

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

Sabibi: 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	Max KUNZE
Ara ALTUN	Thomas MARKSTEINER
Oluş ARIK	Wolfram MARTINI
Cevdet BAYBURTLUOĞLU	Gönül ÖNEY
Tuncer BAYKARA	Mehmet ÖZSAİT
Jürgen BORCHHARDT	Urs PESCHLOW
Jacques Des COURTILS	Scott REDFORD
Ömer ÇAPAR	Martin Ferguson SMITH
Vedat ÇELGİN	Oğuz TEKİN
Bekir DENİZ	Gülşin UMURTAK
Refik DURU	Burhan VARKIVANÇ
Serra DURUGÖNÜL	Michael WÖRRLE
Hansgerd HELLENKEMPER	Martin ZIMMERMAN
Frank KOLB	

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

Necropoleis and Funerary Monuments in Pisidia during the Roman Period

Neslihan YILMAZ*

I. Introduction

In an antique settlement, regardless of size, monumentality, or location, the first remains to catch the eye generally are the funerary remains, which somehow are better preserved than any other structure¹. A visitor, who approaches a site, may get the first signs of an occupation simply by seeing funerary remains, which most of the time remain well preserved unless there has been a serious disaster. Two factors may play a role in this preservation. First, the tombs occupied areas, which people had chosen as places not to be occupied, although there may have been many continuous tomb construction activities going on there by builders and stone carvers, who finished the tombs at the spot. The second factor may be respect for the dead. In the archaeological record though, there are countless examples of warnings, curses, and penalties against tomb violation, which appears to have been quite a widespread phenomenon. Therefore, the second factor may seem to be dismissible, but the precautions against violation focus on the reuse of these final resting places, not their physical destruction or alteration. Even though the tombs might have been reused, most of the time, the tomb as a building remained in its place².

It is known that funerary architecture and burial practices in Asia Minor had deep roots and specific indigenous features, which not only affected settlers such as Greek and Roman colonists, but also were affected by the latter. This is the reason why the region offers rich and diverse material of funerary architecture, ranging from simple cist graves to impressive monuments. There are however, two uncertainties, which need to be clarified, namely the rituals and beliefs related to the death and the tombs of the poor. Unfortunately, most tombs do not provide information about the rituals, which took place during and after funerals, but some of them have special arrangements such as benches, niches, and libation holes. Based on material evidence, however, we can draw only general conclusions concerning social behaviour, beliefs and rituals, whereas further information on how rich

* Neslihan Yılmaz, Catholic Leuven University, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, 3000 Leuven, Belgium.
E-mail: Neslihan.yilmaz@student.kuleuven.be

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Marc Waelkens for reading and commenting on the draft of this article and for his endless encouragement. Therefore I dedicate this article to him. I am also grateful to Dr. Veli Köse for his suggestions and support and to Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çevik, for sharing his knowledge and his permission to publish the pictures from Neapolis.

² For tomb violation and precautions see Strubbe 1991, 33-59.

and poor were treated during and after the funeral, and what beliefs behind those funerals were, still remain beyond reach³. The second uncertainty related to the first is that concerning the tombs of the poor, as already less poor and rich used quite various tomb types reflecting their status and taste⁴. In a society, rich and poor may have shared the same beliefs and rituals, but how much the poor in reality could benefit from rituals and funerals is not clear. According to Cormack, they probably were directly placed in a trench surrounded by simple stones or perhaps without any grave marker at all, whereas the rest of society enjoyed better quality tombs. Thus, the tombs of the poor either have been excluded from the surveys of funerary material in Asia Minor or are not well preserved in the archaeological record⁵.

In Anatolia, together with the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Archaic Period onward, inhumation was the dominant burial method as opposed to cremation, which was rather popular in the western part of the Mediterranean⁶. However, the existence of urns, ostothecae and arcosolia show that cremation was also practiced there. With the arrival of the Romans, after the death of Attalos III, change as well as continuity in the burial practice of Anatolia can be noticed. However, in the Hellenized cities, as well as in the mountainous hinterlands people kept building traditional funerary monuments while adding new forms or concepts of design such as temple tombs and kline lids of sarcophagi (see below). Except for some stylistic adaptations, Asia Minor was actually not inclined to change the traditions it had been following for centuries⁷. This is the reason why all Hellenistic tomb types in Asia Minor continued without any interruption into the Imperial period. The most notable change in the tomb architecture of the Roman Period would be the emergence of temple tombs, which were adapted and adopted from the Roman podium temple, of which Anatolia offers many examples. It is known that later in the 2nd century AD, inhumation was also favoured in the West and coexisted with the ongoing practice of cremation. In Anatolia, inhumation also became only fully dominant in the same period, which is evident in the widespread use of sarcophagi. However, at Sagalassos numerous arcosolia from the Roman Imperial period show that cremation continued as well. In general, though, Anatolia remained rather reluctant towards the idea of cremation, which never fully replaced inhumation⁸. The purpose of this article is to examine the situation of Roman Pisidia based on the location of the necropoleis, the tomb types, and the Roman contribution to funerary picture of the region. Additionally, measures against tomb violation and archaeological evidence related to rituals will be also mentioned.

II. The Location of the necropoleis in the Pisidian Cities

Compared to the Roman West, funerary architecture occupies an important place in the civic landscape of Asia Minor. It is known that in Rome, as in Greek cities, the burial of

³ Hughes 1999, 171.

⁴ On this matter, see especially the researches of Waelkens 1986; Köse 2006; Cormack 1996 and Çelgin 1990. The research of Çevik on the sites on the Beydağları, added further knowledge to Pisidian and Pamphylian burial traditions. See Çevik et al. *Trebenna, Its History, Archaeology and Natural Environment*. Adalya Suppl. 1 (2005)

⁵ Cormack 1997, 152.

⁶ *ibid.* 138.

⁷ *ibid.* 139-5.

⁸ Morris 1994, 42-69; Mitchell 1996, 70.

both ashes and corpses, within or near the city's formal boundary was strictly forbidden except for generals, who had won a major triumph or very important people⁹. The basis of this regulation was both a sanitary precaution and fear of defilement laid down in the 'Twelve Tables'¹⁰. In the case of Asia Minor, however, the large cemeteries of cities sometimes encroach upon living areas or civic places, with people not minding to live side by side with the dead or perhaps not being afraid of catching any disease from rotting corpses. This is clearly seen at Ariassos, Panemoteichos and Sia, which will be explained below in detail. This does not imply, however, that the whole necropolis mixed with other buildings in the city. A common picture in Asia Minor is rather intrusion of burials and Heroa in the inhabited space and in Pisidia this practice is detected in some cities (e.g. the two Heroa at Sagalassos, Heroon at Termessos, an arcosolium at Kapıkaya and mausolea at Ariassos). A problem rises while attempting to date them, more specifically whether or not these tombs were contemporary with the rest of the buildings in the same locations. The location of these intramural tombs will be mentioned further while describing their forms.

During the Hellenistic period, cemeteries were normally kept outside the city walls, yet with the peace and security brought by Augustus, the fortifications lost their importance, and in some instances, they were partially dismantled¹¹. Parallel to the expansion of the cities, necropoleis continued to grow in every direction. It is probably during this period that the necropoleis also expanded towards the living spaces. Thus, in some cities necropolis and the city of living eventually mingled. Ariassos could be a good example of this phenomenon. The city centre was surrounded by Roman tombs on the east, south, and north¹². Only the southern necropolis is located at a certain distance from the living space¹³. The northern necropolis occupying the hill on the northwest side of the city with nine 'mausolea', which apparently belonged to the most prominent citizens of Ariassos, was established in the immediate vicinity of civic buildings such as the Prytaneion, the fountain house and the Bouleuterion. On the other hand, the so called 'street tombs' to the east of the northern necropolis are located to the south of the area with public buildings, along the road, which connects the northeast end of the city and its southwest extremity¹⁴. These tombs, including some belonging to the east necropolis, were not strictly aligned with the road, but they can still be considered as an example of 'roadside tombs' like those at Melli and Pednelissos (see below). In Asia Minor, the placement of tombs along the approaches to the city is considered as an eastern adaptation of the 'roadside tombs' of the Roman West¹⁵. However, in the Pisidian landscape, due to local topographical features, roadside tombs were not possible in all cities. For example at Sagalassos, many tombs were built on rock faces and on high podiums at some distance from, but dominating the roads, so that they could be seen by the travellers and visitors passing by¹⁶. At Sia, which is the

⁹ Cicero, *Leg.* II, 23, 58.

¹⁰ Toynbee 1971, 48.

¹¹ Köse 2006, 167.

¹² Tombs were described in detail in Mitchell 1991b, 159-72; 1992, 93-108; Mitchell et al. 1989, 63-77; Cormack 1996, 1-25; 1989, 31-40.

¹³ Cormack 1996, 1-5, 13-4; Mitchell 1992, 99; 1991b, 170.

¹⁴ Cormack 1996, 17.

¹⁵ This concept is more clearly seen at Hierapolis in Phrygia and at Arycanda in Lycia. Cormack 1997, 140; Toynbee 1971, 49, 73-5; Purcell 1987, 25-41; von Hesberg 1992, 1987, 43-60.

¹⁶ Köse 2006, 167.

neighbour of Ariassos, the cemetery is originally located across the western side of the settlement, where it was made up of roughly cut stone walls of 1 m wide crossing each other diagonally. It is not certain whether these walls enclosed the tombs or served as property boundaries or even cultivation terraces, but the existence of a large oil press in one of these walls and several houses in the necropolis can be interpreted as a lack of distinction between the area for the living and non-living. It is, however, unclear if the tombs and the houses are contemporary, so that one could talk about the existence of an intramural cemetery. According to the surveys at the site, there are more intramural ostothecae resting on rock cut or built pillars placed next to houses, which are located inside and outside the city walls. Additionally, the location of one of two intramural Hellenistic heroa and a number of sarcophagi near the houses proves that the people of Sia wished to be buried next to their houses. This also explains the occurrence of various tomb types combined in family units in the Sia cemetery¹⁷. Family units can be seen at Sagalassos, Hierapolis and elsewhere in Asia Minor. In general, sarcophagi, and monumental tombs show close similarities to those at Ariassos¹⁸, a situation, which can be explained by the closeness of both sites. Beside these, the site at Sia contains a tomb type, which was less popular in Pisidia, the tumulus, whose tradition continued until the Late Roman Period. There are at least three tumuli built with rough stones. They measure 5-6m in diameter with rectangular chambers in the middle. The reason why the inhabitants of Sia adopted such a type is unknown, but there are parallels in Pisidia as well. At a place called Taşlı Tepe, ca. 1 km northeast of Soğanlı, there is a tumulus, 25 m in diameter and 2,50 m high. It is probably dated to the Early Iron Age¹⁹. Another tumulus tomb was found at Pednelissos in the north necropolis, which also has other tumuli in the necropolis, but their date is uncertain²⁰. The tumuli at Sia and Pednelissos might also be older than the tombs in their cemeteries. Another close parallel, but from outside Pisidia, comes from Balbura in the Kibyratis²¹.

At Panemoteichos II, the situation is different; so far, no tombs within the fortified area were detected, but here, two residential areas are also located outside the city walls²². Sarcophagi, which are reminiscent of those at Termessos, Ariassos, Neapolis (Doyran) and Sia are mainly concentrated to the north and to the south of the acropolis hill rising on the west of the Panemoteichos II. The tombs in the south cover the rocks near the residential area. Those in the north, however, are clearly mixed with the houses²³. Thus, Panemoteichos II can be another example, where the location of houses and burials is mixed, and as at Sia some people may have wished to be buried next to their houses. However, if one considers the fact, in which the houses are located outside the fortifications, therefore, one may consider that here the necropolis is completely separated. The site at Kapıkaya is located on top of a massive limestone mountain, which is visible towards to the east from the village of Ağlasun. In fact, the site does not contain a large

¹⁷ Aydal et al. 1998, 280-1; Bean 1960, 74; Mitchell 1996, 20.

¹⁸ Mitchell 1997, 53; 1995b, 18.

¹⁹ Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens 2003, 196; Waelkens et al. 2000a, 103 Fig. 134. The tumulus was revisited by the Sagalassos Survey team. According to Vanhaverbeke, the tumulus can still be dated to Protohistoric period (personal information).

²⁰ Vandeput et al. 2005, 240 Fig. 3

²¹ Aydal et al. 1998, 280-1; Mitchell 1997, 53; 1995b, 18.

²² Mitchell 1994, 143; 1997, 49; 1995b, 16.

²³ Aydal et al. 1997, 159.

necropolis, but a considerable number of arcosolium type tombs of the Imperial Period dominate the rocks on the north-west at the entrance of the city, those outside the fortifications on the southeast and some in the civic centre itself. Here, an Imperial period arcosolium was built within an area of Hellenistic public buildings²⁴, while another arcosolium directly faces the civic centre. On the other hand, towards the western end of the civic centre, there is a limestone figural sarcophagus with a kline lid, which was found *in situ* next to a large (probably public) building²⁵. Most of these tombs occupying the Hellenistic city centre are from the Roman period, a situation, which can be shown as the best example of how public and sepulchral buildings were mixed. At Etenna, the main necropolis containing 41 Roman period rock cut tombs is quite separated from the city centre by its location on the northeastern cliffs of the acropolis. However, Çevik mentioned some intramural tombs, some of which are monumental, located in the city centre proper. One of them is a rock cut chamber (3x1.5 m) with a built vault and a niche on its northern wall²⁶. Although stylistically different, the tombs of the major necropolis have a layout similar to those of Lycia. Etenna is thought to have another necropolis at Delikli Ören, ca. 8 km south of the city and contains only four rock cut tombs²⁷.

In some Pisidian cities, necropoleis touch the city of the living. At Sagalassos, as at Termessos, the topographic situation of the city allowed necropoleis to surround it on all sides. As at other Greek and Roman cities, the necropoleis of Sagalassos originally were separated from the city centre by fortifications, except for the south walls, which were joined immediately by the southern necropolis. During the Roman period, however, the city began to expand beyond its Hellenistic city walls towards the necropoleis, which were also expanding in various directions²⁸. The principal cemetery of Sagalassos actually lies to the south, towards the north of the conical hill (the so-called 'Alexander's Hill'). This necropolis expanded a few kilometres further south into the valley along the modern southern approach to the site, where the mausoleum of Tib. Flavius Neon, the founder of the city's library, is located. Towards the southeast of the site, there are various rock-cut tombs and remains of large mausolea²⁹. Other cemeteries cover the east, west and north sides of the city. The steep cliffs to the north of the city centre contain an enormous number of arcosolium type tombs, which show stylistic similarities with those at Kapıkaya³⁰. In the civic centre of Sagalassos there is no intramural tomb, but two Heroa from the Augustan period dominate the political centre of the city (see below). As at Sagalassos, the city centre of Termessos contains no tomb, although its agora contains a Heroon. The largest necropolis is located to the south and the west of the city centre, while smaller necropoleis are located to the north and the east. They all surround the city centre from all directions. The earlier tombs though, seem to be all located outside the city walls, but most of the tombs which are dated to the Roman Period show that as the city extended beyond the city walls, the necropoleis also grew organically in all directions, which can clearly be seen in the south

²⁴ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 23.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Çevik 2003, 98 and Fig. 2

²⁷ *ibid.* 99, 107; Nollé 1992 pl. 26/2.

²⁸ Köse 2006, 17-8; Waelkens 2002, 344.

²⁹ Waelkens 1995, 13.

³⁰ Köse 2006, 18-22; Mitchell 1991a, 130.

and west cemeteries. The latter necropolis extended even next to the immediate vicinity of domestic space. It is however not clear whether houses and tombs were really mixed or belonged to a different period³¹. Termessos contains the richest collection of nearly 3000 tombs including, sarcophagi, arcosolia, tombs with aediculated facades, ostothecae, pit graves, and rock cut tombs, many of which carry the features of Lycian and Carian examples imitating timber constructions³². The city also appears to be the only Pisidian city so far housing a sarcophagus with dog remains like those at Pergamon and Rome³³. Neapolis, which is geographically very close to Termessos, but very difficult to reach, is located on the high slopes of the Keldağ and because it requires a serious effort to find and climb the site, it managed to protect itself from looting until today. Its necropolis, which is located along the road leading up to the city, contains some 45 tombs including sarcophagi, chamosoria and ostothecae, all dating to the Roman period. Here, the tombs are located next to the terrace houses, which define the end of the cemetery³⁴. Although the site is closer to Pamphylia, most of the sarcophagi in the necropolis carry typical Pisidian shield motifs with *tabula ansatae* in the middle.

In Pisidia, there are also cities, where the cemeteries are completely separated from the city. At Melli (Milyas) for example the main necropolis outside the city walls is located on the northwest slope, just below actual the ruins, on either side of an ancient road approaching the city from the north. Funerary monuments of different forms were concentrated on either side of this road, thus forming a 'street of tombs' which occupies a separate flat area sloping gradually to the east³⁵. According to Vandeput, this arrangement could have grown organically without any deliberate organization. Whereas some sarcophagi and monumental tombs occupy the space next to this road, others stand further towards the west and the east. As at Sia, the sarcophagi here, including those in the street of tombs, are either grouped around a monumental tomb or placed on a constructed terrace³⁶. This small necropolis as a whole includes the remains of numerous monumental tombs, sarcophagi, rectangular ostothecae and arcosolia. The steep slopes to the west also yield several sarcophagi as well as a stone quarry connected with a workshop³⁷. At Keraitae too, the necropolis consisting of sarcophagi and ostothecae is located on a flat area to the west of the city³⁸ (Fig. 1). At this point, it is hard to say that the people of Keraitae kept tombs outside the living space, but I believe that the necropolis was separated from the city of the living. At Selge, the necropoleis are located outside the Hellenistic city walls. The largest necropolis of the city lies to the north extending from the north valley to the proximity of the theatre, all the way to the Kesbedion. Here, there is a variety of tombs including, built tombs, sarcophagi with or without hyposoria and chamosoria with roof type lids. The monumental tombs are mainly concentrated on this necropolis, which was perhaps more popular among local aristocrats³⁹. The east necropolis containing

³¹ Abbasoğlu 1988, 222.

³² Fedak 1990, 94, 338 Figs. 117-8; Abbasoğlu 1988, 223; Bracke 1993, 24.

³³ Abbasoğlu – İplikçioğlu 1991, 213.

³⁴ Çevik et al. 2005, 102, 104.

³⁵ Bean 1960, 78.

³⁶ Mitchell – Güçeren 1995, 503; Vandeput – Köse 2001, 133; 2002, 19; Vandeput et al. 2001, 257.

³⁷ Vandeput et al. 2001, 260-1; Vandeput – Köse 2001, 138, 141.

³⁸ Dörtlük 1976, 17.

³⁹ Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 101.

chamosoria and sarcophagi extends towards the northeast slopes of the 'Monastery hill' and is located along the old approach to the city. According to Machatschek and Schwarz, it was surrounded by an enclosure⁴⁰. The only intramural tomb here is located in the area of the Stadium Baths (see below). At Pednelissos, the necropoleis are mainly located to the north and the south of the city and usually remain outside the city walls. The tombs were aligned along the north-south road, resembling 'road side tombs'⁴¹. They consist mainly of five types including chamosoria, sarcophagi, Pisidian ostothecae (Hellenistic), temple tombs and vaulted tombs. All tombs can be dated between the Antonine and the Severan Period. The only intramural tomb is a temple tomb with various sarcophagi mentioned by Işın⁴².

In some Pisidian cities, the situation regarding the location of necropoleis is unclear. The reason is the scarcity of the material evidence due to erosion, the location of a modern settlement on the ancient site, demolition by modern people and lack of excavation. One of the Roman colonies, Antioch near Pisidia, which in fact is located outside Pisidia, is also poor in terms of funerary architecture. Numerous door stones, sarcophagus fragments, parts of massive built tombs and funerary inscriptions were discovered only in the town of Yalvaç and in an area called Kızılcamahalle to the south of the site. The steep cliffs along the Anthius River are unlikely to have served as a graveyard⁴³. In my opinion, at Antioch too, the necropolis was therefore completely separated from the city-site. At Lysinia, rock cut sarcophagi with separate lids are located below the hill on its west and southwest⁴⁴. As far as Adada is concerned, research at the site shows that its necropolis is located between the so-called 'Kuştüneği Tepesi' and the hill to the north of it. Except for a temple tomb, which is located to the north of the theatre, there is no funerary structure in the civic centre⁴⁵. One of the major sites of Pisidia, Kremna does not offer so much funerary architecture either. As a Roman colony, it can be speculated that the inhabited area could have been completely separated from the burials by the fortification walls and in this case, the main necropolis occupied the sloping land outside the west wall. Various cist graves cut into the limestone slopes, tomb buildings and freestanding sarcophagi were mentioned, but their traces were limited to some small and badly weathered sculpted fragments of marble sarcophagi of the type produced at Dokimeion, which was favoured by rich inhabitants of Asia Minor cities in the 2nd and the 3rd Century AD⁴⁶. Except for one noteworthy tomb, large monumental tombs do not seem to be favoured at Kremna⁴⁷. The necropolis of Kaynarkale (Kodrula) could not be found, but Bean has discovered the ruins of a built tomb and numerous rectangular ostothecae inside the walls⁴⁸. Pogle too, offers a few rock-cut tombs located in the modern town of Çomaklı⁴⁹.

⁴⁰ *ibid.* 103.

⁴¹ Vandeput et al. 2005, 240.

⁴² Işın 1998, 118-9.

⁴³ Mitchell – Waelkens 1998, 91 site plan: 92 Fig. 18.

⁴⁴ Bean 1959, 79.

⁴⁵ Büyükkolancı 1998, 33. Unfortunately, the research at Adada is limited to that of major buildings.

⁴⁶ Waelkens 1982.

⁴⁷ Mitchell 1995a, 69.

⁴⁸ Bean 1960, 48; 1959, 73-4, illustrations are not available.

⁴⁹ Mitchell – Güçeren 1995, 500.

To sum up, Pisidian cities display different layouts in the setting of their necropoleis. In some cities cemeteries are either completely separated or surround the city whereas in others they either touch the inhabited area or encroach upon it. Additionally in some cities, houses and tombs are clearly mixed, but there is the problem of contemporaneity, which brings two possibilities. Firstly, the houses may belong to earlier periods and they may have been already abandoned. Secondly, the houses may have been built, when the tombs were already there, but the tombs were not removed. Categorising these cities according to the location of their cemeteries leads to a conclusion that, there seems to be no geographical division between the cities with mixed or touching cemeteries and the cities with separated necropoleis. Such a difference in the choice of the area for necropoleis shows that the Pisidians exploited first all available spots for their funerary monuments as much as the topography allowed it, but mostly kept them outside the city walls. From the early Roman Imperial period onwards, however, cities began to expand beyond the city walls, which may have resulted in the appearance of a landscape where the space between areas of the living and the dead began to narrow down. Additionally, the increase in wealth, self-representation, and heroization led to the appearance of intramural tombs in the Hellenistic and Imperial city centres. Most of these tombs and heroa are dated to the Roman Period. As an example among many, the placement of nine mausolea of Imperial period near the civic buildings of Ariassos can be explained as a consequence of these developments. Beside the concept of road side tombs or 'Gräberstrasse' found in a few cities so far, it becomes clear that in Pisidia as elsewhere in Asia Minor, Romanization had no effect on the planning or later expansion of necropoleis, but the prosperity brought by the Imperial period would make cemeteries perfect places for social display and public advertisement.

III. The Explosion of Heroization and Monumental Tombs

Monumental tombs and memorial buildings, which are stylistically rather unusual and spectacular, belonged to distinguished members of society and were especially built to demonstrate the importance of local figures. They were originally dedicated to important figures such as city founders, rulers, to whom heroic honours were given by their city, benefactors, outstanding athletes, or military 'heroes'. Such buildings were originally built by the city, but there are also monumental tombs or memorials built by individuals themselves (see below). These monuments appear in various forms such as mausolea and heroa (with or without a tomb) and a specific group of monuments, the so-called Temple tombs. The first two, however, do not refer to a single type of burial whereas the latter can be easily distinguished through its resemblance to temples⁵⁰. It is known that the term 'mausoleum' comes from the famous tomb of the Carian dynast Mausolos at Halikarnassos (377-353 BC) and from the Roman Period onwards, this term is applied to every large and highly decorated tomb, regardless of its architectural shape. Heroon on the other hand, designates a monument, where the cult of a hero is perpetuated, and where funerary banquets or other cultic ceremonies took place. They appear either as a monument without the deceased's corpse (a cenotaph) or as a combination of a tomb with a modified structure. In other words, temple tombs and mausolea contain tombs, but heroa may appear

⁵⁰ see especially the plan and the reconstruction of the late 2nd century AD temple tomb complex at Side, Pamphylia in Cormack 1997, 117 Fig. 6.

either with or without a tomb. In Asia Minor, the most common form is a burial chamber in a high basement with a cella above, such as the Heroon at Limyra, the Charmyleion of Kos and Ta Marmara near Miletos⁵¹. Freestanding sarcophagi, which are visible in almost all necropoleis, were sometimes also placed within a built tomb or in an aedicula. Thus, they could also be regarded as part of a heroon or a mausoleum⁵².

The presence of hero-cult activity suggested by intramural tombs and temple tombs would seem to indicate the continued strength of Greek burial practices, which remained a crucial part of pagan religious life even in late antiquity⁵³. Such benefactions combined with religious beliefs served as a motivation for society to keep the memory of its benefactor alive. That also included the yearly remembrance by offerings and various other rituals. Such activities have their roots around 7th century BC in the heroization of military leaders and city founders, but during the Imperial Period, from the 1st century BC through the 2nd century AD, heroization increased significantly and was canalized more and more towards the 'euergetes', whose benefactions were recognized by the city as heroic actions.

During the Classical Period, the idea of self-representation of individual citizens in a Greek polis had certain limits and strict regulations, and memorials and/or mausolea were built at a certain distance to the cities. Still during the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC, only heroa for city founders and the like could be located in the city centre. The oldest example of this arrangement is the Charmyleion of Kos (4th-3rd c. BC)⁵⁴. From the end of the 3rd century BC onwards, this canonical behaviour began to change. There was on the one hand, an increase in public honours for wealthy citizens, who proved to be benefactors of the public and on the other hand, large sepulchral buildings or heroa began to approach the near vicinity of the cities. At the same time, they adopted various elements from monumental civic architecture. There are several examples in Asia Minor including 'Ta Marmara' near Miletos⁵⁵, (3rd and 2nd century BC), the Nereid Monument (ca 400 BC) at Xantos, and the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos (4th century BC), which represent the sources of inspiration for later tombs. The common feature of these tombs is a tall and plain podium supporting an elaborately decorated structure or shrine⁵⁶. In the 2nd century BC, private individuals increasingly established massive sepulchral buildings whose location was selected carefully. Finally, during the 1st century BC and the early Imperial period, due to a change in the concept of self-representation, the tombs of distinguished people or benefactors were built in locations much closer to the settlements or even within the latter⁵⁷. Examples of this period are known from Miletus (Grattikès Monument), Aphrodisias (Zolios Monument), Ephesos (Oktogon), and Pergamon (Diodorus Paspáros)⁵⁸. These monuments, whose popularity lasted into the 1st century AD, were sometimes located along the main axes of the cities such as the late Hellenistic 'Curetes Street', which links the upper and lower agoras of Ephesos. The concentration of such monuments reflects a

⁵¹ Kearns 1992, 65; Fedak 1990, 23-5; Herodotus, V. 47.

⁵² Berns 2003, 157-61.

⁵³ Hall 1999, 50; Hughes 1999, 167-8.

⁵⁴ Kader 1995, 201-205.

⁵⁵ Fedak 1990, 334 Fig. 110; Berns 2003, 260 no. 39A1.

⁵⁶ Kader 1995, 199-200.

⁵⁷ Köse 2006, 111-3; Kader 1995, 209-12.

⁵⁸ Kader 1995, 209-12.

competition among the fellow citizens of the city. They built their tombs or memorials in locations of maximum visibility so that the benefactors and their achievements could be remembered during and after their lifetime by their fellow citizens⁵⁹. Such buildings of competition can also be seen in Pisidia, including Sagalassos and perhaps Ariassos. In the north necropolis of Ariassos, the location of the mausolea near the civic buildings might be the reflection of this attitude.

As the historical changes show, during the Imperial period the meaning of hero was not the same as it was in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. Any rich person could build a monumental tomb, but the idea of being a hero would always remain essential⁶⁰. Moreover, In Imperial times, to be a hero did not require 'benefactions' and tombs of sophisticated design. Each deceased could be identified as a 'hero' by the family members and they could identify their tomb as 'heroon'. Their tombs were erected on conspicuous hills, on a slope, in roadside cemeteries or in an isolated position within the cemetery.

During the 2nd century AD, the monumental tombs and heroa were given new forms such as tholoi, hexagons, octagons, 'aediculae', or temple tombs⁶¹. During this period, temple tombs with tall podia with frontal steps and prostyle columns, which were inspired by western Roman podium temples and considered to be a consequence of the Roman presence in Asia Minor, were also used as an architectural form. Such tombs are similar to normal temples and they vary in shapes and arrangement from shrines *in antis*, prostyle, amphiprostyle, peripteral to pseudodipteral. In Pisidia, such tombs generally have gabled roofs and are simpler in plan⁶². Most probably, these monuments were built at the initiative of private individuals⁶³.

At Selge, a temple tomb is located in the northern valley near a Christian Basilica outside the Hellenistic city walls. This rectangular building is prostyle in plan and rises on a podium 1.78 m high. Fragments of a marble columnar sarcophagus show that the temple tomb must have belonged to one of the most distinctive families of Selge. It appears to be the most outstanding structure in the northern necropolis and it is even larger than the temples on the Kesbedion⁶⁴. At Selge again, there is an intramural tomb complex located to the southeast of the Stadium Baths. The structure consists of three large niches with vaulted ceilings and two additional small chambers between larger ones. Lanckoroński wrongly identified the whole structure as a nymphaeum⁶⁵. The east chamber is 3.20x1.90 m, the largest central chamber is 5.80x6.50 m, and the west chamber is 2.90x1.90 m. The two smaller chambers between the larger niches have a width of 2 m and still house a sarcophagus. The whole complex, which was built of regular ashlar masonry, sits on a high podium now below soil⁶⁶. These niches then functioned as arcosolia like the tomb of Armasta at Termessos⁶⁷. As at Selge, an intramural monumental tomb or heroon (ST 6)

⁵⁹ Kader 1995, 212-20; Kosmetatou et al. 1997, 357.

⁶⁰ Kader 1995, 221; Waelkens 1984, 259-301.

⁶¹ Kader 1995, 212-3, 222.

⁶² Köse 2006, 111-3; Fedak 1990, 19-23; Cormack 1997, 145, 153.

⁶³ Hughes 1999, 171-4.

⁶⁴ Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 97-8 pl. 21, Fig. 71.

⁶⁵ Lanckoroński 1892, II: 181.

⁶⁶ Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 98-100 pl. 22, Fig. 74.

⁶⁷ Uysal et al. 1985, 26.

with a similar arrangement is located to the south of the nymphaeum facing the Hellenistic civic centre of Ariassos (Fig. 2). The structure is divided in half by an internal wall and has two vaulted roofs. This wall and the two sidewalls were decorated at their façade with engaged half columns on high bases. Below these bases, are two lower chambers, which were probably once housing sarcophagi⁶⁸.

At Adada, a temple tomb located to the north of the theatre, in the northern section of the city is quite separated from the necropolis of the city. The monument has a prostyle plan and a plain façade. According to M. Büyükkolancı, the tomb inside the cella may have placed at the level of the podium. Its owner is unknown, but he certainly was a leading figure of the city. Today the building stands by itself, but M. Büyükkolancı thinks; there could have been more such monumental tombs in the same area⁶⁹. Melli/Milyas on the other hand possesses three richly decorated temple tombs in the northern necropolis. The largest of these tombs measures 13x8 m. They all sit on high podia and are dated to 2nd or 3rd century AD. Each of them has a cella, a pronaos with antae and/or columns on the front. One of them has a Syrian gable⁷⁰. There are also house-shaped tombs, in which the cella walls were made of rubble. They have no projecting antae or columns in front of the main façade to make the tombs free standing. It is not certain whether they had gabled roofs or another kind of roof, yet they do not share the same spot with other monuments in the 'street of tombs', the necropolis of the site⁷¹. Another temple tomb from the 2nd century AD had been built at Pednelissos to the east of the south Basilica. The building measuring 6.5x4.2 m is raised on a podium. Fragments of sarcophagi in the same area show that it was a tomb⁷². At Ariassos there is a monumental freestanding tomb, which is different in appearance than the rest of the tombs on the site, the so-called mausoleum N8. This 'mausoleum', which is dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD, is the largest and the most elaborately decorated sepulchral structure of the city. It rests on a 2.30m high square podium and contains a vaulted hyposorion surmounted by a square cella. Its east façade might have been decorated with freestanding columns or statues⁷³. As seen in all Pisidian temple tombs, except for those at Sia, there is no temenos surrounding this tomb. Since there are no steps leading to its podium, the inaccessibility concept may have played a role for this building. The upper part of the tomb is missing preventing its reconstruction but it probably had a gabled roof or a pyramidal roof as in Carian examples. Cormack interprets it as the final resting place of a 'hero', but the lack of steps leading to the podium suggests that it was rather a heroon. This tomb combines elements of Persian, Lycian and Hellenistic architecture. The Greco-Anatolian podium tombs of Hellenistic age introduced the elements of the Greek temple architecture, which created the concept of heroization of the dead. The Lycian character comes from the pillar tombs with a burial chamber (Hypsoion) and surmounted by a sarcophagus and the Persian element is the concept of building grave chambers on high stepped bases, which is seen at the Tomb of the Cyrus the Great at

⁶⁸ Cormack 1996, 20, the tomb ST 6, also drawings in pg. 18 Figs. 12-13.

⁶⁹ Büyükkolancı 1998, 40 and for the picture of the tomb, pg. 41.

⁷⁰ Vandeput – Köse 2002, 18; 2001, 141; Vandeput et al. 2001, 260 and figs 6a-b; Köse 2006, 126.

⁷¹ Vandeput – Köse 2001, 141; Vandeput 2001, 261.

⁷² Işın 1998, 118.

⁷³ It is not certain if the walls functioned as temenos. For detail see, Cormack 1989, 32-8 figs 1-3; 1996, 12.

Pazargadae and the Taşkule tomb near Phokaia (mod. Foça)⁷⁴. The Ariassos tomb can be a variation of this custom⁷⁵. At Kremna the only remarkable tomb is located on the south side of the south cliff. It is a combination of rock cut and freestanding types, which was partly constructed of limestone blocks and dated to the late 1st- early 2nd century AD. It was built on a podium of bedrock cut back to form steps leading to its entrance. The whole structure can be an example of engaged rock cut tombs⁷⁶. It has a decorated entablature consisting of an architrave divided into three fasciae. The frieze blocks are decorated with garlands, theatre masks, and bull's heads; along the sima, there is a projecting cornice with dentils and lion heads. The developing marble trade in Asia Minor in the 2nd century AD had an impact on both the monumental tomb architecture of aristocrats and on the sarcophagi. This impact is well observed in Pamphylia, and some Pisidian cities, especially at Sagalassos and perhaps also at Pogla, Termessos and Pednelissos⁷⁷. However, the rest of the Pisidian cities were far from the marble sources. Hence, they either exploited the limestone sources in the immediate neighbourhood or carved tombs directly from rocky outcrops. Although Termessos, Selge, Kremna, Pednelissos, Melli, Ariassos, Neapolis and the rest of the Pisidian cities had to rely on local stone, various decorative elements could be successfully copied in these limestone versions⁷⁸. The appearance of the bull's heads and garlands on the south tomb at Kremna thus clearly shows the limestone version of marble decorations carved elsewhere. However, except for the projecting moulding at the top of each block, the frontal frieze of the Kremna tomb remains empty. The back wall of the chamber was roughly carved into the bedrock itself and looks rather unattractive in comparison to the outer face, as the latter was in the ashlar technique developed in Pisidia during the Hellenistic Period. This tomb is a mixture of Roman (aedicula) and Hellenistic forms combining indigenous Asia Minor traditions (corner pilasters and garland frieze) in architectural details. Such tombs became familiar throughout the empire during the Roman Period⁷⁹.

It is known that in the West (Italy), very elaborate private honorific monuments and funerary displays stopped during the reign of Augustus, whereas in the East it continued to be popular throughout the Imperial Period⁸⁰. The two Augustan heroa on the northwest and northeast corners of the upper agora at Sagalassos are good examples of this phenomenon, although the form of these monuments reflects Hellenistic prototypes and traditions⁸¹. The Northwest Heroon is located in the upper half of the monumental city centre to the northwest of the Upper Agora and to the northeast of the Doric Temple. Similar to the tomb at Kremna, this heroon was built directly on bedrock, adapting local topographical features (Fig. 3). The structure sits on a (7.62x8.23 m) ashlar socle supporting a three stepped 'krepis', which is 2.65m high⁸². These three steps are crowned by an elegant socle

⁷⁴ on this matter see also Cahill 1988, 481-501

⁷⁵ Cormack 1989, 37, 40.

⁷⁶ Mitchell 1995b, 69, 75 Figs. 16-8; Fedak 1990, 19; Berns 2003, 239-41.

⁷⁷ Termessos, Pednelissos and Pogla have only one or two marble examples. For the organisation of the workshop at Dokimeion see Waelkens 1982, 124-7; 131-7. At Selge there are also fragments of a marble sarcophagus, but its origin was not indicated. See Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 97-8.

⁷⁸ Cormack 1997, 153.

⁷⁹ Mitchell 1995a, 70-74.

⁸⁰ Waelkens 2002, 334.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² Waelkens et al. 2000b, 553-4; Berns 2003, no. 36A1

moulding (36.5 cm) above which high orthostats (1.18 m high) have been placed. These orthostats were decorated on three sides with a frieze of dancing girls, five on each side, but the fifth one on the east side was never completed. Above the frieze lies a row of small ashlar creating a second podium (5.54x6.35m) for a 'tetrastyle' naiskos, like a small temple. A large statue once stood in the pronaos. Its walls carry pseudo-isodomic ashlar and its four corners have slightly projecting pilasters carrying Corinthian capitals, which are at the same level as the scroll frieze surrounding three sides except the front of the naiskos. At the top, there is a 1.13 m. high gabled roof, decorated at the back with a round shield motif, which is seen also in the Ariassos mausolea. The whole monument reaching a height of 14.79 m was built of regional limestone. This building has a hybrid form, which combined traditionally unrelated elements together, and so far, there is no exact parallel for it⁸³. It reminds the monumental tombs of the 2nd and the 1st century BC such as the Lion Monument at Knidos or the "Octogon" at Ephesus⁸⁴. Small temples (*naiskoi*) like the one on the top can be seen in other cities of the Hellenistic world, where they served not only the gods but also honoured private individuals. A good example, located on the agora of Assos is a small Roman Imperial period Doric prostylos tomb of two brothers (Kallisthenes and Aristias), who had become the benefactors of their city⁸⁵. The temple tomb at Adada can be put in the same category (see above). High podium carrying monuments such as the Northwest Heroon at Sagalassos and mausoleum N8 at Ariassos are a familiar element among the Hellenistic monumental tombs and memorials. Their function was nothing else but to raise the small temple or the important part of the structure so that the people could see it from a certain distance. Such monuments with marginal designs, but sometimes with simple burial chambers, have one ultimate purpose, that is to make them conspicuous⁸⁶.

The Northeast Heroon is located to the east of the Northwest Heroon on the other corner of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos and dated to the second half of the 1st century BC⁸⁷. The excavation of the monument has not started yet, thus the original shape of it is not known. The building consisted of a rather plain socle below, which was probably decorated with a frieze in its upper part. This socle seems to have supported a structure with antae and it is decorated with figural battle scenes representing probably Greeks and Persians or perhaps Phrygians⁸⁸. According to E. Kosmetatou et al, this frieze recalls the figures of the Zeus Altar at Pergamon, and it might have been inspired by the political events in the area during the late 1st century BC. Another reason can be that even during the Roman Period, there was a continuing worship of Greece's great generals and nostalgic patriotism expressed through hero cult like Greeks versus Persians. The choice of the scene in this Heroon can also be the result of this patriotism. The theme of the frieze was adopted by the Lycian rulers in the early 4th century BC and transmitted to Southwest Asia Minor by Eastern Greek sculptors, where it became successfully integrated into the local

⁸³ Waelkens et al. 2000b, 554-78; Mitchell – Waelkens 1987, 38; Waelkens 1997b, 173-84; Waelkens – Vermeersch 1997, 126-7.

⁸⁴ Berns 2003, 197, 201 no. 11A5.

⁸⁵ Merkelbach 1976, 59-61 no. 27.

⁸⁶ Waelkens et al. 2000b, 583-92.

⁸⁷ Kosmetatou et al. 1997, 353; Berns 2003, 251-2 no. 36A2.

⁸⁸ Kosmetatou et al. 1997, 357-64.

taste and artistic traditions. The frieze of the Northeast Heroon of Sagalassos fits into the Asiatic style, but it is also heavily influenced by the sculpture of Pergamon as it developed in the 2nd century BC. The Pergamene stylistic features were introduced into Pisidia also in the same century, when the area passed under Attalid control. According to E. Kosmetatou et al, the NE Heroon may be associated with the recent heroic past of Sagalassos and in particular with the city's struggle to maintain its independence under the Galatian king Amyntas (1st century BC)⁸⁹. These two heroa may reflect a local competition among leading figures or families similar to that at Ephesos, but the only difference here is that those at Sagalassos already belong to the Early Imperial Period. This is explained by V. Köse and M. Waelkens as due to the location of the city in the interior of Asia Minor⁹⁰. In addition to these heroa, the upper agora of Sagalassos was also surrounded on each corner by gigantic honorific columns and various other honorific monuments. Another honorific column, which is located to the south of the theatre, overlooks the city centre. It might have been dedicated to the builder of the theatre. These honorific columns and monuments show that such structures could also be used for the same purpose or they could be a marker for the graves⁹¹. At Sagalassos, there are also ruined monumental tombs located on various conspicuous spots at a certain distance from the city centre. These monuments vary in style from temple tombs to aediculae. Three of these monumental tombs are located to the south of the city, so that people approaching to the city from this side could see them. One of them is the mausoleum of the benefactor Tiberius Flavius Severianus Neon and his family⁹². At Sia, the heroa follow a different style than those at Sagalassos, but they are similar to those at Panemoteichos and Ariassos. These heroa or mausolea are generally surrounded by sarcophagi or simple cist graves. One of them, whose antae were decorated with weaponry, was built of excellent ashlars. It has a gable roof with monolithic slabs cut in the shape of a triangular pediment. Some of the heroa in the Sia cemetery have also Syrian type façades incorporating an arch within the triangular gable⁹³.

Numerous monumental tombs have been recorded also in the Pisidian countryside. For example, in the southern part of the territory of Sagalassos, in the modern village of Bereket (Moatra), there was a monumental tomb (called Kirselik or Gavur Taşlar) located nearly 150 m. east of a settlement and dated to Julio-Claudian period, either to the reign of Tiberius or that of one of his immediate successors. The structure measuring 9.70x4.70 m was built as a *distylos in antis* temple. Its frieze blocks were decorated with theatre masks and fruit garlands. The strong parallels between various ornaments of this building and Augustan and Tiberian constructions at Sagalassos show that they might have been carved by stoneworkers from Sagalassos⁹⁴. The identification of Dikenli Tarla by G. Bean as the main necropolis of Gavur Ören⁹⁵ was dismissed by the Sagalassos Team, which established that Dikenli Tarla is a site on its own and probably an important estate or a villa, which is surrounded by mausolea and tombs of the local land holding family. The area

⁸⁹ ibid. 365.

⁹⁰ Köse 2006, 113; Waelkens 2002.

⁹¹ Köse 2006, 124-5.

⁹² Köse 2006, 115-33 and city plan in Fig. 27 (tombs G11); Waelkens 1995, 13.

⁹³ Mitchell 1996, 20.

⁹⁴ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 54-63 Figs. 60-6; Bean 1959, 111.

⁹⁵ Bean 1959, 108.

indeed contains the ruins of a number of built tombs and mausolea. One of the mausolea measuring 8.90x7.93 m, sat on a podium and could be entered via a monumental door. The scattered architectural blocks show that it had once an arched gable⁹⁶. In the modern village of Kapaklı, west of Mount Kestel and probably in the territory of Kormasa, there are other *in situ* remains of a mausoleum dating to the Imperial Period. The entrance of the structure is provided by a monumental door. It was decorated with a frieze of female heads and theatre masks carrying garlands, which are very similar to the frieze of the monumental tomb at Bereket. It may have been a family tomb⁹⁷. The necropolis of Gavur Ören on the other hand, is located to the southwest slope of the hill, which today is called 'Kurukuyu'. Here, there are various mausolea and sarcophagi. One of the mausolea is located on a massive terrace with an upper moulding of 6.70x6.65 m. preserved up to a height of 1.30 m. The remains of the *naiskos*, which had corner pilasters, are still visible. The tomb was crowned by an architrave which carried a '*Pfeifenfries*' and above there once was a pediment. The proposed date for the tomb is the middle Antonine period⁹⁸. Similar tombs, but made of fieldstones, are also found in the necropolis of an ancient settlement at Demirli. They may also represent monumental tombs of a local ruling family⁹⁹. To the east of the territory of Sagalassos, near Gökbel and Yalakasar Tepe, there is a village settlement belonging to the territory of the unidentified city located at Kapıkaya and it towers over the Isparta Çayı Valley. Here there are remains of an Imperial period heroon located on a terrace. The structure measuring 7.60x7.50 m stands on a 1.13 m high platform. It was entered through a door with an Ionic lintel. Above, the walls were arranged in a pseudo-isodomic order. The ashlar blocks of the front show decorative drafted edges and '*anathyrosis*'. Like the other tombs in the countryside, this building may have been a family tomb of a prominent inhabitant¹⁰⁰.

In the plain between ancient Komama and Pogla, there are a number of mausolea similar to those at Gavur Ören¹⁰¹. One of them is located at a place called 'Tebeşir' near Komama (Fig. 4). Although this large tomb (ca. 7x7m) is not fully preserved, it was built of beautifully carved stones. The palmette motifs on the scattered blocks show that it was also highly decorated. In my opinion, it was a temple tomb, which, similar to the one(s) at Gavur Ören, housed sarcophagi of a local ruling family. Unfortunately, the blocks collapsed towards the centre of monument, preventing to reach a conclusion whether or not there was a chamber for sarcophagi. Another similar mausoleum, but slightly smaller, is located near the road between Pogla (Çomaklı) and the village of Yüreğil. It is a rectangular structure rising on a podium, partially under soil (Fig. 5). The centre of the structure, which may be a burial chamber, is now empty. Both mausolea, which are located in a flat plain, seem to date to the Roman Imperial period. The existence of large mausolea or monumental tombs in rather curious and unobvious places today may have belonged to the land holding families, which probably once lived in these areas and ultimately wished to be buried on or near their properties. These structures also represent the social life in

⁹⁶ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 113 and Figs. 150-1.

⁹⁷ *ibid.* 47-8, Figs. 37-8, 69.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* 89 Figs. 101-3; also Bean 1959, 108.

⁹⁹ *ibid.* 61 Fig. 63.

¹⁰⁰ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 31 Fig. 21.

¹⁰¹ Bean 1959, 108; Waelkens et al. 2000a, 84-9, 91 Fig. 101.

rural settlements dominated by one prominent family, which displayed its prominence through such buildings, thus showing the same motivation as those living in urban centres¹⁰².

IV. Other types of Tombs

IV a. Ostothecae

Ostothecae were the most popular container for cremation burials of the Hellenistic age, from the late 4th century BC onwards. The oldest known ostotheca is found in the Tomb of Alketas at Termessos (see below). A great number of them were produced both in major workshops of Asia Minor and in local workshops. In Pisidia itself, ostothecae appear either in rectangular or in vase form¹⁰³. The rectangular forms have their own tradition and forms. They also share common decorative elements with sarcophagi, including Pisidian shields, swords, garlands, doors etc¹⁰⁴. The longer sides generally carry a round shield with a sword and sometimes with an additional spear (Fig. 6). Additionally, the front decoration may bear other ornaments including phialai with rosettes, representations of statues of couples, busts of couples, wreaths, palm leaves, and eagles. At least one side of the ostothecae is decorated most of the time with the representation of a door. The only detailed research on the ostothecae, which was done by V. Köse, showed that originally, ostothecae, which are decorated with weaponry reliefs are related to the military capacities of the Pisidians. However, from the late 2nd century BC onwards, they focused on values that are more 'civic' by using other ornaments including wreaths and palm leaves¹⁰⁵. Ostothecae with weaponry reliefs appear in several Pisidian cities such as Sagalassos (from the 3rd or certainly from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD)¹⁰⁶, Termessos, Selge, Sia, Kaynarkale (Kodrula), Pednelissos and Kepez Kalesi¹⁰⁷ and in the territory of Sagalassos. In the village of Kayış for example, there is an ostotheca, dated to the late Hellenistic and early Imperial Period, which is reused in a water basin. It is decorated with a *patera* flanked by two rosettes on the long side and with a door on the short side. The lower door panel is filled with rosettes, while the upper panels were decorated with various motifs such as a door lock and a knocker¹⁰⁸. Decoration of ostothecae however, are not limited to the types mentioned above, some ostothecae bears representations of Macedonian shields as well. This motif, which is thought to reflect presence of Macedonian colonists in the area, appears also on ostothecae at Sagalassos, Selge and at Kaynarkale (Kodrula)¹⁰⁹. According to V. Köse, however, the motif is not an evidence for Macedonian presence¹¹⁰. At Sagalassos one ostotheca needs special attention. This Augustan ostotheca was found

¹⁰² Waelkens et al. 2000a, 89; Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens 2003, 246.

¹⁰³ Köse 2006, 37-40.

¹⁰⁴ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 477.

¹⁰⁵ Köse 2006, 37-83.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* 163-4.

¹⁰⁷ Köse 2006, 37-40; 2004, 461.

¹⁰⁸ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 30 Figs. 13-4.

¹⁰⁹ Bean 1960, 48; 1959, 73-4, there is no illustration. About Macedonian shields at Sagalassos and the illustrations, see Kosmetatou – Waelkens 1997, 277-91. In case of Selge the Macedonian shield does not come from an ostotheca but from a tower or a gate of the city walls. Machatschek – Schwarz 1981 Fig. 12.

¹¹⁰ Köse 2006, 50-3.

on the northern slope of the Alexander's Hill. It is decorated on the long sides with garlands carried by Nikes standing on the corners and with a door representation on the short sides. In Asia Minor, the ostothecae with garland decoration go back to the second half of the 1st century BC and/or the early Imperial period¹¹¹. In the case of the Sagalassos ostothea, no parallel has been found so far in other Pisidian cities. Similar examples were found in Pamphylia and Ephesus, but there they appear to be of different form and date¹¹².

The vase form ostothecae, which are limited only to Sagalassos and its territory were very popular during the Julio-Claudian period¹¹³. They were decorated with garlands carried either by theatre masks or by bull's heads, or they bear simple grooves with decorative handles. They have round conical lids with holes used for libation (Fig. 7). The earlier recorded examples of this type from Sagalassos were unfortunately not discovered *in situ*. Instead, they were found in the depot of the Ağlasun municipality and in the Burdur Museum and they provided no information about which necropolis of the city they were once standing. Yet throughout the years, many of them have been found in or near the southern necropolis whereas others were reused in the late antique city. Generally, ostothecae stood in an aediculae, in a niche or on a pillar, but in case of those in the vase form, it remains unclear where they were originally placed¹¹⁴. In the territory of Sagalassos a fragment of a vase form ostothea was discovered in the village of Kayış. It is decorated with vine leaves, voluted stems, and branches of grapes¹¹⁵.

IV b. Sarcophagi

Sarcophagi are the most common container for inhumation burials. It is known that in Rome, cremation was the popular burial method during the Republican and Julio-Claudian periods, but during the reign of Trajan (2nd century AD), inhumation gained more acceptance. Under Hadrian, the new custom became more important and the use of sarcophagi as a symbol of wealth and social status became very popular all over the Roman Empire¹¹⁶. In Asia Minor, the production and use of sarcophagi had a long tradition going back to the early Iron Age¹¹⁷. In this manner, the region offers a rich but on the other hand complex collection of sarcophagi. In Imperial times, they can, however, still be subdivided into four main groups as imports (e.g. Attic sarcophagi), pre-fabricated (Proconnesian), sarcophagi from Dokimeion, which is also called the '*main group*,' of which the most important type is that of the 'columnar sarcophagi'¹¹⁸ and other local productions. Contrary to Rome and Athens, where figural sarcophagi were very popular, garland sarcophagi was the charac-

¹¹¹ *ibid.* 140.

¹¹² Köse 1998, 249-261 Figs. 2-3

¹¹³ Köse 2006, 37-40.

¹¹⁴ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 30; Köse 2006, 24, for vase form ostothecae, pg. 77-83 Figs. 196-233.

¹¹⁵ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 30 Fig. 15.

¹¹⁶ Ramage – Ramage 2005, 235, 239.

¹¹⁷ They were already used in the Urartian royal tomb at Van. Also an Archaic undecorated marble sarcophagus (mid 5th century BC) was discovered within the Kızıldün tumulus near Troy. It measures 2.25 m long and 0.88 m wide. The sarcophagus belongs to a (aristocratic) child. For detail see Sevinç – Brian Rose 1999, 489-509.

¹¹⁸ This group of sarcophagi received their decorations from main workshops (with garlands, flying Erotes, or Nikes as well as friezes between half columns or pilasters on the corners). For the Torre Nova Type and columnar sarcophagi see Koch and Sichtermann, *op. cit.* For their provenance see Waelkens 1982.

teristic of the provinces of Asia Minor¹¹⁹. In general, the decoration of sarcophagi can be found in various distinctive types including *tabulae ansatae*, garlands, columns, and busts. Additionally, independent decorations related to local production and to the taste of the grave owner, sporadically occur. In Pisidia, sarcophagi carrying all kinds of motifs appear in great numbers was extensively studied by V. Köse¹²⁰, but here I intend to give only some selected examples of the most representative motifs and sketch their distribution in the Pisidian cities.

Sarcophagi with *tabula ansata* appear frequently in Asia Minor. The typical sarcophagus of Pisidia, consists of a surrounding frame, shield and spear motifs placed on either side of a *tabula ansata* (Fig. 8). Examples without surrounding frames and *tabula ansata* rarely appear. The short sides of these sarcophagi alternatively carry a shield, a Medusa head, or busts of a couple. This standard Pisidian motif appears on sarcophagi at Sagalassos, Termessos, Ariassos, Neapolis (Doyran), Panemoteichos and Sia. Sometimes as at Termessos, Sagalassos and Sia, the shields can carry Medusa heads¹²¹. The shield decoration was a local creation, which is very popular in Pisidia and has no parallel outside the region. The forerunners of this motif were present on early Hellenistic ostothecae in the same landscape. This particular motif is related to the reputation of Pisidians as good warriors. However, the surrounding frames around these motifs are not Pisidian, so it must have been copied from elsewhere¹²². Cities such as Ariassos, Sia, Termessos, Neapolis and the site at Döşeme Boğazı used these traditional Pisidian shield motifs throughout the Roman Imperial Period. Apart from this standard Pisidian motif, various alternative motifs may also occur. A sarcophagus from the eastern necropolis of Sagalassos shows an inscribed *tabula ansata* flanked on either sides by two objects: on the left a patera and a container (an oinochoe?) and on the right side a wreath and an altar¹²³. Another sarcophagus in the south necropolis at Sagalassos is decorated with a *tabula ansata* carried by two winged Erotes¹²⁴. A similar sarcophagus, which might have belonged to a land holding family at Dikenli Tarla carries on the front side two winged Erotes holding an uninscribed *tabula ansata*¹²⁵. This motif of a *tabula ansata* with two winged Erotes is a local imitation of marble sarcophagi from Dokimeion¹²⁶. In the north necropolis of Selge, close to the theatre, there is a sarcophagus with a brick hyposorion. The long sides are decorated at the front with five decorated bosses with a *tabula ansata* in the middle and at the back with six bosses (Fig. 9). Each short side bears four bosses¹²⁷. Apart from these examples, sarcophagi with the so-called 'Lycian motif' also bear a *tabula ansata* in the middle. This motif includes sitting figures facing each other on either side of a *tabula ansata*. Examples of this type, which was produced in Dokimeion appear at Sagalassos,

¹¹⁹ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 476-7, 497-500.

¹²⁰ Köse 2006.

¹²¹ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 544; Köse 2006, 108-9

¹²² Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 547. Weaponry reliefs were also used in the military architecture (such as towers and gates) of the cities in Pisidia and Pamphylia. At Sagalassos for instance, these motifs decorated the Bouleuterion. For the discussion see Waelkens 2004, 458-61.

¹²³ Köse 2006, 96 Figs. 283-6.

¹²⁴ *ibid.* 95 Figs. 280-2.

¹²⁵ Bean 1959, 108 pl. XXa; Waelkens et al. 2000a, 113-4 Fig. 152.

¹²⁶ Waelkens 1982, 56-7 pl. 18.4.

¹²⁷ Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 101.

Termessos and Pisidian Antioch¹²⁸. Additionally at Çingiraklı Mevkii (Magastara) in the territory of Sagalassos, an Imperial period rock cut sarcophagus is decorated with a Lycian motif on the long side and with a shield motif on the short side¹²⁹.

It is known that in Rome garlands carried by animal heads or bukrania (bull's skull) were depicted during the early Imperial period on altars such as the monumental Ara Pacis. A similar motif is found on the Augustan Cafarelli sarcophagus showing flower garlands carried by bull's skulls. This sarcophagus became the forerunner of a type, which became popular in the 2nd century AD¹³⁰. The earliest example of garlands in the architecture of Asia Minor appears in the Demeter Temple at Pergamon dated to the 2nd century BC. Around the end of this century, garlands were placed between the bull's heads and the motif was used in theatres. Later, it became popular both in funerary and secular architecture in the cities of Pisidia including the upper frieze of the Temple of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch, the Tiberian southwest gate of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos, the Portico of Tiberius at Aphrodisias and the arches of the colonnaded street and the Severan Ionic temple at Kremna¹³¹. In Asia Minor, the appearance of repeating garlands and bull's head, common in the marble sarcophagi was an eastern phenomenon¹³². The earliest known garland sarcophagus from Bekirli (in the Çanakkale Museum) is dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC. The sarcophagus carries garlands of laurel leaves surrounding the sarcophagus in the shape of a hose, which is decorated with alternating rosettes and amphorae. Another sarcophagus from Bubon (in the Burdur Museum) is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC, but this date is still debated (Fig. 10). Similar to that of Bekirli, this sarcophagus carries continuous garlands, but here they are carried by alabastra¹³³. From the first half of the 2nd century AD onwards, garland sarcophagi whose decorations followed the main production centres (e.g. Dokimeion, Pamphylia, Aphrodisias, Ephesos and Proconnesos) began to be used¹³⁴. The type was popular in Pisidian cities such as at Sagalassos, Pednelissos and Termessos.

In Asia Minor, there were four major workshops for garland sarcophagi. These were Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Dokimeion (and Pamphylia) and the Proconnesos, and their production have distinct features. The two biggest marble quarries of the Proconnesos and Dokimeion were under the control of the Roman emperor¹³⁵. The Proconnesos exported large numbers of marble half-finished sarcophagi. Cities, which were away from these quarries, had to rely on the local limestone, and copy the trendy motifs in their local workshops. Even the half-finished or so-called '*Halbfabrikat*' form of Proconnesian sarcophagi was locally copied in places, where people did not have access to its original form¹³⁶. Selge used this type extensively and created its own local version. Numerous sarcophagi

¹²⁸ Waelkens 1982, 57-8 pl. 18.1; Köse 2006, 99-100, for Sagalassos examples, Figs. 335-49, 367-72.

¹²⁹ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 92 Fig. 105.

¹³⁰ Ramage – Ramage 2005, 116.

¹³¹ Işın 1998, 119; Berges 1993, 24; Mitchell 1995a, 70-3.

¹³² Strong 1973, 679-81.

¹³³ Berges 1993, 27; Işık 1993, 10-14 Fig. 1.

¹³⁴ Köse 2006, 164.

¹³⁵ *ibid.* 97-9, 107-9; Waelkens 1982.

¹³⁶ Originally, decoration of the Proconnesos consists of three garlands with a tabula ansata on the long side and one garland on the short side. The garland carriers are tall and each garland curvature has grapes at their bottom. For detail see Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 486-92 and Asgari 1977, 329-80.

of this type are still visible in the northern and the eastern cemeteries of the city. One of these sarcophagi measuring 2.55 m long with a hyposorion, is decorated on all four sides with half-finished garland motifs: two on the long sides and one on the short sides. Above the garland outlines, the space is arranged almost as a full circle (for a Medusa head etc.), while the outlines of grapes below were finished as ivy leaves¹³⁷. Another half-finished garland copy was found in the south necropolis of Pednelissos. It is dated to the mid 2nd AD and first half of the 3rd century AD. In this example, the long side of the sarcophagus has the outlines of four garland carriers, two at the corners and two on each side of a large *tabula ansata*. There are two smoothly finished garland outlines on the long side with small grapes below and the space above the garlands is decorated with rosettes. The short side of the sarcophagus has on each side, outlined standing carriers supporting an outlined garland with a grape below. Above the garland is a Medusa head. These examples from Selge and Pednelissos show that this semi finished form created a fashion in some local workshops¹³⁸, but the only difference is that they were not used in rough form; instead, the outlines were beautifully smoothened and were given additional motifs. Some of the half-finished Proconnesian garland sarcophagi were also smoothened but were not finished.

The so-called 'Torre Nova Type' sarcophagus consisting of a figural frieze with corner pilasters and corner columns was produced at Dokimeion between 150 and 170 AD¹³⁹. The great sarcophagus centres produced this type in competition with Rome and Attic frieze sarcophagi and soon the type was copied in many Asia Minor cities. The topic of their scenes was taken from the mythological repertoire, such as Erotes, Amazons, and Herculi. In Pisidia though, the type does not come in great numbers. At Sagalassos there are four sarcophagi of this type. One of these sarcophagi with a kline lid is located in the east necropolis of the city. The scene depicts a moment of sacrifice with four figures and a calf in their very middle¹⁴⁰. An *in situ* sarcophagus from Kapıkaya near a large (public) building carries four standing figures, which were placed between the corner pilasters. The short side of the tomb has a representation of an Eros¹⁴¹ (Figs. 11, 12).

Compared to 'Torre Nova Type', the columnar sarcophagus, which was the main export-product of Dokimeion was more popular in Pisidia. Examples of this type were discovered at Sagalassos, Selge, Etenna¹⁴², Termessos and Pisidian Antioch. A columnar sarcophagus dating to the late Antonine and early Severan period from Sagalassos is divided by four half columns with Corinthian capitals. There are two figures sitting opposite to one another as in the Lycian Motif sarcophagi, with a boy in the middle. On the short side of the sarcophagus, a garland hung between the columns. These themes might be related to the heroization of the deceased¹⁴³. In this sarcophagus, the appearance of three motifs such as columns, garlands and the sitting figures with a boy in the middle implies that it is one of the earliest

¹³⁷ Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 100, 102, see pl. 23.

¹³⁸ Köse 2004, 461-469 Figs. 1-6. See also Waelkens 1990, 53-72 especially Fig. 34, for the rock-cut sarcophagus from Anazarbos imitating semi-manufactured Proconnesian garland sarcophagi. For the semi-manufactured sarcophagi from Proconnesos see Fig. 33. For more examples, see also Asgari 1990, 106-26 Figs. 3-5, 7-8.

¹³⁹ Waelkens 1982, 50-6.

¹⁴⁰ Köse 2006, 102 Figs. 359-365.

¹⁴¹ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 23 and Fig. 10.

¹⁴² Gelçik, see Wiegartz 1965, 115.

¹⁴³ Wiegartz 1965, 169.

examples of columnar sarcophagi following the Torre-Nova types¹⁴⁴. Another columnar sarcophagus from 250 AD at Sagalassos shows a local imitation. The scene represents the Trojan War. On the left side, Achilles kills the kneeling Thersites while Oimomedes witnesses it. On the right, Heros Paris with shield and sword attacks his enemy probably Menelaos, but unfortunately that part is missing¹⁴⁵. A columnar sarcophagus from 160 AD at Termessos shows a similar scene. Here, Paris fights against Menelaos. At Pisidian Antioch, another sarcophagus from 160 AD shows a scene from the Trojan War¹⁴⁶. It becomes clear that Pisidian cities favoured scenes from the Trojan War in their columnar sarcophagi. In the east territory of Sagalassos, at Yazır Köy, a fragment of an imported marble columnar sarcophagus from Dokimeion was found¹⁴⁷. A 3rd century AD columnar sarcophagus from Selge was decorated on the first long side with four pilasters without figures in between, and on the second long side with semi-manufactured garland motifs¹⁴⁸. Fragments from a 2nd century AD marble columnar sarcophagus were found near the temple tomb in the north necropolis at Selge. It contains standing figures between columns¹⁴⁹.

Garland sarcophagi with a bust above each garland were popular in the 2nd century AD Dokimeion and in Pamphylia (for example at Perge). Sarcophagi decorated with busts were also popular in Pisidia. At Sagalassos, a sarcophagus in the east necropolis carries the busts of a woman on the left and that of a man on the right. Another example from the same city shows busts, but this time with a *tabula ansata* in the middle. Both sarcophagi were dated to end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD (Severan Period)¹⁵⁰. A similar sarcophagus, found at Termessos bears a *tabula ansata* in the middle but this time the busts are shown inside wreaths. The sarcophagus at Termessos is dated to second half to the end of the 2nd century AD. At Beşiktaş Mevkii a badly weathered rock-cut sarcophagus was decorated on the front with four busts, whose bodies almost overlap one another¹⁵¹. The representative examples above show that although inhumation in sarcophagi goes back to the Hellenistic and even to the Classical period, their popularity increased during the Roman Imperial period. In case of Sagalassos, sarcophagi with garland motifs continued to be used together with other types of burials until the Severan Period. The other types mentioned above appear in the middle of the 2nd century AD and continued to be used until the first half of the 3rd century AD¹⁵². There has been no study for the dating of the sarcophagi at Termessos, but they may have to be dated to the later 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. Sarcophagi in the other Pisidian cities can be given more or less the same date¹⁵³.

Lids were also part of the sarcophagus production completing the design of the tomb. In Pisidia sarcophagus lids were used either in the form of a gabled roof or in the form

¹⁴⁴ Köse 2006, 103 Figs. 367-72; Wiegartz 1965, 169.

¹⁴⁵ Köse 2006, 103; Wiegartz 1965, 170 and pl. 43a, b.

¹⁴⁶ Wiegartz 1965, 146 Fig. 27; Köse 2006, 103.

¹⁴⁷ Waelkens 1995, 12 Fig. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 102 pl. 23.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 97-8 Fig., 72-3.

¹⁵⁰ Köse 2006, 104 Figs., 381-83, 378-80.

¹⁵¹ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 57 fig 54.

¹⁵² Köse 2006, 107-9.

¹⁵³ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 546.

of a kline. The roof form is the most common type found in most cities of Asia Minor containing sarcophagi in their cemeteries. This type carries various decorations, as it may also remain plain, with only simple antefixes. One of them looks like a slanted roof with lion spouts and antefixes making the whole structure look like a building. This type was produced primarily in Athens, in the so-called 'Attic sarcophagi'¹⁵⁴. The gable of the roof may appear empty, but it may also carry various motifs including Medusa heads, round shields or round bosses, and rarely also an eagle, a dog, wreaths, or busts of a couple¹⁵⁵. In Pisidia, the most frequent gable ornament is the shield and the Medusa head. The earliest columnar sarcophagus lids produced in Dokimeion also had a gabled roof. Kline lids on the other hand were produced in Dokimeion from the 2nd century AD (165-170) onward and were eventually used for Attic sarcophagi as well¹⁵⁶. The use of kline lids was not limited to a specific type of sarcophagus. An example of a kline lid from Kapıkaya was discovered near a 'Torre Nova Type' sarcophagus (Fig. 13). Although the lid is damaged, a single reclining female effigy can still be recognized. A sarcophagus at Dikenli Tarla carrying two winged Erotes holding a *tabula ansata* was also covered by a kline lid with a reclining figure on a nicely decorated mattress¹⁵⁷. At Gavur Ören, there are three marble kline lids from Dokimeion. One of them, which once belonged to a columnar sarcophagus from Dokimeion, is located near the mausoleum mentioned above and shows two reclining figures. Another kline lid (probably from Dokimeion), which was said to come from Gavur Ören, was recorded by Bean at Kozluca¹⁵⁸. Several examples of the this type are also displayed in the Burdur Museum. In the major Pisidian cities, the roof shaped lid was the dominant type, as this type did not require a lot of artisanship and certainly was cheaper than the kline lid. Sagalassos, including its territory, and Termessos, contain both the roof and the kline types. Beside these lid types, there are lids in the shape of a roof with a lion crouching on it as well. Such lids, however, were common in the Kibyrtis, Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia¹⁵⁹.

IV c. Chamosoria and rock cut sarcophagi

Chamosoria (sarcophagi sunk into the bedrock) appear in the rocky necropoleis of many cities of Lycia, Caria, Lycaonia-Isauria, Phrygia, Cilicia and Pisidia. They are regarded as the tombs for people with low income. Such tombs usually are difficult to date. At Sagalassos, eight chamosoria were found¹⁶⁰. In the territory of Sagalassos, at Yayla Mevkii, Beşiktaş and at Sazak Mevkii near Soğanlı, various chamosoria were discovered by the survey team¹⁶¹. The north necropolis of Selge also contains various chamosoria with plain roof lids still covering them (Fig. 14). Rock-cut sarcophagi can be used both for rich and poor people depending on their elaboration. A good example for an elaborate rock-cut sarcophagus stands at the top of a rock to the north of the large cistern at Melli (Fig. 15).

¹⁵⁴ Ramage – Ramage 2005, 235-8.

¹⁵⁵ Köse 2006, 87-90.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.* 90-1; Waelkens 1982, 62.

¹⁵⁷ Bean 1959, 108 pl. XXa; