

ADALYA



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

ADALYA



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

ADALYA

Vehbi Koç Vakfı

Suna - İnan KIRAÇ Akdeniz Medeniyetleri
Araştırma Enstitüsü Yıllık Dergisi

Yönetim Yeri: Barbaros Mh. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25

Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya Tel: +90 242 243 42 74

Faks: +90 242 243 80 13 e-posta: akmed@akmed.org.tr

Yayın Türü: Yerel Süreli Yayın **Sayı:** X - 2007

Sahibi: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Adına Erdal YILDIRIM

Sorumlu Müdür: Kayhan DÖRTLÜK

Yapım: Zero Prodüksiyon Ltd., İstanbul

Arslan Yatağı Sk. Sedef Palas No. 19/2

Cihangir 34433 İstanbul

Tel: +90 212 244 75 21 Faks: +90 212 244 32 09

Baskı: Graphis Matbaa

Yüzyıl Mh. Matbaacılar Sit. 1. Cadde 139 Bağcılar - İstanbul

Bilim Danışma Kurulu / Editorial Advisory Board

Haluk ABBASOĞLU

Ara ALTUN

Oluş ARIK

Cevdet BAYBURTLUOĞLU

Tuncer BAYKARA

Jürgen BORCHHARDT

Jacques Des COURTILS

Ömer ÇAPAR

Vedat ÇELGİN

Bekir DENİZ

Refik DURU

Serra DURUGÖNÜL

Hansgerd HELLENKEMPER

Frank KOLB

Max KUNZE

Thomas MARKSTEINER

Wolfram MARTINI

Gönül ÖNEY

Mehmet ÖZSAİT

Urs PESCHLOW

Scott REDFORD

Martin Ferguson SMITH

Oğuz TEKİN

Gülşin UMURTAK

Burhan VARKIVANÇ

Michael WÖRRLE

Martin ZIMMERMAN

Adalya, **A&HCI** (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) ve
CC/A&H (Current Contents / Art & Humanities) tarafından taranmaktadır.

Adalya is indexed in the **A&HCI** (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) and
CC/A&H (Current Contents / Art & Humanities).

Editörler / Editors

Kayhan DÖRTLÜK

Tarkan KAHYA

Remziye BOYRAZ

İngilizce Editörleri / English Editors

T. M. P. DUGGAN

İnci TÜRKOĞLU

Yazışma Adresi / Mailing Address

Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25

Kaleiçi 07100 ANTALYA-TURKEY

Tel: +90 242 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 242 243 80 13

akmed@akmed.org.tr

www.akmed.org.tr

ISSN 1301-2746

İçindekiler

Gülsün Umurtak	
<i>Silos in Neolithic Settlements of Burdur-Antalya Region</i>	1
Mehmet Özhanlı	
<i>Side’de Bulunan Bir Yeni Hitit Eserinin Düşündürdükleri</i>	17
Şükrü Özüdoğru	
<i>Pttara and the Dynast Wakhseppdimi Wekhsere II</i>	31
Burhan Varkıvanç	
<i>Zum Fenster des sog. hellenistischen Baues in Sillyon</i>	49
Orhan Köse – Recai Tekoğlu	
<i>Money Lending in Hellenistic Lycia: The Union of Copper Money</i>	63
Elif Uğurlu	
<i>Olympos ve Zeniketes’in Kalesinin Lokalizasyonu</i>	81
Nevzat Çevik – Süleyman Bulut	
<i>The Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads with towers on the border of Pisidia-Lycia and some thoughts on security in the countryside</i>	105
Julian Bennett	
<i>The Roman Army in Lycia and Pamphylia</i>	131
Neslihan Yılmaz	
<i>Necropoleis and Funerary Monuments in Pisidia during the Roman Period</i>	155
Mehmet Özsait – Guy Labarre – Nesrin Özsait	
<i>Nouvelles inscriptions de Senitli Yayla (Pisidie)</i>	205
F. Fatih Gülşen	
<i>Wall Heating Systems in the Roman Period Lycian Baths</i> <i>-The Examples from Patara and Tlos-</i>	223
Guntram Koch	
<i>Das Heiligtum des Hg. Theodoros bei Holmoi (Isauria) Wiedergefunden!</i>	259
Ayşe Aydın	
<i>Adana Müzesi’ndeki Kurşun Labitler</i>	271
Celal Şimşek – Bahadır Duman	
<i>Laodikeia’da Bulunan Geç Antik Çağ Unguentariumları</i>	285

T. M. P. Duggan	
<i>A 13th century profile portrait seal depicting the face of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I (1220-37) from Antalya Province - precedents and possible influence</i>	309
Scott Redford	
<i>The Kible Wall of the Kargı Hanı</i>	351
A. Pelin Şahin Tekinalp	
<i>Geleneksel Antakya Evlerinde Yer Alan Boyalı Nakışlar Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme: Başkent'ten Akdeniz'e Ulaşan Bezeme Programı</i>	369
Mevlüt Çelebi	
<i>Antalya Bölgesi'nde İtalyan Arkeoloji Heyetleri</i>	387

The Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads with towers on the border of Pisidia-Lycia and some thoughts on security in the countryside

Nevzat ÇEVİK – Süleyman BULUT*

The ruins at Belen¹ that were discovered in fieldwork by our team in 2001 were surveyed in detail in 2002² and the Belen finds form the main subject of this article, as this find is a unique example having particular architectural characteristics and increases our understanding of the Lycian-Pisidian border in this area, when it is understood together with the other small settlements in this same area along both sides of the Doyran Valley³. It is important to research these Roman period rural settlements and their security aspects which are at present little known and these finds provide us with the chance to do so. The richness of the finds of the small settlements with security aspects in this region, provide the possibility of casting a fresh light upon the rural settlements of other adjacent regions. The second farmstead ruin with a tower near Kelbessos was discovered in our 1993 surveys⁴. Some details concerning the Belen farmstead have been previously published by team members, concerning an olive oil workshop⁵ and the double door entrance to the tower⁶ and a brief mention has been made of Kelbessos farmstead's tower⁷. All the ruins of the Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads are here evaluated and with the aid of historical data, dates are indicated for their establishment, the reason for these farmsteads being agriculture and the reason for the foundation of these towers being to provide security in the countryside.

* Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çevik, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Kampüs 07040 Antalya.
E-mail: ncevik@akdeniz.edu.tr

Lecturer Süleyman Bulut, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Kampüs 07040 Antalya.
E-mail: sbulut@akdeniz.edu.tr

¹ During these surveys we were supported by the Akdeniz University Scientific Research Fund, the Ministry of Culture and AKMED. We would like to express our gratitude to these institutions and to the team members of the Bey Dağları Surveys, who were together with us for this fieldwork and the study of the material forming this article. And also to T. M. P. Duggan who assisted in the translation of this text.

² Çevik et al., 2003, 269 Figs. 8-9.

³ All the ruins discovered in the territorium of Trebenna have been preparing for publication in the second volume in our Survey Series to be published.

⁴ Çevik 1996, 84 f. Fig. 8.

⁵ Bulut 2005, 193; Bulut 2006; Bulut 2007.

⁶ For the double-door system of the Belen Tower and the Typallia bath house, see Çevik – Varkıvaç 2005, 231 fn. 34; for the details of locking holes see, Varkıvaç 2005, 47 ff.

⁷ Çevik 1996, 84 f. Fig. 8.

I. The Belen Farmstead with tower

To visit Belen one takes the road from Geyik Bayırı to Feslikan Yaylası at the 26 km. point from Antalya where there is a right turn onto the forest road. This road is taken for a distance of 1.3 km. to reach Belen. The site of Belen lies on a forested peak, overlooking the Doyran Valley and is invisible from the road (Figs. 1-2). This peak extends in an east-west direction and from this point you can survey all the surrounding ancient sites, to the east, Neapolis, to the south, Sivridağ-Trebenna, in the north-west, close by is the city of Kelbessos and to the north is İn Önü (Fig. 1).

A large flat agricultural area to the south and south-east side of this peak is today still cultivated (Figs. 5-6). The north and west sides of this peak provide no access due to their acute steepness. The south slope of this peak has three main terraces above the flat plain and some related structures were erected upon these terraces, however most of these ruins cannot today be identified due to their poor state of preservation. There is a tower on the peak in the middle of the ruins and hybrid buildings, half-rock-cut, extend eastwards from the tower, with all entrances facing to the east and south-east. To the west of the tower there is a further important structure, a single rectangular enclosed space. Between the tower and this building there extends a flat area surrounded by rocky outcrops and on one side by a wall, thereby creating a secure area (Figs. 3-7). In this wall there are the remains of some stone monolithic door jambs defining the entrances to this area.

a) Tower (Figs. 3, 7-14)

The most important element of this settlement is the tower located to the north and upon highest point of the peak (Fig. 7). It was erected upon a rock-cut platform. The front of the tower is preceded by a level area cut from the rock in front of the door, partly enclosed, on the third side of this level area there seems to have been steps leading downwards, although today this side is obscured by rubble debris. This route, with the exception of the concealed tunnel, provided the only access to the tower. The north side of this area, nearly 3m. wide, has a rock-cut wall 1.8 to 2.7 m. high, and lying to the east of this area there is the vaulted structure of a tomb.

