

# ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ  
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

# ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAC AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YILLIĞI  
THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAC RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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## ***Yapım / Production***

Zero Prodüksiyon Ltd.

ISSN 1301-2746

## İçindekiler

Mehmet Özhanlı	
<i>"On the Cilician Origins of an Archaic 'Cyprus' Limestone Head"</i>	1
Süleyman Bulut	
<i>"Erken Dönem Likya Sikkelerinde Triskeles Motifi"</i>	15
Muzaffer Demir	
<i>"Peloponnesos Savaşı (İ.Ö. 431-404) Sırasında Karya ve Likya'ya Yönelik Atina Seferlerinin Amaçları: Yeni Bir Gözden Geçirme"</i>	69
Ferim Tekoğlu	
<i>"Kyme'den Bir Portre: Hephaistion"</i>	101
T. M. P. Duggan	
<i>"A short Account of Recorded Calamities (earthquakes and plagues) in Antalya Province and Adjacent and Related Areas Over the Past 2,300 Years - an Incomplete List, Comments and Observations"</i>	123
Hatice Palaz Erdemir	
<i>"Roma'nın Küçük Asya'da İdari Bir Meselesi: Bağımsız Şehirler"</i>	171
Burhan Varkıvaç	
<i>"Zum Fragment einer Bekrönung aus dem Museum von Side"</i>	185
Taner Korkut	
<i>"Niobe - Medea Trajedisi ? Pamphylia Lahdi Üzerinde İşlenen Frizin İkonografisine Yeni Bir Bakış"</i>	193
Recai Tekoğlu	
<i>"Some Greek Inscriptions from Antalya"</i>	217
Nevzat Çevik - Burhan Varkıvaç	
<i>"An Evaluation of the Roman Rural Baths of Lycia in the Light of Two New Examples from Trebenna and Typallia"</i>	223
Mehmet Aydın	
<i>"Antakya ve Tarsus Eksenli İlk Dönem Hıristiyanlığı'na Bir Bakış"</i>	251
Ayşe Aydın	
<i>"Boğsak Adası'ndaki Merkezi Planlı Yapı"</i>	263
Giray Ercenk	
<i>"Şabkulu Baba Tekeli Ayaklanması"</i>	279





## An Evaluation of the Roman Rural Baths of Lycia in the Light of Two New Examples from Trebenna and Typallia

Nevzat ÇEVİK - Burhan VARKIVANÇ\*

From the first century BC, with the increase of Roman Thermae spreading from Rome, there was also a rapid increase of Roman baths in the regions of Lycia and<sup>1</sup> when we survey the known examples, we can observe that this rapid increase began in western Anatolia and a little later reached Pamphylia<sup>2</sup>. Although there are baths that can be dated to the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in Lycia, there are no examples surviving today from Pamphylia that can be dated to before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD saw the initial period of the rapid increase in Roman style construction, called the "Romano-Pamphylian style", in Pamphylia<sup>3</sup>. In this matter of building, all parts of the economy were prospering, as a result of the Pax Romana and in particular, construction prospered.

A. Farrington established that the Candyba baths were quickly followed by the building of the first level of the Tlos baths, forming the earliest two examples from Lycia<sup>4</sup>. Although Pınara, Patara and Sidyma baths have on occasion been added to this list of early baths, there is no surviving evidence to prove that these baths are of this early date. Due to the absence of evidence, for the present, there is no other way but to pay regard to the situation of the cities in historical geography for our evaluation of the early thermae of these regions. Through this evaluation, Patara can be understood to be one of the cities that provides us with the earliest possible thermae, maybe the earliest, because of its status and privileged position in 1<sup>st</sup> century Roman Lycia<sup>5</sup> with its important harbor and

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The two baths with which this article is concerned were discovered by us, in the course of the "Bey Dağları Surveys". We would like to thank Akdeniz University and Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED), who have supported our periodical surveys on Bey Dağları. In addition, thanks to T. M. P. Duggan for assistance in translation and to our team members İ. Kızılgut and S. Bulut; to our student E. Akalın and to S. Çoşkun, with whom we made the map of Trebenna.

<sup>1</sup> see. Yegül 1992.

<sup>2</sup> For the Pamphylian baths see. Abbasoğlu 1982.

<sup>3</sup> Ward-Perkins 1994, 300.

<sup>4</sup> Farrington 1995, 82 Table 13.

<sup>5</sup> With the foundation of the Lycian League, Patara was used as a Roman grain store and owing to this important function, tourism is increased at Patara. Işık-İşkan-Çevik 2001.

its status as capital of the province<sup>6</sup>. This is supported by the fact that largest number of *thermae* of all the cities in Lycia are at Patara. As at Patara, the *Aperlae* gymnasium, exhibits one of the earliest baths in Lycia, from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and this is because both Patara and *Aperlae* were harbor cities<sup>7</sup>.

The Hellenistic gymnasiums, for example at Priene and at Milet, as is known, formed the prototypes for the Roman baths of Anatolia. Clearly, with the development of the two important technical engineering systems, the hypocaust and the aqueduct, the growth of the Roman *thermae* was made possible. Although, being related to Hellenistic gymnasium, Roman *thermae* create a newly formed composite type evolved from, but was not at all identical to a Hellenistic gymnasium. In a short period of time many regions adopted *thermae*, because of the different functions that were enabled and facilitated by this building, which provided a recreation center, for relaxation and rest, in and beside the water. Different architectural types appeared in Anatolia, as in other provinces of the Roman Empire, and these types differed from those in Rome. Perhaps the best example of this diversity is to be seen in the bath-gymnasium complex. The conservative traditions of Anatolia led to a continuity of links with the past Hellenistic gymnasium customs, practices and lifestyle into the Roman period. The Roman period baths differ through Anatolian construction, within the interchange of influences from and to Anatolia<sup>8</sup>, from those of Rome. In many regions of Anatolia, we see baths of the bath-gymnasium type, adopted over a very wide area<sup>9</sup>, a type first seen in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC at Delphi and in the most developed example, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, at Olympia<sup>10</sup>. This new type of bath was compounded from two different types, that first came together in Italy, and was then adapted in Anatolia with local characterization to form the bath-gymnasium complex<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, the model of the bath-gymnasium clearly shows the extraordinary harmony reached by those newly subjected to Roman rule, given the Romans tolerance of local traditions, such as baths of the bath-gymnasium type<sup>12</sup>. Despite these points, we can observe the Roman tradition in the bath architecture of Anatolia<sup>13</sup>. In those Lycian and Pamphylian cities without Hellenistic Gymnasium, as for example at Patara, these cities had in a very short period of time built numerous Roman baths. These two points reveal the start of a new architectural period linked to Romanization.

This architectural type, representative of Roman architecture and visible in most of the cities of Lycia and Pamphylia, was constructed in terms of quality and size, taking into consideration the size of the city's population and forming a reflection, not only of the cities size but also of its wealth and degree of social and cultural Romanisation. In the most important cities, this not only reflects the quality of the baths but also the quantity of the

<sup>6</sup> For the Patara baths see. Işık 2000, 85 ff., 125 f.

<sup>7</sup> Vann 2000, 198-201. This building must be the "Gymnasium" mentioned in the *Aperlae* inscriptions: Vann 2000, 195.

<sup>8</sup> Ward-Perkins 1994, 305 f.

<sup>9</sup> Yegül 1992, 9.

<sup>10</sup> "These little Greeks (*Greaculi*) have a weakness for gymnasia": Yegül 1992, 250.

<sup>11</sup> Ward-Perkins 1994, 292; Farrington 1987, 67 f.

<sup>12</sup> Yegül 1998, 63-67.

<sup>13</sup> Ward-Perkins 1994, 292 explain the Anatolian baths as: "The baths of Asia Minor were not, however, mere slavish copies of those in Italy".



baths constructed in these cities. An excess of baths in a city reflects both the size of the cities' population and also the number of visitors to the city. For example, in those cities with large influxes of visitors, such as: Perge and Side in Pamphylia or Patara in Lycia, there are three or four big baths together. Of course, the small and medium size cities have baths in a similar situation but reflecting their lesser size and status, due to the necessity of provide bathing facilities for the population of these small or middle sized cities. The abundant remains of the larger baths provide us with more architectural evidence, however, to establish the form, plan and type of the smaller baths in the lesser settlements is much less easy, in part, due to the lack of sufficient surviving remains and their poor quality, and also to the difficulty of ascertaining the degree of interior decoration and the technical structures. A further problem for our understanding of the architecture is that these buildings were later used for other functions, particularly as a rich source of ready cut stone, turning these baths into *calcararium*.

Most of the archaeological excavations have been conducted in the important cities and, particularly in the sculpture-rich baths, as a result, most of the monumental baths have been fully explored and published. Due to this, their known plan characteristics and the unchanging function of human behavior in respect to these baths, most of the plan and technical characteristics of the Anatolian bath-gymnasium are known, the functions and characteristics of each and every part have been established. There is only a small probability that any of the large baths to be excavated in the future can provide us with any significant additions to the existing body of knowledge concerning the larger baths, but will only provide us with further examples to be added to the existing inventory of large baths. The main problem today concerns the state of the smaller and poor quality bath structures erected in the small and medium sized settlements. Our knowledge concerning these smaller baths is insufficient, in comparison to the larger baths, due to the lack of excavation and even survey work in these cities of lesser size and importance. This is the main reason for our lack of knowledge concerning rural Roman baths.

The newly discovered examples in Eastern Lycia, in our surface surveys of Beydağlar, provide important evidence on this matter<sup>14</sup>. Two examples, one at Trebenna<sup>15</sup>, the other at Typallia<sup>16</sup>, have been chosen for this article as they exhibit the state of Roman rural-provincial baths in the region.

## Trebenna Baths

Trebenna is the easternmost city of the Lycian League situated at the north-eastern corner of Lycia<sup>17</sup>. It was an important border city standing at the junction of the Lycian, Pamphylian and Pisidian borders<sup>18</sup>. Politically the city is known as a Lycian city, however, from the evidence provided by the rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi the predominant art

<sup>14</sup> In the first step of Bey Dağları Surveys: Trebenna, Neapolis, Kelbessos, Typallia, Onobara settlements and other ruins: towers, defense buildings, farms, workshops etc. have been fully discovering by our team.

<sup>15</sup> For the first information concerning the Trebenna bath see. Çevik-Kızgut-Aktaş 1999, 323 f., fig. 7.

<sup>16</sup> The bath at Typallia was discovered by us in our 2001 surveys in the region: Çevik-Varkıvaç-Kızgut 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Trebenna appears in the expanded list of the Lycian League cities, with more 7 cities: Jameson 1980, 842.

<sup>18</sup> Özşait 1980, 57; Çevik 1998, 128; Çevik 2002, 133 f.

is Pisidian<sup>19</sup>. The surviving dated evidence from the first century AD through to the Byzantine period, shows the greatest period of building construction was between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. We have numismatic evidence from Gordianus III<sup>rd</sup> (238-244)<sup>20</sup>, that suggests that Trebenna, in this period, gained the status of a Roman colony. Most of the buildings in the Roman city center, the ecclesiasterion, the emperors hall and stoa were built in this period. Numerous inscriptions have been found in the city<sup>21</sup>. Unfortunately, to date, we have discovered no inscription from the baths. Possibly, as the baths were unused in the Byzantine period, if excavations were to be conducted at the baths, inscriptions and other related material would be found.

The baths are situated on the southern side of the acropolis, to the south of the agora, in the Roman city center (Fig. 1). The forest road passes between these buildings, while the ancient road follows the same path, part of this antique road has been found in the İrimli necropolis. It is the last public building to be erected on the south of the city, from which point the Elmin necropolis starts, where the slope away from the city center begins (Fig. 2). The choice for the location of the baths, is due to it being the only flat area sufficient for the baths at the foot of the acropolis. The Roman city center was built on this flat area between the Elmin necropolis and the acropolis, with the baths built on the southern side of this area which included other important public buildings related to each other. The orientation of the main entrance to the baths from the Roman city center is no accident; it was planned as a part of the organization of the city. On the southern side of the baths, 16 meters from the baths, there was built a long wall, of which only a few courses remain, and in the middle of this wall was an entrance to the baths. This wall was built to redirect the course of a stream and there is, at present, no evidence to suggest the function of this area between the wall and the baths.

The baths are built in an east-west direction (Figs. 3, 4), with the best preserved parts of the baths on the northern side (Fig. 5). The south and western sides are less well preserved and to establish the structure of the baths on these sides is less easy as a result. On the roadside, towards the city center, the preservation of the structure is partly the result of the smaller rooms having stronger walls and because of the slope. The main sections of the bath on the southern side fell more easily, due to the wide openings and the larger scale of the wall together with the descent of rubble filling from the Sivri Dağ side. We can however, in spite of these problems, establish the plan of the baths.

Two (I, II) of the five sections of the bath are the service and the entrance sections (Fig. 4). They are on the north, adjoining the road cutting across the city. There are three main sections, situated in the south and southwest. The only closed sections of the baths are a nearly square area, 21 by 21.5 m. The baths cover an area of 423 square meters, with a functional area of 302 square meters.

<sup>19</sup> See for the character of the art and culture in Trebenna, which is different from that of Lycia: Çevik 1998, 128 footnote 11.

<sup>20</sup> Hill 1964, XLVIII.

<sup>21</sup> After the initial publication of the inscriptions by Lanckoronski (1892, 13, 223 f. No. 183-187), R. Paribenni and P. Romanelli have published some new inscriptions (Paribenni-Romanelli 1914, 203 ff. No. 149-162). We have been discovering new inscriptions, together with our colleagues B. İplikçioğlu and V. Çelgin. The inscriptions publishing by the team of İplikçioğlu: İplikçioğlu-Çelgin 1997, 371-381; İplikçioğlu-Çelgin 1999, 199-207.



Despite the rubble filling and collapsed walls, we can determine the windows and doors and the relationship between the various parts of the building. Aid to reconstructing the plan is provided by the preserved sections of the building on the northern side. Section I, on the northwest is the entrance to the baths and measures 5.60 by 4.30 m (25 sq m), with a 0.85 m wide, south sliding door, leading from room I to room II. This door is buried in the earth to the height of its lintel. The room II measures 7.10 by 4.30 m (30 sq m) and is likewise concerned with service traffic at the baths, with some parts of this room preserved to the foot of the barrel vault (Fig. 2). Rooms I and II were roofed over by means of a single barrel vault (Fig. 5). The stone supports to this vault are visible on both sides. The vaults in this section are 1.5 m lower than the vaults over the main section of the baths. The connection between Room I and the exterior is less clear, the opening is less like a door, more of a passage style entrance, measuring 2.38 m (Fig. 2). The threshold is buried beneath the rubble but there is no trace of the doorposts to suggest a closed door here. In the light of the proportions, the scale and the details, it seems clear that this room served as the main entrance to the baths as it opened to the palaestra. The large flat area on the western side of the bath must belong to the palaestra despite the absence of a surrounding wall, as it is the only flat area by the baths. The only visible wall, 18 m from the bath in a westerly direction, stretches for only 1.5 m. The connection of this wall with the baths is presently unclear.

Passing from room II into the III<sup>rd</sup> section via a door 0.87 m wide (Figs. 5, 6), the door between the first two sections is similar to this door, having the same dimensions. On the upper part of this door, there are visible traces concerning the wings of the door. The door-frame sockets are on the inner face towards the III<sup>rd</sup> room, this shows that the doors opened into the III<sup>rd</sup> room. The III<sup>rd</sup> room, on an east-west axis, is one of the two contiguous rectangular rooms, joined together to form a large square room. The III<sup>rd</sup> room measures 6.05 by 13 m (an area of approx. 78.5 sq m), two wide arches link, through the southern wall, the III<sup>rd</sup> and IV the rooms (Figs. 4, 7). The III<sup>rd</sup> and IV the rooms are designed to function as a single unit and forms a single room. At the foot of these arches are open niches, they open towards the III<sup>rd</sup> room, and one can suggest these niches contained statues. Due to the rubble filling that reaches the level of the springing of the arches, it is today impossible to understand the floor and lower levels of the walls. The eastern, narrower arch has 11, and the western arch has 13 arch blocks. From the fallen blocks, which fell to the outside, from the eastern narrow wall of the III<sup>rd</sup> room, it is clear there was a window that opened in this wall. On the north wall of the III<sup>rd</sup> room, beyond the junction of the II<sup>nd</sup> room with the III<sup>rd</sup>, there are two windows (Fig. 8), they are *insitu*, with the exception of the fallen lintels (Fig. 9), with traces for the wooden frames visible on both windows. In comparison with the much darker I<sup>st</sup> and II<sup>nd</sup> rooms, the III<sup>rd</sup> room was lit by three windows. There would also have been windows that opened in the flat walls of the barrel vaults of rooms IV and V<sup>22</sup>.

The preserved south and north walls provide clear information concerning the barrel vaults and the upper parts of the structure. Due to the width of the room, 6.05 m, the barrel vault is much higher. The height of the room was a minimum of 9.5 m. The IV the

<sup>22</sup> One of the most important examples of this practice is in the caldarium of the Pompei Forum Bath: Heinz 1983, 63 fig. 55.



room is both wider and higher than the III<sup>rd</sup> room and measures 7.05 by 13 meters (91 sq m) covered by an east-west barrel vault. The high rubble infill makes description of the interior difficult. The most important unknown concerns the opening on the western wall into the Caldarium, the V the room. In the middle of this wall there is visible an opening 1.60 m wide however, the lower portion of this opening is currently unknown. It is probable that this opening formed a window, above a door into the V the room<sup>23</sup>. The least well preserved room, in part collapsed and in filled with rubble, is the V the room, lying on a north-south axis. These three main rooms (III, IV and V), form together a balanced structure. This room (V<sup>th</sup>), is divided into two by an arch, the rectangular section is separated from the square section of the caldarium by this arch. On the west wall of this square section is a recess in the wall that measures 1.90 by 1.75 in depth. This must have served as the bathing pool. There is a similar type of recess in the caldarium of the baths at Apollonia<sup>24</sup> measuring 1.90 by 2.05 m and is also found in the small baths at Patara<sup>25</sup> in Lycia, where it measures 2 by 2 m. The Apollonia example closely resembles that at Trebenna. There are similar, but multiple examples in the caldarium of the baths at Myra<sup>26</sup>. At Myra, along the long wall of the caldarium are situated three niches.

