the eastern portion of this Imperial province, as well as several smaller temples in the west, date to the late second century CE based on stylistic analysis.¹⁶³ A late first to early second century CE capital from the Temple of Apollo Clarios at Sagalassos, one from Hieropolis (second century CE), and another from

¹⁶⁰ Susan Alcock, Susan, ed. *Early Roman Empire in the East*. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 95, 1997, 145.

¹⁶¹ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 145.

¹⁶² Alcock, *Early Roman*, 145.

¹⁶³ Chiara Giobbe, "Roman Temples in Rough Cilicia: a diachronic analysis," In *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 139.

Perge (Hadrianic) are similar to that at the Temple at Colybrassus (12.90 x 7.90 m).¹⁶⁴

The S-shaped frieze of the Colybrassus structure is also similar to that at the temple tomb at Laertes.¹⁶⁵ The distyle in antis Temple of Apollo (?) (10.20 x 6.70 m) at Laertes, which may date to the late first or early second centuries CE, may be considered chronologically comparable.¹⁶⁶ Its cella of ashlar masonry construction would have been accessed via the front steps and pronaos. An attic base is also preserved *in situ*; however, aside from the superstructure most of the temple lays in ruins.¹⁶⁷

From the eastern portion of the province, the plain friezes with a pronounced S-curve seen at Diocasesarea and Corycus may be considered characteristic of two comparanda. The dedicatory inscription found on the architrave of the Tychaion at Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç), conflicts with the stylistic characteristics of its capital, the date may be either the late first CE or late second CE.¹⁶⁸ The columns for the prothesis are made of imported granite from the Troad and the Corinthian capitals from Proconnesian marble¹⁶⁹ are likely from the island of Marmar.¹⁷⁰ Likewise, the date for the temple at Corycus (second half of second century CE) has been based on inscription and architectural ornament. The lintel block's inscription, first described by D. Kaplan, may

¹⁶⁴ Giobbe, *Rough Cilicia*, 136n69, 136n70.

¹⁶⁵ Giobbe, *Rough Cilicia*, 136n71; Strong, 131-135; Vandeput, 180.

¹⁶⁶ Giobbe, 134-35.

¹⁶⁷ Giobbe, 134-35. For a purported dedicatory inscription, to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, associated with a temple at Carallia, see Giobbe, 131; also, J. Nollé, "Pamphyliche Studien 6-10," *Chiron* 17 (1987): 240-41 fig. 2; S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, "Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften, Nach den Scheden der kienasiatischen Kommission der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," *DenkschrWien* 265. *Tituli Asiae Minoris, Ergänzungsband* 22, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998): 100-1 GKa 10.

¹⁶⁸ Giobbe, 136n75, The stoa-basilica at Hieropolis may have similar capitals as that found on the Tychaion, shown in D'Andria, 244-45; see Giobbe, footnote 74, for Fischer; see also, 141n57.

¹⁶⁹ Giobbe, 136, The prothesis of this structure is parallel to and at a distance of 33.90 m from the back wall of the cella, the body of which and podium are constructed of ashlar masonry.

¹⁷⁰ Malacrino, 18.

contain the names of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.¹⁷¹ The reconstruction for this Corinthian temple is as a 6 x 12 peripteral structure with fluted columns.¹⁷²

3.4 Temple tombs in Rough Cilicia

Townsend and Hoff wrote of two types of monumental tombs in these six locations within the ACARP survey area; these regional comparanda have been shown to stylistically quote either a Hellenistic tradition of the non-peripteral temple or a more Italianate influence with the ‘Grabhaus’ or grave house.¹⁷³ The plans, construction methods, and materials distinguish the two types of tombs. Temple tombs, as the name implies, are temple-like in plan and elevation (including the Hellenistic naos) and have barrel vaults under the ridge of the roof. These freestanding tombs are raised on crepidoma, have no enclosing walls, and their orientation is dictated by topography. The temple tombs in the survey area may be as large as temples; such as Asar Tepe (6.19 x 9.55 m), and Kestros (7.18 x 10.98 m), which date to the third century CE.¹⁷⁴ Their location has been interpreted as a deliberate choice in opposition to Roman laws which restricted burials to extramural locations.¹⁷⁵ Additionally, the sima blocks of the

¹⁷¹ Giobbe, 131.

¹⁷² Giobbe, 131.

¹⁷³ Townsend, Hoff, “Monumental,” 253, 280.

¹⁷⁴ Townsend, Hoff, “Monumental,” 271-275.

¹⁷⁵ Townsend, Hoff, “Monumental,” 276, 277, Temple tombs outside the survey area may be found at Arcycanda and Balboursa, as well as Saraycik (formerly Apollonia) in Lycia, Gelchick in Pamphylia, Termessos in Pisidia, and Isaura in Lykaonia. East of the survey includes Elaiussa Sebasta and Olba, especially Demircili (formerly Imbrogion), but for those in the survey area, such as Silinus, Iotape and Kestros, the noteworthy features are the use of hyposoria, crypts, and interior acrosolia indicate that these do not emulate Hellenistic temples. See pages 272-3 for E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum’s research at Iotape which is of particular interest, for these tombs no longer exist. The structures contained egg-and-dart and a scroll pattern decoration on the upper and lower molding of the lintels that continued onto the door jambs. See Alcock, *Early Roman Empire*, 145, for the second century temple tomb in Lycia, at Arcycanda, which preserves a lintel with a portrait bust flanked by winged nikai, and in Cilicia, memorial portraits occur on

bouleuterion at Asar Tepe has the same roughly finished sculptural quality and the non-functioning lion head water spout as seen at Antiochia ad Cragum.¹⁷⁶

The earliest grabhaus that Durukan dates to the first century CE at Elaiussa Sebaste are prostyle tetrastyle Corinthian structures, with frontal approach, arcosolia, and vault, which makes them parallels to the first phase grave houses at Anemorium, Antiochia ad Cragum, Selinus, Iotape, and Syedre (all structures within the ACARP survey area). This structure is similar to many in the Olba region and dates to the first century CE¹⁷⁷

Until the mid-second century CE, when Roman influences prevailed, Greece and Egypt were most influential in burial practices.¹⁷⁸ These second phase temple tombs from the Roman era, in the Olba area are dated by Durukan as late second and early third centuries CE. These are prostyle tetrastyle Corinthian structures, with temple tomb no 3 at Imbriogon Kome as another parallel to the tombs at Anemurium, and other structures within the ACARP survey area¹⁷⁹

Structurally, some funerary stele and columns in Lycia and the Olba region are comparable to those in Northern Syria.¹⁸⁰ Those in Syria date to the second century CE and a similar sculptural quality has been noted throughout the Commagene territory as

the pediment of a two storey tomb at Demircili, where the pair of semi-naked males' busts replaces the Imperial god's image.

¹⁷⁶ Rhys F. Townsend, "The "Council-Chamber" at Asar Tepe: a preliminary study," in *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 119-120, figs 10.15 and 10.16.

¹⁷⁷ M. Durukan, M., "Monumental Tomb Forms in the Olba Region," *AnatSt* 55 (2005), 110, 113, 114, 118.

¹⁷⁸ Durukan, 124.

¹⁷⁹ Durukan, 112, 118, 123.

¹⁸⁰ Bilal Söğüt, "Tombs with Monumental Columns in the Olba Region," *OLBA* 11, (2005), 126-128, Cennet-Cehennem, Imbriogon Kome, Tülü, and Sanciören, and specifically the Sesönk Tumulus in Commagene the stele are compared to those in Northern Syria at Bsendlaya. The smoothness of the relief sculpture is mixed, some are rough in appearance.

well. Tombs in Imbriogon Kome, thought to be built ca. 38-72 CE, during the reign of Antiochus IV of Commagene, also included the use of Doric capitals atop the single or double columns that were placed nearby. In the late second and third centuries CE, the Corinthian capital was added to the architectural repertoire. Columns and tombs carved by artists originating or trained in Commagene or Northern Syria enjoyed a long period of popularity in the Olba region.¹⁸¹

At Ariassos in Pisidia, tombs for the elite are also intramural, without religious significance, that act as daily reminders of their status to their community; their placement testifies to an Anatolian tradition linked to “native ideology.”¹⁸² Additionally, the simple treatment of the molding links the stone masons from Selge, who worked here, to those who worked in the ACARP survey region. This use of decoration contrasts with the Corinthian capitals and ornate moldings on tombs at Isaura, Demicili, and Elaiussa Sebaste, for instance.¹⁸³ An intramural temple tomb at Aezanoi in Phrygia, placed within the city’s colonnaded agora and in axial alignment with the Temple of Zeus (ca Hadrianic period), also preserved an altar on the front steps.¹⁸⁴

3.5 Pisidia – Ariassos, Cremna, and Sagalassos

Cremna’s continuity in its building programs distinguishes it from the western regions, according to Stephen Mitchell. He states that the Doric order was common in Hellenistic Pisidia and continues into the Roman era (ca second century BCE to second

¹⁸¹ Sögüt, 130-131.

¹⁸² Townsend, Hoff, “Monumental,” 279, 280, in particular, they mention Luwian social and cultural identity.

¹⁸³ Townsend, Hoff, “Monumental,” 279.

¹⁸⁴ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 141, for S. Cormack on the structure’s placement, sacrifices to the deceased, and citizen’s status relates to the strategies employed by elites to maintain their positions.

CE), but the drawback to this continuation, he states, was the deterioration of basic sculptor skills. He attributes this, and not indigenous traditions, archaism, and independence as the reason for Cremna's buildings to appear "out of date" when compared to more fashionable cities.¹⁸⁵ Mitchell states that Cremna, Sagalassos, Termessos, Prostanna, and Selge all maintained an independent alliance with Rome;¹⁸⁶ even so, Cremna differed from neighboring provinces, as they did not engage in intramural burial practices. The Tomb of the South Cliff, a prostyle (?) structure with steps, which lacks columns or pediments on site, is limestone ashlar masonry with drafted edges along each block. The architrave has three fasciae, the frieze is decorated with garland, masks and bucephala, not bucrania which are skeletal.¹⁸⁷ The geison is decorated with non-functioning lion-head water spouts and dentils (0.07 x 0.7-9 m) with "moulded [molded] bands" for overhang.¹⁸⁸

At Cremna, the Temple for Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and the Small Temple with the Syrian Gable are stylistically similar in entablature decoration; the somewhat obscured name of Commodus in the inscription indicates a date of 169-177 for the Temple for M. Aurelius and Commodus.¹⁸⁹ The egg-and-dart decoration used on the Temple for M. Aurelius and Commodus shows a fully-framed egg and the dart's barbs

¹⁸⁵ Stephen Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia: An Ancient City in Peace and in War*, Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co., 1995, 30, 33, 62. The Doric Agora (ca first to fourth BCE) was typical, with Hadrianic forum and Basilica in Cremna, also. He establishes dating through ceramics and ties the production to Sagalassos's kilns.

¹⁸⁶ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 41. Unlike Roman tradition, Hadrian's practice of self-deification was unrestricted in the provinces, and shown in inscriptions 81.

¹⁸⁷ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 69. Mitchell notes this is not entirely an eastern phenomena that bucrania and garland are used on the late first century CE mausoleum at Larinum in Apulia. Also, bucephala or bulls head is different from the skeletal bucrania, 72-3.

¹⁸⁸ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 69.

¹⁸⁹ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 108.

are two-thirds of the way up the dart, as described by S. Mitchell and illustrated by the architrave blocks (fig 3.2).¹⁹⁰ The decoration of the sima, with disintegrated palmettes, is characteristic of the high contrast seen in late second century CE ornament.¹⁹¹

The heaviness of the sima decoration along with the broadness and lack of correspondence between the egg-and-dart with the bead-and-reel molding below it has led Mitchell to date the Small Temple with the Syrian Gable as late second century CE, like the theatre at Sagalassos (ca 180-195 CE). The fullness of the palmettes gives a flattened appearance, not allowing much of the background to be seen.¹⁹² The reconstruction drawing for the Small Temple shows floral cassette ornament similar to the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum; however, the use of dentil bed-molding makes it similar to the Temple of Apollo at Anamur (see appendix).

From Lutgarde Vandeput we learn that the sepulchral structures and the Bouleuterion, from the mid-second to early first BCE, show that the city maintained a continuous building program that predated Alexander and continued at least into the early third century CE with the Gate near the Baths.¹⁹³ All geisa at Sagalassos, regardless of decorative treatment, show a typical molding sequence of cyma recta, half-round, and drip; no extra fascia, ovolo, or half-round. The plain sima appears on the Temple of Apollo Klarios (ca 100 CE); the South West Gate of the Lower Agora, first half of first century CE; the Makellon, from the late second century CE; the Theatre, from the late second to early third century CE (fig 3.3.); and the South West Temple, from the mid-

¹⁹⁰ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 108.

¹⁹¹ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 108.

¹⁹² Vandeput, 107-112; See Mitchell, *Cremna*, 111- 12, for questions pertaining to the structure's location in the city and the stylistic differences which confounds the true function of the building.

¹⁹³ Vandeput, for the Bouleuterion, see 15, 130-32, for the Gate, see 122-23, 141.

third CE (fig 3.4).¹⁹⁴ The cassettes and modillions of the Makellon are plain, and its dedicatory inscription attests to local builders, funding, and Emperor Commodus (180-193).¹⁹⁵ The s-curved modillions are trimmed with cyma reversa, and dentils serve as bed molding. The carving on the Makellon and South West Temple, whose cassettes are a floral motif, is described as “flattened and lifeless;” unlike the Makellon, the SW Temple is dated stylistically to the mid-third century CE.¹⁹⁶ The plain ovolo and lack of detail on the flowers’ inner surfaces are problematic for Vandeput; there are no close parallels on site and that at Cremna contains a frieze with garland and bucephala. Yet these are the elements that are so similar to the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum. Vandeput states that the Honorific Monument I and the South West Gate of the Lower Agora show variation in cassette motif typical for the early Imperial period at this site, and that Asia Minor lags slightly behind the West.¹⁹⁷ The high relief of these floral designs and the dentil bed molding are stylistically different from the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum, however, the plain cyma recta above the half round molding are similar. There are other structures, closer in date to the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum, that show variety in the cassette motif: the North West Shrine, from the mid-second century CE (fig 3.5), with flowers, leaves and fish; the Theatre, with leaves and masks; and the

¹⁹⁴ Vandeput, see inserts.

¹⁹⁵ Vandeput, 106, 192.

¹⁹⁶ Vandeput, 181, 192. Parallels are the frieze with garlands on the Temple at Cremna (Severan period); see also Mitchell, 119-121. The geison of the North Portico of the Asklepieion (123-138 CE) with the recessed cassettes are more like those from the SW Gate of the Lower Agora (early first century CE). Remains from what appear to be other structures, perhaps indicating reuse, surround the SW Temple at Sagalassos.

¹⁹⁷ Vandeput, 181.

Nymphaion of the Upper Agora, dated 160-180 CE, (fig 3.6), with leaves, masks, and flowers.¹⁹⁸

But, third century architectural ornamentation also changes slightly in rhythm as well as in depth. The Gate near the Bath at Sagalassos, ca. early third century CE, is comprised of lintel, jambs and cornice sima that are ornamented with alternating patterns of palmettes, acanthus leaves and scrolls; however it lacks the normal molding depth when compared to the structures' architrave.¹⁹⁹ This lack of depth in ornamentation has been attributed to the popularity of neo-platonic philosophy which shows itself in contemporary busts that were formulaic and lacked the deep contrasts in the hair produced by the use of a drill. The lintel and jambs, on the Gate near the Bath, contain cavetto with alternating open and closed upright and pendent palmettes tightly interwoven network making motif difficult to discern. Parallels for the third-century types are the architrave molding of Temple 'P' at Side, ca third century C.E., (fig 3.7) and Dokimian sarcophagi (second half of the second century or later) with "disintegrated palmettes."²⁰⁰

Often, rather than dentils, when cassettes and modillions are used such as on temples, they tend to be more ornate and the bolster of the modillion, if decorated, is given the opposing type of curve as that on the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad

¹⁹⁸ Vandeput, for the North West Shrine, see page 104, for the Theatre, see 112, for the Nymphaion of the Upper Agora, and see 105.

¹⁹⁹ Vandeput, 221.

²⁰⁰ Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and ruins of Turkey: From Prehistoric Times Until the End of the Roman Empire*, Translated by John Whybrow and Mollie Emre, Istanbul: Mobil Oil Türk A. Ş., 1969, 36, maintains that grave art was not a major influence in Asia Minor during the Roman Age, however, Vandeput, 114, argues that the level and type of decoration on Dokimian Sarcophagi had been mimicked on contemporary temples.

Cragum. The geisa at Sagalassos are likely held in place by clamps, as they do not have the height, or the extra molding on the face of the blocks.

3.6 Pamphylia

The coastal towns attest to how some portions of this province developed from indigenous origins, such as Side, and from Rhodian colonization, such as Phaselis founded in 690 BCE by Lakios.²⁰¹ The structures at Side are better dated than other Pamphylian cities, such as Phaselis, Perge, and Aspendos; the general development began in the Hellenistic with improvements and repairs during the Roman era, funded by local elites.²⁰² Side's theatre may have been originally built as early as Seleucid rule, and it was rebuilt in the second century CE and repaired in the fourth.²⁰³ The entablatures of the theatre and Building M, both at Side, (fig 3.8) are dated mid- to late second centuries CE.²⁰⁴ Building M shows a progression for the overhang's ovolo trim also seen at Sagalassos; the growing size of the egg-and-dart and the framing which ensconces these elements seems less effective.²⁰⁵ Building M geison overhang contains cassettes and modillions, as well as dentils for the bed molding. Acanthus on the modillions and three and four leaf flowers in cassettes.

At Perge, the Nymphaion F2, from the early Severan period,²⁰⁶ this inelegant egg-and-dart trims a cassette containing a face, as a motif, this is similar to that seen on the

²⁰¹ John D. Grainger, *The Cities of Pamphylia*, (Oxbow Books: Oxford and Oakville 2009), 13, 18.

²⁰² Grainger, 173; see also Mitchell, *Cremna*, 85.

²⁰³ Grainger, 173.

²⁰⁴ Vandeput, 39. Building M has not been well studied.

²⁰⁵ Vandeput, 90, Pl 116.4.

²⁰⁶ Vandeput, 100, Pl 113. 1-3. See Mitchell, *Cremna*, 69-70, animals and humans appear in decoration during the late second or third centuries CE, 120. Mitchel lists other examples as Termessos grave

Nymphaeum of the Tritons, Hierapolis, ca mid-second century CE, (fig 3.9). When comparing the acanthus that accompanies these enlarged and shallow decorations, used also at the theatre at Hierapolis, there appears what L. Vandeput calls a disintegration or “feingezahnter Akanthus.” The emphasis is placed on the light and dark patterns of this molding sequence rather than the ornate qualities of the decoration.²⁰⁷

3.7 Phrygia: Hierapolis and provincial temple tombs

The pediments of several structures and temple tombs from Phrygia attest to the socio-political nature of this second century province. The Nymphaeum of the Tritons, at Hierapolis, and the theatre and the Nymphaeum at the Temple of Apollo (fig 3.10) all date to the Severan period.²⁰⁸ Like the Nymphaion F2, at Perge in Pamphylia, the busts of athletes and identifying inscriptions in the geison cassettes of the Nymphaeum of the Tritons, is repeated as a figural motif, also with inscriptions, in the West side of the North Agora in the stoa-basilica from the mid-second century CE.²⁰⁹ The pediment of the Nymphaeum at the Temple of Apollo also contains the god’s bust and flanking griffins (see Hellenistic foundation myths and Religion).²¹⁰ Francesco D’Andria describes the structures of the Phrygian city of Hierapolis, not far from Aphrodisias, with the latter’s influential architectural decoration that can be seen in the Nymphaeum at the Temple of Apollo in the Phrygian city of Hierapolis (late second to early third centuries CE). The

monuments (early third CE), Lagonya, Pamphylia, a small temple (Severan), and “elaborate architecture” from Perge, Pamphylia (135-41 CE).

²⁰⁷ Vandeput, 102.

²⁰⁸ F. D’Andria, F., “Gods and Amazons in the nymphaea of Hierapolis.” in *JRA Supplementary Series 80, Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor: Proceedings of the International Conference to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Italian excavations at Hierapolis in Phrygia, held on May 24 – 26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce)*. Eds., F. D’Andria and I. Romeo. Portsmouth, RI (2011), 150-153.

²⁰⁹ D’Andria, 159-60.

²¹⁰ D’Andria, 162.

Nymphaeum's two story façade includes the Corinthian order on the first story and Composite on the second with busts of divinities on the tympana. Like the other tympana of the nymphaeum, the tympanum that includes the bust of Apollo is composed of three blocks which include the raking and horizontal geison (3.3 m length x 1 m height). The Apollo is flanked by griffins "with snake-like extremities" suggestive of the water flowing into basins and tritons.²¹¹ This emphasis of local myth and traditions in "ambitious building programs" is typical elite practice expected during the Second Sophistic in Asia Minor when "mythological, literary, and historical references" were combined and aligned the elite with their sophist, Antipater of Hierapolis.²¹² Apollo, shown with his quiver, is accompanied in the other tympana by Artemis-Selene, Leto, and Zeus Patrios; none are *imago clipeata* and the molding of these pediment are decorated with Anthemion on the sima and bead and reel below the sima and with egg and dart below the cassettes and modillions. Items that relate to the decoration of the Northeast Temple are the shields and double axe shown in the Amazonomachy frieze. All of the structures mentioned here are from the Severan period and exhibit the inelegant egg-and-dart and the characteristic disintegration seen at Sagalassos, Perge, and Side.