The tower has a width of 6.0 m. at the front (facing south-east), 6.20 at the back and 6.25 on the other sides. These walls on the south and west sides are 0.80 m. thick, the others measure 0.65 m. and 0.70 m. The south-east is the thinnest wall which includes the entrance to the tower. Some of the walls of this tower have in part been excavated from the bedrock. From the evidence provided by the internal walls, it is clear this tower had a second storey. The first storey is a single room measuring 22.8 sq. m. All the masonry walls are constructed from large limestone blocks preserved to a maximum height of 5 m. Four to five courses of these large blocks form the first storey. The small holes between these blocks are filled with small stones and mortar. The door in the middle of the south-east wall measures 0.95 m. w. and 1.90 m. h. and the lintel and jambs of this door are cut from monolithic limestone blocks. An idea of the door type is provided by the holes and marks that remain on the threshold and upon the lintel and jambs. The cylindrical holes for the pins of the door leaves on the inner and outer sides of the lintel indicate that a double door was employed. The other holes, on the lintel and the right and left jambs provide evidence of the vertical and horizontal locking system that was employed (Fig.

11). The square hole located on the right door jamb, measuring 0.10x0.10 m., which extends 1.25 m. into the wall, was to house a wooden beam that also fitted into the facing hole in the opposite jamb (Fig. 12), which had an additional space above, to securely lock this wooden beam into place⁸. This double door system which was certainly employed in this tower, was also employed in other buildings such as bath houses to retain the heat⁹.

The outer faces of the stone blocks have a flat faces, the inner faces are left unsmoothed and were covered by a mortar and small stone coat to smooth the inner walls of the tower. Beam holes exist for the first floor. The main beam hole is located 2.10 m. above the ground floor and in the lateral walls the beam holes are 2.30 m. above the ground. The beam holes measure 0.20x0.20 m. while the main beam hole in the rear wall is larger, the wooden floorboards rested upon these lateral beams. The only evidence for the location of the staircase leading to the first floor is in the eastern corner where at the height of the first floor there is a space of 0.50 m. indicating the width of these wooden steps. This corner is also the most suitable for the location of the staircase, lying directly to the right of the tower entrance¹⁰.

In the ground floor of this tower there is no window aperture. In the upper storey there are the remains of a single window 0.60 m. wide and 1.5 m. above the tower door. For the other faces of the tower however, the wall remains are not sufficiently high to indicate if there were any other windows in the first storey. The marks on the remaining block at the foot of the window indicate this window was closed by a single leaf and had a locking device. Due to the collapse of parts of the upper storey there remains today no evidence for the roof, although, as in other towers it almost certainly had a wooden pitched roof¹¹.

The unique feature of this tower is the concealed tunnel that opens beneath the rear wall of the tower and leads 3.80 m. to the west, descending over its course a height of 2.0 m. from the floor of the tower (Figs. 3, 13-14). The stepped floor and one side of this concealed tunnel was cut from the bedrock, the other side of the tunnel was completed by stones and mortar and was roofed by stone slabs. The tower entrance to the tunnel is 0.55 m. wide and 0.57 h. From the first step to the last the height of the tunnel remains the same 0.84 m. with the steps matching the roof slabs, while the tunnel widens slightly towards the exit, indicating the egress or ingress of only a single person at a time, holding a hunched posture. The tower tunnel entrance had a door that could be locked, indicated by the holes in the right jamb and lintel (Fig. 14). There seems to be no evidence for a door located at the exit of this tunnel (Fig. 13).

In the regions of Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia, there are no known parallels for this tunnel. Both the tower and the settlement can only be compared to tower farms and garrisons but there seems to be no direct parallel for this tower tunnel even within these

⁸ Varkivanç 2005, 50 ff. Fig. 6-10.

⁹ The Typpallia bath house is one of the best examples of a small rural bath. Here, due to its small size, a double door system to retain the heat inside was employed, Çevik – Varkivanç 2005, 223 ff.; Varkivanç 2005, 47 ff.

¹⁰ Access between the storeys of the farm-towers was provided by wooden stairs. The stairs were set into the corner of the room, not to waste the space inside. For other examples see, Durugönül 1998, Figs. 23. 46. 48.; Çevik et al. 2003b, 194 Figs. 5. 6. 16.

¹¹ It was understood that there was a wooden roof to this tower not only from structural requirements but also from the inscription on the tower of Lyrboton Kome. It is recorded that this tower was repaired during the reign of Hadrian: Merkelbach – Şahin 1988, 158; Şahin 1995, 12.

types of buildings. This lack of parallels for the Belen tunnel raises the following problems: firstly, the tunnel is narrow, it is not suitable for rapid ingress or egress; secondly, as an escape route it seems to be both too small and also useless as it exits within the garrison complex rather than to the exterior. Further, one can enter the tower discreetly via this tunnel, but only from within this defensive complex. What the reason for the construction of this concealed tunnel was today remains unclear but it seems not to have served any everyday function.

If one disregards the double door system and the concealed tunnel, the unique features of this tower, there are similar towers in the region, at the farm at Kelbessos¹² and another at Lyrboton Kome¹³. The structural characteristics of this tower are typical of Roman buildings and are comparable to the bath house at Typallia¹⁴. Due to the tunnel, the double door system and the surrounding buildings, elements that indicate the Belen tower must have served a different function from the known examples of farm house towers, these differences indicate a stronger security function for the Belen settlement.

b) The Vaulted tomb chamber

This structure is located in the middle of the settlement to the east of the tower and it faces south-east, lying 2.20 m. beneath the tower terrace and it is partly cut from the rock with the exception of the vault (Figs. 3, 16). The interior is built from small stones and rubble within this rock-cut structure and the interior was plastered. Stone blocks are only used for the facade, its corners, lintel and jambs. It is rectangular and the interior measures 2.45x2.80 m. The form of the barrel vault of this building is not accurate, it measures 2.68 m. The blocks of the doors and the facade blocks have been stripped away, although some remain in adjacent areas, and illegal excavations have destroyed part of the floor.

To the rear of the east wall, holes 0.90 from the ground and 0.58 m. wide, have been opened to locate the wooden kline and a further hole to lock a wooden panel or rail in place in front and above the wooden kline. This kline covered the rear half of the chamber. The importance of the front half of this chamber is indicated by an insert in the eastern wall. The location and size of these holes and the plan of this chamber provide clear evidence this structure was employed as a tomb chamber.

The tomb has a rear area measuring 3 sq. m. and has in part been cut from the rock and in part, the surrounding wall is also rock-cut, in part it is built from rubble. The walls to the front are spoliën and seem to post-date the construction of the tomb chamber. The open area to the front of this tomb measures 5x5 m. and access to this area came from an opening in the west wall. It is evident that this tomb, from its situation in the middle of the settlement adjacent to the tower in a prominent location, belonged to the founder of the settlement at Belen and this type of chamber tomb is well known in the wider region, with parallel Roman examples from Anemurium¹⁵ in Cilicia and from Rhodiapolis and Olympos in Lycia.

¹² Çevik 1996, 84 Fig. 8.

¹³ Çevik 1996, 82 ff.

¹⁴ The name of the settlement discovered by İplikçioğlu and Çelgin by the help of the inscriptions and Milliarium Lyciae (Işık – Işkan – Çevik 2001; Çevik – Varkıvanç 2005, 229 f. Fig. 18 f.

¹⁵ The examples in the necropolis of Anemurium are similar in their technique, materials and plan but they are of a higher quality and larger than the Belen tomb: Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971, Figs. 2 ff.

c) Dwellings (IV-VI)

On the east side of this complex some structures were erected on a terrace lower than that of the tomb terrace (Figs. 3, 7, 9). Two adjacent rooms can be observed. Room IV measures 3x3.80 m. and is well preserved. In the middle of the northern wall are two adjacent built niches, both of which measure 0.40 w. 0.55 h. and are 0.60 in depth. In the middle of the rubble-mortar east wall there is a further smaller niche. The entrance to this room, indicated by the collapsed lentil, was from the west. Most of the walls of Room V are cut from the bed-rock and where this was insufficient the walls were built from rubble. The entrance to Room V was from the west and the walls reach a height of 2.50 m. There is a vacant space between Room V and Room VI which has a wall extending for 10 m. and following the corner it extends for a further 6.6 m. facing south. This wall is 0.80 m. thick but due to its ruinous condition it is impossible to understand the rest of the plan of this building. All of these structures, Nos. IV-VI, were houses (Figs. 3, 9).

d) Barn (VII)

This building is located 18.50 m. to the west of the tower on a flat area which is surrounded to the north and north-west by rocky outcrops and to the east by the high rocky base of the tower (Figs. 3, 15, 19). To the south, the area is bounded by a wall. The building's most exposed south side is strengthened by the wall that extends from the southern corner of the building and within this 14 m. long wall there are some door openings. This enclosed yard measures roughly 400 sq. m. The connection of the tower to this yard is both from the tower door and through the tunnel. Building VII, located in the south-west corner of this courtyard is the best preserved building of the settlement after the tower, and its walls are built from strong but un-fashioned blocks that are preserved to a height of 2 m. The walls are between 0.70 and 0.80 m. thick and none of the surviving walls have window openings. The exterior measures 10x8.60 m. enclosing a single area and there is no indications that this space was divided by masonry walls. The absence of windows would seem to be related to security. There is no indication as to if this structure had an additional storey.