The bath's superstructure can be understood from the evidence of the well preserved walls. Some traces on the wall on an East-West axis provide evidence for the existence of a barrel vault here. A thin wall above the foot of the barrel vault, that reached up to support the wooden roof construction, on the north wall of sections I and II, of 0.70 m is preserved, and the northern wall of the III<sup>rd</sup> section is also preserved to a height of 0.90 m. These walls are taller than the top of the barrel vaults. This system provided the support for the wooden roof. In this region, where there is much rainfall in the winter season, this type of roof is necessary to preserve the barrel vaults. We are fortunate to have the evidence of this support system on the bath. The first four sections in the east-west direction had barrel vaults in the same direction, while the V section, on a north-south axis, also had a barrel vault running north-south. The finest example of this type of roof to a bath, of which there are many examples, is provided by Henderson's reconstruction of the Exeter baths<sup>27</sup>.

Despite all our efforts we were unable to determine the interior architecture, nor any material used for this purpose. Due to the absence of evidence concerning the hypocaust system, we are unable to determine the function from the surviving technical material and have only upon the plan to rely upon. All the rubble filling on the surface was observed, but neither brick nor any marble veneer (but two small pieces of marble veneer) was discovered. Neither is there any trace on the walls of the heating system. This absence, together with the plaster on the walls shows there was no heating system within the walls. In the absence of any excavation and given the depth of the rubble infill, it is impossible

<sup>23</sup> See for the similar arrangement in Caracalla Thermae, with a door opening below and higher and wider windows opening above it: M. L. Conforto, in *Les Thermes* 48.

<sup>24</sup> Farrington 1995, 150 fig. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Işık 2000, 125 f. fig. 95; A. Börekçi, *Patara Küçük Hamamı* (Unpublished Lisance Thesis, Antalya 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Farrington 1995, 154 fig. 7.

<sup>27</sup> C. G. Henderson, "The design of the Neronian Fortresses Bath at Exeter", in *Delaine-Johnston II*, 176 fig. 5-7.

to describe the hypocaust system at present. Our only evidence concerning the flue, is from a stone block which had fallen outside, on the northern side of the baths (Fig. 10).

From the above, it is clear that the I<sup>st</sup> and II<sup>nd</sup> rooms provided the entrance to the bath, the III<sup>rd</sup> room was both the apoditerium and frigidarium, the IV<sup>th</sup> section was the tepidarium while the V<sup>th</sup> section was the caldarium. These observations, made from the visible remains (Fig. 4) obtained from only a surface survey and local cleaning are not final, as only a complete excavation will provide absolute proof of functions and a more detailed description.

The only inscription from these baths is on a stone block, situated on the northern face of the main entrance. This is a Φ letter, and is probably a mason's mark (Fig. 11).

The source of water for the baths is unclear and there is no visible evidence from the surrounding area, nor from the walls of the bath, to show how the water entered the baths. However, through our surveys, the Yıkılğan fountain, still used today by the inhabitants of Elmin district, was almost certainly used in the Roman period to provide water for the bath. The only evidence concerning the water supply are some parts of Roman water pipes seen by the villagers by Arpalık Tarlası on the west side of Elmin district, and the ruins between Elmin and Trebenna that were presumably built to supply water pressure to the city and the baths. A cistern in the city center lying beneath the forest road, was described to us by the elderly Murat Hazıroğlu, who had worked on the construction of the forest road in the 1960's. It can be understood from a small visible part of it, that this cistern was filled with water from the terracotta pipe running from Elmin-Yıkılğan.

### Typallia baths

From the 30 km marker of the road from Antalya to Çitdibi, following the forest road for 2.5 km: one reaches Typallia (Asar Dağı, Karabel Mevkii)<sup>28</sup>. The archaeological ruins at Typallia were for the first time researched by our team, during their surface surveys concerning Trebenna and its vicinity, in 2001<sup>29</sup>. The settlement was identified as Typallia by İplikçioğlu and Çelgin<sup>30</sup>. The most important ruins of the settlement are a precipitous, rocky acropolis, 15 sarcophagi, a few chomosoria, 3 rock cut tombs<sup>31</sup> and houses. This settlement is to be found on the ancient road running from Kitanaura-Kossara-Typallia-Trebenna, which is described on the Stadiasmus Patarensis (the Roman road guide monument in Patara)<sup>32</sup>. After Trebenna, this road forks, one branch to Attaleia and the other goes to Thalasa by way of Onobara.

The bath is on the western slope of the acropolis (Fig. 12), close to the necropolis on the route up to the acropolis. The bath is situated by the road, to serve both the residents of the settlement and the travelers on the road, while the situation lent itself to the building of a bath in this place.

<sup>28</sup> Çevik 2002, 135.

<sup>29</sup> Çevik-Varkıvanç-Kızgut 2003.

<sup>30</sup> İplikçioğlu-Çelgin 1999, 203.

<sup>31</sup> Çevik 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Işık-İşkan-Çevik 2000 Pl. 31 Block no. 37 C III: We still do not possess, the block 39 C, which must include the distances between these cities. The epigraphical and archaeological evidence we have support the localizations of these cities.



The bath is intact, with the exception of the roofing system (Fig. 13). Due to the wide and strong walls and its small size, the structure has survived well. The baths are orientated East-West, given the topography, this orientation is inevitable. People came down to the baths on the road from the north. The baths are built on two terraces, the upper terrace provides an open space at the back of the baths and which provides access around the baths and to the entrance on the east side. The measurements and situation of this area, suggest its use as exercise area in addition to providing access (Figs. 14, 15). The wall extends for 17 m along the rear of the baths and serves an important function as a retaining wall that protects the baths from rocks slipping down the hillside, for this reason the wall is built of very large stone blocks. The first part of this open area measures 5.60 m in width. This area is suitable to provide open-air facilities, measuring 43 sq m there is no other suitable area around the baths. The second section is a narrower open corridor leading from the open area along the rear of the baths, and which turns to the east and ends at the entrance to the baths, with the width of this corridor, 4.5 m at this point. This narrow corridor on the east side has either steps or a ramp given the height differential. A similar corridor around part of a Roman baths can be found at the small baths at Etenna. At Etenna this corridor is cut from the rock to provide an access corridor<sup>33</sup>. This is a common practice when a bath is built in a restricted hillside situation.

The entrance to the baths is by the door on the east side facing the acropolis (Fig. 18), the visible height of the door is 1.80 m and the door is built from three blocks of dressed stone that narrows towards the top. Only the northern part of the door remains today. The threshold is 0.68 m wide and on the threshold in the corner is a carved hole for the door socket and also a channel cut into the stone for the opening of the door panel (Fig. 16). The threshold lies 1.65 m above today's ground level but there is no trace of steps visible today. Presumably, due to the steepness of the slope the original filling fell down the slope and is lost. The threshold was of course, lower in relation to the ground than it is today, unless there were steps up to the threshold. However, there remains the possibility that this opening was in fact a window, but the similar measurements to that of the intact interior door suggest otherwise.

The first section is the most problematic area of the baths (Fig. 14), due to loss of the walls and floor and it seems today impossible to offer any detail on this area. The half preserved door and two consoles show that there was a structure here. One can suggest the possibility of a *apoditerium-frigidarium* in this section. All the remaining walls are covered by stucco and this use of stucco tends to suggest that section I was covered by roofing.

The II<sup>nd</sup> room is the first heated section of the baths (Figs. 14, 15, 20, 21). All the walls of this room are preserved and it measures 4.40 by 3.78 m only the roof is missing. The entrance to this room was via a fully preserved door opening into section I (Figs. 16, 17, 19, 20) and this doorway is slightly offset from the center of the wall, towards the east. The door measures at the foot 0.75 and at the top 0.66 m wide, with a height of 1.85 m. The curved profiles on the door are carved to provide for the easy opening of the wooden door, they even angled the profile of the entrance, (left on the outer and right on the inner) to facilitate access. The reason of this is to prevent the visitor to the baths from hitting their

<sup>33</sup> Çevik 2000, 99. For the history of the city see, Nölle 1992, 61-141.



knees on the corners of the door. The traces left from the position of the hinges and the abrasion on the threshold show us in which direction the door opened. The entrance from the exterior, the left side of the threshold, to the right side of the threshold has been worn smooth. The outer door wing opened to the right, as did the inner door into the II<sup>nd</sup> room (Figs. 16, 17, 20).