3.8 Temples J and H, Corinth, Greece

The similarities in plan, elevation, and simplistic decorative treatment are unmistakable when the two tetrastyle Corinthian temples in the West Forum at Corinth are compared to the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum. Robert Scranton described the two reconstruction complications for Temples H and J: first, the poor

²¹¹ D'Andria, *Gods and Amazons*, 161-62.

²¹² D'Andria, *Gods and Amazons*, 169-170

workmanship (similar to the Northeast Temple); and second, the two temples were so similar that it was difficult to tell which block originated from which structure.²¹³

Additionally, no two capitals were alike. One way to distinguish between the blocks of the two structures was through the comparison of the geisa blocks; the corner geison of Temple J preserved unique portions of overhang showing the via between the dentils as a rounded molding.²¹⁴

It is through architrave inscriptions that we learn that Temple J was dedicated to Poseidon, a deity who appeared on Corinthian coins during Commodus's reign. The temple was completed within the Emperor's 10th tribunician power, or December of 184 CE to Dec 10th of 185 CE. Although the dedication of Temple H is unknown, it was built ca. 190 CE; Commodus became consul for the sixth time on January 1, 190. These are the only extant examples of temple construction for which Commodus gives himself credit; "he was joint and sole builder of bridges and fortifications," according to Lampridius, who also claimed that the emperor put his name on buildings he did not finance.²¹⁵ Cornelia Baebia donated the funds for the temple, but so little is known of her and her possible connection to Commodus, that little can said of either Cornelia's or Commodus's intentions.²¹⁶

²¹³ Scranton, 321 The quality of the workmanship created the same problems as those with the Northeast Temple: molding width could vary as much as 1 cm on any particular block, the "joint surfaces...not carefully prepared," and "corners were not always true",

²¹⁴ Scranton, 325, 339.

²¹⁵ Scranton, 346-7, see page 344, for Antonine lineage on architrave with Commodus's name erased; see also C. Morgan, 263.

²¹⁶ Scranton, 347-48.

The steps of Temple J (6.8m wide x ca 12 m long) add 4 m to the length; the interior of the cella is 5.5 wide x ca 6 m long, with a 3.4 m deep pronaos.²¹⁷ Aside from the variation in plan from Temple H, little more is written of this temple.

Like Temple J, the steps of Temple H , projected another 5.2 m from the podium of the structure which is approximately 7.6 m wide x 12 m long. See façade and elevation drawings figures 3.11 and 3.12 for details. The interior of the cella measures 5.8 x 7.6 m and the pronaos is ca 1.5 m deep. The geison course provided the majority of the diagnostic information for reconstruction: the lion-head water spout placement, the rafter cuttings, the clamp cuttings, and notable variations in the “dentil range.”²¹⁸ Cassettes and modillions do not adorn these geisa, but the three non-functioning lion-head water spouts (spaced .35 m apart) placed on the left corner block (ca 1.2 m long) also contained an acroterion platform, clamp cuttings that were perhaps unused (fig 3.13), and a cutting that may have held the “rafter of the pronaos roof.”²¹⁹ The pry-hole marks on the upper surface of the architrave confirmed the length of right side corner geison. The clamp cutting on this corner geison matched the adjoining raking geison.²²⁰ The irregular cutting (0.70 m maximum length x .50 m wide x 0.07 deep) on the peak geison was likely for an akroterion. And the “diminution” in the “dentil range” (dentil width) from the adjoin block continued through the peak geison.²²¹ A unique side geison block also provides information for the pronaos wall; two of the cuttings were on the outside of the pronaos, the other on the inside. This side block also contained four functioning lion-head water

²¹⁷ Scranton, 321.

²¹⁸ Scranton, 330,331.

²¹⁹ Scranton, 330-31.

²²⁰ Scranton, 331.

²²¹ Scranton, 331.

spouts (fig 3.14), the first was 0.275 m from the edge and all others were equally 0.45 m.²²² Again, the poor quality of the work affected the overall dentil spacing and how much it interfered with the taenia. This was especially true of the three geisa made of poros. These blocks also ranged in thickness, two were 0.50 m and one .40 m thick, whereas the marble geisa were typically 0.46 m thick.²²³ When the blocks were first discovered in 1935, Charles Morgan summed up the entablature's appearance in 1938 by writing the "mouldings are large and heavy, with simple profiles and no detailed ornamentation."²²⁴

When the plainness of the modillions are taken into account, two other structures that may have set precedence for the Northeast Temple are the monument to Antiochus IV at Elaiussa Sebaste (fig 3.15) and the Temple of Apollo at Hylates, Cyprus. The monument to Antiochus IV was built during the client king's rule of Cilicia. The molding and overhang are austere; there was no decoration in the cassettes.²²⁵ The monument dates stylistically to the second half of the first century CE, and those geisa attributed to the structure²²⁶ contain a molding profile similar to the Northeast Temple's. Also, the inclusion of rafter cuttings on the upper surface of the block along with this type of the molding indicated that the weight of the block held it in place. These features are also part of the Temple of Apollo Hylates' geisa.

²²² Scranton, 334-5.

²²³ Scranton, 335.

²²⁴ Morgan, 263.

²²⁵ Correspondence with Emanuela Borgia.

²²⁶ Borgia, in Hoff and Townsend, 93-95, built during Antiochus IV's reign, but not published.

3.9 Northern Israel, Syria, the Golan, and the Roman temple at Kedesh

The entablature development of late second-early third century CE structures in Northern Israel, stems from Pheonician workshops from Ba'albek, where the temples display what Wiegand termed the "Syrian Sequence."²²⁷ This sequence is the vertical aspect of the molding, contained on the geison and architrave. The geison consists of the cyma recta, ovolo and drip, followed by an overhang with an addition of a bed molding. The architrave contains the frieze, and the crowning molding and three fasciae, as seen on the entablature of Roman theater at Bet-Shean (fig 3.16).²²⁸ Typically, the frieze is an independent block in Greek and Roman building traditions. This tradition originated in the secondary entablatures of the temples of Jupiter and Bacchus and by the third century CE, they are used on the interior and exterior of the temple of Venus, also at Ba'albek.²²⁹ Turnheim illustrates how the theater entablatures at Bet-Shean (fig 3.17), Caesarea Maritima (fig 3.18), and temple entablatures at Kedesh (fig 3.19),²³⁰ exhibit the features of the Syrian Sequence, which disintegrate into a vertical face without an overhang or bed molding for the geison on synagogues beginning with the synagogue at Capernaum (fig 3.19), then at Hirbet Summaqa and then the Catacomb no. 4 at Bet Sə'arim (fig 3.20). With the synagogue at Meroth, the geison becomes a completely vertical frieze,

²²⁷ Yehudit Turnheim, "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Gōlān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996), 122, 127, 131-2.

²²⁸ Turnheim, 124-125.

²²⁹ Turnheim, 127. See 127n 33, for Margaret Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1974, 222, for the development of Roman architecture and the experimentation typically seen on interior decoration.

²³⁰ Turnheim, 125, other examples are from "the synagogue in Capharnaum [Pls 12 B, 18 A], and the mausolea in Bet Sə'arim [Besar; Pls, 13 B, 14A]; and two in basalt (from the synagogues at Chorazin [Pls. 14 B, 15 A, 19 A.B], and Hirbet ed-Dikke [Pl 21 B], fragments from Banyas (Caesarea Philippi), Susita (Hippus), the Roman theater at Sepphoris (Diokaisareia), Dor, the Roman thermae at Hammat Gader (Pls 20 A.B), and from the synagogues at (Horbat) Arbel (Arbela), Hisfin (Pl 21 A), Bet Səarim (Pl 15 B), Meroth (Pl 16 A), and Hirbet Summaqa (Pls 13 A, 18 B)."

much like the Doric triglyph and metope. With each step in this progression, the decoration becomes more simplified, in that when the modillions exist, they are plain and lack the egg-and-dart pattern on the ovolo trim. This is seen on the Synagogue at Hirbet Summaqa and Catacomb no. 4, but it is the treatment of the cyma reversa ornament on two fragments from Hirbet Summaqa that seems problematic for dating these Synagogues.²³¹

The cyma reversa ornament at Banyas is plain and similar in sequence to the temple at Kedesh, where an additional decorated cyma reversa is part of the soffit molding profile.²³² The entablature of the Roman temple at Kedesh (Pl 12 A) contains more profile moldings than the other geison blocks that Turnheim discusses, and aside from the ornament it looks similar to the profile of the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum. Jodi Magness writes that the temple at Kedesh (late second-early third centuries CE) contains iconography that is multivalent. The structure was dedicated to the Semitic god Baalshamin, the Greco-Roman god Jupiter as well as Apollo and that it functioned as an oracular temple.²³³ The main doorway flanked by two smaller entries indicates this function; this feature is seen at the temple of Apollo at Didyma, a comparanda included by Magness.²³⁴ The relief of an altar is decorated with a bearded male identified as Baalshamin, 'Lord of Heaven' and syncretistic with Bel, who is symbolized on the Temple of Bel at Palmyra as an eagle with stars and spheres.²³⁵ The Kedesh lintels

²³¹ Turnheim, 128, 133.

²³² Turnheim, 127n28.

²³³ Jodi Magness, "Some Observations on the Roman Temple at Kedesh." *Israel Exploration Journal*, 40, no 2/3 (1990): 173-181. Israel Exploration Society. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27926181>. (Accessed: 13/11/2013). 173.

²³⁴ Magness, 174.

²³⁵ Magness, 175-76.

contain eagles, with that on the north doorway standing on a ‘concave object’, perhaps Jupiter’s thunderbolt.²³⁶ Other iconography includes a lyre, basin on a tripod, crescent with star, and a krater, all of which are associated with Apollo Kitharides, who is syncretistic with Nabu, the Babylonian god of wisdom and destiny.²³⁷ The oracular function and construction between the Antonine and Severin periods aligns this temple with the revival of the Apollo cult in Asia Minor in the second and third centuries CE.²³⁸

The conflation of gods and man are also seen on Palmyrene temple tombs; a structure which replaced the Hellenistic tower tombs beginning with the influence from the Temple of Bel (32 CE).²³⁹ The adaptation of eastern influence for the Temple of Bel is the side entrance and the false pediment roof system; seen from the long sides the roofline associated with pediments of the traditional western elevation are missing.²⁴⁰ In design, the syntax and motifs also maintain a local tradition and this is carried over to the temple tombs in this region.²⁴¹ The plan of Tomb No. 36 (early third century CE), at Palmyra, is like the Persian ell, it also uses a conflation of the indigenous burial style with a peristyle courtyard.²⁴² This is interpreted by A. Schmidt-Colinet as a means for the owner to state his relationship with the Roman administration while laying claim to his own indigenous heritage.²⁴³ The use of pattern books that may have been used by workshops is considered the agency for transference from Rome to Syria, where sculptors were also quoting textile patterns. Examples of western influence are the putti, one type

²³⁶ Magness, 176.

²³⁷ Magness, 180

²³⁸ Magness, 180-1.

²³⁹ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 145, 157.

²⁴⁰ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 158.

²⁴¹ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 158, see 168-169 for temple tombs nos. 173c and 86 (ca early third century CE).

²⁴² Alcock, *Early Roman*, 165-66.

²⁴³ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 165.

from a mid-second century CE Roman sarcophagus also appears on an entrance to Tomb No. 36. The ornamental decoration that quotes textiles is seen throughout Palmyra.²⁴⁴

The difficulties of dating the Corinthian Temple of Zeus Olbios at Uzuncaburç, as C. Williams points out, lie mainly in the lack the comparanda for Cilicia during the second century BCE due to the instability that plagued the region.²⁴⁵ The revivifying building program of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE) centered on the Cult of Zeus, which appeared with the Seleucid invasion of Cilicia and is evidence of the syncretism and Hellenization of a local god. By comparing the development of the Corinthian capitals including those on the Corinthian Temple of Zeus Olbios, Williams states that this structure is one of the few from the second century BCE during a brief period of stability brought about by Antiochus IV.²⁴⁶ More importantly, the exterior use of the Corinthian capital on the Propylon in Samothrace (third century BCE) and the Sarapeum in Alexandria meant that the Hellenized Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms were using this Order in a functional and exterior manner before Greece.²⁴⁷

3.10 Conclusion

In conclusion, the stylistic changes seen during the late second century CE may be considered synchronous with the change in Imperial rulers. Temples dated by their dedicatory inscriptions reveal that those constructed in honor of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Commodus are characterized as Antonine stylistically and typically

²⁴⁴ Alcock, *Early Roman*, 170-174, the Roman sarcophagus is in the collection of the Villa Albani, Rome, and the architectural decoration example is the pilaster from an arch at Palmyra.

²⁴⁵ Caroline Williams, "Corinthian Temple of Zeus Olbios at Uzuncaburç: A Reconsideration of the Date," *AJA* 78 (1974), 414.

²⁴⁶ Williams, 414.

²⁴⁷ Williams, 406-414.

dated late second century CE. These include the temple at Corycus, and the Temple for Marcus Aurelius and Commodus at Cremna. There are numerous structures in Pisidia, such as the Small Temple with the Syrian Gable, at Cremna, the Honorific Monument I, the South West Gate of the Lower Agora, the North West Shrine, the Nymphaion of the Upper Agora, and the theatre, all at Sagalassos, that have been dated stylistically using those structures with inscriptions as the basis of this analysis. On the other hand, those structures dedicated to Commodus alone, such as the Temple H, at Corinth, and the Makellon, at Sagalassos, show a distinct simplification of decoration. For instance, all the vertical molding on the face of the geison blocks is plain. The ovolo trim of the modillions and cassettes, which had previously been decorated with an egg-and-dart that became progressively crude in form, is also plain, as are the modillions which no longer contain the acanthus leaves. And with Temple H, the modillions and cassettes are replaced by dentil molding. During the Severan period, this inelegant appearance of the egg-and-dart returns, and we see this on the South West Temple (mid-third century CE) at Sagalassos, and the Nymphaion F2 at Perge.

The Northeast Temple's molding may be evidence for an Armenian tradition that Antiochus IV of Commagene may have introduced into the area in the first century CE, like the monument at Elaiussa Sebaste, and that some of the elites of Rough Cilicia, or the architects whom they hired, continued this tradition. Like the unfinished look from chisel marks left on the decoration of the Northeast temple overhang that seem similar to those works produced from Asiatic trained sculptors, the innovative combination of a vertically extended profile appear to be imported. Neither element, profile nor sculptural quality of the reliefs, is seen on temple tombs, which follow more closely to Hellenistic

and Italianate traditions. And these western traditions on temple tombs likely emulated public structures in the region.

Architecture of the Roman period quoted Hellenistic structures in profiles, among other features, but what appears to unite the monument to Antiochus IV with the Northeast Temple is the specific molding profile it quotes. The Northeast Temple's austere molding exhibits the S-curve, with a rough upper most fascia that would have been protected by the projecting roof tiles. This S-curved cyma recta, the half-round, fascia, ovolo, and drip edge comprise the vertical face of each geison. The molding profile of most Greek and Roman temples do not exhibit the extra half-round and fascia that appear on this temple. Many Greek and Roman temples use the cyma recta, ovolo, and drip vertical sequence, even in locations showing diverse stylistic periods such as Sagalassos. However, this extended profile may have been imported from the Armenia Kingdom. This could be an aesthetic consideration relating to proportion. It could also be an engineering factor in the construction of these blocks that were held in place by their weight. At the very least, the architects who worked at Antiochia ad Cragum were familiar with this older tradition, or perhaps, these inhabitants of Rough Cilicia may have been aligning themselves with Antiochus IV, his lineage, and his architectural traditions. I would also suggest that there is a way in which this could be an indicator that the elite of Antiochia ad Cragum were following another archaic quality associated with Antiochus IV of Commagene's lineage.

It is possible to then consider this larger and less delicately adorned form of architectural member, seen at Elaiussa Sebaste and Antiochia ad Cragum, as a contrast to

the abbreviated height usually employed in geisa. This high contrast and lack of detail is also seen in the architectural program at Sagalassos, and especially with the Makellon's plain molding and overhang.

During the Imperial period, city planning moved toward more rhythmically complex patterns with high contrast between light and dark created by these structures that were closely placed to each another in larger cities.²⁴⁸ It is possible that the desire for high contrast could be reflected in their choice for less ornamentation in favor of more elegant lines. The choices made in the city planning may be reflected in the microcosm of structural design and the level of ornamentation.

The profile and overhang of the geisa include the S-curve cyma recta with lion-head water spouts, such as AT 204, (fig 3.15), and the S-curve modillions, with the flower as leitmotif. These are just a few of the iconographically significant items. The temple at Anamur, whose blocks are now either part of a retaining wall along the coast line or spread along the beach, exhibits this floral motif, yet the molding profile is much like any other with cyma recta, half-round, and drip edge (fig 3.16)²⁴⁹ in contrast to Antiochus IV's monument at Elaiussa Sebaste. D. E. Strong writes that similarities, such as those seen in entablatures from Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, suggest common origins which are difficult to define because architects migrated during the mid-second century CE. For example, the simple convex curve in the frieze developed from S-Curve first in Syria in the first century CE, but not much in Asia Minor, and not at all in mainland Greece. However, this clearly eastern influence is 'intrusive' in Roman architecture, as

²⁴⁸ MacDonald, 219; Vandeput, 184, sharp effects of light and dark become more popular.

²⁴⁹ See appendix.

seen on Hadrian's Gate at Antalya.²⁵⁰ Strong's statements concerning the scarcity of monuments during Commodus' reign echoes other writers; no fragments are preserved from the Triumphal Arches of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, from Commodus' Temple of M. Aurelius, nor from *Thermae Commodianae*. Strong felt that precise dating would be impossible during this period and can only be based on style.²⁵¹ The late Hadrianic ornament on the 'Temple of Serapis' on the Quirinal dates to M. Aurelius and those works attributed to Septimius Severus and Caracalla recall an earlier style with Flavian motifs.²⁵² This is true at Sagalassos as well; even monuments dating to the co-rulership of M. Aurelius and Commodus show continuity with ornament associated with Antonine works, and those structures from the Severan period repeat these earlier styles.²⁵³ Only those few monuments attributed to Commodus alone, identified through inscriptions, contain the plain molding, modillion, and ovolo.

Wiegand considered the modillion's ovolo and parallel grooves a western influence, yet Lyttelton opposes this position.²⁵⁴ In fact, Lyttelton writes of the curved modillions with parallel lines as a development that occurred in Asia Minor, noting the two parallel grooves during the Hellenistic era which progressed to three lines (like AT 158, figure 2.3) with an early use in the cornice of the rear room in the Stoa of Athens, at Pergamon.²⁵⁵ The ovolo's use on the Temple of Apollo Hylates predates Alexander as

²⁵⁰ Strong, 136, Hadrian's gate also has a 3 crown moldings, and 2 fasciae divided by cyma reversa, Strong says a 'type B' was common in second century CE profiles and shows Asia Minor origins.

²⁵¹ Strong, 139,

²⁵² Strong, 139-140.

²⁵³ Vandeput, 202, also the Corinthian capital.

²⁵⁴ Margaret Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 19740, 202.

²⁵⁵ Lyttelton, 92. Turnheim, 2n21, 2n22, see Fischer, Ovadia, and Roll, 1984, for the decoration; also Jodi Magness, 173-181, for the temple dedicated to the Semitic god Baalshamin and to Apollo for temples with more than one function.

well. Was an earlier Eastern influence, such as Antiochus IV, more lasting? Yehudit Turnheim gives an illustration of an entablature and its components, from Bet Shean (Scythopolis) an illustration based off of this Roman theater fragment shows the typical profile of the “Syrian Sequence” for the geison: cyma recta, half-round, and drip, and the overhang of modillion and cassettes with a bed molding below.²⁵⁶ Turnheim links the origins of the S-curved modillion with Hellenistic traditions stemming from Asia Minor, noting in particular the geison of the theatre at Aspendos.²⁵⁷ He also attributes the decrease in craftsmanship and “estrangement from classical tradition....by patrons and artisans” as a “spiritual process” and that this design abandonment during the Roman Imperial period prompted “a new artistic concept.”²⁵⁸ His concern lies mostly in the Syrian Sequence and how it may have been maintained, noting the geographical distance that required the marble and workmen to arrive together or the stones arrived in the quarry state with local workmen to finish the blocks.²⁵⁹ The use of dentils as bed molding, such as that on the temple at Anamur, is similar to this Syrian Sequence.

Therefore, the amount of influence after Alexander’s campaigns and subsequent Hellenization may have had on the dissemination of style remains difficult to decipher. During the 12th century BCE, Greece had already established colonies throughout the Mediterranean region; these Ionian Greeks are who Alexander encountered during his

²⁵⁶ Turnheim, 124, fig 1.

²⁵⁷ Turnheim, 126.

²⁵⁸ Turnheim, 132-33, Quick and dramatic contrast could be safely be accomplished with the drill, a tool workmen turned turn to during the Imperial period. Turnheim claims this was not due to lack of interest in craftsmanship for patron or artist; it did help sculptors to keep up with demand, however. *Supra*, this develops into an increase in molding during the second century CE.