This is one of the special buildings of Belen. Having an organic connection via the tunnel to the tower, the surroundings have defensive elements, the strong walls and the absence of ground floor windows, together with its 64 sq. m. area, indicate this building was sited, planned and built for security reasons. The possible functions of this building: firstly, it seems possible to suggest this building served as a secure barn, a warehouse for farming produce and secondly, as a house. When we look for functions, the single space of the ground floor does not suggest a house, given the plans of buildings IV-VI. The building has the dimensions and plan for a barracks but this seems improbable, as this was not a fortified garrison settlement. In the Roman period the auxillary troops were based in the main towns to which they returned having carried out their duties in the rural areas¹⁶ and consequently the idea that these were barracks seems improbable. We observe that this building and the adjacent walls which connected to the tower thereby define a secure area and we can suggest this building was a large and secure storage complex, comprising the building itself and the enclosed flat area in front of it. Its large dimensions, its single space

¹⁶ See in general Öztürk 2006.

plan and the absence of windows indicate it served a storage function and was not for human habitation. Further, the wider fields lining the south and south-east sides of the farmstead and the large capacity wine workshop also support the idea that this building was used for agricultural storage.

e) Workshop

To the south-west of structure VII, at the north-western end of the rocky peak a grape processing (wine) workshop has been located (Figs. 17-18). Having a trapezoidal plan this workshop, including the press bed has been cut from the bedrock. The press bed measures 2.70x2.50 m. In the face of the main rock to the north is the hole that housed the wooden press beam, measuring 0.30x0.52x0.20 m. The drainage channel in the east corner of the press bed leading to the collecting vat is also rock-cut. The collecting vat has an elliptical radius of 1.60/1.90 and has a depth of 1 m. Lying 1.50 m. south of the press bed, on the same axis as the press beam is a stone weight (Litus) measuring 0.61x0.60x0.40 m. There is a cylindrical hole in the stone weight with a radius of 0.17 and a depth of 0.10 m. and another smaller hole to the right with a radius of 0.05 m. Due to the damaged condition of this stone weight the other holes were not found¹⁷.

As a result of our surveys we have firmly associated this type of press bed, rock-cut and in the open, with the production of wine¹⁸. The absence of the characteristic parts of olive oil workshops such as the trapetum and the orbis at the Belen workshop indicate this was a site of wine rather than olive oil production. The holes on the stone weight provide information concerning the type of press that was employed, a screw press was employed in this workshop, a further example of the screw presses that we have found in the region. However, this stone weight differs from the typical cylindrical stone weight in that it is of a rectangular form¹⁹. When we compare the collecting vat with other examples in the region, it would seem this was the largest and it indicates the great production capacity at Belen and clearly implies extensive vineyards in this region at this time while the steep slopes and wide agricultural areas also support the suggestion of large scale wine production in this area.

II. The Kelbessos farmstead with tower

The Kelbessos farmstead was established on a peak 1150 m. high on the slope below the city of Kelbessos and from this farmstead location the Gulf of Antalya is visible (Figs. 1-2). At the 31st km. of the Antalya-Saklıkent road there are numerous Hellenistic and Roman archaeological ruins that have been surveyed by our team²⁰. The city site is located upon a peak in a mountainous region that commands and overlooks the fertile valley areas and agricultural fields. In these areas there are many farms, towers and workshops that

¹⁷ The holes in the cylindrical stone weights that we recorded in our Bey Dağları survey show that they used the technique of a "screw press on the stone weight". See Bulut 2005, 194. 196 f. Fig. 12 ff.

¹⁸ Bulut 2005, 193.

¹⁹ Bulut 2005, 194. 197.

²⁰ The archaeological ruins of the Kelbessos city and the farmstead were discovered by our team. The ancient name of the city, Kelbessos was discovered by B. İplikçioğlu and V. Çelgin (İplikçioğlu – Çelgin 1998, 382f.) with whom we have been cooperating. For the first archaeological records of this site see, Çevik et al. 2004, 105 f.; Çevik – Pédarros 2004, 283 ff.; Çevik – Pédarros 2005, 439 ff.; Çevik – Pédarros 2006, 261 ff.

have survived and witness to the daily life of the rural population and are valuable data indicating both the wealth and power of the city of Kelbessos.

When founded the location of Kelbessos was chosen as a mountain city and it was surrounded by a fortification. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods it was continually employed as a garrison settlement. The military function of the Hellenistic city decreased in the Roman period as its civic functions and population increased. The surviving fortifications were built in the 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. and repairs to the fortifications were conducted over the ensuing centuries because of its important location and strategic position. In the Roman period this Hellenistic garrison city became larger and the rich necropolii and other surviving ruins provided evidence of this Roman expansion at Kelbessos. From the Byzantine period only a small chapel survives, indicating that only a small Christian population inhabiting Kelbessos. The disappearance of the population at Kelbessos in the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period thus resembles Termessos, rather than Trebenna which is rich in Byzantine structures and remains²¹.

There is a farmstead and tower located on the south-east slope of Kelbessos upon the Yelli Armut spur²² (Figs. 2, 20). From this location one obtains a panoramic view over the Pamphylian plain and the Mediterranean Sea. The Belen tower is visible from the south-east side of the Kelbessos tower and between them lies the Doyran Valley and the steep Sarı Göçük straits permitting only a reckless passage between these two points. The surviving ruins consist of a tower, with on its north-east side the farm dwellings, a workshop and a large barn similar to that at Belen. The north and north-west sides of the rise upon which the farmstead is situated are linked to the rocky slope of Kelbessos and in all other directions it is very difficult to gain access to this farmstead, in particular from the steep and rocky south side. On the rocky east side strong terrace walls were erected to enlarge the area of this farmstead. These terrace walls also include the workshop. The path to the farmstead runs from the north slope and reaches the buildings on the east side of the farmstead leading to a courtyard that provided access to the other buildings. Access to the barn building is provided by a separate path leading off to the west before the path reaches the farmstead, this path indicates a particular care taken in respect to the function of the barn-depot.

The water supply to the farm would seem to be the same as that employed today, the Portakal Durağı, lying 100 m. to the north of the farmstead, if no other existed during the Roman period.

a) The Tower

On the south side of the farmstead an isolated tower rises covering an area of 7.30x6.60 m. (Figs. 20-22). This is a good example of a farm tower constructed of isodomic masonry and its walls are 0.90 m. thick. The bossage blocks employed are framed and some have angled sides. The best preserved part is the north-west corner that survives to a height of 3.60 m. The south wall has been completely destroyed. Due to the poor state of the tower's preservation it is today impossible to determine if this tower had a second storey. The entrance to the tower is from the east and the door jambs are in situ but the lintel has

²¹ For all the ruins at Trebenna, see, Çevik et al. 2005, for the Byzantine ruins see ibid 99 ff.

²² For the first presentation of this farmstead, see, Çevik 1996, 84 Fig. 8.

fallen. The locking holes in the jamb indicate a secure and strong door was attached and a large square hole extends into the wall which secured a long wooden beam to lock the door from the inside (Fig. 23). On the outer profile of the door jamb there are other holes of an obscure nature, as the face of the other door jamb is concealed. These holes belonged either to an exterior locking mechanism or to a second door, as was the case at Belen.

b) The Workshop

The workshop measures 4.50x7.50 m. The east wall of the workshop is not straight due to the topography and the terrace wall (Fig. 20). The entrance was presumably through the north wall but the evidence for this is today obscured by rubble. The hole for the pressing beam is in the south wall and is both narrower and higher than other beam holes in the region (Fig. 24). Other elements of the workshop are today obscured by rubble and consequently we were unable to determine if this was an olive or a grape press. The courtyard in front of the workshop may have been used as a temporary depot for the workshop.

c) The Barn

Lying 22 m. to the north from the tower there is an isolated building measuring 12x7.40 m., enclosing a single area with two door openings, one from the south, the other from the east (Fig. 20). Its situation, its connection with the other buildings of the farmstead and its dimensions resemble those of building No. 7 at Belen. Of 54 sq. m. this building would seem to have served the same function as the 63 sq. m. of the Belen barn building. Both these buildings would have been erected to store farm agricultural production. The 1.40 southern door opening supports this interpretation, as the other door openings measure between 0.80 and 1.10 m. The eastern wall is the thickest and consists of a double wall 1.50 m. wide. The inner wall of these two walls was added subsequently. The strength of these walls suggest a second storey but there is no extant evidence to prove that this was the case, although farming requirements today suggest that a second storey could have served as accommodation, with the ground floor employed for storage and as stables.

d) The dwellings

Between the tower and the barn, within the rocky terrain and of hybrid construction, bordering the workshop complex on the east side, there are a group of dwellings (Fig. 20). The inner courtyard provides access to three other rooms. The west sides of all these rooms were cut from the bedrock. Similar and better preserved dwelling plans survive from Neapolis.

e) Cave dwelling

In the rock face beneath the tower a cave dwelling survives overlooking the deep valley, matching that on the other side of the valley by Belen (Fig. 25). At the mouth of the cave there are some beam holes and some rock workings inside indicate this cave was inhabited at the same time as the farmstead and may have earlier been a prehistoric shelter. The beam holes indicate there was a two storey dwelling within this cave.

The quality of the ruins around the tower and its situation indicate this farmstead was for the daily use of the local population, to secure their produce and livestock and thirdly, to provide security to the surrounding roads and fields.

III Evaluation

The similarities and differences between the Belen and Kelbessos farms with towers are these:

- a) Both farmsteads are located on natural rocky elevations.
- b) Both overlook the roads and fields and the routes to the valleys. However, the Belen fields are larger than those of the Kelbessos farmstead.
- c) In general plan they are very similar.
- d) Both have a tower of similar size and form. That the tower at Belen was two storey is secure, and presumably the Kelbessos tower also possessed a second storey.
- e) Both towers were constructed of isodomic block masonry, but the bossage and angled joints between some of the blocks at Kelbessos distinguish it from the Belen tower.
- f) Both towers have a very strong locking mechanism securing the entrance door. But Belen may differ from Kelbessos in that it certainly had a double door.
- g) Both have dwellings and workshops, the distribution of these structures formed in part through the vagaries of the topography.
- h) Both have a large capacity storage building and the dimensions of these barn buildings are close, at Belen 63 sq. m. and at Kelbessos 64 sq. m., both are rectangular, they differ in that the barn at Belen is linked by a strong wall to the tower, while at Kelbessos this building is isolated from the other buildings and also that the Belen barn has one door while the barn at the Kelbessos farmstead has two.