There is no doubt, given the traces on the lintel and threshold that this entrance was furnished with both an outer and an inner door. This use of a 'double door' is unique, but unsurprising given the nature of this baths<sup>34</sup>, due to the small measurements of the baths and the limited heated sections, clearly this double door was required to retain the heat. The visitor opened the outer door and closed it behind them, before opening the inner door into section II. On entering the II<sup>nd</sup> section, the inner door was closed to retain the heat.

The second section is nearly square, built of stone blocks at the corners and rubble walls between them. The marble fragments found in this room belong to the marble wall covering, the marble is blue veined and of small crystal structure and is 1.5 cm thick. The brick remains on all the walls were to secure the marble plaques, and these brick fixing points measure 7 by 5 cms. The horizontal distance between these brick fixing points is between 30 and 60 cms, and the vertical distance between the two rows of fixing points is between 65 to 70 cms. This shows that the entire wall space of the II<sup>nd</sup> room was covered by marble plaques (Fig. 22). In spite of the illegal excavations over the entire floor, and the mounds of excavated soil and other material, it is possible to determine the height of this room. The height to the foot of the barrel vault is 3 meters. There was a step down from the threshold into the room and the floor was made of square bricks, each measuring 27.5 by 27.5 cms, with a thickness of 6 cms. Circular bricks measuring 5 cms thick and with a diameter of 27.5 cms, once forming pilae, were found in this room, suggesting the presence of a hypocaust (Fig. 23). The same heating system was doubtless in the III<sup>rd</sup> room, as both rooms II and III, have at the level of the projecting blocks, flue openings (Fig. 24), with these flues passing through these projecting stone blocks. These flues remain undetectable on the lower parts of these walls. This shows that there were terra cotta flue pipes in front of the walls, primarily in the corners of the rooms. These flues passed through the barrel vault to the exterior of the building.

The III<sup>rd</sup> room measures 4.90 by 3.70 and forms the western section of the baths (Fig. 14). This rectangular room was the bathing section of the baths and had a similar structure to the II<sup>nd</sup> room. The hollows that carried the flues are still visible in the northwest and southwest corners of room III. The entrance to this room is from the II<sup>nd</sup> room. The door between the II<sup>nd</sup> and the III<sup>rd</sup> rooms is situated in the middle of the wall. Lintel, threshold and the lateral lintels are all preserved. The door opening is 0.80 m wide and 1.78 m high. The traces of hinges on the eastern side of the lintels, show that there was single door.

<sup>34</sup> The "double-door" system discovered by our team is also to be observed in the Belen towers' door, built for a military garrison: Çevik-Varkıvaç-Bulut, "Trebbena 2002", AST 22 (in press): A detailed article on this kind of doors is prepared by B. Varkıvaç: "Doppeltüren besonderer Art: Beispiele aus dem lykisch-pamphylich-pisidischen Grenzgebiet" (in press).

The IV<sup>th</sup> room seems not to have formed an organic part of the bath (Fig. 14). The wall technique and plan are different from baths'. The IV<sup>th</sup> room's plan is trapezoidal and its front wall overlaps the front wall of the bath. This is a later structure than the bath and it used the terrace walls of the bath for its back wall. The entrance to this room is from the III<sup>rd</sup> room. The door is situated in the middle of the wall. Only its upper part is visible today.

Ten meters to the south of the bath, a stone block from a window was found (Fig. 25). The form of the window is clearly understood from this block, as it comprises half of a monoblock window. It has different profiles to the front and rear and the small window opening in the middle of the block is rectangular with a curved top. There are no window openings in the walls of the baths. There must have been other windows of this monoblock type, that were set in the lunettes of the barrel vaults of the baths.

However, the Typallia baths, with its different plan and smaller measurements remind us of two Lycian baths, firstly the Small Baths at Patara<sup>35</sup> and secondly, the "Inscribed House" at Arycanda<sup>36</sup>. The bath at Arycanda is similar to the small baths at Patara, with its 64 sq m area and in the three section plan to these baths. The Patara Small Baths measures approximately 165 sq m with a net area of 120 sq m. Both of these examples date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

## Evaluation

The following evaluations are the result of our investigations of these two newly discovered baths described above:

1. Two new baths were added to the 69 known Lycian examples. This suggests that further baths of these types will be found in the future.
2. The bath at Trebenna shows that we can find large baths of good quality, not only in the big cities but also in the smaller cities. The lifestyle of the rulers and their attitude towards both the population and travelers must have determined the construction of these quality baths in smaller settlements. Those people who adopted the Roman lifestyle seem to have outnumbered those in the city population who retained their native traditions. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD were the heyday of these cities, when they had the largest number of inhabitants
3. The position of Trebenna, as the last Lycian city on the eastern end of the Roman-Lycian Province road network, gave the city importance and due to its position on the main road, required the construction of a quality bath. In addition, the situation of Trebenna at the junction of three cultural regions: Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, increased the city's importance.
4. The baths at Trebenna are of the same type, in regard to the different sections, as the other large Roman baths in the region. The quality of the walls, the fine arrangement of the plan, places the baths at Trebenna in this category, even though the city was small.

<sup>35</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 1986, 294 fig. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Işık 2000, 125 f.



5. When the Trebenna baths are reconstructed with its Palaestra to the west, we can place it within Krencker's category of the "small thermae of the Empire" <sup>37</sup>.
6. When we compare the surface area of the covered area of the baths at Trebenna of 302 sq m (423 sq m including the walls), with the surface area of other Lycian baths, we find the Trebenna baths are in the middle of the range, even larger than some baths in important cites such as: Xanthos B of 420 sq m, Apollonia 200 sq m and Simena of 150 sq m (all measurements including the walls). The baths at Idebessos are larger at 645 sq m, than the Trebenna baths, although it too has a similar plan.

When we compare the number of the covered sections, all have four parts. These four sections define the bathing tradition adopted in Lycia and is always reflected in the construction of this type of baths. The differences in the plans are of importance, as they exhibit the adaptation of each baths to the specific characteristics of place: geology, topography and climate<sup>38</sup>. The connection between the bath's situation, plan and place of construction complies with Weber's rules<sup>39</sup>.

When one looks at the measurement of each part and section, a more interesting picture emerges. Some of the main rectangular section measurements of Arycanda north, Patara Center and Xanthos east baths are approximately similar to those at Trebenna. One can suspect the use of a standard plan and measurement for the builders of Lycian baths. These plan characteristics are described in the literature as, "a bathing block", as they include three or four main bathing sections arranged in this interconnected manner"<sup>40</sup>. The local variation in type is dependent, not on the number of sections that are standard in all the Roman baths, but rather in the specifics of the composition, in the arrangement of the sections of each of these baths. The type that includes three rectangular interconnected sections is to be found, not only in Lycia, but also it can be found: at the Pompei Stabiana baths III<sup>rd</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>41</sup>, at the central baths of Pompei<sup>42</sup> and in the Herculaneum Forum baths<sup>43</sup>, at the Silchester baths I<sup>st</sup> level from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>44</sup>, at Glanum 2<sup>nd</sup> level, from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>45</sup>, and in some of the North African examples<sup>46</sup>. When we look at these examples it is clear that this was a widespread type of Roman baths and that it was also adopted in Lycia, it was not a native development, as earlier examples are to be found outside of Roman Lycia. The earliest example in Lycia dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, however the earliest example of this type dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC at Pompei in Italy. This type of bath plan is known as the "Pompei-Campagna" type, with its interconnected

<sup>37</sup> Krencker 1929, 174-187.

<sup>38</sup> See for the effects of the baths plans and techniques, Boersma 1999, 191 f. In Delaine-Johnston I.

<sup>39</sup> Weber 1992, 2 f.

<sup>40</sup> Yegül 1992, 66; Farrington 48 f. See for the origin of Lycian baths: Farrington 41 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Yegül 1992, 61 fig. 59-60.

<sup>42</sup> Yegül 1992, 63 fig. 63.

<sup>43</sup> Yegül 1992, 65 fig. 66.

<sup>44</sup> Laine 1992, 260 fig. 162d.

<sup>45</sup> Laine 1992, 260 fig. 162f.

<sup>46</sup> Yegül 1992, 235 f., fig. 273-276.

rectangular sections<sup>47</sup>. For technical reasons, the use of these interconnected rectangular sections is due to the fact that they are easily covered by barrel vaulting. The common characteristic of the exterior of these bath blocks is the presence of a row of shops-workshops attached to one of the exterior, long wall of the baths, as can be seen at the Patara Harbor baths with Roman characteristics to its plan but local characteristics provided by the materials employed<sup>48</sup>.

7. You can find close parallels in the arrangement of the three section baths at Trebenna. In Lycia the earliest example is at Idebessos (Fig. 26)<sup>49</sup>, the two sections of the bath are joined at the foot, to the third section, which is built at right angles to the other two sections. The same arrangement of sections can be seen at the Xanthos East Baths<sup>50</sup>. With slight variations, this type of layout can be found in many Roman baths. This layout is employed for functional reasons, as it provided easy access and circulation through the baths.
8. The baths at Etenna in Pamphylia investigated by us<sup>51</sup>, provide a useful measure for the Typallia Baths, in that its plan, otherwise unknown to archaeology has a parallel here. The baths at Etenna, formed of three interconnected sections, is situated at the foot of the rocky acropolis, 40 m south of the monumental water supply building. The bath covers an area of 200 sq m. The first section is square with an apse looking to the south, while the other two sections are rectangular. On the northern side of the baths, a rock cut corridor has been opened to provide access to the baths. The bath is situated to service the acropolis, while at the same time being close to the water supply. Although Etenna is an important city, these baths are small and we need to evaluate the rural baths, not through their size, but through paying due regard to the materials and craftsmanship employed. The large baths at Etenna were doubtless built when the needs of the city inhabitants outgrew the small baths (Fig. 27). The large baths with a similar plan to that of Etenna are at Cyaneae in Lycia<sup>52</sup>, and are dated to the reign of Emperor Antonius Pius.
9. The wall technique and structure deployed at Trebenna was widespread throughout Roman Lycia with the use of polygonal masonry for the external wall and the use of ashlar masonry at the corners of the building. It is to be noted that the arched interior walls and the stone footings for the barrel vaults are of dressed masonry while other areas of the interior are of rubble masonry.
10. The baths at Typallia provide us with an important example of a rural baths, as it is today unique, both in its size and plan. In a very small settlement a bath of this small size was built and it shows us that the reduction in size also forced the changes to the plan of the baths.

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<sup>47</sup> Yegül 1992, 66.

<sup>48</sup> Farrington 1984, 122.

<sup>49</sup> Farrington 1995, 153 f., fig. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Farrington 1995, 163 fig. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Çevik 2000, 99.

<sup>52</sup> Kupke 2001, 13 ff., fig. 5.



11. The stonework and wall technique of the Typallia baths is different from the larger baths. This difference is in the use of rubble stones for both the exterior and the interior walls. For this small size of baths, it has extraordinarily strong walls. In two preserved sections of 29 sq m the walls are 1 m thick.
12. The materials such as brick, covering marble and flue holes in these small baths show that they also possessed the necessary hypocaust system.
13. The small size and the plan of the Typallia baths provide us with a unique example of this rural type, but baths with a similar plan and size are to be found in Roman villas, for example at the Heilbron-Wartberg villa bath, with its small interconnected sections<sup>53</sup>.

This type of small baths can also be seen at military garrisons, for example in Yorkshire<sup>54</sup>.

14. When we regard the situation of the Typallia baths and the detail of the building, it is difficult to place this bath within the "Bath-Gymnasium" category as it is more related to the house and villa bath type. However there is neither a villa, nor a house in any close spatial relationship to the Typallia baths. As a result, we need to state that this is a bath that is of the villa-palace type in size but belongs to the city bath type. The difference in technique and plan is a consequence of this function.

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<sup>53</sup> Heinz 1983, 177 fig. 187.

<sup>54</sup> Wilson 1999, 239 ff.

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## Özet

### Trebenna ve Typallia'da Yeni Keşfedilen Örnekler Işığında Likya'daki Roma Dönemi Taşra Hamamları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme

İ.Ö. 1. yy.'da Kent Roma'dan başlayarak yayılan Roma thermeleri Pamfilya ve Likya bölgelerinde de hızla çoğalmıştır. Bilinen örneklerle bakıldığında, Anadolu'daki bu çoğalmanın batıdan başladığı ve biraz gecikmeyle Pamfilya'da da devam ettiği görülmektedir. Bu yapılaşmada, elbette "Pax Romana" ortamında gelişen ekonominin büyük payı vardır. Batı Anadolu'daki Hellenistik gymnasiumlar Anadolu Roma hamamlarının farklı biçimlenmesinde etken olmuşlardır. Ancak, hypokaustum sisteminin gelişimi ile aquaduktların yapılmaya başlanması gibi iki önemli teknik gelişme, Roma thermelerinin oluşmasında büyük etki yapmıştır. Her ne kadar bazı açılardan ilişkili görünmektelerse de Roma thermeleri, gymnasiumlardan farklı, yeni yaratılmış, kompozit bir tip olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Roma İmparatorluğu'nun diğer eyaletlerinde olduğu gibi Anadolu'da da, Roma'dan farklı mimari tipler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunun en güzel örneği hamam-gymnasium kompleksleridir. İki farklı modelin birlikteliğinden oluşan bu yeni hamam tipi ilkin İtalya'da buluşmuş sonra da Anadolu'da da yerli özelliklere adapte edilerek benimsenmiştir.

Büyük hamamlardan kalan kalıntıların çokluğu ve belirginliği bu grubu saptamayı kolaylaştırırken, küçük yerleşimlerin hamamlarının bulunmasında ve bunların bölümlerinin tespitinde çoğu zaman, kalıntı azlığı ve niteliksizliği nedeniyle sorunlar yaşanmaktadır. Özellikle, arkeolojik kazıların büyük ve önemli kentlerde yapılmakta oluşu, anıtsal hamamların önemli örnekleri, neredeyse tüm planları çözümlenmiş haliyle bilinmektedir. Ancak, asıl sorun küçük ve orta ölçekli kentlerdeki, küçük boyutlu ve niteliksiz hamamların durumudur. Bu gibi yerleşimlerde kazılar ve hatta çoğunlukla yüzey araştırmaları bile yapılmadığı için küçük hamamlara ilişkin bilgilerimiz, diğerlerine oranla oldukça yetersiz kalmıştır. Bu yetersizlik Roma Dönemi taşra hamamlarının bilinmemesinin temel nedenidir. Kuzeydoğu Likya'da, Beydağları'nda gerçekleştirdiğimiz periyodik yüzey araştırmalarında keşfettiğimiz Trebenna ve Typallia hamamları, bu makalede ele alınan taşra hamamlarının durumunu açıklayıcı iki farklı ve özgün örnek olarak seçilmiştir.

Trebenna Hamamı: I. ve II. bölüm giriş, III. bölüm soyunmalık ve soğukluk (apoditerium - frigidarium), IV. bölüm ılıklik (tepidarium) ve V. bölüm de sıcaklıktır (caldarium). Typallia Hamamı: I nolu bu ilk bölüm hamamın en sorunlu kısmıdır. İki kapalı bölümü tam izlenen hamamın ön kesiminde bir apoditerium-frigidarium olması da beklenir. Bu bölümün de duvarlarının tamamen sıvayla kaplandığı yer yer korunmuş sıva kalıntılarından anlaşılmaktadır. II nolu oda hamamın ilk ısıtılan bölümüdür. Yaklaşık kare planlı bu küçük odada ele geçen mermer kaplama levhaları duvar kaplamasına aittir. Mermer levhaların tutturulduğu tuğla dübeller duvarlarda gözlemlenebilmektedir. Hamamın batı bölümünü oluşturan



III nolu oda asıl yıkanma bölümüdür. IV nolu bölüm hamamla organik bağ içinde görünmemektedir. Hamam arka teras duvarından ve önünde oluşan terastan yararlanılarak olasılıkla sonradan yapılmıştır.

Değerlendirme: Yukarıdaki genel bakıştan sonra, bu makalede tanımlanan ve literatüre kazandırılan iki yeni hamam üzerine ayrıca şu değerlendirmeler yapılabilir: 1. Likya'da, bugüne dek bilinen 69 hamam sayısına iki yeni örnek daha eklenmiştir. 2. Trebenna örneği, orta ölçekli, hatta daha küçük kentlerde de nitelikli ve büyük hamamlar beklenebileceğini göstermiştir. Bunda, kent yöneticilerinin yaşama tarzları ve yöneticilerin kentte yaşayan halka karşı olan tutumlarının da payı vardır. Hatta, ilgili kentte Roma tarzı yaşama biçimini benimsemiş olan halkın tüm kent nüfusu içerisindeki oranının yüksekliği de etkin olmalıdır. Trebenna'da İ.S. 2. ve 3. yy.'da en iyi dönem yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemde de kent en kalabalık nüfusa sahip olmalıdır. 3. Trebenna'nın, Roma yol ağının doğusunda son Likya kenti olması ve Pamfilya, Pisidya ve Likya kavşağındaki konumu durumunu ayrıcalıklı hale getirmiş olmalıdır. 4. Trebenna Hamamı çoğunlukla tanımlanabilir bölümleriyle, bilinen standart Roma hamamlarından eksik değildir. Teknik olarak nitelikli duvar örgüsü yanında, birimlerin beklenen düzende yerleştirilişindeki özen de pek çok önemli Likya kentinde görülenden geri kalmamaktadır. 5. Krencker'in "Küçük İmparatorluk Hamamları" sınıflamasına uygun bir taşra planı verir. 6. Trebenna Hamamı'nın kapalı bölümlerinin toplam ölçüleri 423 m<sup>2</sup> net kullanım alanı 302 m<sup>2</sup>'dir. Ve bazı Likya hamamlarının kapalı alanlarının boyutları göz önüne alındığında, Trebenna Hamamı'nın orta ölçekte olduğu görülür. 7. Trebenna Hamamı'nın en yakın benzeri Idebessos'tadır. 8. Pamfilya'da incelediğimiz ve ilk kez detaylıca yayınladığımız Etenna hamamlarının da hem arkeolojide bilinmemeleri hem de plan özellikleri bakımından burada anılmasında yarar görülmüştür. 9. Trebenna Hamamı duvar tekniğinde, Roma Çağı'nda yaygın olarak tanıdığımız ve Likya'da çok örnekle karşılaştığımız işçilik vardır. 10. Typallia Hamamı taşra yapılarına yönelik çok önemli bir örnektir. Tasarım ve boyutlarında benzeri henüz bilinmemektedir. Oldukça küçük bir yerleşim olan Typallia'da sadece kentte yaşayanların kullanımına yönelik boyutlarda yapılmıştır. İki ana bölüm yan yana dizilmiştir. Taşra hamamlarında küçülmenin sadece boyutlarda değil tasarımda da olduğunu göstermektedir. Çünkü, buradaki aşırı küçülme, tasarımın değişmesini zorunlu kılacak boyutlardadır. 11. Typallia Hamamı'nın taş işçiliği ve duvar tekniği de farklıdır. Bu farklılık genellikle moloz taşlarla örülmüş duvarlarda kendini gösterir. Bu kadar küçük boyutlar için gereğinden fazla bir sağlamlık söz konusudur: Eldeki iki ana bölümünün yaklaşık 29 m<sup>2</sup> olduğu yapının, 1 m kalınlığında duvarları olması dikkati çekmektedir. 12. Typallia Hamamı'nda bulduğumuz hypokaust sistemine işaret eden tuğlalar ve kaplama mermerleri gibi yapı malzemesi ile duvar üst köşelerindeki yuvarlak yuvalar bu hamamlarda da ısıtmaya yönelik düzenlemelerin, daha ilkel de olsa gelişkin hamamlarda olduğu gibi zorunlu olarak varlığını göstermektedir. 13. Typallia örneğinin plan ve boyutlarda benzeri, bilinen Roma thermeleri arasında yoktur. Ancak Roma Dönemi villalarında bulunan bazı örnekler Typallia Hamamı'na yakın plan ve boyuttadır. Örneğin, Heilbronn-Wartberg villa banyosunun yan yana dizili küçük birimleri en yakın benzer örneği oluşturmaktadır. Typallia Hamamı'na benzer küçük boyutlu örnekler askeri garnizonlarda rastlanmaktadır. Yorkshire örneği bunlardan biridir. 13. Tüm bu özellikleri yanında yapının inşa edildiği arazinin oldukça eğimli olduğu göz önüne alındığında Typallia Hamamı'nın hamam-gymnasium kategorisinde değerlendirilmesi zordur. Daha çok ev-hamamları ya da villa hamamları grubu özellikleri göstermektedir. Ancak, Typallia hamamıyla birleşik ya da yakın bir konut bulunmamaktadır. Dolayısıyla villa ya da saray hamamları boyutunda bir kent hamamıyla karşı karşıya olduğumuzu belirtmek gerekir. Typallia Hamamı'nın farklı teknik ve tasarımı da bu uygulamadan kaynaklanmaktadır.

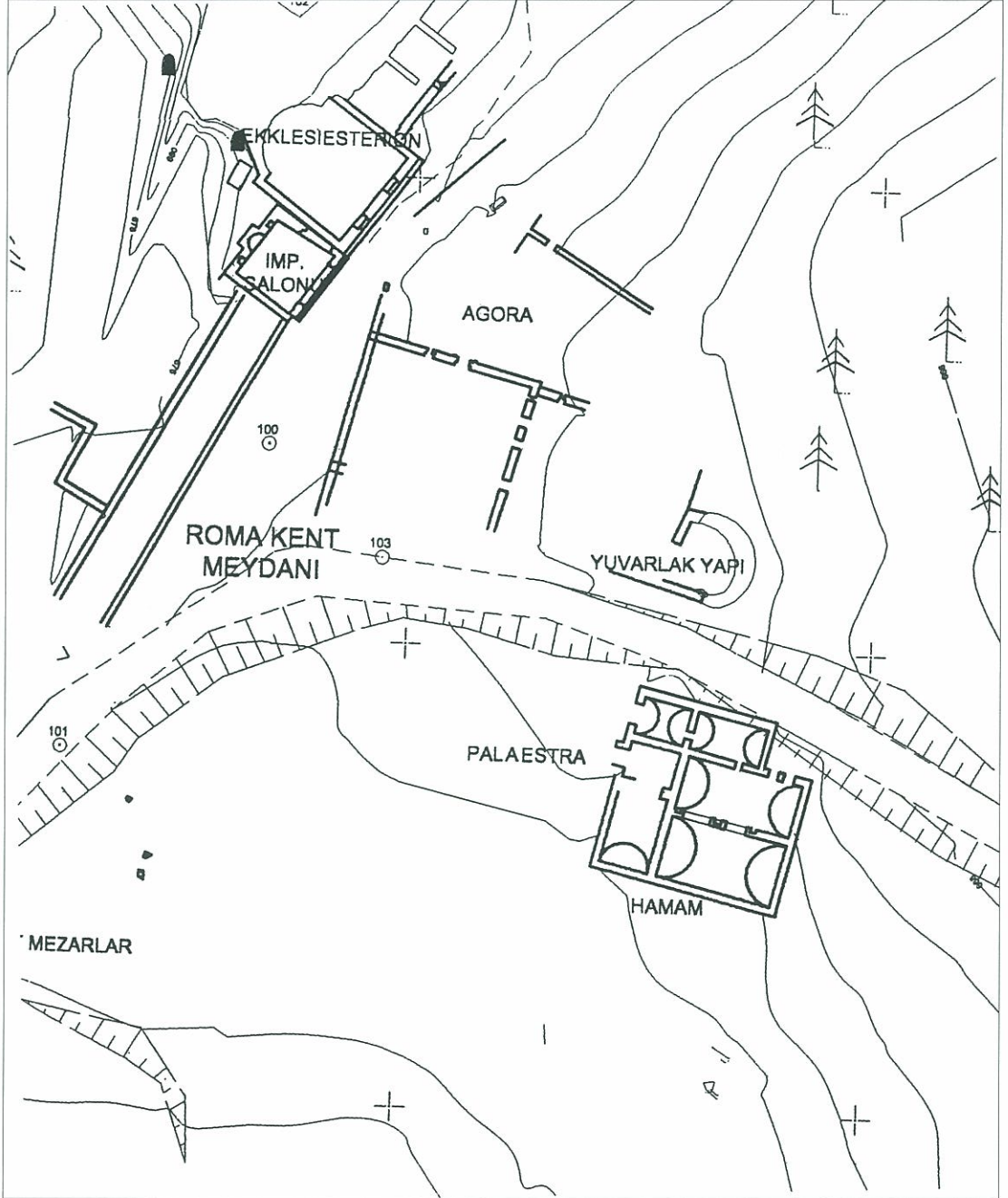


Fig. 1 Situation of the Trebenna Bath in the city center.





Fig. 2 Trebenna Bath from the NW.



Fig. 3 Bath from the E.



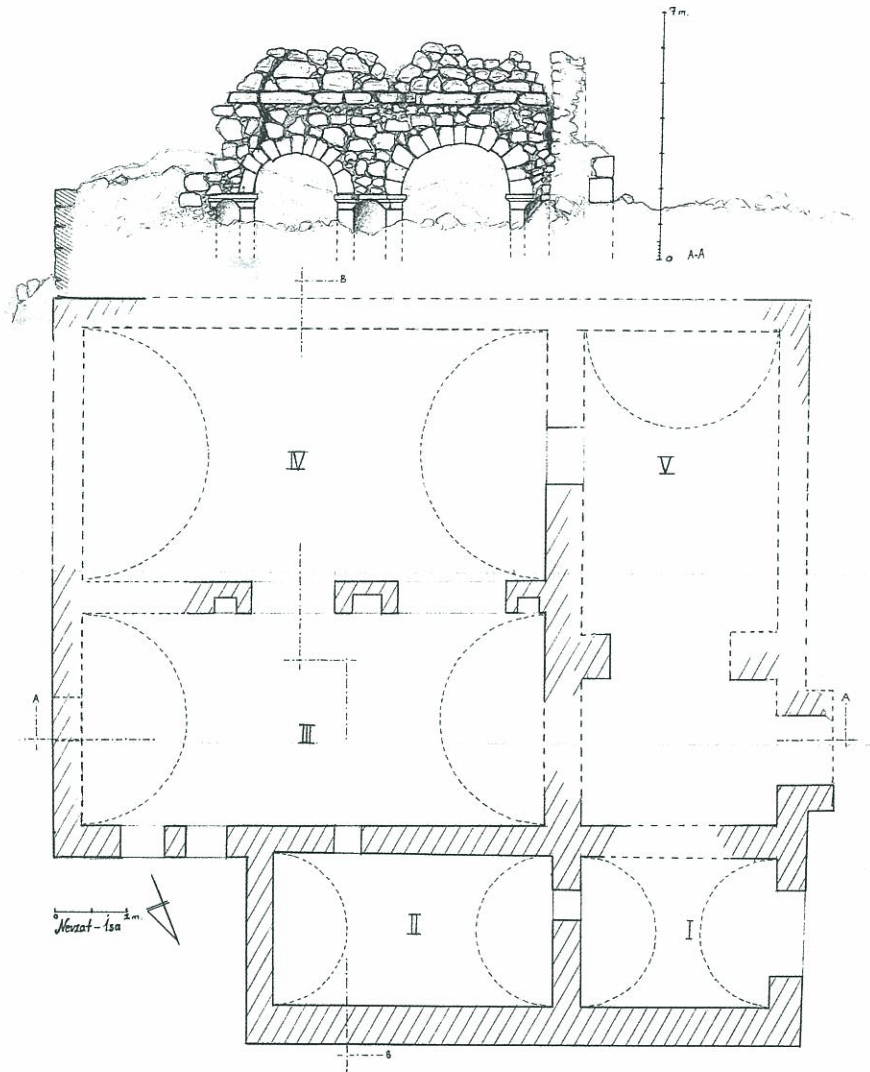


Fig. 4 Trebenna Bath. Plan and section A-A.

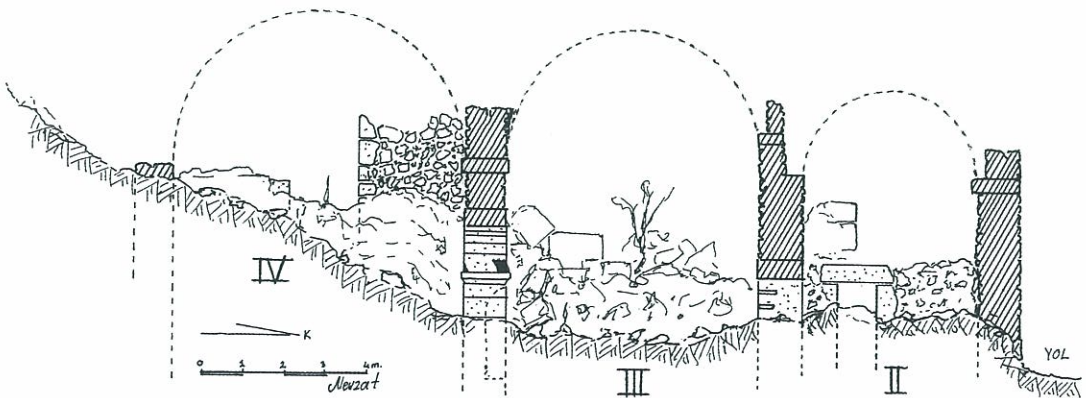


Fig. 5 Trebenna Bath. Plan and section B-B.

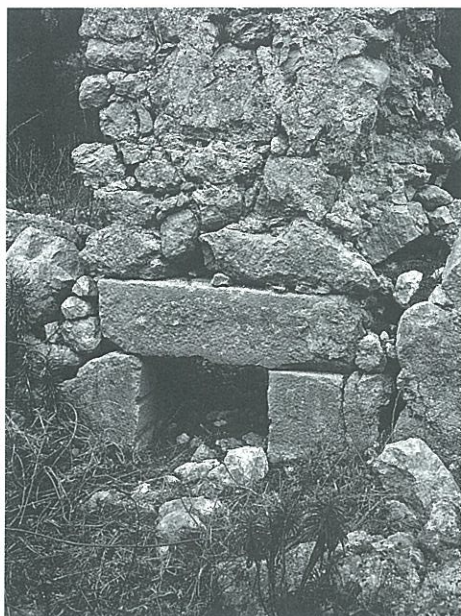


Fig. 6  
Trebenna Bath. The door  
between room II and III.

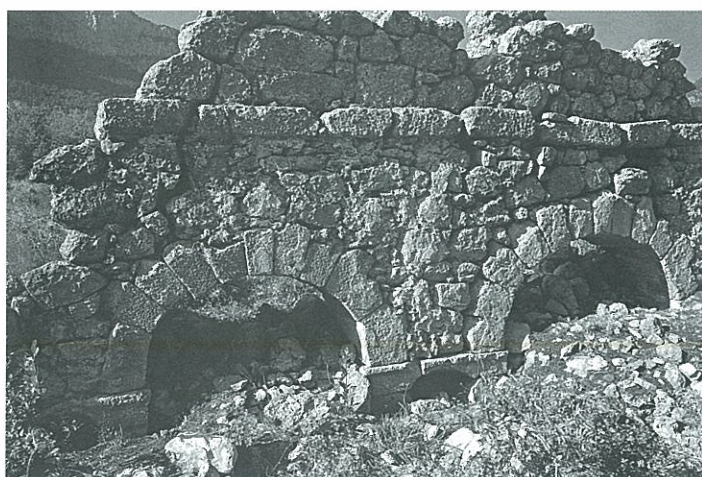


Fig. 7  
Trebenna Bath.  
Room III, southern wall.



Fig. 8  
Trebenna Bath.  
Room II, windows.





Fig. 9  
Trebenna Bath. Room II,  
window's lintel.

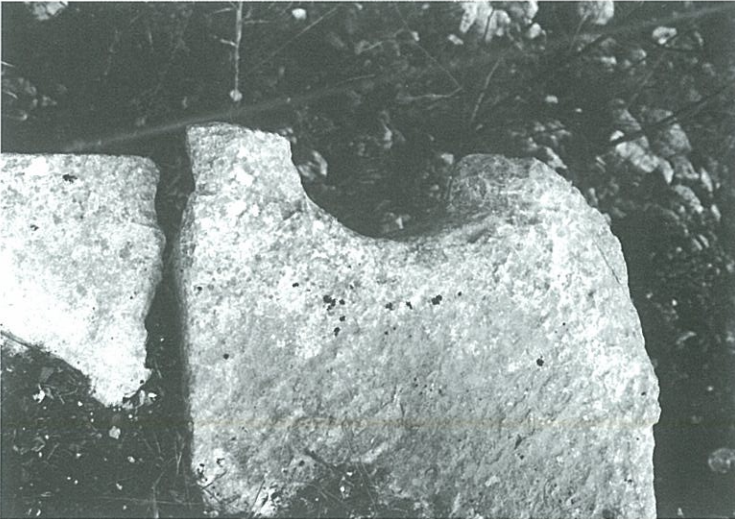


Fig. 10  
Trebenna Bath.  
The block with  
flue's hollow.



Fig. 11  
Trebenna Bath.  
The mason's mark  
on main entrance.



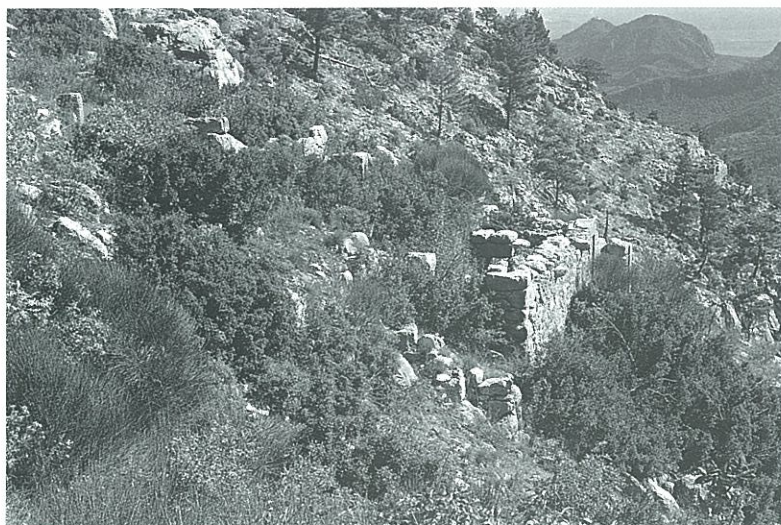


Fig. 12  
Typallia Bath. From W.



Fig. 13  
Typallia Bath. From N.

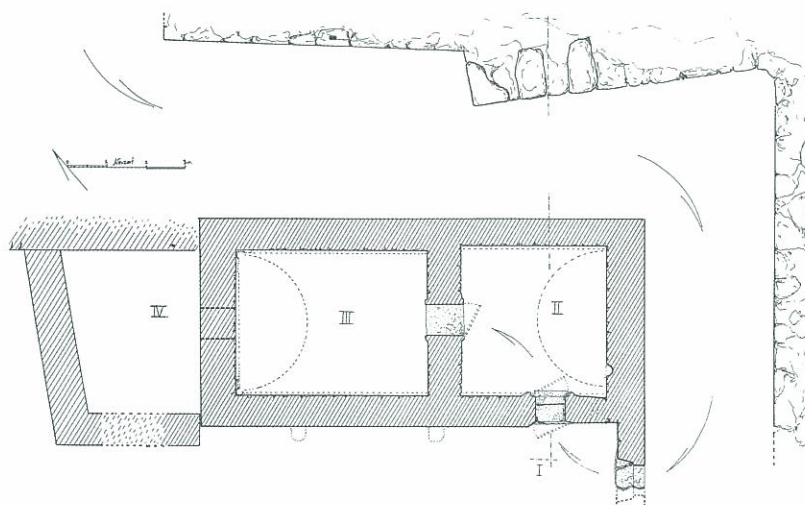


Fig. 14  
Typallia Bath. Plan.

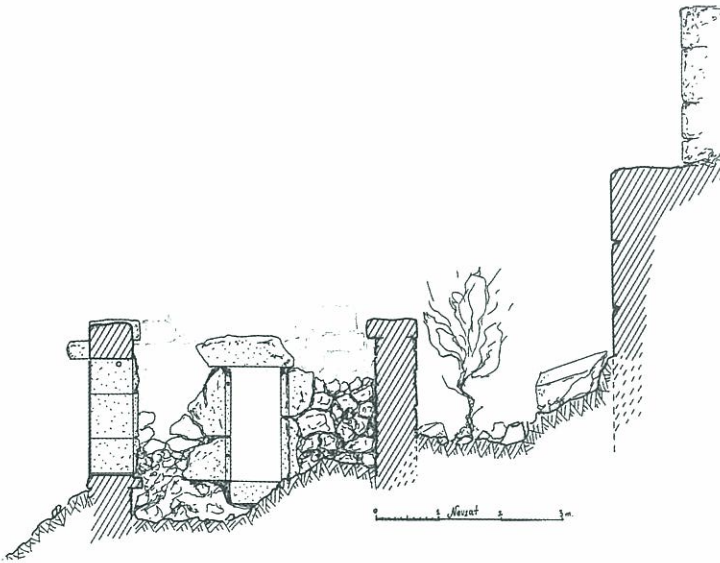


Fig. 15  
Typallia Bath.  
Section N-E.

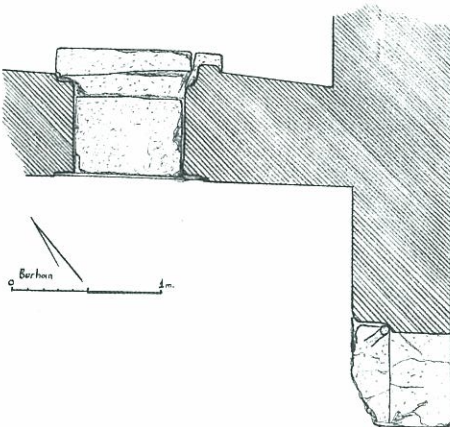


Fig. 16  
Typallia Bath. Main  
entrance and the  
entrance of room  
II. Plan.

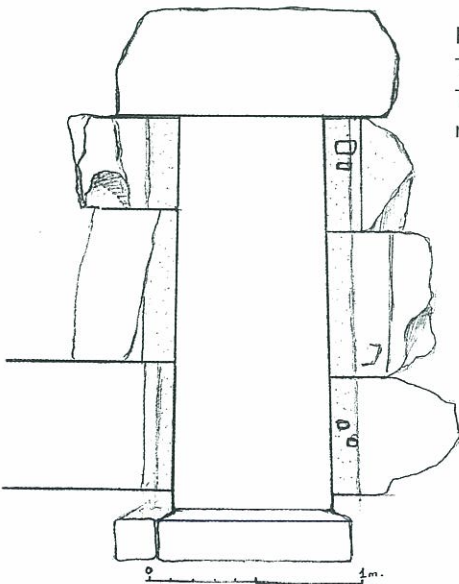


Fig. 17  
Typallia Bath.  
The entrance of  
room II. Plan.



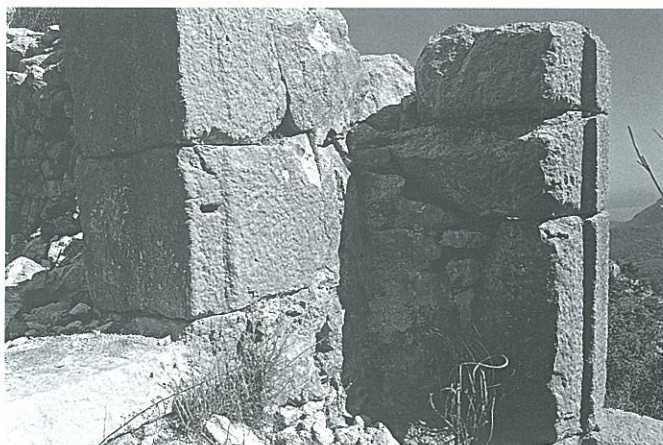


Fig. 18  
Typallia Bath. Main  
entrance and the  
entrance of room II.

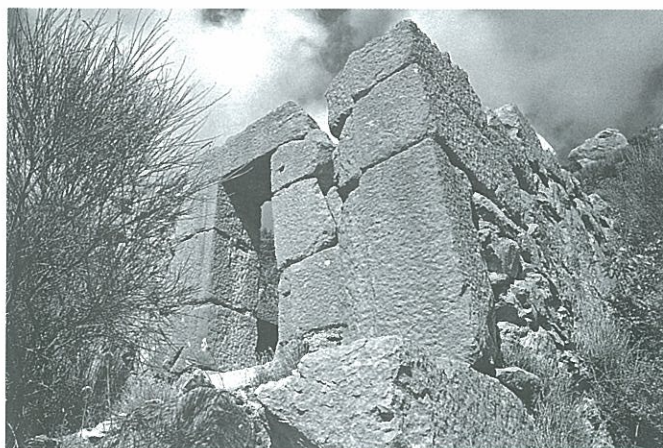


Fig. 19  
Typallia Bath. Main  
entrance and to  
room II. From S.

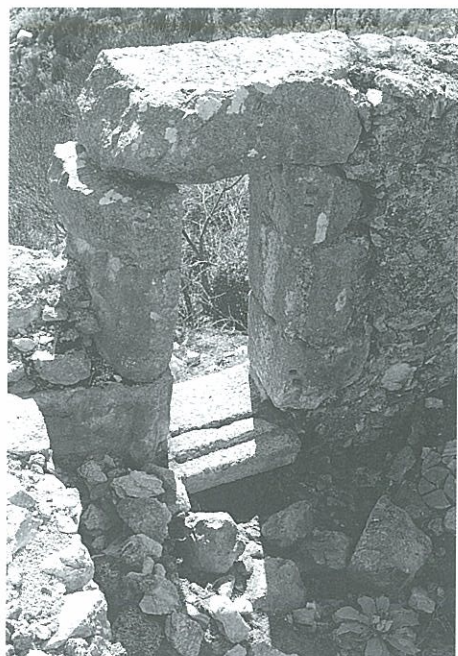


Fig. 20  
Typallia Bath.  
Entrance room II,  
interior.





Fig. 21  
Typallia Bath.  
Room II, N wall.



Fig. 22  
Typallia Bath.  
Brick foots for  
wall-covering marbles.



Fig. 23  
Typallia Bath. Materials  
from heating system and  
wall-covering.





Fig. 24 Typallia Bath. The flue in room II.



Fig. 25 Typallia Bath. Window's block.

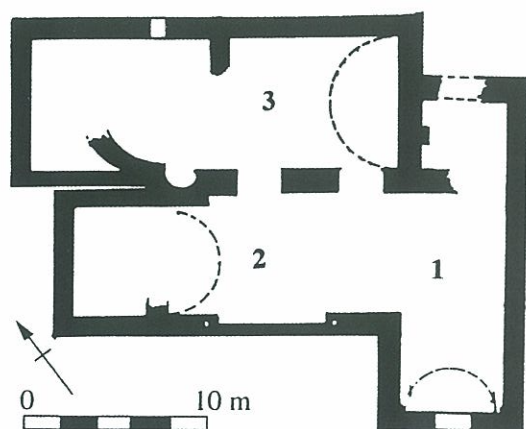


Fig. 26 The Bath at Idebessos.  
Plan (after Farrington).

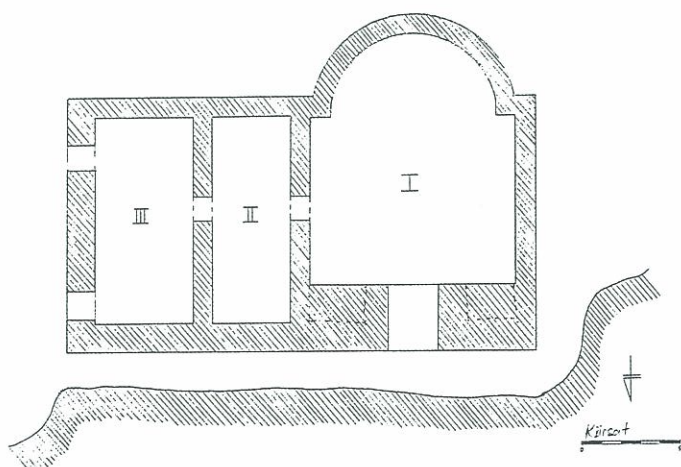


Fig. 27 The Small Bath at Etenna. Plan.