²⁵⁹ Turnheim, 131-32. For ‘Syrian Sequence’, see page 124, Weigand characterized the geison as consisting of cyma reversa, drip, with modillions and cassettes, and a bed molding, while the architrave contains a convex frieze, and s-curve crowing, and three fasciae with overhang as soffit. This differs from the Northeast temple especially in the bed molding and the lack of a separate frieze block. For workmen accompanying the quarried stone see Stephen Mitchell, *Cremna*, 84-85; Carmelo Malacrino, 31.

journeys.²⁶⁰ Additional eastern influence was likely felt in larger metropolis and coastal areas where these Ionian emigrants settled, in addition to the Assyrian influences, which are noted characteristics of the lion-head water spouts.²⁶¹

The lion-head water spouts that adorn the geisa along the length of the Northeast Temple are the non-functioning type and those that are intact range in width from 0.24 m to 0.32 m. The best preserved examples are AT 003 and AT 204 (fig 3.17) from the north and south sides, respectively. Additionally, the detail of the face is best on AT 204; the fang-like incisors extend from the jaw to the head, the heart-shape of the nose-tip differs from the more common broad snout, and the clearly defined eyes and lids set this ornament apart from the others. Both lion-heads from AT 003 and AT 204 are a narrower variety measuring less than 0.03 m wide.

Lions and lion-heads are ubiquitous to Asia Minor and the Near East, each with their own distinguishable traits that are most noticeable near the muzzle, and those of the Northeast Temple, such as AT 204, can be used to differentiate Luwian aesthetic traits from those of the Assyrians.

The lion-head ornament of AT 045 (fig 3.19), a fragment of the lateral portion of the pediment geison, is noteworthy for it exhibits an unrefined sculptural quality and has a larger-than-normal protruding tongue that suggest an apotropaic function. The segments of mane and broad tongue resemble the pointed flower petals in the cassettes and are not unfinished ornament, nor could the mane be finished in such a way that it would look like the others. All other lion-head water spouts are similar in their schema; the flared

²⁶⁰ Grainger, 7; Vandeput, 14; Herda; *supra*.

²⁶¹ Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and ruins of Turkey: From Prehistoric Times Until the End of the Roman Empire*, Translated by John Whybrow and Mollie Emre, (Istanbul: Mobil Oil Türk A. Ş., 1969), 18; Grainger, 77.

locks of mane have a slight s-curve, each segment along the side of the lion face is doubled, and if the top tuft exists, it will have 5 to 7 short single segments.

Temple iconography also attests to syncretism, but this is less obvious for dating purposes, as this practice began with the Bronze and Iron Age societies, such as the Hittites and Luwians.²⁶² The conflation of images and their meaning, however does attest to the multivalent qualities of the structures typical of the Roman period. We see this on the second century CE temple at Kedes̄h, but we also see this at the second century BCE Temple of Zeus at Olbios at Uzuncabur̄ç. Regardless of the period, this practice of syncretism is closely tied to the socio-political activity and this is reflected in sculpted relief work.

The overhang consists of weaponry, fauna, and flora, the latter being more frequent at the gable ends.²⁶³ Far more can be said of the cassettes and modillions that constitute the geison overhang. For one, the motifs of these cassettes attest to Hittite religion and rituals which were anthropomorphized with both their gods' images and their names that were derived from the environment and natural phenomena.²⁶⁴

With the proximity of the expanding Hittite kingdom, the annexation of the Luwian territory into this conglomeration was inevitable. With daily exposure, the symbols and stylistic traits associated with these syncretized gods become culturally and neurologically embedded in the system and people. According to Onians, a viewed image is remembered and when it or something similar reappears, that synaptic network that

²⁶² *Infra*, Chapter on Interpretation.

²⁶³ *Supra*.

²⁶⁴ *Supra*, see archaeology section; Hopkins, Across the Anatolian Plateau, 137- 141, The battle between the Storm-God and the cosmic serpent is described in the *purulli* text and was part of the spring festival.

existed is re-fired, and this reinforcement creates common neurological responses.²⁶⁵ It would then make sense that some remnant of this typology would remain even as this region will inevitably become part of the Greco-Roman world. With the Hittites' appropriative practices, however, it is difficult to differentiate between Luwian and Hittite iconography.²⁶⁶

Psychological methodology serves as a means to approach and process a problem, however; there may be other forces involved in that push to recall an ancient past. It may be best to first ask: What would constitute an indigenous iconography, perhaps Hellenized in the same manner that onomastic shifts occurred in this area? A strict definition of this iconography would become even more unlikely once these images evolve. What may have furthered this development in the Hellenistic period could be explained by a continued conflation of religious and civic images. The numerous flowers, and several animals, and weaponry images of the Northeast Temple's cassette may be used to illustrate how this development affected architectural ornament in Cilicia.

First, as I have addressed this topic in the Anatolian history chapter, appropriation of Luwian iconography by the Hittites during the Bronze Age muddies any distinction between the two groups. As an example, Hittites and Luwians used flowers to indicate specialness²⁶⁷ and to fill in space such as the Seal of Meggido.²⁶⁸ But this is quite a

²⁶⁵ John Onians, *Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, 3. John Onians, ed., *Compression vs. Expression*, Dalton, MA.: Studley Press, 2006, 241.

²⁶⁶ Mouton, 7, on keeping 'things' separate.

²⁶⁷ Melchert, *Luwians*, 314, such as the floral design seen on the headdress worn by the goddess Kubaba, on the orthostates at Carchemish ca 900 BCE (fig 3.20), which he dates this to 11th-10th centuries; See also Van Loon, 9, who states this is according to later Assyrian symbolism. The queen of Carchemish's popularity waxed in the early second-millennium BC, waned during the Hittite Empire and after the fall of that Empire, she again rose in popularity throughout Anatolia. At Carchemish, she maintained her standing and is shown on the reliefs with her husband, Karhuha.

chronological jump from the Bronze Age reliefs to the Roman Imperial structures of Cilicia. What set precedence for recalling such archaic images and conflating them with the contemporary? It was by Antiochus IV's policies that this natural tendency toward remembering ancient images was encouraged.²⁶⁹

Religious and administrative images as artwork, from the Bronze and Iron Age on, then forms the basis of a creative evolution that began as syncretism and continued into the Hellenistic through additional political maneuvering. Again, Antiochus I and his legacy down to Antiochus IV appear to be a linchpin.²⁷⁰

For the south flank, I have categorized the animals and offerings as one, namely ritual objects. Thus, the pattern produced may be stated as floral, military, and ritual. This "monoscenic picture"²⁷¹ repeats three times beginning at the middle of the south side and progressing to the rear. Regardless of the addition of the fill blocks on either side of AT 191, this pattern cannot be maintained and perhaps was not intended to do so. The north

²⁶⁸ *Supra*.

²⁶⁹ Andrade, 49-51.

²⁷⁰ *Supra*.

²⁷¹ See Susan E. Alcock, John F. Cherry, and Ja's Elsner, *Pausanias: travel and memory in Roman Greece*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 99, 103, 106. This is based off of Alcock's comparison between "Megarian" bowls, also known as "Homeric bowls," in which her analysis of the narrative shown on the Hellenistic terra cotta Megarian, showing the Abduction of Helen by Theseus and Pirithous (ca first half of second century BCE), opens the possibility of how syntax works on architecture, specifically with the triglyph and metope of the Doric order, and how the text and images associated with myths of locale did not consistently agree. She states that the Doric order architecture exemplifies the fluidity between rhetoric, art, and architecture, as well as how these types of narrative may have been manipulated. Decorative relief images were of a "cyclic narrative, much like the metope and triglyph on Doric entablatures." The depictions were a "series of independent (although thematically related) 'monoscenic' pictures" that included "Satyrs, tritons, victories, erotes, centaurs, griffins, dolphins, etc." Her conclusions about the bowl's narrative attest to the elusive quality of visual arts' language which would be even truer for the provinces and Asian school. If this type of narrative was presented on Doric entablatures, could the same be said of Ionic and Corinthian entablatures, especially the overhang of the geison with cassette as picture field and modillion as barrier? With this in mind, the Northeast temple's quote of indigenous iconography would turn the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic in on itself, thus distinguishing the local elites' self-acceptance and promotion as educated citizens of their own school. See 40-42 for Pausanias' and others' promotion as 'pepaideumenos' of their own school. See 109, for how this bowl's depiction of Corinth as part of the Abduction route is not part of any writer's mythological rendition; coincidentally, the bowl dates to around the sacking of Corinth.

side's pattern is more difficult decipher; there are not animal images. If the so far unidentified object on AT 002 left cassette were a fish image, this would create a weapon, ritual, and floral alternation between AT 003 and AT 002. The north side's items are of the same types as the south side, just random in their appearance.

More variety occurs in the south and north flanks where military and ritual objects are included, as opposed to the all floral motif of the gabled ends. There are 29 potential instances of images that I have calculated for the south flank 14 are fully preserved and 2 are fragmentary. There are nine possible floral images, with eight known, two known weapons, three known animals, and two suspected offering related objects with only one known. The north flank also has the potential of 29 images: nine preserved floral,²⁷² two weapons, one offering, and no animals. The shield and two hatchets on the north side AT 003, shield on south side blocks AT 203, double axe on AT 204, constitute the weaponry. The south side flank contains all extant animal images: the crab of AT 203, the turtle of AT 204, and the leopard of AT 241/242. Offertory objects from the south side flank are the phiale on AT 202.

A variety of flowers appear in all of the types of geisa, but the gabled ends of the temple are entirely a floral motif. The floral designs that surround the tympana are more inventive and more likely to incorporate swirled petals, alternating petal sizes, and stems. These flowers contain articulated axis and at the point of convergence there may be space for a pistil. If space for the pistil is present, it may be raised or hollowed out.

²⁷² With a potential of 9 with fragment AT 019, which may be a lateral or part of the pediment arrangement. AT 350 preserves no ornament. Because the upper surfaces of AT 171 and AT 019 are not preserved, it causes difficulty in identifying the geison type for these blocks; however, we can be assured that they do belong in the same portion of the temple by their common find spot and the stylistic similarities of their flowers.

The incongruity of style is also most apparent in the gable ends. At the front, when comparing the detailed work and floral stylization of AT 158 , AT 043 , and AT 194 to the AT 045/333/047 block and AT 164, the precision, height of relief, and experimental quality is more pronounced in the former group. The stem in the left cassette and the alternating petals in the right cassette of AT 158 as well as the three parallel lines that adorn the modillion of AT 043 especially attest to the trained eye and hand, but also reveals an awareness of stylistic progression possessed by the sculptor.²⁷³ The horizontal geison AT 158 would have been placed before the pediment block and we should allow this as a potential sign of repair.

The alternating petals on blocks AT 043 (8 total, front pediment) and AT 263 (8 total, rear pediment), likely the same sculptor and perhaps the 10 petal flower of AT 074 rear pediment as well. The alternation between the large and small petals of these flowers are rhythmic and exhibit the type of attention a skilled artist would create, whereas the multiplicity and unevenly shaped flower petals on blocks AT 202, AT 203, AT 171, AT 164 , AT 045/333/047, AT 019, AT 002, and AT 127 fail to show this. It is particularly striking that this uneven quality would occur on the front pediment, such as the right cassette of AT 164, which was likely near the apex geison block. In fact, a majority of these blocks were part of the front portion of the temple. The haphazard appearance of the flowers on the AT 045/333/047 pediment geison, which also contains the apotropaic lion-head water spout decoration, may be due to that function. Could this also be the reason that the overhang of AT 047 projects forward by 0.02 m at the left cassette?

²⁷³ *Supra.*

The six petal flower is a Hitite hieroglyph used as a “symbol in the [picture] field or on the circumference of seals, alone or accompanied by the symbols for “LIFE and HEALTH” and it may characterize the Sun god, or appear in the winged disc above him.²⁷⁴ The name of the *festival of the crocus* which is held in the spring, and the six-petal crocus pertain to a variety of one of Turkey’s native flowers which may have rounded or elongated and pointed petals. These are not floral designs originating in Greece or Rome, but are found throughout the coastal area of Asia Minor and into the Hurrian. The archaeobotany researched at Sardis²⁷⁵ may be used as a comparison for the flowering plants depicted on the temple, which show similarity. For instance, the close arrangement of the flax’s slightly overlapping five rounded petals and the poppy’s four rounded petals both circumscribe a pronounced compound pistil. These five petal flower types, like the flax, show up on AT 001, AT 002, AT 019, AT 047 (fig 3.31), AT 156, AT158, AT 164, AT 171, AT 194, and AT 289 (fig 3.32). The four petal flowers also appear in AT 002, AT 006, AT 019, AT 047, AT 194, AT 257, and AT 263 (fig 3.28).

Stemmed flowers: The unusual flowers of the rear pediment geison AT 257 (fig 3.33) are only partially preserved and appear to be stemmed. These may have contained pistils, such as the flower in the left cassette on raking geison AT 158 from the front of the temple. However, stemmed flowers appear on other block fragments, such as AT 406 and AT 442 and these clearly show that the thick stem penetrates into the center of the three-petal flower. The outlines created by the damaged flowers on AT 257 give the

²⁷⁴ Laroche, 98, for Hacı Bebekli, Maraş 11, Tell Ahmar 2, Alep 2, and characterizes the Sun god on Yazilikaya 34, Kargamis B 33, Malatya 12

²⁷⁵ Mark Nesbitt, *Plants and People in Ancient Anatolia*, 5-18, in David Hopkins, *Across the Anatolian Plateau*, the pre-Neolithic sites Pinarbaşı, Hallan Çemi, and early Neolithic sites Çayönü, and sixth century BCE and onward at Sardis.

impression that the artist was inspired perhaps by the toadflax or alpine skullcap.²⁷⁶ AT 406 and AT 442 may just provide evidence that these clumsily executed flowers may have been the work of an apprentice.

The most unusual flowers are on AT 339, AT 620, and AT 130. The petals of AT 339 (fig 3.34) appear to be sliced at the tips, but the remainder of the flower is typical in form and placement of the block was likely somewhere along the north east flank near the back of the temple. AT 620²⁷⁷ contains four heart shaped petals and similar, but less defined ornament can be found on fragment F 9 from the depot. The left cassette of the horizontal portion of pediment geison AT 130 is the only example of an eight-leafed design: one leaf at top and bottom, and three leaves in opposite arrangement for the sides.

The swirled petal in the right horizontal cassette of AT 194, the middle cassette of lateral geison AT 156, and the right cassette of fragment AT 293 are in various states of preservation. Each swirl is counter-clock wise. A flower similar to the native flax²⁷⁸ perhaps inspired the sculptor.

If these flowers were a means of self-assertion, could it be a purposeful choice if the outline of the stemmed and odd three-petal flowers on AT 257, placed at the rear of the temple, happened to recall the parasitic *Rhynchocorys stricta* (fig 3.35)? This would only raise more questions. If it were self-assertion, then why would it appear at the back of the temple? Is it necessary to veil this message?

²⁷⁶ Defney Cimok, ed., *Wild Flowers of Anatolia*, (A Turizm Yayınları, Istanbul, 2009), 60, *Linaria genistifolia*, 52, and *Scutellaria alpina*.

²⁷⁷ AT 620 was in a fragile state during excavation and fell apart during relocation to the block field, portions are now stored in the depot.

²⁷⁸ Defney Cimok, ed., *Wild Flowers of Anatolia*, (A Turizm Yayınları: Istanbul, 2009), *Linum anatolicum* or Anatolian Flax, 29, 62, and *Linum olympicum*, 47.

The cassettes' animals and weaponry also align with religion and rulership, most notably the use of leonine forms on official seals and temple structures. Although it lacks the extended tongue, the open mouth and curved upturned tail on the Meggido seal and the Phrygian cult stele are features similar to the animal profile of AT 241/242. The same may be said of the double axe and the flower motif, items associated with script and gods.

Lastly, the Imperial architecture on which these images later appear, such as monumental tombs and Imperial temples, reaffirms, as Rauh states, an "urban character of these poleis....which emphasize[d] and enhance[d] the community's reputation in aspects of religion, civic affairs, and culture."²⁷⁹ But why build to please an Emperor during the second century CE, when famine and plague were occurring?²⁸⁰ These widespread catastrophes could be perceived as a reason for the supposed decline in sculptor's skills which seemed to be lost in the second century; skilled men may have died off. And, rumors of Commodus' return could have prompted some building programs in the provinces. However, in light of the Asiatic tradition, which Colledge introduced, the sculptural quality may have been brought into the region when demand for work had increased. So, the quality is not as much of a concern, but rather an exchange of ideas that occurred beginning in the Hellenistic period after Alexander's campaigns into Asia.

We can gain from the appearance of the temple tomb forms that they reflect the elites' connoisseurship and we know that they were also funding the public building programs of cities. The choices these people made often aligned with and imitated trends

²⁷⁹ Rauh, et al., 288.

²⁸⁰ Hekster, 43, the Antonine plague caused a reduction in building programs, coins, etc. this also contributed to the reduction in military activity – reduction in resources, tax income, etc.

first seen in the Greco-Roman core, such as the tympanum that contains the winged *nikai* flanking a portrait. We also know that stone masons from Selge were working on these tombs in the ACARP survey area during the second century CE.

The approach to the Northeast Temple was very likely what it is presently; the citizens of this city could have consulted the dice oracle inscribed on the north wall.²⁸¹ This inscription may hold additional information about the types of the deities represented by the geison cassettes, but for now it is well enough to know that the inscription would have been consulted. The pediment block AT 178 contains the so-called Apollo *imago clipeata* as part of the decoration schema. The Apollo is flanked on either side by winged *nikai* who appear to hold the portrait in place. The block is bracketed by corner, raking, and horizontal geisa which exhibit austere molding²⁸² on the face and contain floral imagery in the cassettes of the overhang.

The pediment block and the function of Roman Imperial cult is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, Stephen Mitchell wrote of the importance of indigenous traditions that may have functioned as an “ethnic nomenclature” and “alternative ideology” to Imperial Rome, which attempted to neutralize these native cults through ceremonies and a renaming that excluded ethnic identity.²⁸³ Additionally, Olivier Hekster quotes John Thompson’s *Ideology and Modern Culture*: “the interpretation of ideology not only involves a projection of possible meaning, but also the claim that such meaning serves, in certain circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of domination. The interpretation of ideology thus enters the realm of claim and counter-claim, of argument

²⁸¹ Mitchell, *Cremna*, 66-67.

²⁸² No bead and reel, palmettes, or the like adorn these blocks.

²⁸³ Mitchell and Greatrex, 128, most notably during the early Christian era, but the process began in 72 BCE, when P. Servilius “conducted a ceremony” after capturing an Isaurian “stronghold.”

and counter-argument....' He claims that this means there is always a change, 'a coherent whole' does not occur; this insight seems particularly germane to the Roman Empire.

Thompson went on to say: 'the ways in which the meaning constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain structured social relations from which some individuals and groups benefit more than others, and which some individuals and groups have an interest in preserving while others may seek to contest'.²⁸⁴

With this in mind, it makes the insertion of the Imperial image among the geisa, appear awkward because the geisa motifs do not quote a recognizable Hellenistic tradition seen in the West, but exhibits a native iconographic tradition. Yet, it can be understood as a means for the Antiochians to honor their native and Greek identity such as Shayegan suggested with the coins and civic practice, and within the context of Roman rule.

The entablature of temples and temple tombs contains the telling signs of the cultural milieu and based on the archaeological evidence and structural parallels that I have presented, the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum would date to the late second century AD and specifically during the reign of Commodus.

²⁸⁴ Hekster, 10.



Figure 3.1 Rome, piazza del Campidoglio, Musei Capitolini, Relief from honorary monument to Marcus Aurelius: triumph Sculpture, 176-180 AD

The Temple for Marcus Aurelius and Commodus



PLATE 49. Temple for
Marcus Aurelius.
Architrave 1.



PLATE 50. Temple for
Marcus Aurelius.
Architrave 2.



PLATE 51. Temple for
Marcus Aurelius.
Architrave 3.

Figure 3.2 Pisidia, Cremna, Temple of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, architrave fragments

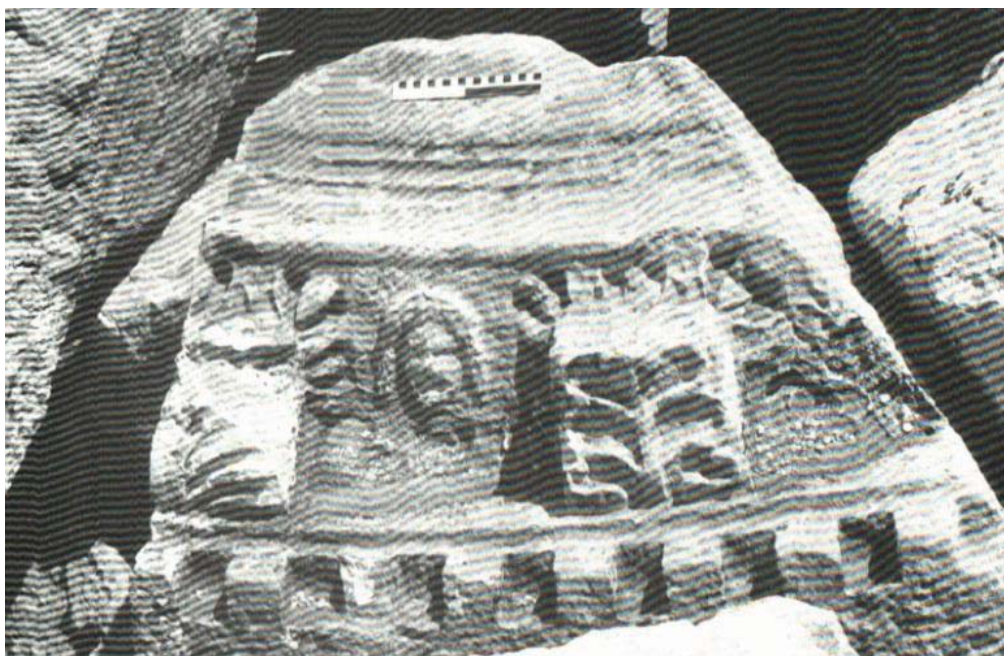


Figure 3.3 Sagalassos, Theatre, geison fragment



Figure 3.4 Sagalassos, South West Temple, geison

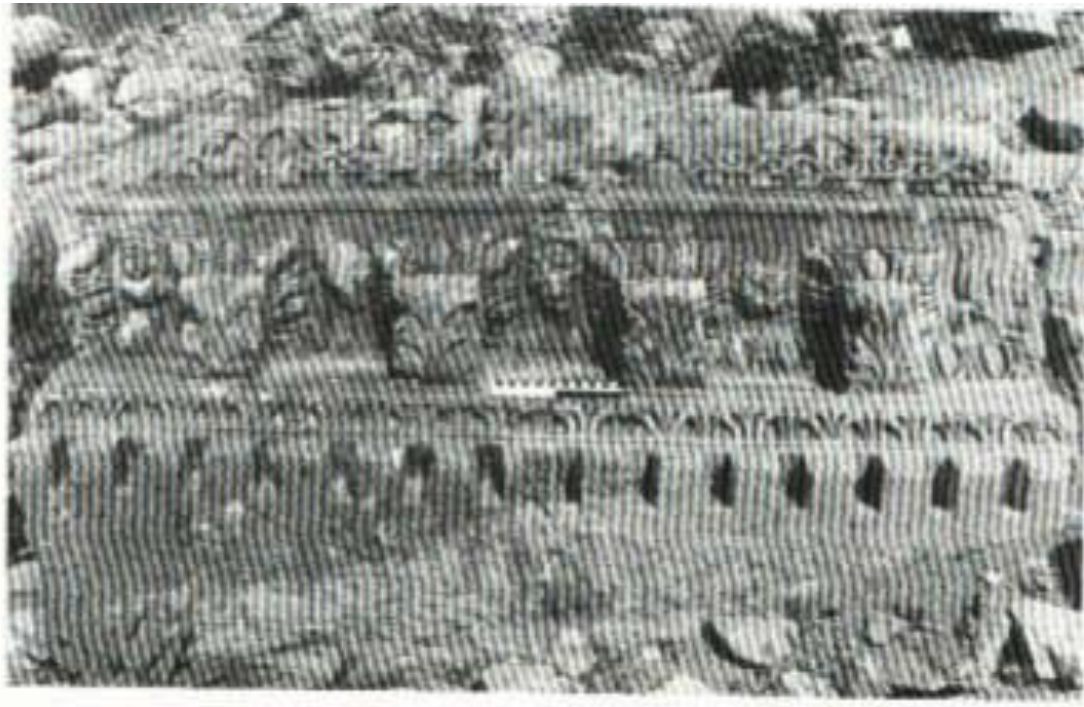


Figure 3.5 Sagalassos, North West Shrine, geison

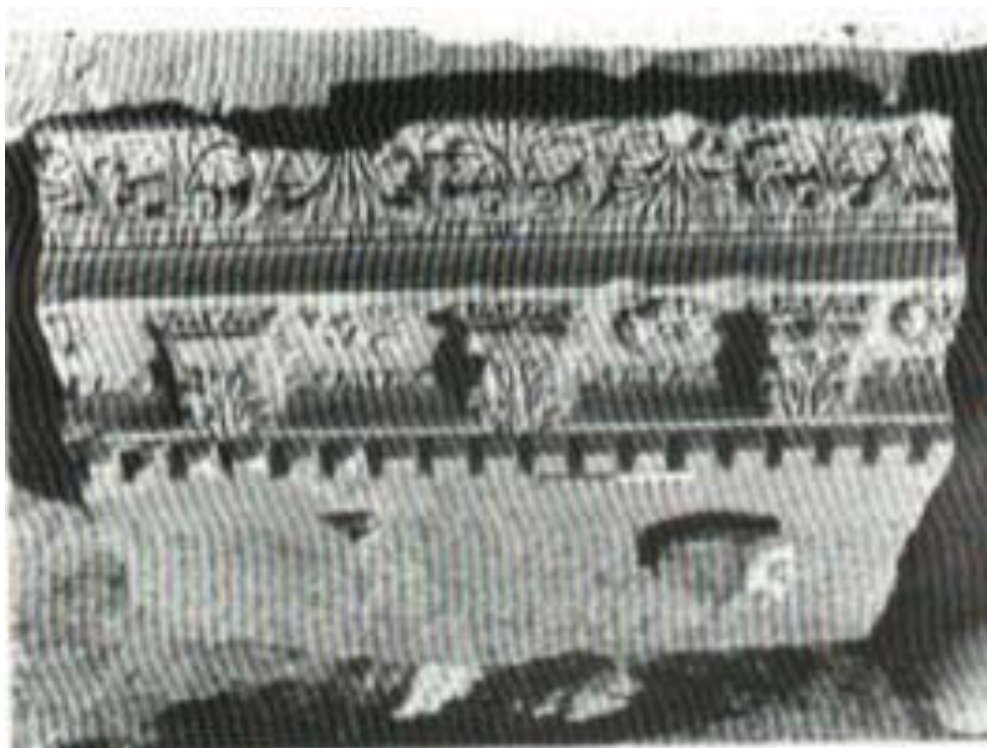
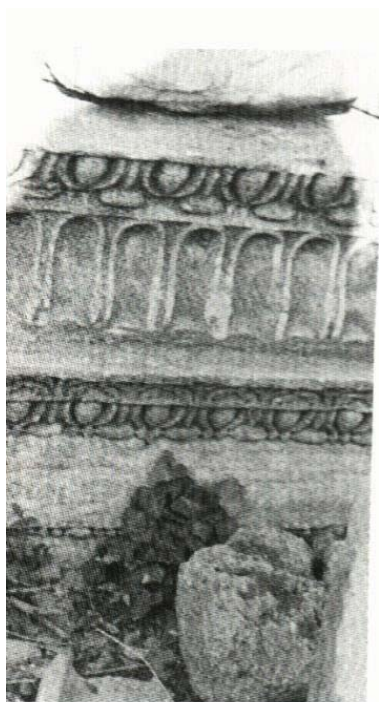


Figure 3.6 Sagalassos, Nymphaion of the Upper Agora, horizontal geison



118.3.

Figure 3.7 Side, Temple P



116.1.



116.3.



116.2.



116.4.

- Pl. 116.1. Side, «Building M», Architrave frieze block.
 Pl. 116.2. Side, «Building M» (façade or porticoes). Architrave frieze block.
 Pl. 116.3. Side, porticoes of «Building M», Architrave frieze block.
 Pl. 116.4. Side, «Building M» (façade or porticoes). Cornice.

Pl. 116

Figure 3.8 Side, Building M

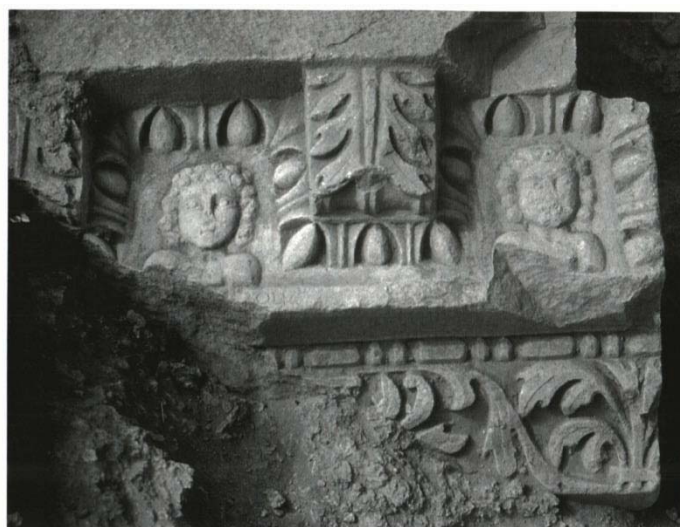


Figure 3.9 Hieropolis, Nymphaeum of the Titons, geison



Figure 3.10 Hieropolis, Nymphaeum of the temple of Apollo, pediment with bust of deity and flanking griffins

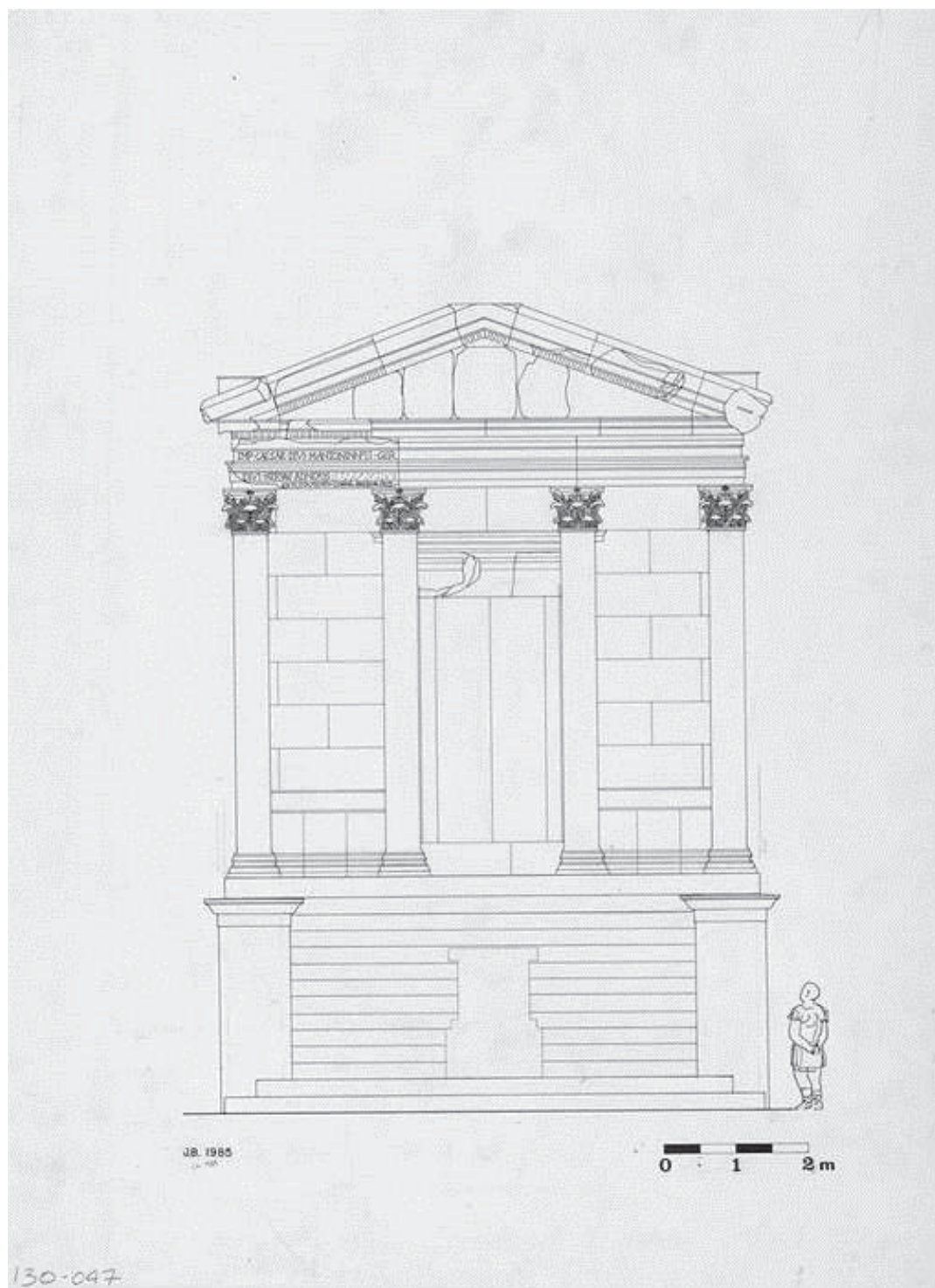


Figure 3.11 Corinth, Temple H, façade restored elevation

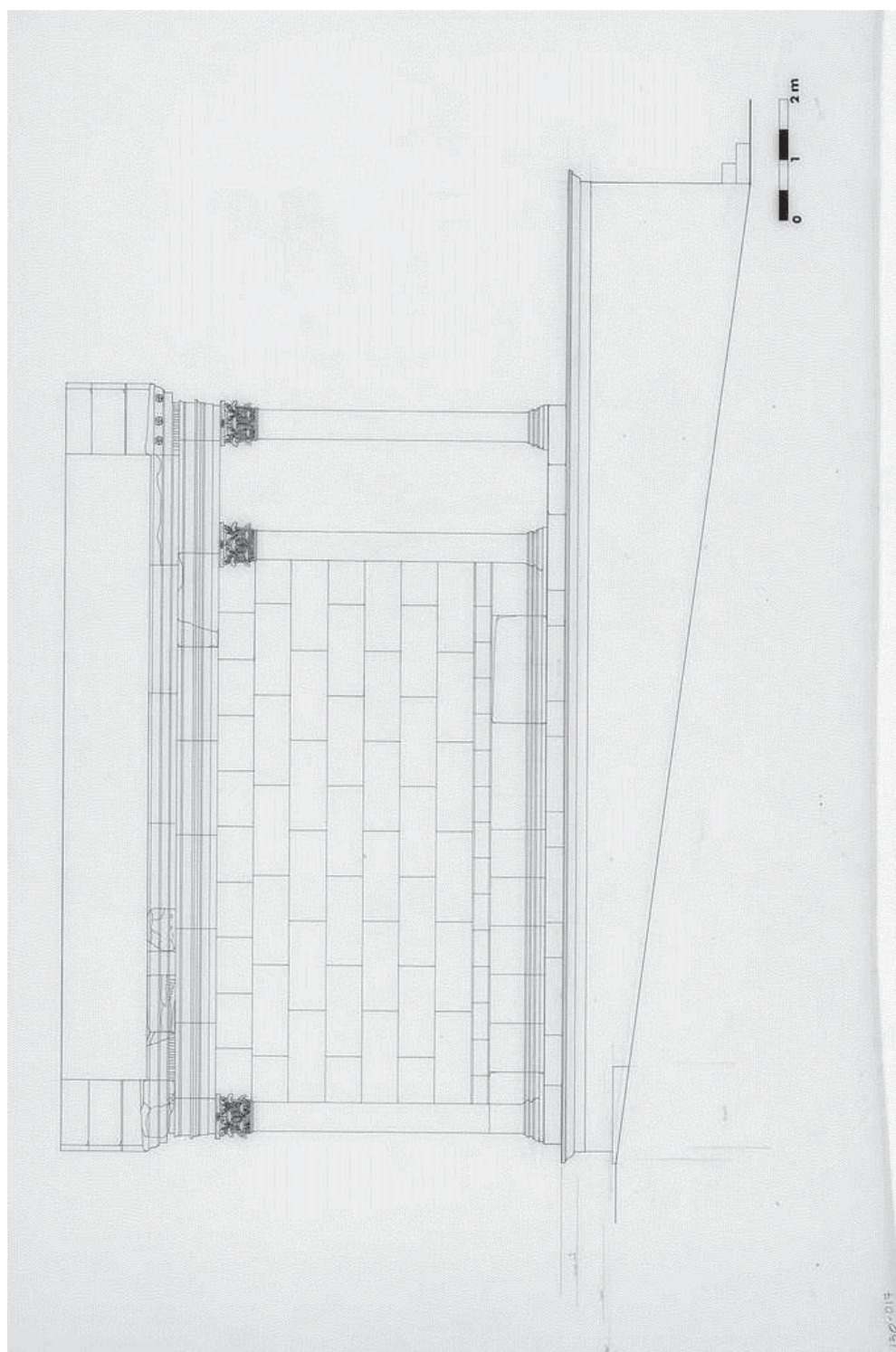


Figure 3.12 Corinth, Temple H, flank, restored elevation

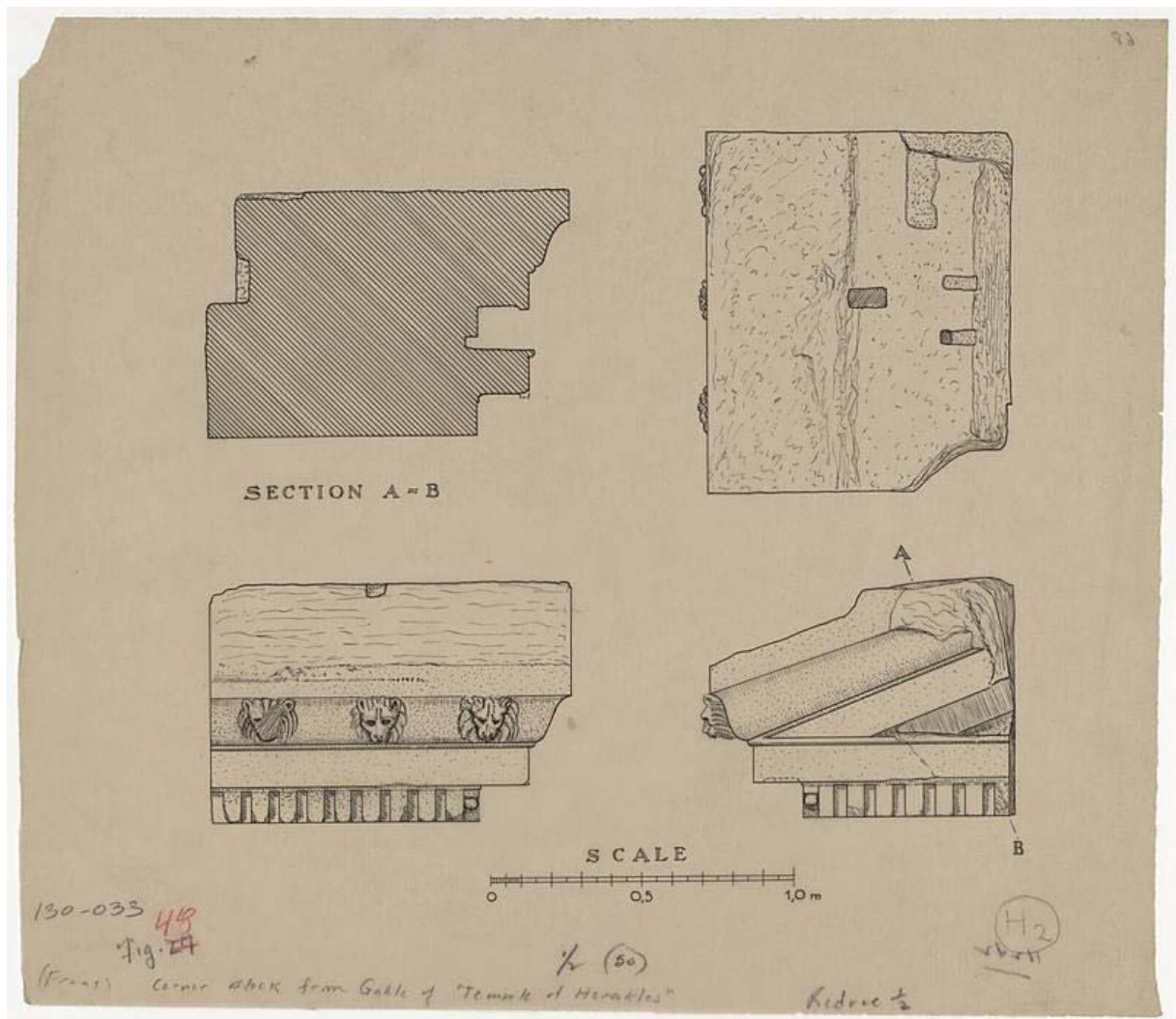


Figure 3.13 Corinth, West Forum, Temple H, pediment geison

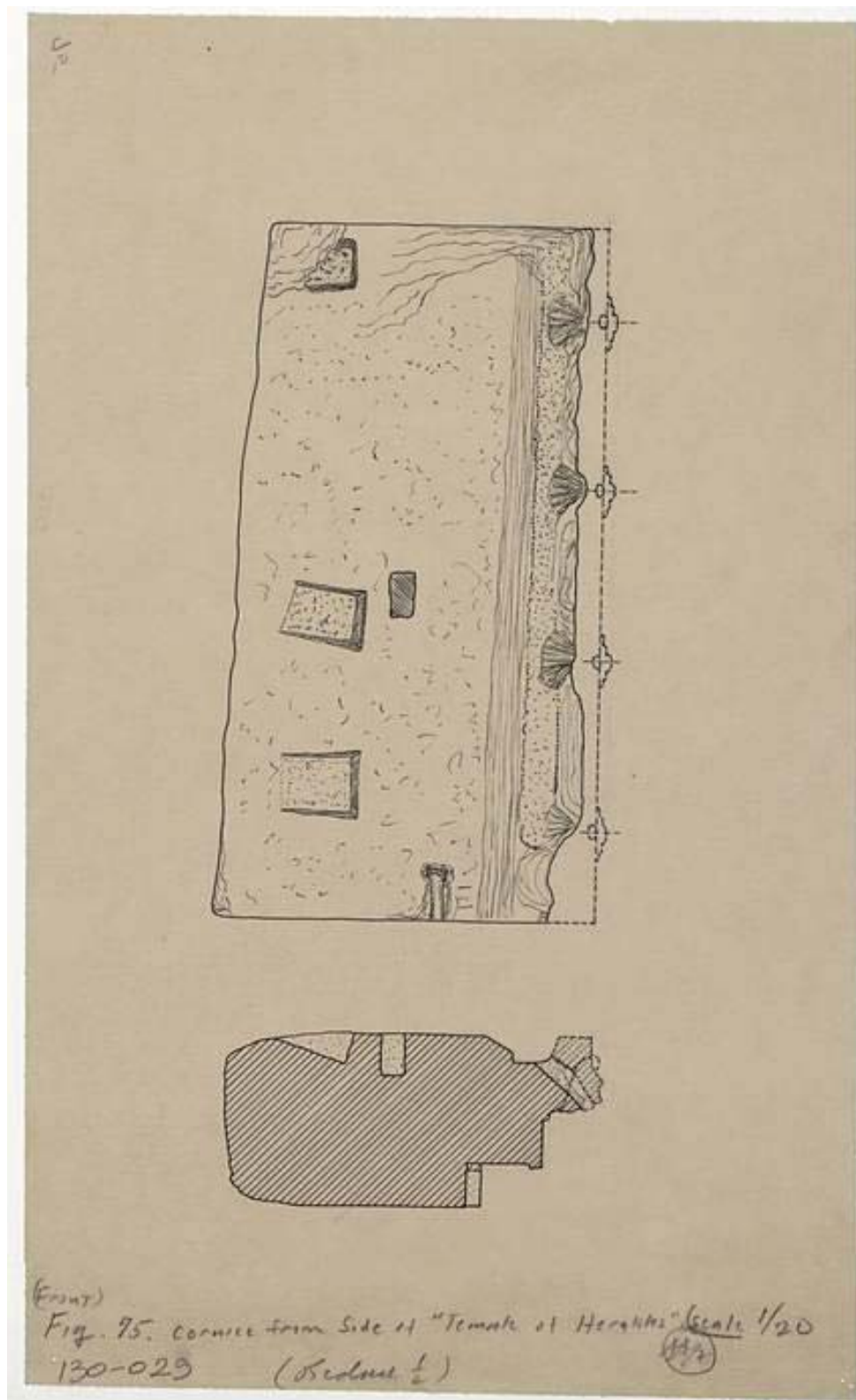


Figure 3.14 Corinth, West Forum, Temple H, geison

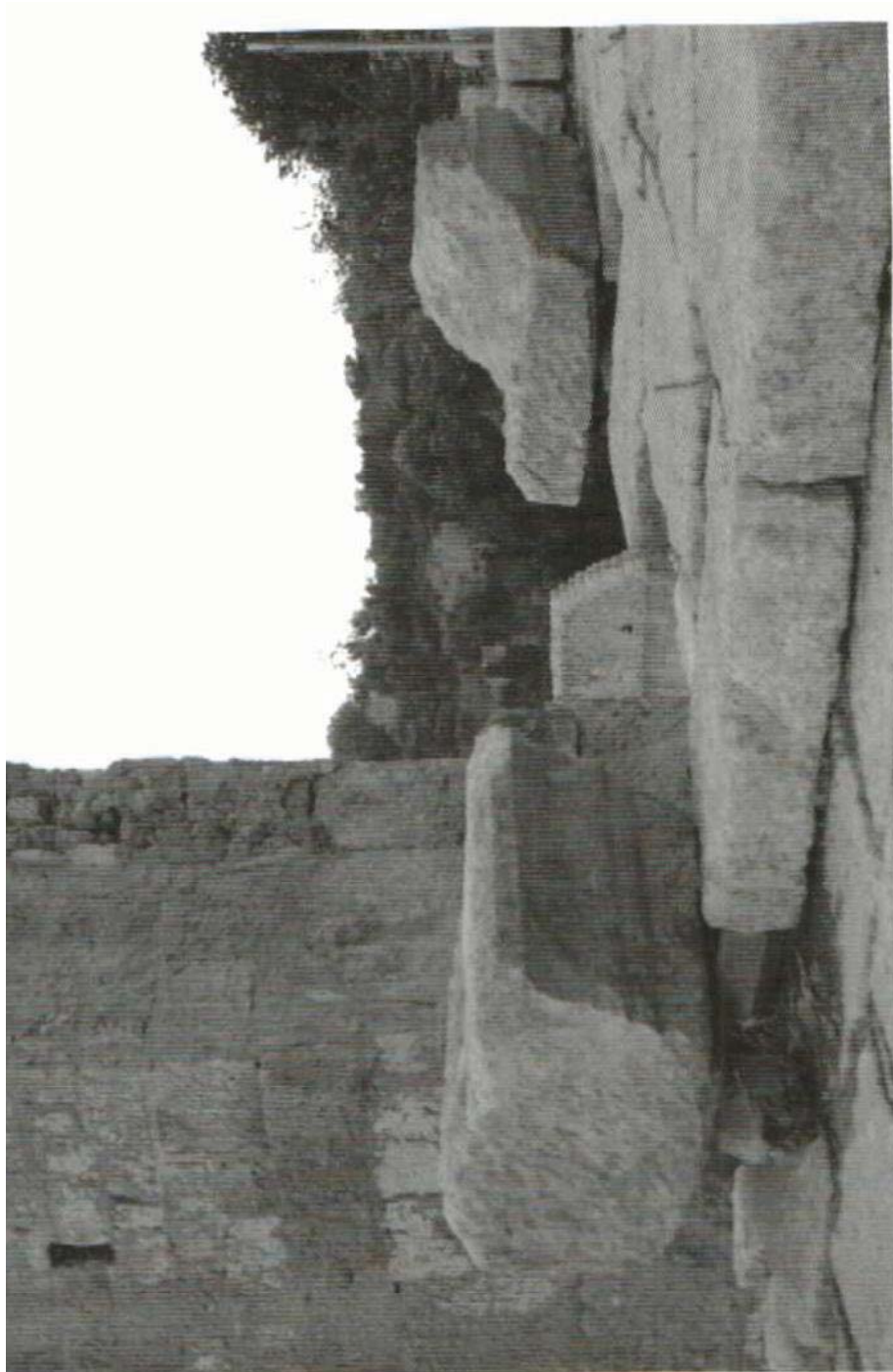


Figure 3.15 Elaiussa Sebaste, monument to Antiochus IV, geison



A. A Fragment from the Cornice of the Roman Theater at Bet-Shean (APPLEBAUM 1963, Fig. 5)

Figure 3.16 Bet-Shean, Roman theatre, geison

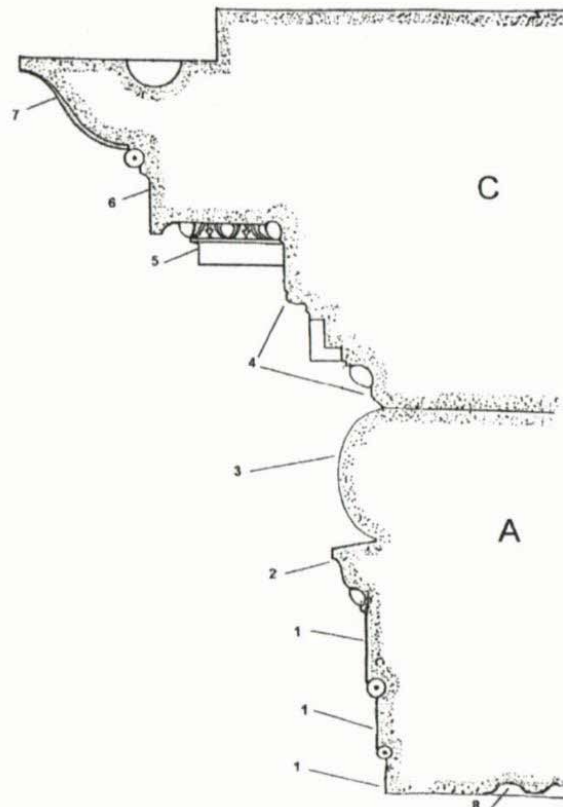


Fig. 1. The Entablature and its Components – A. The Architrave: (1) Three *Fasciae*; (2) Architrave Crowning; (3) Frieze; (8) Soffit; C. The Cornice: (4) Bed Moulding; (5) Modillions and Coffers; (6) Corona; (7) Sima.

3) Discarding or simplification of some of the ornament bands of the sequence.

4) Changes in the dimensions and proportions of the different ornaments.

The relatively large number of entablature fragments preserved in northern Eretz Israel, as well as the consistency in their design, enables systematic research of the dispersion of the ornaments in the area. This provides the means for analysis of the characteristics and development of the design and execution of each ornament throughout the period, the identification of artistic traditions, and the sources that influenced the artisans.

A complete section through the entablature can be seen in the Roman theater at Bet-Shean (Scythopolis), where all the entablature's components survive in fairly good condition

Figure 3.17 Roman theater, entablature, vertical sequence



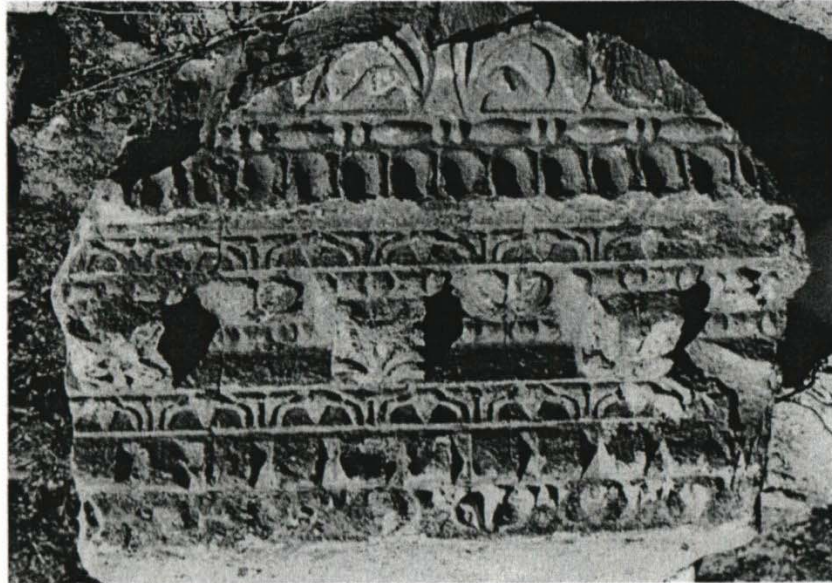
A. A Fragment from the Cornice of the Roman Theater at Caesarea Maritima



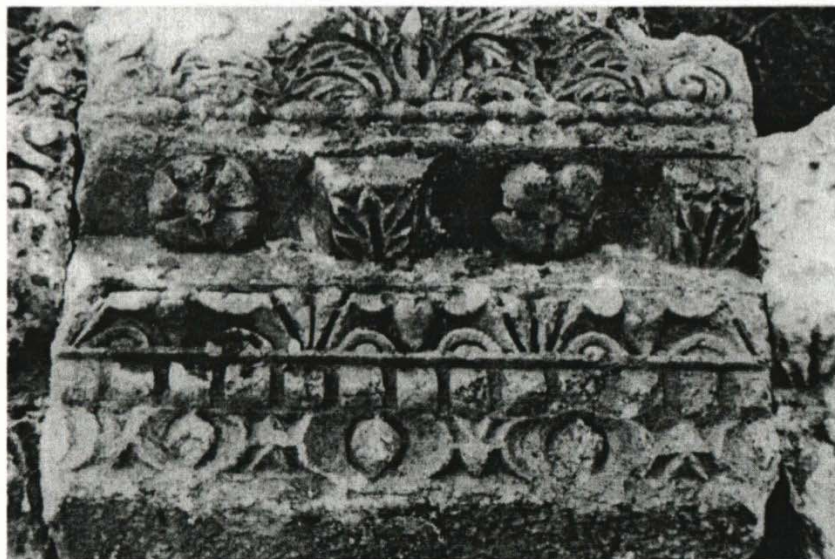
B. A Fragment from the Cornice of the Roman Theater at Caesarea Maritima

Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel (Seiten 122–138)

Figure 3.18 Caesarea Maritima, theater geisa



A. A Fragment from the Entablature of the Roman temple at Kedesh (Courtesy of the Kedesh Excavators)

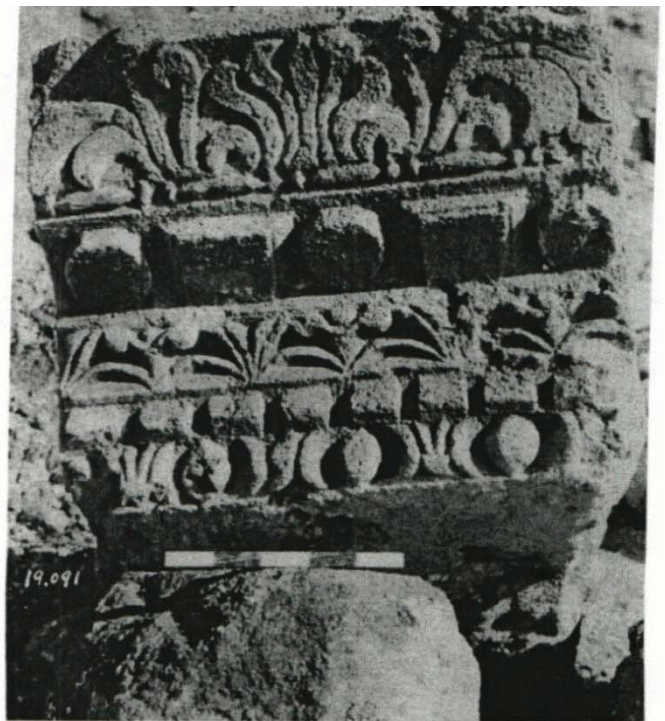


B. A Fragment of the Cornice from the Synagogue at Capharnaum (KOHL/WATZINGER 1916, Figs. 32–34)

Figure 3.19 Kedesh, temple geison (top), and Capharnaum, synagogue geisa (bottom)



B. A Fragment of the Cornice of the Mausoleum at *Bet Še'arim* Antiquities and Museums (Courtesy of the Department of



A. A Cornice Fragment from the Synagogue at *Hirbet Summāqa* (Courtesy of SHIMON DAR)

Figure 3.20 Bet Se'arim, Catacomb no. 4, geison (left), and Hirbet Summaqa, Synagogue, geisa (right)

Chapter 4 INTERPRETATION OF ICONOGRAPHY

4.1 Interpretation of iconography: influences exchanged East and West from the Bronze Age to the Roman Period

The Northeast Temple has presumably been thought of as a fairly humble structure that overlooks the colonnaded street below, not far from the impressive agora with the bath mosaics. Its simple decoration is thought to be a peculiar and common feature of architecture in the Rough Cilicia province as it also appears on temple tombs.²⁸⁵ But the lack of ornateness should not obscure the possibility of its multivalent functions, such as Imperial cult temple or pagan temple, and signifier of the local elites' status, to name a few. Historically, syncretism occurred throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages in Asia Minor, so a conflation of religious iconography with official state symbols, should not be considered improbably. The temple's stylistic parallels within Pisidia, Pamphylia, Phrygia (Hieropolis) and Rough Cilicia²⁸⁶, especially, are also seen outside Asia Minor in Corinth on Temples J and H, and the on Triumphal relief panels in Rome commissioned by Emperor Commodus. The use of this austere type of ornament further indicates that there was some exchange of ideas and that this temple was likely constructed during Commodus's reign. What gave agency to this exchange? What truly defines "the core" when we speak of style? Is it Rome as the "immortal, fortunate colony of the world" such as Commodus proclaimed it,²⁸⁷ or is it through identifying with Rome, channeling Hellenistic Athens, the center of the "pure" form of rhetoric in the second

²⁸⁵ Spanu, in Hoff and Townsend, 103-104.

²⁸⁶ *Supra*, comparanda, Section I.

²⁸⁷ Hekster, Commodus, 94-95.

century CE?²⁸⁸ Or was there another ruler and core these people were remembering in their building program?

The most frequent and notable decoration that I observed during the 2011 field season, while documenting the temple's geisa, was the floral motif in the cassettes. It seemed curious that these flowers do not resemble those depicted on Greek or Roman structures, yet they were juxtaposed with Roman Imperial imagery. Ever since, the question of stylistic origin and motivation has been a preoccupation for me. A major hurdle in researching the Northeast Temple's iconography then was establishing early stylistic influences in this Roman province. In order to say that Luwian, or Isaurian or Syrian archetypes influenced this structure's ornament, I needed to know who originally laid claim to and maintained these lands for any length of time. What defined the elites, the commoners, and what was important to either of them during this period? What indigenous images still exist that testifies to their aesthetics and how did these images evolve as they encountered new people? Did the Hellenistic world influence this portion of the coast or was it too remote? If it was too remote for the seafaring Greeks, how did the Romans manage to manifest their culture? How did the iconography of client kings figure into this formula? Epigraphic evidence surely would reveal essential proof of habitation to support architectural and artistic material, but even linguists are at a loss to securely identify early inhabitants. Scholars state that the area was most likely the homeland for the Luwians, but they do so with caution.²⁸⁹ This uncertainty then creates

²⁸⁸ Bowersock, 9-10; Papanikolaou, 64.

²⁸⁹ *Supra*

questions as to whether or not Luwians migrated into the area²⁹⁰ and causes yet another facet of difficulty when attempting to ascribe these archetypes to them. Furthermore, there is a lack of material culture, especially textual and artistic, that creates chronological gaps preventing a complete pre-Greek history from unfolding.

4.3 Hellenistic foundation myths and religion

So the example seen at Hieropolis, with the Nyphaeum at the Temple of Apollo and the Nymphaeum of the Tritons, the insertion of imagery relates to their Greek past, but does not obviously quote an archaic Pre-Greek past. This fits within a prescribed recollection of the perfected past seen more often in the West, such as those items that Pausanias was so fond of describing. This reflects the memory of a superior Greek culture recreated by those living during the era when the Second Sophist played a large part in what represented the cultural milieu in the West; a factor that has been considered in the Classical and Late Antique periods especially for these geographical areas. However, the populations that comprised this entire Greco-Roman world were preoccupied with identity, which was associated with whatever defined the perceived ideal.²⁹¹ There are many dichotomies within the Greco-Roman world that were used to define identity; Greek versus barbarian, Roman versus Greek, core versus periphery, elite versus *hoi polloi*, and Atticism versus Asianism, to name just a few. Many types of artifacts also attest to what distinguished some of these divergent types; epigraphy, coinage, sculptures, and architecture. The importance of architecture and landscape, as Susan Alcock claims, is that while some of these artifacts lend themselves to a qualitative

²⁹⁰ *Supra*

²⁹¹ Alcock, *Archaeologies*, 40-14.

study among the elites, when distinguishing between the elites and the common people only the use of space spans these gaps. The architecture and the public space of the Athenian Agora, for instance, was used by the entire community, and just as coinage was propagandizing, so was the architecture that had been inserted by the wealthy aristocrats, during the Roman era, where sophists then declaimed.²⁹²

If this is the case, then along the Anatolian coast the architecture and its decoration could give a voice to the local inhabitants of this area of the province for it is within their everyday rituals that span many centuries in which the symbols of their religion can be found. Pre-Greek religion as a parallel influence may be considered as a means employed by the indigenous Anatolians who seemed to successfully negotiate the numerous socio-political changes imposed on them. One could say that syncretism favored the eastern religions, as they practiced their rituals in their own territories and these practices did influence religious ideology and practices in the Greco-Roman empire.²⁹³ The ancient priest and leaders chose symbols that reflected their own connection to their environment and the gods, confirming their right to rule.²⁹⁴ These symbols appeared in their hieroglyphics and often on administrative seals, such as the Meggido Seal.²⁹⁵ This rustic quality associated with peasantry is a common thread throughout the history of this coastal region that may ties their religion to the identity they were able to maintain even during the Roman period. It is possible that the

²⁹² Alcock, *Archaeologies*, 69.

²⁹³ *Supra*, ch 11, fn 23.

²⁹⁴ Itamar Singer, In *Across the Anatolian Plateau Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, edited by David C. Hopkins, (America Schools of Oriental Research, Brill: Boston, 2002), 145.

²⁹⁵ Itamar Singer, in Hopkins, 145, 147.

longstanding tradition of recalling their indigenous past, a practice encouraged by Antiochus IV, provided the basis for their moxy.

4.7 Conclusion

The Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum preserves evidence that testifies of multiple sculptors at work. These artists may have been trained in traditions taught in Syrian ateliers, as the supposed unfinished sculptural qualities of the geisa overhang shows. Broadly speaking, Roman design is evident in the structure's plan and elevation, roof system, and construction techniques, as well as the pediment's *imago clipeata*, while the elegant s-curve in the molding recalls earlier Hellenistic forms. But what one notices when closely approaching the temple are the smaller items, such as the ovolo trim and motifs contained within the cassettes. Here is where the true dichotomy and identity is revealed. The ovolo trim of the modillion, a development originating in Asia Minor, along with the flowers, animals, and weapons in the cassettes, and portions of the lion-head water spouts appear to be patterned on much older Luwian archetypes. The flowers are perhaps quotations from local species. The iconography of the Northeast Temple, then, is an amalgamation of Luwian, Armenian Hellenistic, and Roman traditions. The entablature's imagery harkens a distant past, and functioned in more nuanced ways. It may show either how the elites of Rough Cilicia negotiated with the Roman core, who perhaps understood the insertion of their iconography as evidence of the local gods becoming neutralized, or as a carryover from the management style used by the Antiochus IV and his forefathers for their ethnically diverse Hellenistic territory. It is in the context of the Empire's citizens' identity crisis, during the second century CE, that

these negotiations took place. The decisions about art and architecture were a reflection of this evolution of thought. If the Northeast temple's construction during the late second century coincided with Commodus' reign, then it could be claimed that the potential for the temple's symbolic interpretation may have been significant for contemporary Antiochians, especially those interested in past traditions. Just as Antiochus IV embraced and imported the Roman culture in which he was raised, and thereby promoted the ideology aligned with citizenry of the world, so too perhaps the indigenous iconography of the pediment's entablature symbolically embraced the Imperial imagery. It was perhaps a response to Commodus' intentions of his Empire's subjects symbolically embracing his colony of the world.

Chapter 5 CATALOGUE OF PRESERVED GEISA

With the exception of proximity, the remaining six criteria address various aspects of the two most significant diagnostic features in the reconstruction of the geison portion of the temple entablature: the cuttings for timbers, which also define the roof support system; and the types of ornament. The roof system contains two types of cuttings; one for rafters and the other for ceiling beams. The rafter cuttings appear on the upper surface, while the ceiling beam cuttings are located on the back end either in the middle of this block surface or on the rear portion to the left or right. The geison's ornament is comprised of cassettes, modillions, and moldings; the former two appear on the overhang of the under resting surface and the molding on the front face. The cassettes and modillions, although significant for their formal and iconographic qualities, are of secondary importance because they were sometimes abbreviated in order to

accommodate a joint. (Problems with reconstruction are addressed in the first section of the thesis.) The molding is particularly noteworthy for the non-functioning lion's head water spouts, which are ancillary to determining joints and therefore the length of the temple's flanks. Because these various diagnostic features occur on different faces of the block, the description of each block's features are given as if the temple were erected and the viewer were standing outside the temple looking up at the entablature.

Typical tool marks preserved on the geisa include the hammer work on the back edge and the left and right sides at the rear portion, which continues midway toward the front. From there, the use of point chisel is typical for the sides of most blocks which also exhibit some anathyrosis that was produced with the tooth chisel. Medium chisel work on the under resting surface and finer chisel work in cassettes and on modillions is also typical. The upper surfaces of most blocks were worked with the point chisel and they are usually pitted from exposure to the elements.

With the exception of the fragments stored in the project depot, all blocks are presented here with their original block field numbers. Numbers assigned to depot fragments correspond with my notes taken during initial observation and are listed at the end of this catalogue with an F prefix. Find spots of fragments are noted as labeled, when available.

The following abbreviations are used in this catalogue:

we = weathered surface

An = anathyrosis

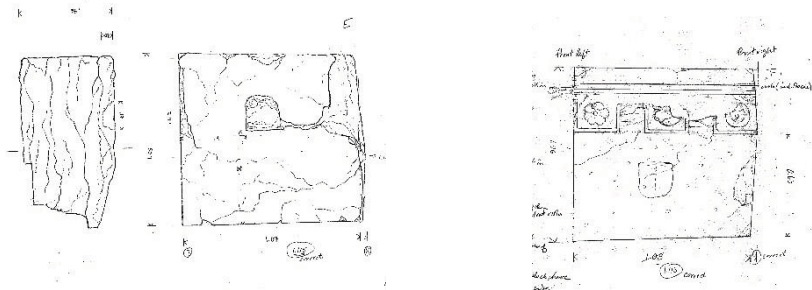
br = broken

l-h-w-s = lion head water spout

r/c rafter cutting

b/c = beam cutting

AT 001/lateral geison



Measurements:

L. 1.115, H. 0.58, W. 1.06

Find spot: NW quadrant: on temple?

Preservation: preserved on the left, back, under resting surface with overhang, and front with full profile of the molding. The back side is preserved, but not as well as the other preserved edges. A portion of the right side is broken.

Description:

Front End: No l-h-w-s. The molding preserves its full profile in all areas except a small portion of the cyma recta on the left and in the middle.

Left Face: we

Right Face: we, br

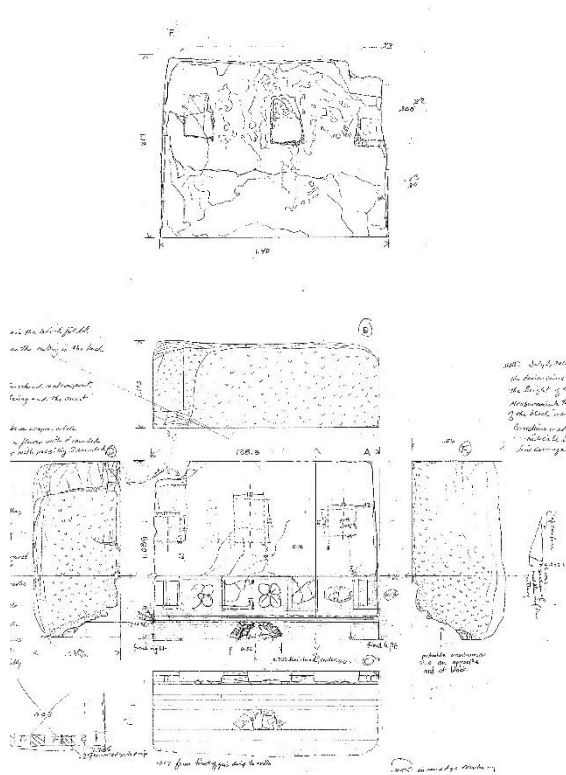
Upper surface: one full rafter cutting 0.40 m. from the left edge. No ceiling b/c.

Under Resting Surface: overhang contains three cassettes and two modillions. Left to right: first cassette contains a flower, made of six rounded petals; second cassette with leaf or wing; and third cassette with phiale. First cassette trimmed with terminating ovolo and third cassette without terminating ovolo. Both modillions are damaged; no profile,

nor indication of parallel lines decoration. Drip edge preserved only on small portion at left.

Back End: we

AT 002/lateral geison



Measurements:

L. 1.40, H. 0.56, W. 1.12

Find spot: NW quadrant: North flank of temple.

Preservation: All surfaces are preserved. Under resting surface preserves two of the four modillions and three cassettes. Molding preserved, l-h-w-s, we

Description:

Front End: Molding contains l-h-w-s ca 0.32 length (left to right) and 0.755 from left edge, on center.

Left Face: An, we.

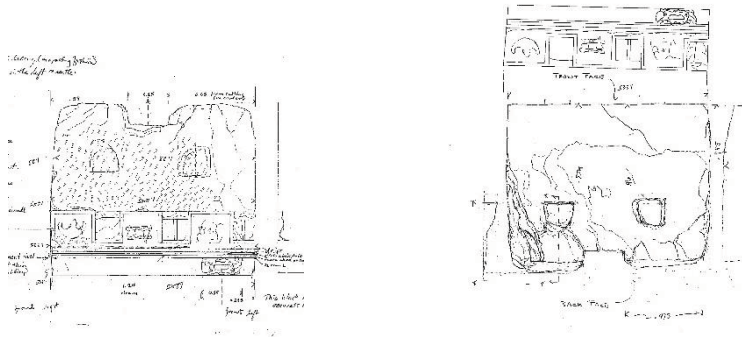
Right Face: ceiling b/c ca. 0.10 (from Back End) and extends the entire height of the block.

Upper surface: r/c: three; from left edge 0.19 m., first to second 0.57 on center, second to third 0.55 on center. All are full-width cuttings ca. 0.175.

Under Resting Surface: overhang contains four modillions and three cassettes. Left to right: first modillion, no terminal ovolo; second and third modillions lack base and bolster; right modillion, no terminal ovolo. Left cassette preserves an unidentified elliptical object with convex cuttings at each elongated end; middle cassette preserves a flower with four rounded petals; right cassette contains a flower which preserves two of possibly five rounded petals.

Back End: ceiling b/c ca. 0.20 (left to right = width?) extends the height of the block.

AT 003/lateral geison



Measurements:

L. 1.225, H. 0.54, W. 0.945

Find spot: NW quadrant: North flank of temple.

Preservation: Preserved right face and molding with only small portions of the drip edge. Upper surface is poorly preserved and weathered. Breakage occurs from the left surface to the back edge and extends onto the upper surface.

Description:

Front End: Molding contains l-h-w-s ca. 0.25 length (left to right) and 0.205 from left edge, on center. Right edge has received final dressing, no remnants of protective strip.

Left Face: We

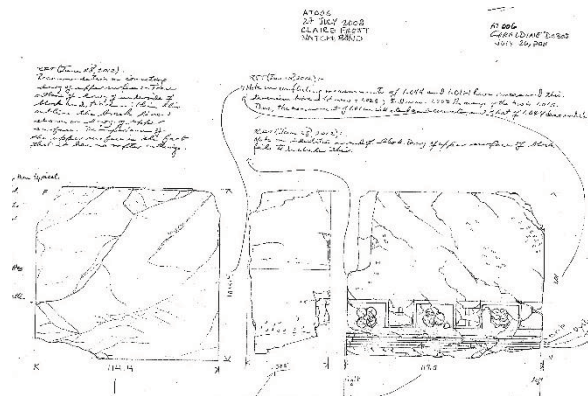
Right Face: An, we

Upper surface: r/c: two: first one from left edge 0.29 and second with a distance between as 0.54 on center; both are ca. 0.15 wide.

Under Resting Surface: Overhang contains three modillions and three cassettes. Left edge contains modillion without terminal ovolo. Left cassette unidentified motif; middle cassette double axes; right cassette with blade image? and notable terminal ovolo, which appears as a protective strip.

Back End: ceiling b/c ca. 0.25 length (left to right) and 0.65 from left edge on center.

AT 006/raking geison



Measurements:

L. 1.195, H. 0.505, W. 1.01

Find spot: NE quadrant: North flank of temple.

Preservation: Not well persevered; all surfaces suffer cracking and breaking. Although it is missing portions of the left upper surface, left rear corner, and molding, major dimensions are obtainable.

Description:

Front End: No known l-h-w-s; left portion of molding is not preserved. Right edge of molding preserves a small area where final dressing was not complete; it tappers from the bottom of the cyma recta, ca. 0.015, to the drip edge, where it extends inward along the length of the molding ca. 0.045.

Left Face: we, broken at corner adjoining back end, and upper and under resting surfaces.

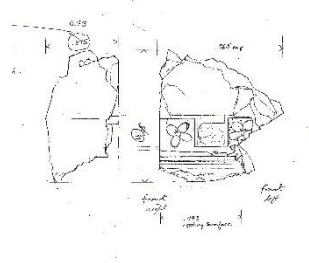
Right Face: we, cutting that extends the height of the block and mid-way along this face continues to the back end and could be a ceiling b/c

Upper surface: no r/c, we

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves three modillions and three cassettes with floral motif. From the left, the first modillion does not have a terminating ovolo, nor does the right cassette. The right cassette is 1 cm longer, left to right, than the other two cassettes, perhaps to accommodate an ovolo trim from an adjoining block's modillion. The left and right cassettes contain four petaled flowers and the middle cassette contains a three petaled flower, in all cases they have rounded petals.

Back End: we, and br left.

AT 019/lateral geison fragment



Measurements:

L. 0.755, H. 0.45, W. 0.81

Find spot: NW quadrant: North flank of temple.

Preservation: fragment preserves small portions of the right face, front right face with molding, and under resting surface with overhang.

Description:

Front End: Angle of sima along 0.17 m increases left to right. Although badly weathered, enough of the cyma recta, half round, fillet, and ovolo exists of the profile to identify these portions of the molding. No lion-head water spout on remains.

Left Face: not preserved; broken off.

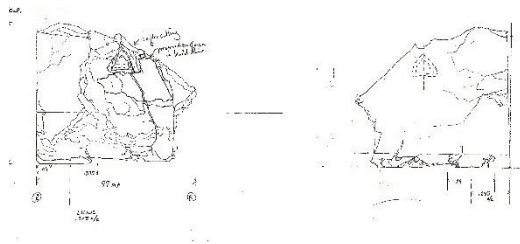
Right Face: enough remains of the height along this face that this block may be identified as a lateral geison. we, little if any an

Upper surface: not preserved.

Under Resting Surface: one cassette along the right edge is preserved, while the accompanying modillion and the cassette to the left most portion of the preserved portion are damaged. The left cassette preserves what may have been a flower with five rounded petals, only three are preserved. The modillion preserves its base, but the curved bolster is missing. The right cassette preserves a four petal flower and terminates without an ovolo. In both cassettes, the relief is low. Only a very small portion of the drip edge (< 5 cm.) is preserved.

Back End: not preserved.

AT 032/lateral geison



Measurements:

L. 0.97 mp, H. 0.305 mp, W. 0.88 mp

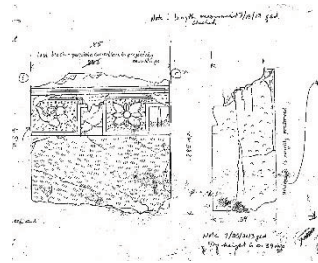
Find spot: NW quadrant: North flank of temple.

Preservation: fragment preserves small portion of corona, cyma recta, and r/c on the upper surface.

Description:

Front End: Only a small portion of the cyma recta on the front left is preserved with the maximum and typical height of 0.07 m. Left Face: we Right Face: not preserved.

Upper surface: full r/c 0.455 m. from left. Only a small portion near the r/c is preserved and it is severely weathered. Under Resting Surface: not preserved and facing down in the block field. Back End: not preserved.

AT 043/raking geisonMeasurements:

L. 0.853, H. 0.39, W.

Find spot: NW quadrant: on temple?

Preservation: Upper surface, Under Resting Surface, front end, and both left and right sides have preserved edges.

Description:

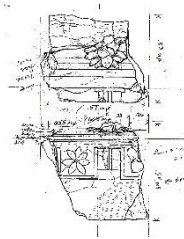
Front End: preserves sima and remainder of profile sufficient to identify this block as a raking geison.

Left Face: preserved, protruding An. Right Face: preserved, indented An. Upper surface: smooth preserved finish

Under Resting Surface: smooth surface on preserved portion of surface, but some cracking. The overhang contains two cassettes and two modillions: from left this cassette contains a four petal flower with rounded petals and a stem and terminates without an ovolo; the modillion that follows is broken; the proceeding cassette contains a flower with eight pointed petals which alternate between wide and narrow type petals; the modillion on the right preserves the base and the curved bolster with parallel line decoration and terminates without an ovolo. This block lacks terminating ovoli at left and right edges. Point chisel marks are still visible even in the decoration of the overhang.

Back End: not preserved.

AT 045/fragment of lateral portion of pediment geison



Measurements:

L. 0.655 mp, H. 0.53 mp, W. not accessible

Find spot: NW quadrant: possible lateral return of the front west pediment.

Preservation: broken on all sides; fragment preserves portion of under resting surface with overhang, molding, and fractured lion-head water spout.

Description:

Front End: fragment preserves lower portion of cyma recta to drip edge. Fragment of lion-head water spout notable for the wide protruding tongue and flame shaped mane.

Left Face: br Right Face: br Upper surface: not obviously preserved

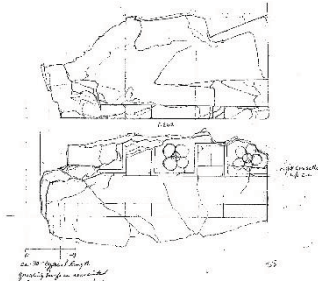
Under Resting Surface: overhang consisting of one full modillion, with two parallel lines, and left cassette with seven-pointed petal flower and portion of right cassette with two out of three possible rounded petals. Left cassette contains ovolo trim along left edge. Medium chisel work on resting surface and finer chisel work in cassettes and on modillion.

Back End: broken

AT 046

Find spot: NW quadrant: on temple?

Preservation: fragment with some point chisel marks, joins with AT 045, AT 046, and AT 333 as the front left portion of temple entablature.

AT 047Measurements:

L. 1.262 mp, H. 0.65 mp , W. inaccessible

Find spot: NW quadrant: on temple?

Preservation: fragment preserves portions of under resting surface, right edge and small portion of cutting that indicates the beginning of raking geison's location.

Description: fragment of corner pediment block.

Front End: Only an indented area indicates the corner of the tympanum. A small, but weathered portion of the drip edge exists just out from the side left the right modillion.

Left Face: the lateral return is missing; AT 333 and AT 045 are portions of this block's lateral return.

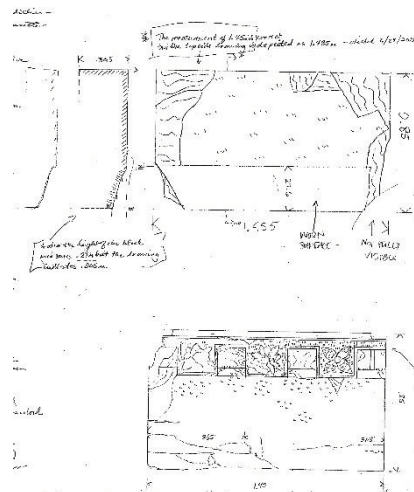
Right Face: this edge joins with the tympana blocks; preserves the 45 ° angle, we.

Upper surface: upper portion broken; portion of bracket for raking geison preserves point chisel marks.

Under Resting Surface: portions of three cassettes and two modillions; left cassette preserves part of one pointed petal that was likely a five petal flower; middle cassette preserves four rounded petals with indented heart; right cassette preserves five rounded petals with indented heart; left modillion is broken, but length is still preserved; right modillion preserves bolster and the two parallel lines.

Back End: br, joint with AT 046.

AT 074 pediment floor



Measurements:

L. 1.45, H. 0.29, W. 0.85

Find spot: NW quadrant: rear pediment on temple

Preservation: Block is preserved in all its major dimensions with some breakage on the upper surface, and on the overhang, where a small portion at left that also adjoins the left face is missing.

Description:

Front End: the height of the block and the abbreviated crown moldings, half-round and fascia, identify this as part of the pediment floor.

Left Face: we

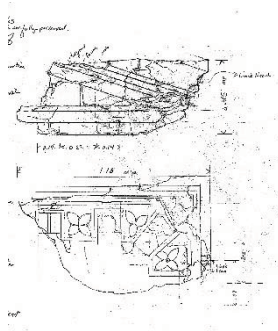
Right Face: we

Upper surface: upper surface has breakage along the edges, but preserved surface throughout the middle portion of this face. Tool marks present.

Under Resting Surface: the overhang preserves three modillions and three cassettes; the modillions are at both left and right edges. The left modillion is broken, but measures 0.17 m. wide and leaves no room for a terminating ovole. The left cassette contains what a deteriorated floral motif; it seems to have at least two broad petals and perhaps a narrow one in the one o'clock position. The second and third modillions from the left are broken off. The middle cassette contains a flower with eight pointed petals sufficiently preserved to identify; there is room in the decoration for two more petals making a possible total of 10 petals. The right cassette contains a preserved flower with four pointed petals. The last modillion, on the right edge, is preserved and reveals the decoration of two parallel lines on the bolster of the modillion. The overhang decoration preserves fine tooth chisel marks.

Back End: we

AT 127 corner geison



Measurements:

L. 1.18 mp, H. 0.45 mp, W. 0.715 mp

Find spot: NE quadrant: right rear on temple, join with AT 130

Preservation: No sides are complete on this poorly preserved fragment shows weathering and cracking. Small portion of crown above cyma recta is preserved and all front moldings are identifiable, but lateral fascia and sima are broken.

Description:

Front End: a modillion fills the corner where horizontal and raking sima meet and point chisel was used in the interstitial space. Fascia of the raking sima and drip edge preserve faint tooth chisel marks.

Left Face: br

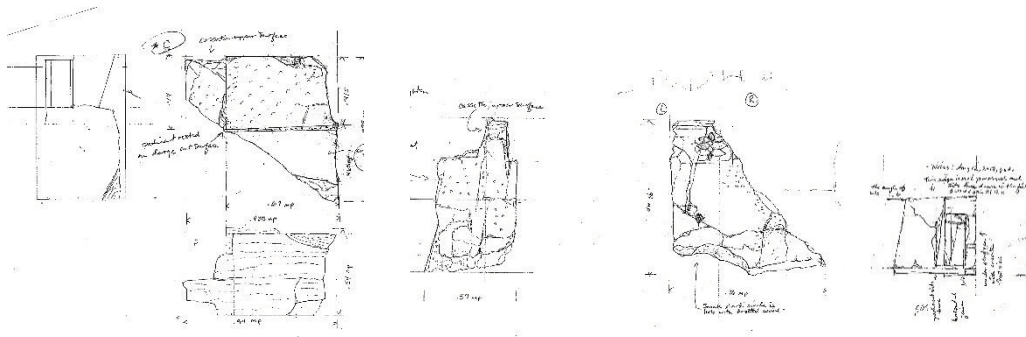
Right Face: small fragment of lion head water spout, 0.07 mp

Upper surface: small portion of corner with lateral edge, otherwise broken.