The reason for these similarities between these farmsteads with towers would seem to arise from the same needs and functions, as also being within a similar social and topographical situation. Looking at the general plan of the Kelbessos farmstead we cannot find many differences from that of the Belen farmstead. The Belen farmstead is certainly Roman and the wall and stonework of the tower resemble that of the Typallia bath-house and the other buildings of the farmstead are mostly constructed from rubble and mortar, with the occasional use of stone blocks, characteristic of Roman construction. The Belen Tower was presumably constructed in the crisis period of the 3rd century AD²³, and the structural characteristics of the tower support this supposition. However the dating of the Kelbessos farmstead remains unclear. With the exception of the Kelbessos tower, the materials employed and the construction techniques of the other buildings indicate they date from the Roman period. The wall construction, bossage and angled joints of the tower appear Hellenistic, however both the wall construction and the bossage also resemble the Roman tower at Lyrboton Kome (Figs. 27-28) which is dated from its inscription to the 1st c. A.D.²⁴. Consequently it is difficult to provide any absolute dating in the absence of an inscription, for the tower at Kelbessos and the walls of this tower do resemble the Hellenistic city walls of Kelbessos. It may be that this tower was built in the Hellenistic period to support the Eastern defenses of the city, as likewise, to the west of the city there is another Hellenistic tower, erected in a similar situation which may have served a similar function. If we link these two towers with the Hellenistic defensive system of the city then

²³ Adak 2006, 123.

²⁴ Merkelbach – Şahin 1988, 158 ff; Şahin 1995, 13 ff.

perhaps we can suggest that these towers may be of a Late Hellenistic or Early Roman date. If this is the case then it seems the other adjacent structures were later erected which then transformed this tower into a secure Roman farmstead with a tower²⁵.

However although the two examples forming the subject of this article are of different dates, Belen being later than Kelbessos, both have very similar architectural characteristics and functions. To more clearly understand this, we need to compare similar buildings within the region and the nearest example is the Hellenistic tower farm in Antalya's Çıgılık Aydınlar quarter²⁶ (Fig. 26). It measures 10.80x8.60 m. and is of three storeys, with all the walls of limestone isodomic blocks. Both entrances are from the south, the ground floor entrance is to the store and both upper storeys were for accommodation. Access to these upper floors was provided by a wooden exterior staircase leading to a wooden platform 3.95 m. long, with the first floor door above the ground floor door, located halfway along this platform (Fig. 26). From the holes in the door jamb it is clear that there was a strong locking system to secure this first floor door. The first floor is 3.75 m. high and each floor is of 85 sq. m. From the displaced window jambs and lintels it is evident there were window openings in the walls but the only *in situ* opening is a small loophole. From the workshops and large fields around this tower, and from similar tower farms in the Mediterranean region, it is evident this was a Hellenistic tower farm.

When we look to the elements of the Belen and Kelbessos farmstead: workshops, towers and the dwellings, it is possible to make comparisons concerning period, technique and function, with those towers built for agricultural purposes in Cilicia and Pamphylia and other tower farms in Lycia. Comparing the Belen and Kelbessos examples with these Hellenistic period examples²⁷:

- a) The Belen and Kelbessos towers are considerably smaller than the farm towers of Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia that were erected in the Hellenistic period.
- b) These Hellenistic farm towers were generally of 3 storeys or more, while those of Belen and Kelbessos were at most of two storeys. The Lycian towers are not as tall as the Cilician Hellenistic farm towers and thus the Belen and Kelbessos farm towers are closer to the Lycian Hellenistic examples than to those of Cilicia.
- c) The situation of the Belen tower dominates the fields, as is the case with the towers of Lycia²⁸ and Cilicia, while the tower of Kelbessos in addition to this function also provides observation over the valley and the road network.
- d) The agricultural fields around these towers indicate that these towers were primarily used in the Roman period to control the fields around them, as in Lycia and Cilicia²⁹.

²⁵ According to Çevik the many resemblances between the Lyrboton Kome tower and that of Kelbessos tends to support a Roman, rather than a Hellenistic date, for the Kelbessos tower: Çevik 1996, 84.

²⁶ Helenkemper – Hild 2004, 507.

²⁷ The classification of the surviving Cilician towers depends upon their function and their location as: dwelling towers, dwelling and observation towers and towers upon acropoleis. The towers on the acropoleis are not evaluated here as they have a different non-agricultural function. For this classification see, Durugönül 1996, 254 ff.; Durugönül 1998, 79 ff., 130 ff.

²⁸ Konecny 1997, 13, 86 ff.

²⁹ However they are classified in three categories, all of them having functions related to farming: Durugönül 1996, 254 ff.; Konecny 1997, 13.

- e) The isodomic walling technique employed is similar to the Lycian examples. However in the Cilician towers polygonal masonry was usually preferred³⁰. The Kelbessos tower with its bossage blocks reminds one of the Lycian Hellenistic examples. The nearest example in respect to dimensions, plan and stonework to the Kelbessos farm tower is the Lyrboton Kome tower in Pamphylia³¹ (Figs. 27-28).
- f) In both the Belen and Kelbessos towers the living quarters begin on the ground floor, which is also the case for the towers in Cilicia and Lycia³². However, in some examples such as Çıglık³³ (Fig. 26) the ground floor was employed for storage, isolated and located beneath the living quarters.
- g) The accommodation for people provided by the Belen and Kelbessos farm towers is considerably less than that in the Hellenistic farm towers of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia.
- h) The concealed tunnel at Belen is unique and no parallel has been found for this structure in the other towers of these regions dating from either the Hellenistic or the Roman periods.

Consequently, the towers and other buildings of the Belen and Kelbessos farm sites have both similarities and differences from Hellenistic tower farms. However there is no certain date for the Kelbessos tower but it seems reasonable to suggest it is of an earlier date than that of Belen. All the buildings at the Belen farmstead date from the Roman period but this presents a problem as the tower farms of Lycia are dated prior to the Roman Empire³⁴ and those of Cilicia, prior to Vespasian³⁵.

There is a widely held supposition that there was no need for tower farms during the Roman Empire because of the peace brought about by the Pax Romana³⁶. The relative absence of fortified buildings including farm towers that were built in the period of the Pax Romana in Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia regions, that already possessed many farm towers dating from the Classic, Hellenistic³⁷ period and those erected subsequently in the Byzantine period³⁸, lend support to this supposition. In particular, beginning under Augustus, there was security, peace of mind and confidence within the Empire, aided by the economic measures taken, the military colonies, the road network and other factors³⁹. Following Claudius's unification of Pamphylia and Lycia in A.D. 43 into a single province, the region achieved a better administrative level⁴⁰. This secure life in the region was however of short lived duration and by the mid-3rd c., peace and security decreased due to

³⁰ Durugönül 1998, 129.

³¹ Çevik 1996, 84.

³² Durugönül 1998, Figs. 37, 39, 46-48.

³³ Helenkemper – Hild 2004, 507.

³⁴ Konecny 1997, 81.

³⁵ Durugönül 1998, 128.

³⁶ Konecny 1997, 81.

³⁷ Hailer 1998, 82 ff.; Miller 1995, 69 ff.

³⁸ The best example of a fortified rural Byzantine settlement in the area is Cadrama (Gedelma) in East Lycia. This small castle was a 'pyrgos': Jacobek 1993, 68 ff.

³⁹ Özsait 1985, 96.

⁴⁰ Magie 1950, 576; However there is a widespread view that Lycia and Pamphylia were organized together as one province, Lycia was first organized as a single province by Quintus Veranius at the time of Claudius.

warfare⁴¹, earthquakes and epidemic disease⁴² and subsequently in the province as elsewhere, rebellions, confusion and lawlessness increased⁴³. This was particularly the case for the rural areas and small settlements that were distant from the city centers and in these areas rural insecurity rapidly increased⁴⁴ and brigands in particular threatened these rural settlements⁴⁵.

The security problems were concentrated in the rural areas, in the valuable agricultural areas far from the cities and at important road junctions far from the cities. The security problems of the cities and their territories were controlled by the *oro*flax, *para*flax and *erenakhes*⁴⁶ and there were mostly mobile forces for rural policing and patrolling against the mountain brigands who were termed '*latro*'⁴⁷. It can be understood that the farmers or the owners of the fields required security to work the land and because of the rebellions and lawlessness undermining Roman authority⁴⁸, the pirates and mountain bandits and local looting⁴⁹, some security buildings and defensive organizations again became necessary. For the solution to these local problems the city administration responsible for security worked with the local landowners. If these forces proved ineffective the Empire's military forces came into play.

Soldiers, villagers, travelers, merchants etc. passed along both sides of the deep Doyran valley, along the rural routes between the villages, routes that are no longer discernable today. Along these same routes the harvest from the fields was taken for storage to the farms and the farm surplus was likewise brought along these routes to the city centers⁵⁰, and along these routes also passed at times dangerous bandit bands and looters. The different sized small settlements and farms along these routes played an important role in the agricultural production of the area and it may be that a secondary function of some of these kinds of settlement was to provide some security for these routes. The ruins discovered in this area provide information on rural security during the Roman period in Lycia about which there is little known, but concerning which there are considerable examples in Lycia dating from the Hellenistic period⁵¹. It can be understood that the security situation for these small settlements and farms changed little from the Hellenistic to the Roman

⁴¹ The letter was written by Commodus to Bubon city at 190 A.D. and it is the first evidence indicating the end of the peace that had lasted 150 years and after 190 A.D. brigandage again became a problem: Adak 2006, 119.

⁴² Duggan 2004, 130.

⁴³ In general see, Grünwald 1999, 231 ff. For the bandits of Isauria, see, Shaw 1990a, 199 ff.; Shaw 1990b, 237 ff. The most remarkable example of this is Lydius who was the chief of the pirates and was the dominant power in all Pisidia and Pamphylia, ruling from his capital city of Kremna at the time of Probus (276-282 A.D.): Özsait 1985, 101; Mitchell 1999, 155 ff.

⁴⁴ In general see, Öztürk 2006.

⁴⁵ The inscription found in Elmalı-Ovacık provides information concerning the struggle against the bandits: Adak 2006, 115.

⁴⁶ In general see, Öztürk 2006, see, for the local military official, 'the soldier at the statio' Bennett 2007.

⁴⁷ There were professionals in these mobile forces (militia forces) who worked as bandit hunters. An outstanding example was Eireniaus from Pisidia, known from inscriptions: Adak 2006, 114.

⁴⁸ Mitchell 1999, 155 ff.; The most powerful of these were the Homanades who struggled with Rome in Pisidia during the 1st century B.C. and Zeniketes who established his base at Olympos: Özsait 1985, 94.

⁴⁹ In general see, Öztürk 2006.

⁵⁰ The magazine building at Trebenna was used for storing the products that were produced in the fields of the territory of the city: Çevik et al. 2005, 44.

⁵¹ Hailer 1998, 82 ff.

period, as although the political and administrative structures changed with the advent of the Roman Empire, the same anxieties and worries resulted in similar security arrangements in these small settlements and farms in both periods⁵².

The wealth of the cities paralleled the extent of their related agricultural areas and the income that these areas generated⁵³ and consequently the cities could afford to protect their agricultural land and expand their territory⁵⁴. Perhaps there was no city that did not have a land dispute with a neighboring city, as Dio records, "The fields and the income from them are very important and so struggles for this reason are worthwhile⁵⁵". In Eastern Lycia the fields were still more valuable and were not to be shared, as there was an insufficient quantity of agricultural land and it consisted only of small fertile fields and terrace agriculture and, due to this shortage of agricultural land, the security anxiety of the agricultural proprietors was directed in particular against the mountain bandits and robbers that threatened their fields and produce.

In the Trebenna territorium and along its northern border there are numerous surviving settlements and it is nearly impossible today to determine some of these settlement types. When one thinks of the areas that are today without ruins or ruins that today are unidentified and unknown, the density of settlements in these areas may have been far greater than is presently known, as it is plausible to suggest that in earlier times the use of summer pasture (Yayla) may have been as high as it is today and this type of upland pasture was used both for agriculture and also for livestock grazing. In consequence, one can suggest this kind of land use was combined with the erection of temporary wooden dwellings, as is the case today; unfortunately the evidence for these fugitive structures does not survive, but a higher density of population for the region would be the case, greater than the density of the surviving stone dwellings would suggest. These mountain pastures were very important to the city and they were guarded by the rural gendarmerie forces⁵⁶ which may have been linked to the local landowners' forces to combat bands of rural brigands, looters and robbers. Contemporary grazing and pasture usage disputes and conflicts in Anatolia provide an example that enables us to more easily understand similar problems during the Roman period.

It is noteworthy that there are no other tower farms in the Trebenna, Neapolis and Kelbessos territoriums in addition to those at Belen and Kelbessos. Perhaps the reason for this was that the Doyran valley provided the only route from the mountainous territory to the plain for the rapid descents of mountain bandits and Moryer, Şehit Beleni,

⁵² For the villa rustica see, Morris – Papadopoulos 2006. There were Villae Rusticae with towers erected in the Roman period in Cilicia: Aydınoğlu 1999, 164. These were built to overlook and to provide security and safe storage for agricultural production: Aydınoğlu 1999, 160 vdd. In the Roman period tower farms in Cilicia and Pamphylia were erected and in the same region there are isolated defensive Roman towers which were erected to provide for particular local security requirements. Hisarlık, Toslak and Uzunkale are examples of these: Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 560, 889, 909 Figs. 125, 409, 430.

⁵³ In this location agriculture and animal husbandry was rather similar in value to a mine and, "The presence of valuable ore concentrates economic wealth in the countryside rather than in a town; secondly, it brings a large labor force to an area which is not otherwise central; thirdly, it overwhelms the citizen structure with a servile presence": Morris – Papadopoulos 2005, 180.

⁵⁴ Roman cities wished to feed themselves with grain produced in their own chora: Osborne 2000, 119.

⁵⁵ Corbier 2000, 223.

⁵⁶ Bennett 2007, 24: a "... semi-permanent civilian militia and units of bandit-chasers, akin to the posses that feature in Wild west films...".

Badırık Tepesi and other settlements along this valley were small garrison settlements⁵⁷, which tends to support this distinction given to the Doyran valley when one compares it to the other inner areas of the territorium. In addition, the location of Kelbessos as a mountain garrison town at the head of this valley⁵⁸ and on the same line as these smaller garrison settlements is surely no accident. The settlements located along the line of the Doyran valley have some security-defensive elements that could suggest the importance of the Pisidian-Lycian Provincial border or that between the territorium of Trebenna and Termessos. However, although the importance of the security of these borders is valid for the Hellenistic period, this was not the case in some parts of the Roman period, as there were no defensive practices originating from the cities along Provincial and territorial borders, as these borders were under the direct authority of the Empire and protected by the army of the Empire⁵⁹. One thing that must be remembered is that particularly after the 3rd c. A.D. the territories which formed Lycia-Pamphylia were known as “inermes provinciae/ defenceless provinces”⁶⁰.

Numerous newly founded farmsteads in the Hisar Çandır, Gökdere, Hurma and Asar Valleys around Trebenna contain only farmhouses and workshops, the security measures for these types of farms are typical, such as strong windows and door openings, rather than the elevated security situation indicated by the erection of tower farmsteads. Badırık Tepesi, Hurma Tepesi and Moryer, with their defensive walls and location can be characterized as garrison settlements. The isolated tower at Çağlarca can be distinguished from the other farmsteads with towers, as it seems only to have functioned as an observation post⁶¹.

The farmsteads with towers at Belen and Kelbessos show their descent from Hellenistic ancestry, because of the same need to secure rural security but with some plan differences that are mentioned above. The Hellenistic tower farms were built to protect agricultural production and to provide security to the local farming population against bandits and other dangers. Belen, for these same reasons and tradition is a unique example in the region of a farmstead with tunnel and tower dating from the Roman period (c. 3rd century A.D.) and the same applies for the Kelbessos farmstead with its tower employed in the Roman period, but the date of construction of this tower is unclear. The uniqueness of the Belen farmstead with tower in the region stems not only from its construction during the Roman period, but also from its concealed tunnel and its double door system.

⁵⁷ These newly discovered settlements have been prepared for publication by our team as a monograph.

⁵⁸ Çevik – Pedarros 2004, 283 ff.; Çevik – Pedarros 2005, 439 ff.

⁵⁹ For the Empire's military forces in the region, see in general, Bennett 2007.

⁶⁰ Bennett 2007.

⁶¹ In the area around the tower of Çağlarca there were no agricultural fields or buildings. The tower is on the route coming from Trebenna to Attaleia via Çağlarca-Geyikbayırı and one can see Trebenna, Attaleia and Neapolis from this tower.

Abbreviations

- Adak 2006 M. Adak, "Batı Toroslar'da Yerel Ayaklanmalar ve Eşkîyalık", *Olba* XIV, 113-126.
- Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971 E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Necropolis of Anemurium* (1971).
- Aydınoğlu 1999 Ü. Aydınoğlu, "Doğu Dağlık Kilikia'da Villae Rusticae", *Olba* II-1, 1999, 155-167.
- Bennett 2007 J. Bennett, "The Roman Army in Lycia and Pamphylia", *Adalya* X, 2007, 131-154.
- Bulut 2005 S. Bulut, "Likya Pamfilya-Pisidya Sınır Bölgesinden Sıradışı İki Zeytinyağı İşliğı", *Adalya* VIII, 2005, 191-210.
- Bulut 2006 S. Bulut, "Bey dağları Çiftlik Yerleşimleri ve İşlikler", *Silifke Müzesi Konferansları I* (2006) (in press).
- Bulut 2007 S. Bulut, "Gazelin İni. Trebenna Teritoryumundan Bir Çiftlik Evi", *Atatürk Üniversitesi 50. Yıl Anma Kitabı* (2007) (in press).
- Çevik 1996 N. Çevik, "An Olive Oil Production Center in Pamphylia: Lyrboton Kome", *Lykia* III, 1996/97, 79-101.
- Çevik et al. 2005 N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç – S. Bulut – İ. Kızıgut, "Roma Dönemi Kalıntıları", in: N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç – E. Akyürek (eds.), *Trebenna. Tarihi, Arkeolojisi ve Doğası/Trebenna. Its History, Archaeology and Natural Environment. Adalya Supplementary Series 1*. 2005.
- Çevik et al. 2004 N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç – S. Bulut – İ. Kızıgut – E. Akyürek – İ. Pimouguet-Pedarros, "Beydağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2003: Neapolis-Kelbessos ve Çevreleri, AST XXII.1, 2004, 101-114.
- Çevik et al. 2003 N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç – İ. Kızıgut – F. Gülşen, "A Settlement in Lycia: Darıözü/Kastabara", *Adalya* VI, 2003, 189-232.
- Çevik – Pedarros 2004 N. Çevik – İ. Pimouguet-Pedarros, "The Fortified Site of Kelbessos", *Anatolia Antiqua* XII, 2004, 283-291.
- Çevik – Pedarros 2005 N. Çevik – İ. Pimouguet-Pedarros, "Kelbessos dans le Beydağ. Un Peripolion sur le territoire de Termessos de Piside: Resultats préliminaires", *Anatolia Antiqua* XIII, 2005, 439-447.
- Çevik – Pedarros 2006 N. Çevik – İ. Pimouguet-Pedarros, "Recherches archéologiques dans le Beydağ. Troisième rapport préliminaire sur le site de Kelbessos", *Anatolia Antiqua* XIV, 2006, 261-273.
- Çevik – Varkıvaç 2005 N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç, "An evaluation of the Roman rural baths of Lycia in the light of two new examples from Trebenna and Typallia", *Adalya* VII, 2004, 223-249.
- Corbier 2000 M. Corbier, "Kent, Arazi ve Vergilendirme", J. Rich – A. Wallace – Hadrill (eds.), *Antik Dünyada Kent ve Kırsal*, L. Özgenel (trans.) 213-245.
- Duggan 2004 T. M. P. Duggan, "A Short Account of Recorded Calamities (earthquakes and plaques) in Antalya", *Adalya* VII, 2004, 123-170.
- Durugönül 1996 S. Durugönül, "1995 Yılı İçel İli (Antik Dağlık Kilikya) Yüzey Araştırması. Kuleler ve Yerleşim Yerlerine Olan İlişkileri", *AST XIV.I*, 1996, 253-258.
- Durugönül 1998 S. Durugönül, *Türme und Siedlungen im Rauhen Kilikien. Asia Minor Studien 28* (1998).