Under Resting Surface: preserves total of three cassettes; two cassettes for front and one for lateral; and preserves two full modillions and two partial modillions one full at front and one full at corner, with partial modillions on front and lateral. Pointed floral motif in cassettes, left front and lateral are four petal and right front is three petal. The lateral flower has a raised button. Traces of the two parallel lines exist on the left front modillion and its neighbor. Tooth chisel marks throughout cassettes.

Back End: br

AT 130



Measurements:

L. 0.945 mp, H. 0.57 mp, W. 0.94 mp

Find spot: NE quadrant: right rear on temple, join with AT 127

Preservation: poorly preserved portion of rear corner geison, cracked on all faces. we.

Description:

Front End: small portion of poorly defined drip edge and ovolo remain. Also small portion of interstitial area with unidentified protrusion preserved.

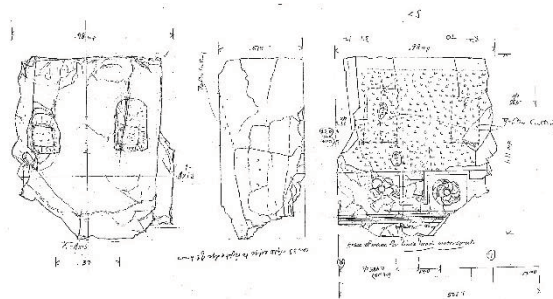
Left Face: point chisel marks, we.

Right Face: br

Upper surface: some point-chisel, most of surface br.

Under Resting Surface: one large cassette (0.275 mp) at left edge contains plant with eight pointed leaves, left edge broken. Tooth chisel marks.

Back End: carved out portion (0.47 m). Surface also preserves the cutting for raking geison. Point chisel marks.

AT 156Measurements:

L.0.98 mp, H. 0.515, W. 1.11

Find spot: NW quadrant: on temple?

Preservation: fragment preserves portion of front face with lion-head, under resting surface with overhang that contains portions of two cassettes and three modillions, portion of right and back edges are broken, left edge missing.

Description:

Front End: portion of extant sima preserves lions-head decoration (0.27 mp) located 0.485 m on center from right edge.

Left Face: br

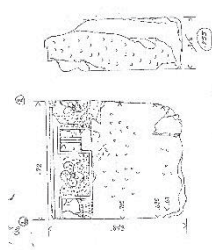
Right Face: broken from back end to portion containing the overhang, which continues up to the convex portion of the cyma recta curve. Point chisel used throughout; we.

Upper surface: preserves two r/c that are 0.39 m apart at deepest inner corners, a maximum depth of these cuttings is 0.078 m. The left edge of left r/c is broken. Point chisel; we.

Under Resting Surface: Preserves portions of two cassettes and three modillions; left cassette preserves cracked and worn swirled eight petal flower, middle cassette preserves four of possibly five rounded petals, in both instances flowers contain raised hearts and cassettes preserve fine tooth chisel marks. Left and right modillions are poorly preserved; the left still contains the bolster. The dimension and bolster of the middle modillion are preserved, but the no parallel lines exist on any of the modillions. A margin on ca. 0.04 extends the length of the back edge; direction of chisel marks and their depth are slightly changed.

Back End: hammer and point chisel; we.

AT 158/ horizontal geison



Measurements:

L. 0.72, H. 0.255, W. 0.843

Find spot: NW quadrant: horizontal geison for front pediment.

Preservation: Preserves large portions of left and right sides, back and upper resting surface are broken. The under resting surface and portion of overhang are damaged. All surfaces we.

Description:

Front End: Molding consists of the half-round and drip; this ornament, along with the height, identifies it as a horizontal geison. The two cassettes contain floral motifs; left is a rounded five petal flower and right preserves three pointed petals. The left cassette is 0.26 in length; right cassette is 0.14 in length and terminates without an ovolo and in mid-decoration. The left modillion is broken, lacks decoration and terminal ovolo; the right contains three parallel lines for decoration, rather than the typical two parallel lines.

Ovolo trim is uneven; left cassette with 0.01 m and right cassette with 0.03 m. The relief of the flowers also varies in height; the left flower is 0.02 m and right flower 0.005 m. Tooth chisel marks well preserved throughout overhang.

Left Face: An (indented), we, and br at back end.

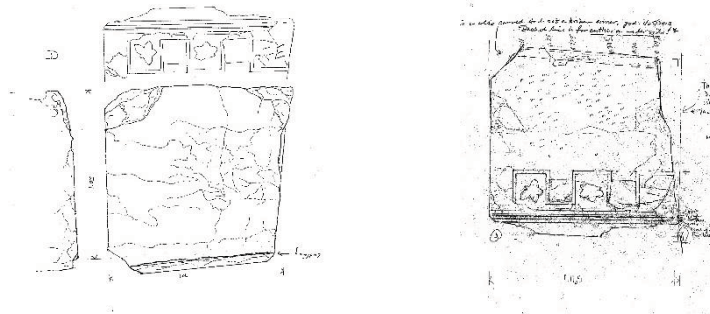
Right Face: An (indented), we, and br back end.

Upper surface: we

Under Resting Surface: Point chisel marks; we, and chipped.

Back End: we, and portions br

AT 164



Measurements:

L.1.165, H.0.483, W.1.13

Find spot: NW quadrant: raking geison right front

Preservation: all dimensions preserved; breakage on right and left molding, chisel marks on all faces with weathering.

Description:

Front End: molding at center lack lions-head decoration, increase in depth (right to left) is 0.02 m over the space of 0.40 m.

Left Face: point chisel marks, which become closer toward the front of block.

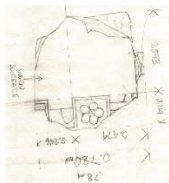
Right Face: cutting at back end, point chisel marks, tightness same feature as left face.

Upper surface: shallow cutting 0.04 m length of back edge. Pitted, we.

Under Resting Surface: preserves three cassettes and three modillions, none with full decoration intact. Right cassette preserves three pointed petals and could accommodate two additional. The middle cassette preserves three rounded petals and small portion of two others. Left cassette; no decoration, edge of block and anathyrosis indicate no terminating ovolo. Right modillion preserves front edge and ovolo trim, no bolster, nor front edge. Middle modillions preserves bolster and front of base with two parallel lines. Left modillion preserves bolster, and no decoration, nor terminating ovolo.

Back End: cutting at right end, point chisel marks

AT 171



Measurements:

L. 0.78 mp, H. 0.375 mp, W. 0.735 mp

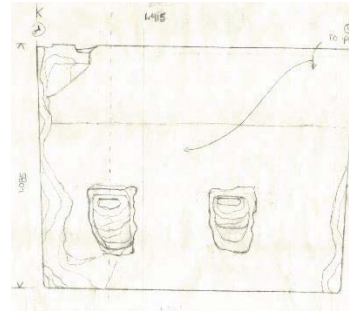
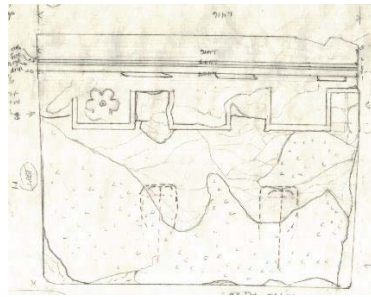
Find spot: SW quadrant: location on temple unknown

Preservation: fragment preserves portion of resting surface; weathered and cracked.

Description:

Front End: br Left Face: br Right Face: br Upper surface: br

Under Resting Surface: preserves portion of one cassette and two modillions: the cassette contains a five rounded petal flower with concave heart; left modillion preserves portion of base and right modillion preserves base and portion of bolster, neither preserve decoration, nor tool marks. Back End: br

AT 191Measurements:

L. 1.416, H. 0.51, W. 1.1

Find spot: SW quadrant: lateral

Preservation: block preserves all faces, weathered, molding broken on right.

Description:

Front End: preserves molding with exception of right corner cyma recta and drip is intermittent. No lion-head decoration.

Left Face: similar tool marks as right face.

Right Face: Preserves a slight projection that extends approximately 0.18 m along face toward the upper surface, follows 1 cm projection of the modillion. Evidence of tool markings show the typical technique: marks progress in frequency from back to front, use of tool changes from hammer to point chisel, and band of anathyrosis is adjacent to molding.

Upper surface: Preserves two r/c spaced 0.545 apart with right cutting at 0.33 m from edge, depth of 0.08 m. weathered and pitted.

Under Resting Surface: preserves three cassettes and four modillions: only left cassette contains ornament, four of the six rounded petal of flower are preserved; middle two modillions are 0.15 m in length, measuring left to right; left modillion and right modillion are narrower, 0.13m and 0.12 m respectively. Right modillion only preserves two parallel line decoration; the remaining three are remnants.

Back End: weathered, no hammer or tool marks.

lines. This modillion and the cassette are the best preserved ornaments on this block. The interstitial space between the raking and horizontal geisa is weathered.

Left Face: vertical edge where pediment sculpture joins this block preserves point chisel marks that become more precise near the face of the block, the same may be said of the vertical face where the raking geison rests. To the rear of this face is also the back end of the lateral portion of this block, which is delineated by the cutting for the inner corner. A deep crack runs half the height of this edge.

Right Face: lateral return preserves a lions-head; mane is fully preserved, but snout is broken. Cyma recta portion of molding is broken at left and right corners.

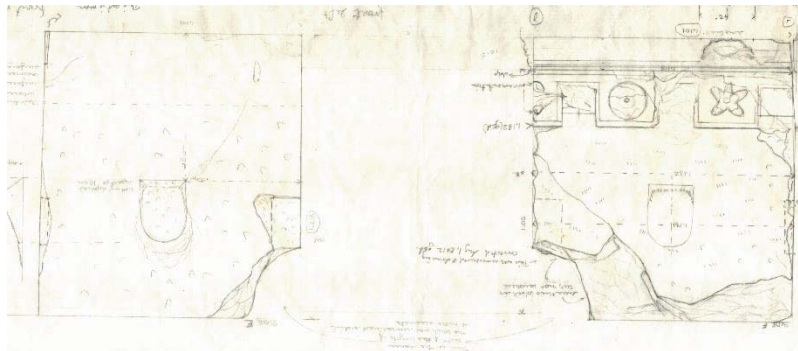
Upper surface: angled surface that helps define roof pitch, and contains acroterion base, is weathered, pitted and preserves no tool marks. The degree of pitch agrees with that seen on AT 178 and AT 289. The surface where raking geison would rest preserves point chisel marks. This surface also contains a r/c along the back edge of the lateral portion of the block; the cutting is 0.20 m in width at the back edge and widens to 0.235 m near the center of the block.

Under Resting Surface: the front overhang preserves two cassettes and two modillions; left preserved cassette contains four pointed petals with space for three more, the right cassette preserves three of potentially six swirled and pointed petals. The left modillion preserves two parallel lines, the right modillion preserves its base. Based on the dimensions of the existing cassettes and modillions, the missing portion of the horizontal geison would have had an additional modillion and two cassettes, the left cassette would likely have had a terminating ovolo. An angled modillion exists at the corner of the block's overhang, no parallel lines. The lateral overhang preserves three cassettes and two modillions; the four large petals of the flower in the left cassette are bisected and appear as eight petals, the middle cassette contains eight large and small alternating petals, and the right cassette contains a four petal flower. The left and right cassettes flowers have incised centers and all three cassettes have flowers with rounded petals. The both modillions preserve the parallel lines. The resting surface preserves tooth chisel marks. Back edge b/c, near the cut out for the inner corner.

Back End: two surfaces exist as the back end; as one views the block from the exterior of the temple, the right end of the lateral portion of the block may be defined as the first back end, and parallel to this edge, but 0.41 m to the left (unseen) is the second back end. The first back edge (1.16 m from cyma recta to edge) contains the r/c also seen on from the upper surface. And second back end (0.74 m from inner face to back edge of lateral portion of block) contains the b/c, observable from the under resting surface. This b/cu extends approximately 0.40 m in height. The first back end preserves point chisel and

tooth chisel marks and the second preserves hammer work; in both instances the surface is weathered.

AT 202



Measurements:

L. 1.13, H. 0.525, W. 1.05

Find spot: SW quadrant: mid flank, southeast.

Preservation: all sides contain preserved but weathered surfaces, under resting surface damaged at back, and molding cracked.

Description:

Front End: profile contains lions-head (0.24 m along length) 0.835 m from left edge with preserved width of mane, but broken face that is worn smooth.

Left Face: tool marks are typical, fist-size voids near under resting surface and cracks that run with and against the marble's grain exist; r/c on under resting surface is visible along edge.

Right Face: similar to left face.

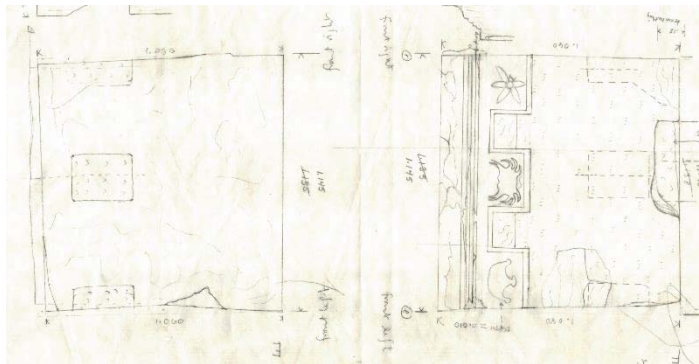
Upper surface: three r/c, those at left and right are only partial, middle cut is full width and 0.525 from right edge. Right rear corner b/c interferes with right r/c

Under Resting Surface: three modillions and two and one-half cassettes; modillions preserved near bases only, but two parallel lines on left modillion and no terminating ovolo on right modillion. Left cassette is divided mid-decoration, perhaps floral, but the crack within the cassette prevents full identification; middle cassette contains a phiale; right cassette contains a five petal flower, none fully preserved. An angled cut beginning

with the right edge of the overhang, from the inner edge out to the cyma recta, extend the entire height of the block. Weathering has created cracks and voids that extend from left near overhang to mid-back of block.

Back End: Hammer and point chisel work are weathered. B/c extends entire height of block.

AT 203



Measurements:

L. 1.145, H. 0.51, W. 1.080

Find spot: SW quadrant: mid flank, southeast.

Preservation: block is preserved on all faces, and weather worn, molding suffers extensive cracking.

Description:

Front End: molding contains no lions-head.

Left Face: voids on this side from weathering. Pronounced hammer and chisel marks at back of face.

Right Face: extensive cracking along grain.

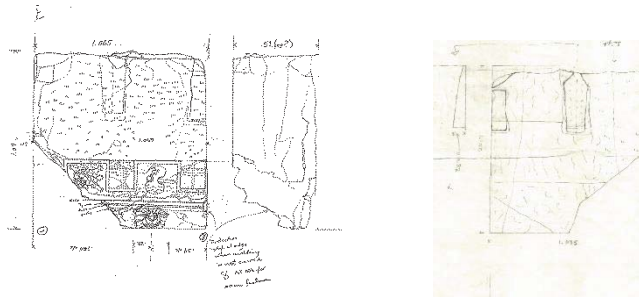
Upper surface: preserves one full r/c and two half-size cuttings on either side. These cuttings are 0.10 m deep.

Under Resting Surface: three cassettes and two modillions; cassettes at left and right have no terminating ovoli, left cassette preserves Hittite shield, middle cassette preserves crustacean with pincers and six legs, right cassette preserves five of six pointed petal flower with raised heart; modillions preserve base, but no bolsters. Back of surface

contains b/c at least 0.36 m in length, 0.11 m wide, with a minimum of 0.33 m in depth. Large chip left and middle of surface, tooth chisel marks throughout.

Back End: b/c also seen on under resting surface is 0.68 m on center from left edge of block, cutting extends from under resting surface to height of 0.33 m and does not extend through the upper surface. Large chisel and hammer marks throughout surface, cutting contains chisel marks.

AT 204



Measurements:

L. 1.065, H. 0.52, W. 1.09

Find spot: SW quadrant: mid flank, southeast.

Preservation: right front corner broken, cracks with and against the grain, and smaller breakage throughout surfaces.

Description:

Front End: molding preserves best example of lions-head (0.22 m along length) at 0.34 m on center from left edge, unfinished strip on left side molding beginning at drip edge to bottom of cyma recta approximately 0.025 m wide.

Left Face: tool marks typical

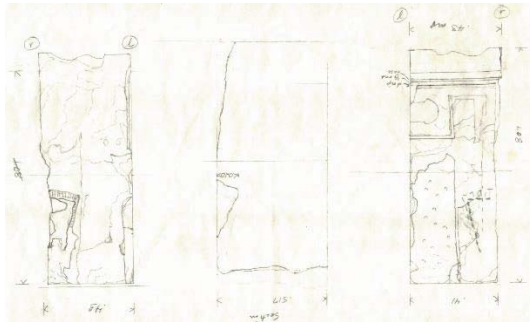
Right Face: preserved back half of surface.

Upper surface: one r/c 0.48 m on center from right edge and one-half cutting at left edge.

Under Resting Surface: preserves one full cassette, portion of another and two modillions; left cassette contains a double axe with breakage on right blade, right cassette contains a turtle with right hind leg missing where cassette is broken off. Right and left

modillion have two parallel lines. Left modillion is inset from left edge approximately 0.15 m from left edge and likely intended to accept adjoining blocks terminating ovolo. Point chisel on resting surface and tooth chisel throughout including the overhang decoration.

AT 241



Measurements:

L. 0.43mp, H. 0.517, W. 1.08

Find spot: SE quadrant: south flank

Preservation: broken, left half of joint with AT 242.

Description:

Front End: small portion of full molding preserved

Left Face: anathyrosis within 0.40 m of molding edge, point chisel and rough hammer work along the side.

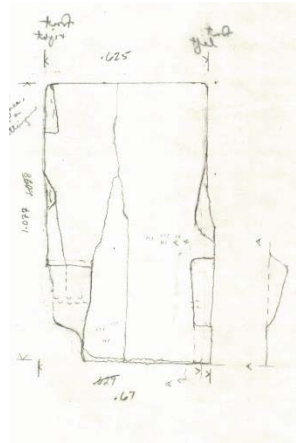
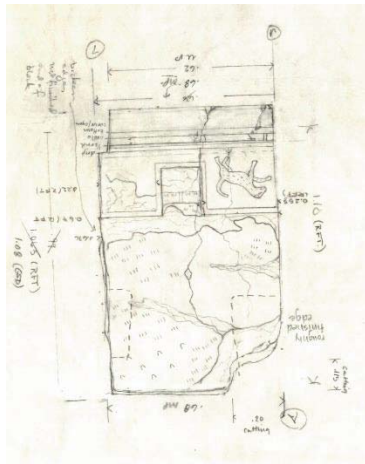
Right Face: broken.

Upper surface: r/c (0.10 depth), weathered, no tool marks.

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves cassette and portion of cassette and modillion; decoration broken. Resting surface preserves small portion with point chisel marks.

Back End: weathered and pitted.

AT 242



Measurements:

L. 0.62 mp, H.0.50, W.1.08

Find spot: SE quadrant: south flank.

Preservation: broken, right half of join with AT 241.

Description:

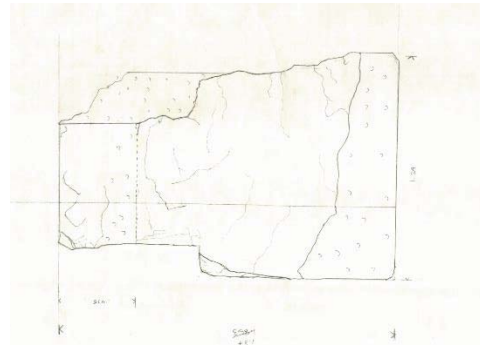
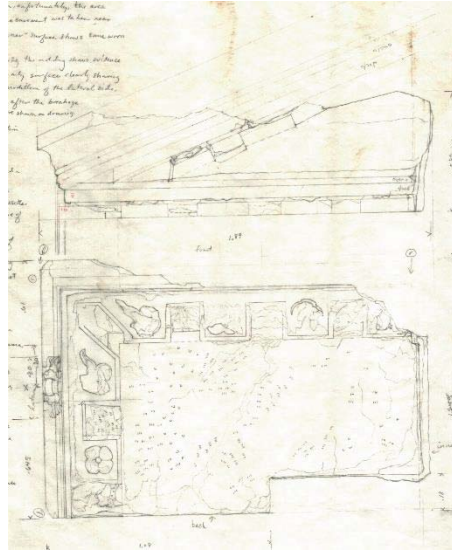
Front End: full profile, cracked. Right edge of molding is unfinished at filet and half-round above. No lion head.

Right Face: anathyrosis, point-chisel and hammer marks.

Upper surface: two r/c

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves two cassettes and one modillion; right cassette with leopard and left cassette possible flower with four rounded petals, modillion preserves two parallel lines between base and bolster. Resting surface preserves point and tooth chisel marks.

Back End: right corner contains b/c that runs height of block, we

AT 257**Measurements:**

L. 1.255, H. 0.582 mp, W. 1.89

Find spot: SE quadrant: rear pediment

Preservation: raking sima broken approximately 0.25 from front, under resting surface preserved except overhang right edge.

Description:

Front End: raking sima preserved at near corner and contains two cassettes, corner modillion, and modillion and portion of another. The left cassette preserves three petal flower restricted by depth of decoration. The corner modillion and modillion contain ovoli,

Left Face: lion head (0.30 m) and well preserved.

Right Face: weathered, point chisel and hammer marks. Height 0.582 mp was taken from this face.

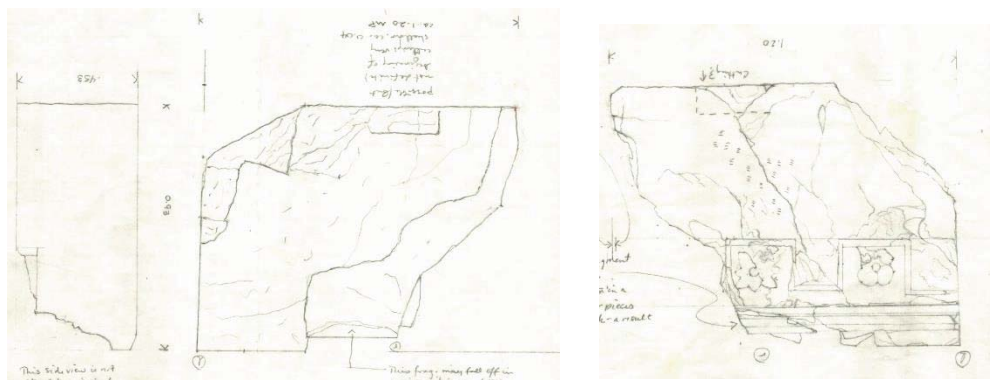
Upper surface: preserved area along the lateral end contains point chisel marks. Preserves cutting 0.475 from right edge that extends from front to back of block.

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves three full cassettes and portion of third at front and two full cassettes at lateral; left front cassette preserves portion of stemmed three petal flower, the remaining cassettes contain portions of flowers with rounded

petals. The two petals remain in the cassette second from left and the three, and potentially five, petals in the second from right cassette. The right cassette preserves portion of two petals out of a possible five, and room for terminating ovolo exists, but the curve of the adjacent edge belies this. All modillions are broken, front left modillion preserves base and two parallel lines at crease between bolster and base. The corner modillion's base and bolster are angled, no evidence of parallel lines. Lateral modillions are broken; the left preserves point chisel marks and the middle preserves tooth chisel marks, in each case the marks may have been made after breakage. The left lateral modillion does not contain a terminating ovolo. The lateral left cassette is best preserved and contains a four petal flower, and the right cassette is similar to the left front cassette.

Back End: weathered, anathyrosis at corner with molding projects slightly, no tool marks preserved.

AT 263



Measurements:

L. 1.20 mp, H. 0.453, W.0.93

Find spot: SE quadrant: rear pediment

Preservation: fragment is broken on all surfaces, fragile state, weathered.

Description:

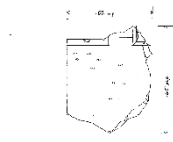
Front End: right side broken, fragment AT 263A sits beside the block and is part of the molding. Left edge of molding preserves small unfinished margin (0.025 m wide) above and below half-round. Molding and fragment beside block do not contain lion head.

Left Face: preserved near front, An, we. Right Face: br, except at rear, hammer and point chisel marks. Upper surface: beginning of shallow cutting (0.04 m depth) along back edge ca. 0.74 m on center from left.

Under Resting Surface: overhang contains two poorly preserved cassettes and two modillions and small portion of a third; left cassette preserves three of four rounded petal flower with indented center, right cassette preserves five of eight pointed petals that alternate between small and large; none of the modillions preserve base or bolster, no terminating ovolo on the left modillion. Some fine tooth chisel marks within cassettes.

Back End: we.

AT 278



Measurements:

L. 0.52 mp, H. 0.225 mp, W. 0.65 mp

Find spot: NW quadrant: location on temple undetermined

Preservation: fragment preserves no face in entirety.

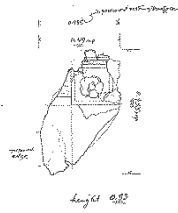
Description:

Front End: br Left Face: small portion preserved; chisel marks

Right Face: br Upper surface: br, no diagnostic marks

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves only thin portion of inner edge of two cassettes and one modillion; ovolo present on cassettes and bolster on modillion.

Back End: broken

AT 289Measurements:

L. 0.49 mp, H. 0.53, W. 0.75 mp

Find spot: NW quadrant: location on temple unknown.

Preservation: fragment preserves small portion of under resting surface and under resting surface.

Description:

Front End: small portion (0.04 m) molding is continuous to cyma recta, but in poor condition

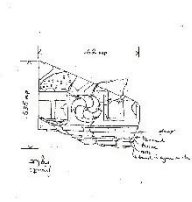
Left Face: 0.20 mp area at corner with under resting surface.

Right Face: br Upper surface: small portion preserved

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves portion of cassette and two modillions; cassette with five-petal flower with only two a full relief height, and raised heart.

Noteworthy: left modillion bolster appears to be worked, it is flat and 0.05 m greater in height than the ovolo; this is the only instance of a flat modillion. Small portion of right modillion confirms dimension of cassette. Inner edge to drip is 0.245 m. Back

End: br

AT 293Measurements:

L. 0.62 mp, H.0.49 mp, W. 0.535 mp.

Find spot: NW quadrant: location on temple unknown.

Preservation: fragment preserves portion of the right face, under resting surface with overhang and molding.

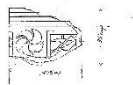
Description:

Front End: the molding is preserved only up to the cyma recta; no lion-head.

Left Face: br Right Face: portion preserved, weathered. Typical point chisel marks that become tight together closer to the front of the block. Upper surface: br

Under Resting Surface: preserves one cassette and two modillions: flower contains five pointed and swirled petals with concave heart; both modillions preserve the two parallel lines, the right preserves a base that is worn even with the under resting surface and terminates without an ovolo. The drip has an unusual thickness 0.03 m with an inward and sloped edge 0.01 m thick.

Back End: br

AT 328Measurements:

L. 0.445 mp, W. 0.35 mp.

Find spot: NW quadrant: location unknown

Preservation: fragment is left edge of block; preserves portion of a modillion and cassette.

Description:

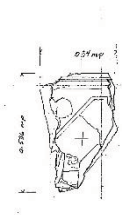
Front End: molding preserved up to half-round.

Left Face: preserved portion no description; unremarkable

Right Face: br Upper surface: br

Under Resting Surface: preserves portion of a cassette with five swirled and pointed petals. The flat unfinished looking terminating ovolo appears as a worn, chipped protective strip perhaps less than 1 cm in height. Drip edge is 0.025 m thick. Preserved portion of modillion has two parallel lines. Back End: br

AT 333



Measurements:

L. 0.34 mp, W. 0.536 mp.

Find spot: NW quadrant: left front corner of temple

Preservation: preserves small portion of cassette and modillion that extends diagonally from corner of resting surface, typical of corner pediment

Description:

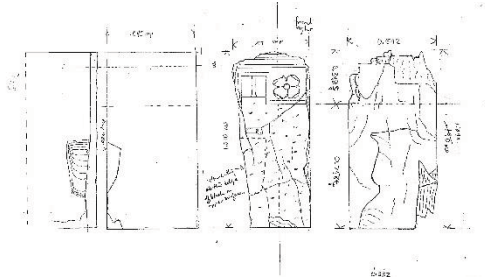
Front End: lateral return portion of corner geison preserves molding up to cyma recta.

Left Face: br Right Face: br Upper surface: br

Under Resting Surface: preserves portion of cassette with one rounded petal and beginning of two other petals. Preserved portion of corner (angled) modillion does not have two parallel lines.

Back End: br

AT 339



Measurements:

L. 0.47 mp., H. 0.565, W. 1.075 mp

Find spot: NW quadrant: location on temple unknown.

Preservation: fragment is middle portion of lateral geison block, with small portion of molding preserved. Block is weathered and cracked, especially on back edge.

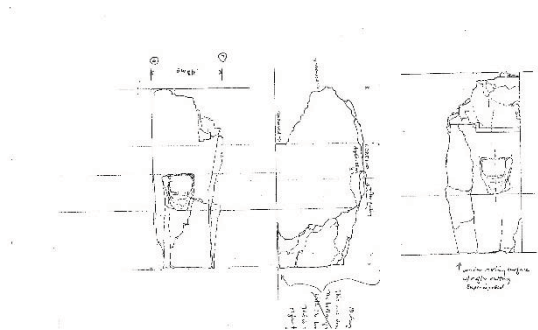
Description:

Front End: preserves small portion of molding upto cyma recta, most of face br

Left Face: br Right Face: br Upper surface: preserves one half of r/c
along left edge of surface; point chisel marks.

Under Resting Surface: notable surface with clamp cutting on left side that still preserves the metal clamp and some lead fill. Preserves one modillion and one cassette: modillion is one of best preserved examples, exhibits the two parallel lines; the cassette's flower is four rounded petals with raised heart, the petal tips are bisected by a single line. Tooth chisel marks are on resting surface.

Back End: cracked, and we

AT 350

Measurements: L. 0.43 mp, H. 0.528 mp, W. 1.088 mp

Find spot: NE quadrant: north flank.

Preservation: fragment preserves r/c, small portion of overhang and lower curved portion of cyma recta.

Description:

Front End: small lower portion of cyma recta, otherwise broken

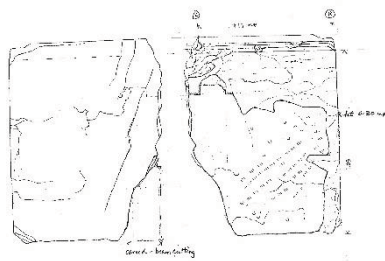
Left Face: br Right Face: chisel marks, br at rear.

Upper surface: r/c (0.08 m depth), weathered, no tool marks.

Under Resting Surface: portions of two cassettes at of overhang; right cassette (0.26 m) lack terminating ovolo, only small portion of neighboring cassette; no decoration preserved. Bolster broken on modillion (0.16 m) Back End: small portion preserved, we

AT 406, fragment

AT 442, fragment

AT 544Measurements:

L. 0.845 mp, H. 0.30 mp, W. 1.05

Find spot: front between Southeast and Northeast quadrants: south flank.

Preservation:

Description:

Front End: portions of molding poorly preserved from drip edge to cyma recta.

Left Face: b/c 0.45m from back edge, the carving is worn and difficult to detect.

Right Face: point chisel used for smooth treatment along entire surface.

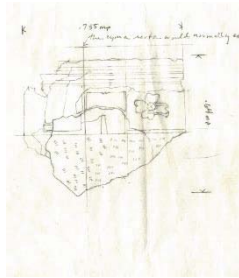
Upper surface: sheared off.

Under Resting Surface: preserves base of left modillion and small portion of the inner edge of flanking cassette corners. Tooth and point chisel marks preserved on resting surface at central and near back.

Back End: b/c at left corner approximately 0.17 m wide.

AT 610, fragment with molding



AT 620Measurements:

L. 0.755 mp, H. 0.37 mp, W. 0.64 mp

Find spot: SE quadrant, pediment likely.

Preservation: block is in fragile state, large portion sits in block the remainder in depot.

Description:

Front End: molding poorly preserved, evidence of each type of molding present, but drawing is based off of tracing of typical block molding.

Left Face: small portion, mid-surface, preserved, weathered.

Right Face: small portion near overhang preserved, weathered.

Upper surface: br

Under Resting Surface: overhang preserves two cassettes and one modillion; right cassette flower contains four heart shaped petals and no terminating ovolo, portion of left cassette is broken at left and no ornament. Modillion base contains two parallel lines, but bolster broken. Overhang and resting surface contains tooth chisel marks.

Back End: br

Fragments from Project Depot:

F1 – Cassette – eight pointed petals; raised heart; small portion drip edge with ovolo above

F2 – Modillion – two parallel lines decoration with thin ovolo trim; drip edge with ovolo above

F3 – Cassette – four pointed petals; raised heart; small portion of drip

F4 – Cassette – two petals; one small and pointed, second broad petal (broken); no heart, trim or drip

F5 – Modillion – two parallel lines decoration; small portion drip

F6 – Cassette – possible four petals; raised heart; no trim or drip (< 0.015 m)

F7 – Cassette – three rounded petals (portion of two more); raised heart; no trim or drip (< 0.020 m)

F8 – Modillion – bolster (< 0.010 m); two parallel lines decoration; labeled “Temple South” in red

F9 – Cassette – four round petals and one mildly heart shaped petal in front portion; indented heart; drip and ovolo above

F10 – Modillion – bolster broken; small portion of base preserved; drip edge and beginning of ovolo above

F11 – Molding labeled AT 626; portion of drip, ovolo, fascia and half-round above, and beginning of cyma recta

F12 – Cassette – three rounded petals; five total; raised heart; drip, ovolo and fascia above; small portion of under resting surface; not a portion of a block edge; largest fragment in depot; stored on rear wall shelf

F13 – Modillion – terminal ovolo; intentionally carved extra portion of proceeding cassette; crips An.



F14 – Modillion, ca 0.10 mp.

F15 – Cassette – Fragment labelled “F side;” traces of flower design; raised heart

APPENDIX A: Anemurium (Eski Anamur)

History

The city of Anemurium, the most southern point of Asia Minor, is located 64 km from the island of Cyprus on the east flank of the Cape of Anamur.²⁹⁶ The site includes an upper citadel, lower town, necropolis, and city proper. All structures of the south end in the city proper, such as the Odeon-bouleuterion, theatre, apsed exedra, three large baths, and a colonnaded street, date from the 2nd century AD. Coinage from the site date from Antiochus IV of Commagene to Valerian, and the city continued to be prosperous until its abandonment in the mid-seventh century when Arabs occupied Cyprus. The reconstruction of the citadel in the 12th century corresponds to the time of “little Armenia,” but “subsequent Seljuk or Ottoman presence is lacking.”²⁹⁷

An Imperial temple was also present in the city’s south end, however, many of the blocks are now part of a sea wall.²⁹⁸ My observations of the extant and exposed blocks along this shore are contained in the following catalogue.

Geison Blocks

²⁹⁶ Richard Stillwell, editor, William L. MacDonald, associate editor, Marian Holland McAllister, assistant editor. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of classical sites*. (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1976), 58 for Anemurium.

²⁹⁷ Stillwell, 58.

²⁹⁸ The foundation of this temple is uncertain and has not been surveyed nor excavated.

While my observations are cursory, I assigned numbers to each of the eleven blocks. The geisa blocks are an average length of 1.02 m. Their heights vary between 0.36, 0.41, and 0.50 and may differ due to function, but no further identification has been given to these geisa. A block whose width is fully preserved may be 0.90 m.

The preservation of these blocks is mediocre, many surfaces are preserved and tool marks are still visible, yet they are typically weather worn along the edges of the block and its decoration. Cuttings are often smooth as well.

The modillion and cassette ornaments are described from left to right of each block, as though the block were in place on the temple and viewed from below.

G1

L. 0.90 W. 0.69 H. 0.47

Face is not preserved. Three modillions (0.12, 0.13, 0.12) and two cassettes (0.23, 0.24).

G2

L. 0.93 W. 0.69 H. 0.36

The functioning lion head is 0.42 on center from the left edge of the block. The three modillions (all 0.12) with left modillion ending with a terminating ovolo, and two cassettes (0.28, 0.26) with fleur-de-lis like flower design are approximately 0.22 in depth.

G3

L. 1.19, H 0.37 m

Back edge buried, non-functioning lion head water spout at 0.55 from the left edge of block.

Three modillions (0.13, 0.15, and 0.15 wide) and three cassettes (0.26, 0.28, 0.22) with a depth of 0.22 from front of block to under resting surface.

G4

L. 0.80 W. 0.80 H. 0.39

Partially buried on left. Two modillions (0.14, 0.12) with terminating ovolo and one cassette (0.29).

G5

L. 1.04 W. 0.88 H. 0.385

Lion head 0.20 on center from left edge. Two modillions (0.14, 0.15) and three cassettes (0.22, 0.29, 0.25) all contain flowers.

G6

L. 1.0 W. 0.86 H 0.36

Two modillions (both 0.15) and two cassettes (0.34, 0.29). Left modillion terminating ovolo and 0.01m cassette bed. Best preserved dentil (0.05 m wide) and via (0.03 m wide).

G7

L. 0.70 W. 0.96 H. 0.41

Three modillions (all 0.11) and two cassettes (0.23, 0.225) with flowers.

G8

L. 0.73 W. 0.89 H. 0.41

Lion head 0.30 on center from left. Two modillions (all 0.17) and one cassette (0.30) floral. Small cutting at middle of rear edge.

G9



L. 1.20 W. 0.90

Partially buried. Two modillions (0.14) and three cassettes (0.32, 0.32, 0.29). No parallel lines on modillion and cassettes contain a dolphin, a four petal flower, and two ivy leaves. Dentils (0.10) and via (0.05) are wide.

G10

L 1.30 W. 0.87 mp H. 0.40

Three modillions (0.11, 0.12, 0.12) and three cassettes (0.30, 0.33, 0.28) with floral designs. The overhang is abbreviated with a depth of 0.16 m.

G11



L. 1.05 W. 0.78 H. 0.50

Two modillions (0.12) and three cassettes (0.27, 0.28, 0.23) contain the two broad lines, a shield, and a flower. These are abbreviated in depth (0.14).

SOURCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1 illustrations

Figure 1.1. After Map of Asia Minor, Bean and Mitford George E. Bean, George E. and Terence B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963* (Graz-Wien-Köln: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1965), figure 1.

Figure 1.2, Photo courtesy of Northeast temple, Aerial view, ACARP.

Figure 1.3. Image courtesy of Northeast temple, site plan, ACARP. (not yet inserted)Map

Figure 1.4. Mouton, Alice, and Ian Rutherford, and Ilya Yakubovich, eds. *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013, page 322, fig. 9b.

Figure 1.5. After Itamar Singer, in David C. Hopkins, *Across the Anatolian Plateau Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey, America Schools of Oriental Research*. (Brill: Boston, 2002), 147.

Figure 1.6. After Maurits N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), Page 17, figure 2.

Figure 1.7. After Maurits N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985)

Figure 1.8. After Maurits N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), PL VIIb

Figure 1.9. Image courtesy of ACARP (Brian Cannon author).

Figure 1.10. author.

Chapter 2 illustrations

Figure 2.1. After General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration, <http://www.mta.gov.tr/v2.0/eng/maps.php>, 1:500,000 scaled Geology Maps, Konya region, <http://www.mta.gov.tr/v2.0/eng/maps.php?id=500-maps>, Konya region, <http://www.mta.gov.tr/v2.0/eng/maps/images/1-500/KONYA.jpg>, Designed by Ahmet Mesut CENGİZ and webmaster Şahin DALA, (accessed by 3/26/2014),

Figure 2.2. After ACARP survey coordinates (author).

Figure 2.3. author.

Figure 2.4. author.

Figure 2.5. author.

Figure 2.6. author.

Figure 2.7. author.

Figure 2.8. author.

Figure 2.9. author.

Chapter 3 illustrations

Figure 3.1. Image from Musei Capitolini, Rome, invoice number MC0808

<http://en.museicapitolini.org/> . in the main staircase

collection.http://en.museicapitolini.org/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/museo_del_palazzo_dei_conservatori/scalone/rilievo_da_monumento_onorario_di_marco_aurelio_trionfo

Figure 3.2. After Stephen Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia: An Ancient City in Peace and in War*, (Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co., 1995), page 109, PLS 49-51.

Figure 3.3. After Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997), PL

Figure 3.4. After Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997), PL .

Figure 3.5. After Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997) PL 41.

Figure 3.6. After Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997) PL 46.

Figure 3.7. After Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997) PL 118.

Figure 3.8. After Lutgarde Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: A Case Study*, Edited by M. Waelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997), PL 116 .

Figure 3.9. After D’Andria, F. “Gods and Amazons in the nymphaea of Hierapolis.” in JRA Supplementary Series 80, *Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor: Proceedings of the International Conference to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Italian excavations at Hierapolis in Phrygia*, held on May 24 – 26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce). Eds., F. D’Andria and I. Romeo. Portsmouth, RI (2011): 150 – 172.D’Andria

Figure 3.10. After D’Andria, F. “Gods and Amazons in the nymphaea of Hierapolis.” in JRA Supplementary Series 80, *Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor: Proceedings of the International Conference to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Italian excavations at Hierapolis in Phrygia*, held on May 24 – 26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce). Eds., F. D’Andria and I. Romeo. Portsmouth, RI (2011): 150 – 172.D’Andria

Figure 3.11. Courtesy of Corinth excavation.

Figure 3.12. Courtesy of Corinth excavation.

Figure 3.13. Courtesy of Corinth excavation.

Figure 3.14. Courtesy of Corinth excavation.

Figure 3.15. After E. Borgia in Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013),

Figure 3.16. After Yehudit Turnheim. “Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Ġölān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods.” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996), PL 10A

Figure 3.17. After Yehudit Turnheim. “Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Ġölān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods.” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996),page 124, figure 1.

Figure 3.18. After Yehudit Turnheim. “Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Ġölān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods.” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996), PL 11A and B.

Figure 3.19. After Yehudit Turnheim. "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Gōlān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods."
Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996), PL 12A and B.

Figure 3.20. After Yehudit Turnheim. "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel and the Gōlān in the Roman and Byzantine Periods."
Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (1953-), Bd 112 H 2 (1996), PL 13A and B.

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