- Grünwald 1999 Th. Grünwald, Rauber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Racher. Studien zu Latrones im Römische Reich (1999).
- Hailer 1998 U. Hailer, "Turmgehöfte im Umland von Kyaneai", in *Lykische Studien* 4. Feldforschungen auf dem Gebiet von Kyaneai (Yavu-Bergland) AMS 29 (1998) 71-86.
- Hellenkemper – Hild 2004 H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* TIB 8.2 (2004).
- Işık – İşkan – Çevik 2001 F. Işık – H. İşkan – N. Çevik, *MILIARIUM LYCIAE: Patara Yol Kılavuz Anıtı/Das Wegweisermonument von Patara, Lykia IV* (2001).
- İplikçioğlu – Çelgin 1998 B. İplikçioğlu – V. Çelgin – G. Çelgin, "Termessos ve Egemenlik Alanı Epigrafik-Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları 1997", *AST XVI-1*, 1998, 381-385.
- Jacobek 1993 R. Jacobek, "Das mittelalterliche Kastel bei Gedelma", in J. Borchhardt – G. Dobesch (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums II* (1993) 68-70.
- Konecny 1997 A. Konecny, *Hellenistische Turmgehöfte in Zentral- und Ostlykien* (1997).
- Magie 1950 D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950).
- Merkelbach – Şahin 1988 R. Merkelbach – S. Şahin, "Die Publizierten Inschriften von Perge", *EA* 11, 1988, 97-170.
- Miller 1995 M. Miller, "Gehöfte auf dem Gebiet von Kyaneai", in: F. Kolb (ed.), *Lykische Studien 2. Feldforschungen auf dem Gebiet der Polis Kyaneai in Zentrallykien*, AMS 18 (1995) 69-92.
- Mitchell 1999 S. Mitchell, "Native Rebellion in the Pisidian Taurus", in: K. Hopwood (ed.), *Organized Crime in Antiquity* (1999) 155-175.
- Morris – Papadopoulos 2005 S. P. Morris – J. K. Papadopoulos, "Grek Towers and Slaves: An Archaeology of Exploitation", *AJA* 109.2, 2005, 155-225.
- Osborne 2000 R. Osborne, "Gurur ve Önyargı, sağduyu ve geçim: Yunan kentinde değiş-tokuş ve toplum", J. Rich – A. Wallace – Hadrill (eds.) *Antik Dünyada Kent ve Kırsal* (2000) 119-148.
- Özsait 1985 M. Özsait, *Helenistik ve Roma Devrinde Pisidya Tarihi* (1985).
- Öztürk 2006 H. Öztürk, M.Ö. II. – M.S. IV. Yüzyıllarda Likya-Pamfilya Bölgesi'nin Kırsal Alan Güvenlik Problemleri (Marmara Üniversitesi, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, 2006).
- Shaw 1990a B. D. Shaw, "Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia: Part I", *JESHO* 33, 1990, 199-233.
- Shaw 1990b B. D. Shaw, "Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia: Part II", *JESHO* 33, 1990, 237-465.
- Şahin 1995 S. Şahin, "Studien zu den Inschriften von Perge II: Der Gesandte Apollonios und seine Familie", *EA* 25, 1995, 1-28.
- Varkıvanç 2005 B. Varkıvanç, "Doppeltüren im lykisch-pamphylich-pisidischen Grenzgebiet", *AA* 2005, 47-61.

Özet

Likya-Pisidya sınırında bulunan Belen ve Kelbessos kuleli çiftlikleri ve kırsalda güvenlik konusu üzerine bazı düşünceler

İlk kez 1993 ve 2001’de keşfettiğimiz Kelbessos ve Belen kalıntıları bazı mimari özellikleriyle bölgede örneksiz olmaları ve yakın çevresinde bulunan bağlantılı diğer yapılarla birlikte kırsalda güvenlik konusunda sundukları verilerle ayrıntılıca incelenmek ve değerlendirilmek üzere bu makalenin asal konusu olmuşlardır. Bu bölgede Roma Dönemi küçük korunaklı yerleşimlerin varlığı diğer bölgelere de ışık tutacak gibidir. Belen ve Kelbessos kuleli çiftlikleri kırsaldaki korunma kaygılarına da bağlı olarak ilk kez burada topluca değerlendirilmiştir.

Belen ve Kelbessos kuleli çiftlikleri karşılaştırıldığında şunlar söylenebilir: İki çiftlik de doğal korunaklı kayalık tepeler üzerinde, aynı vadinin iki yakasından geçitleri, yolları ve geniş bir araziye rahatlıkla görebilecek bir konumdadır. Ancak, Belen çiftliğinin egemen olduğu tarım arazileri, Kelbessos’a göre çok daha fazladır; genel planlama birbirine çok yakındır; benzer ölçü ve formda birer kule vardır. Belen kulesi iki katlıdır Kelbessos da iki katlı olmalıdır; her iki kulenin duvarlarında izodomik teknik kullanılmıştır. Kelbessos kulesindeki bloklar, hafif bosajlı ve de eğri kesimleriyle Belen’den ayrılırlar; Kule kapıları ikisinde de oldukça güvenli bir kilit mekanizmasına sahiptir; araziye göre biçimlenmiş çiftlik konutları ve işlikleri vardır; büyük hacimli, yaklaşık ölçülerde birer depo bulunmaktadır: Belen, dikdörtgen 63 m², Kelbessos, dikdörtgen 54 m². Fark olarak Belen deposu, kuleyle birlikte bir duvarla bağlanarak korumaya alınmıştır. Kelbessos çiftliğinde ise depo, diğer yapılardan izole edilmiştir. Belen iki, Kelbessos tek kapılıdır. Farklılıkları biraz dönemsel biraz da topografik nedenlere bağlıdır. Kelbessos çiftliğine genel planlama açısından baktığımızda Belen çiftliğinden ayrılan çok da bir şeyin olmadığı görünmektedir. Belen çiftliği İ.S. 3. yy. karışıklıklarıyla başlayan kriz döneminde yapılmış olmalıdır. Yapısal özellikleri bunu doğrular niteliktedir. Özellikle kulenin duvar ve taş işçiliği Typallia hamamıyla tam benzerdir. Çoğunlukla moloz taş ve harçla, kısmen de blok taşlar kullanılarak duvar ve tavanları örülmüş diğer yapılar tamamen Roma Dönemi’ndendir. Kelbessos kuleli çiftliğinin tarihi ise kuşkuludur. Kulenin duvar işçiliği hafif bosajlı taş yüzeyleri ve eğri kesimli yanal birleşmeleri nedeniyle Hellenistik gibi görünmesine karşın İ.S. 1 yy.’a tarihlenen Lyrboton Kome kulesinin bosajlı taş işçiliğiyle de çok benzerdir. Kelbessos kentinin sur duvarları ile kalenin batısında tek başına duran kule dikkate alındığında, doğuda savunma hattını tamamlayan söz konusu kulenin Geç Hellenistik - Erken Roma Dönemi’nde yapılmış olabileceğini, kulenin çevresindeki yapıların ise Roma Dönemi’nde eklenerek savunmalı bir Roma Dönemi çiftliğine dönüştürüldüğü öne sürülebilir.

Belen ve Kelbessos kuleli çiftliklerinin, Hellenistik Dönem’de Kilikya ve Pamfilya Bölgesi’nde tarımsal amaçlı inşa edilen kuleler ve Likya’daki kule çiftlikler ile karşılaştırdığımızda: Belen ve Kelbessos kuleleri boyut olarak, Likya, Pamfilya ve Kilikya örneklerinden genellikle

çok daha küçüktür; Hellenistik çiftlik kuleleri genellikle 3 ya da daha çok katlıdır oysa bu örnekler iki katlı olmasıyla Likya kuleleriyle benzerlik gösterir; Belen kulesi, Likya ve Kilikya'dakiler gibi egemen olduğu tarım arazilerini gözetleyebilecek bir konumdadır. Kelbessos kulesi ise tarım arazilerinin yanı sıra ana kente bağlantıyı sağlayan antik yol güzergahına ve tüm vadiye bakmaktadır; İki örnekte de görülen birimler ve egemen oldukları araziler, Kilikya ve Likya kule çiftliklerindeki gibi söz konusu kulelerin daha çok tarımsal amaçlı düzenlendiklerini gösterir; her iki kulenin duvarlarında görülen izodomik duvar tekniği, Likya örnekleriyle benzer. Kilikya kulelerinde ise yoğunlukla polygonal teknik tercih edilmiştir. Bosajlı duvarlarıyla Kelbessos kulesi ise Likya örneklerini anımsatır. Her iki örnekte yaşamsal mekanlar Kilikya ve Likya kulelerindeki gibi zemin kattan başlamaktadır. Ancak Çığlık gibi bazı örneklerde zemin kat, olasılıkla depo gibi işlevlere yönelik olarak yaşam bölümlerinin altında/dışında tutulmuştur; Belen ve Kelbessos örneklerinin barındırabileceği nüfus kapasitesi özellikle Kilikya örneklerine göre çok daha düşüktür; Belen kulesindeki dehliz, Likya, Pamfilya ve Kilikya örneklerinde görülmez.

Roma İmparatorluk Çağı'nda sağlanan güvenlik nedeniyle, savunma amaçlı kalelere/ birimlere ihtiyaç kalmadığı yaygın bir görüştür. Çok sayıda Klasik, Hellenistik ve Bizans Dönemi savunma yapısının ele geçtiği Likya, Pamfilya, Kilikya gibi bölgelerde Roma Dönemi'ne ilişkin, bu konuda fazla bulgu olmayışı bu durumu desteklemektedir. Özellikle Augustus'la birlikte planlı bir şekilde yapılan yollar, askeri koloniler ve ekonomik önlemlerle İmparatorluğa huzur ve güven hakim olmuştur. Claudius'un İ.S. 43 yılında Likya'yı eyalete dönüştürmesinden sonra bu bölge, en azından ilk karmaşaların başladığı 3. yy. başına kadar çok iyi idari edilmiştir. Bu güvenli yaşam kısa sürmüş, özellikle 3. yy.'ın 2. yarısında savaşlar ve salgınlarla İmparatorluk düşüşe geçmiştir. Bunun sonucunda eyaletlerde karışıklık ve başkaldırı başlar, çapulculuk yoğunlaşır. Özellikle kentlerin uzağında bulunan kırsal bölgelerdeki küçük birimlerde yerel güvenlik sorunları fazlasıyla artar. Çünkü eşkiyaların gücü kentlerden çok kırsal birimlere yeter.

Bu makalenin konusu olan örneklerin bulunduğu Doyran Vadisi'nin iki yakası boyunca uygun yerlerde konumlanmış bulunan irili ufaklı yerleşimler teritoryumdaki arazilerin ekilip-biçilip değerlendirilmesi konusunda önemli rol oynuyorlardı. Bunlardan tahkimatlı olanların özellikle ve sadece Likya-Pisidya sınırını oluşturan vadi boyunca dizili olanların ise birincil tarım işlevi ötesinde ulaşım ağının kollarlanmasında da rol üstlenmiş olmaları muhtemeldir. Hellenistik Dönem örneklerinin iyi bilindiği Likya'nın, çok bilinmeyen Roma Dönemi kırsal güvenliğinin nasıl olduğu konusu bu bölgedeki bulgularla biraz daha aydınlanmaktadır. Roma İmparatorluğu'yla birlikte değişen siyasi yapının yerel güvenlik sorunlarını çok değiştirmede, benzer kaygılarla yerleşim ve çiftliklerin benzer savunma unsurlarıyla tahkim edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Zira, Kilikya ve Pamfilya Bölgesi'nde Roma Dönemi'ne ait kule çiftliklerin yanı sıra aynı bölgede yerel savunma amacına yönelik yapılmış tek başına duran Roma Dönemi kuleleri de vardır.

Belen ve Kelbessos kuleli çiftlikleri, yukarıda değinilen kırsal güvenlik kaygıları nedeniyle Hellenistik örneklere benzer nedenlerden kaynaklanan bir oluşum göstermiştir. Hellenistik Dönem'deki kule çiftlikler tarım alanlarını, elde edilen ürünü, çiftlikte yaşayan insan ve hayvanları eşkiya ve çapulcuya karşı koruyabilme kaygısıyla inşa edilmiştir. Belen de benzer nedenlerle, aynı gelenek ve düşünceyle Roma Dönemi'nde yapılmış sıradışı bir örnek olarak karşımıza çıkar. Aynı durum Roma Dönemi'nde revize edildiği anlaşılan, ilk yapılaş tarihini kesin olarak bilemediğimiz Kelbessos çiftliği için de söz konusudur. Belen örneğinin sıradışılığı sadece, bu bölgede Roma Dönemi'nde yapılmış kuleli çiftlik olmasından öte, benzersiz dehlizi ve çift kapılı sistemi gibi mimari detaylarından da gelmektedir.

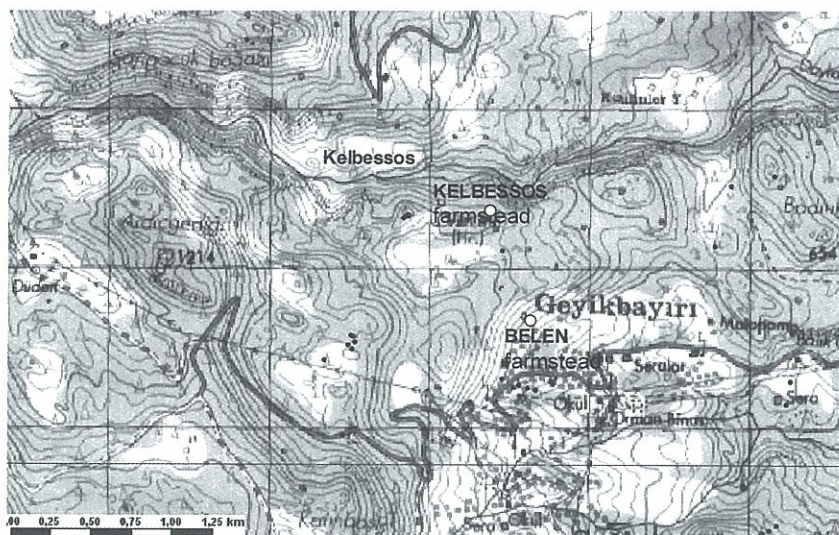


Fig. 1
The location of the Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads with towers.



Fig. 2
Aerial photo of the Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads.

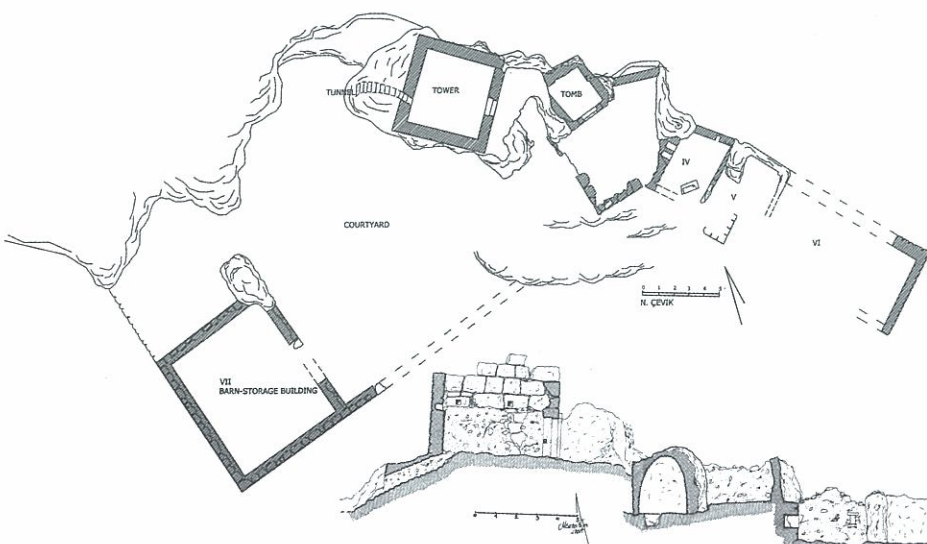


Fig. 3
Plan and section of the Belen farmstead.



Fig. 4
Aerial photo indicating
the distance of visible
settlements from the
Belen tower.



Fig. 5
Belen. Aerial photo
from the west.



Fig. 6
Belen. Aerial photo
from the east.



Fig. 7
Belen. The tower.



Fig. 8
Belen. The farmstead.

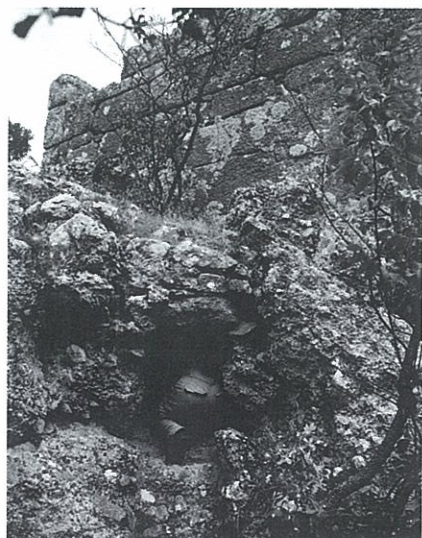


Fig. 9
Belen. Tower and
the external entrance to
the concealed tunnel.

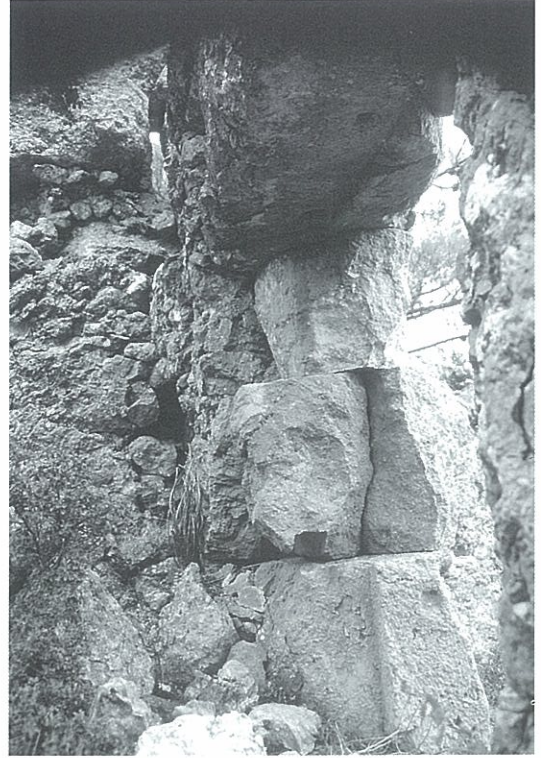


Fig. 10-11 Belen. The tower. Door lintels and their holes for the locking system.



Fig. 12 Belen. Interior of the concealed tunnel.

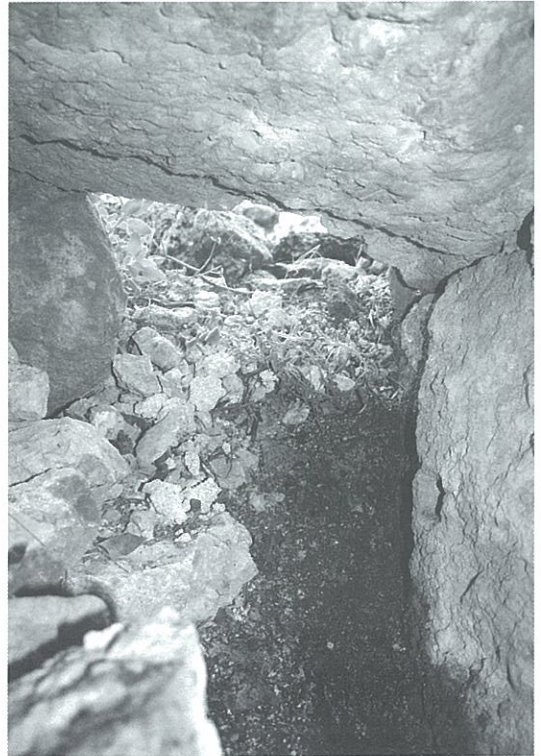


Fig. 13 Belen. The lintel of the inner door of the tunnel.



Fig. 14
Belen. Barn-Storage
building and the tower.



Fig. 15
Belen. The vaulted
tomb and the tower.

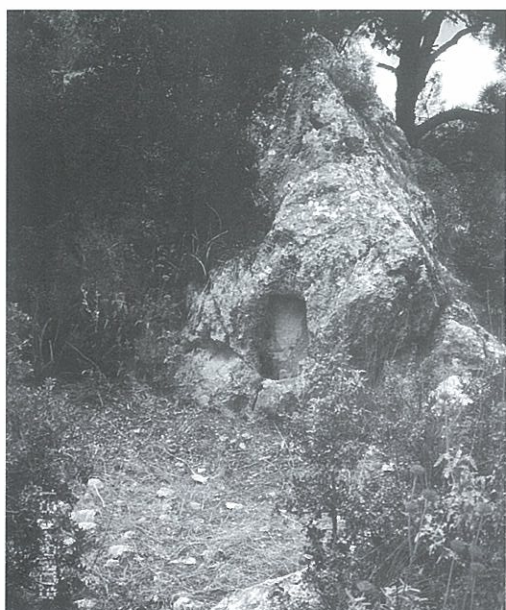


Fig. 16
Belen. The hole for the wooden press
beam in the workshop.

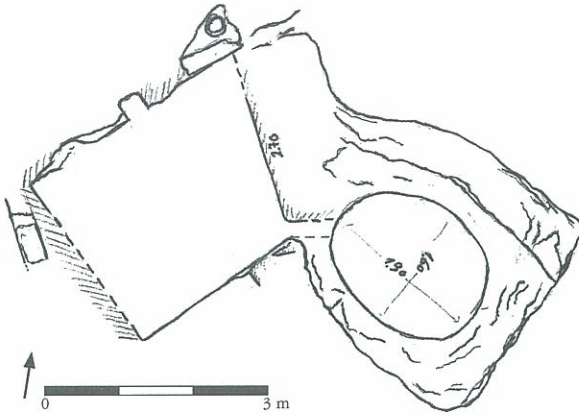


Fig. 17 Belen. The workshop.



Fig. 18 Belen. Storage building-barn from west.

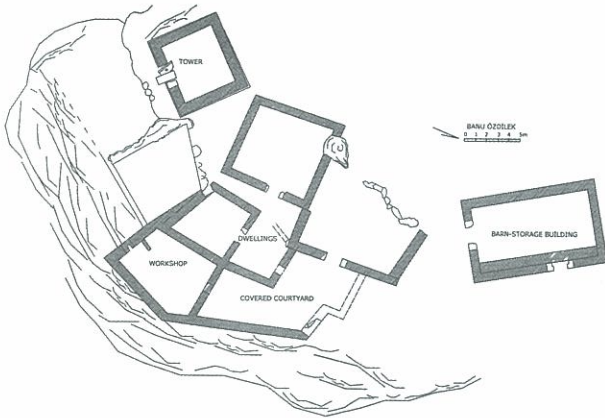


Fig. 19 Plan of the Kelbessos Farmstead with tower.



Fig. 20 Kelbessos. The tower from the west.



Fig. 21 Kelbessos. The tower and farmstead from the north.



Fig. 22 Kelbessos. The locking holes on the jamb of tower.



Fig. 23 Kelbessos. Hole for the wooden press beam in the workshop.

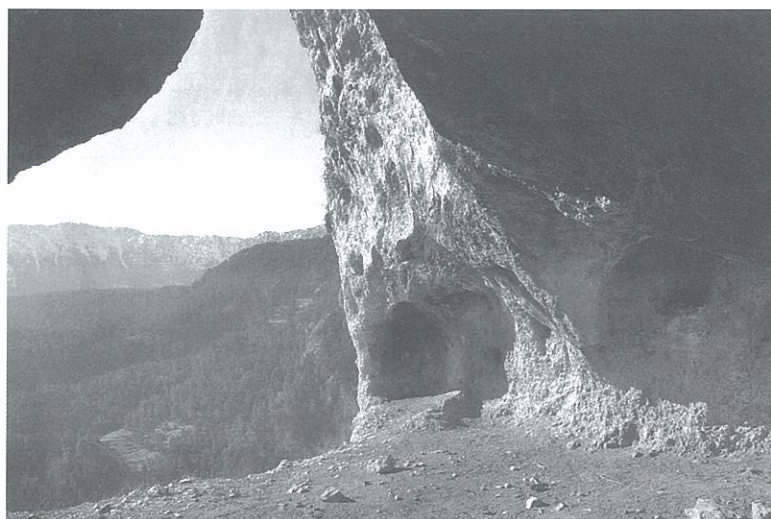


Fig. 24 Kelbessos. The cave-dwelling beneath the farmstead.

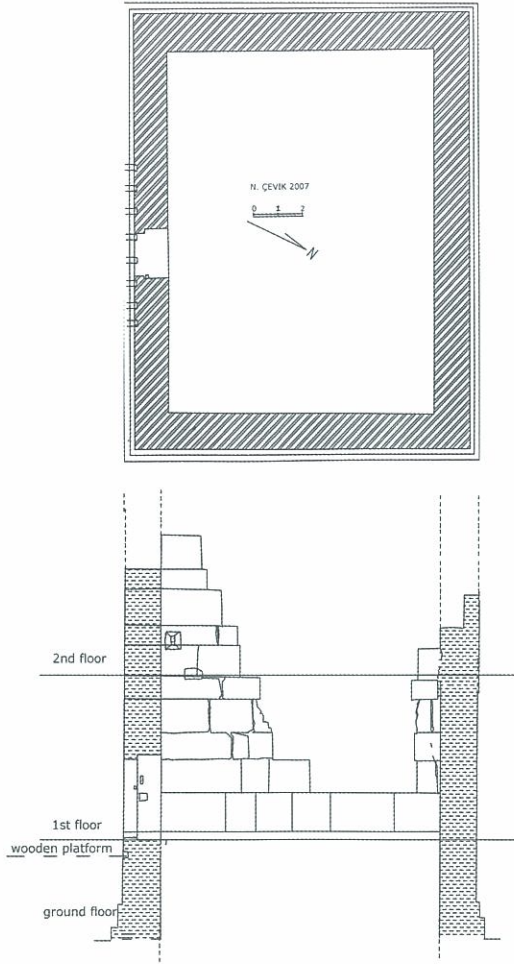


Fig. 25 Çığlık Tower Farm. Plan and section.

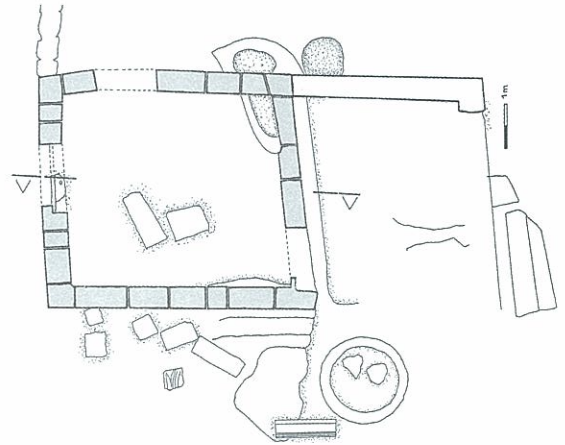


Fig. 26 The Tower at Lyrboton Kome. Plan.
Çevik 1996, Fig. 6.



Fig. 27 The Tower at Lyrboton Kome. Plan and photo.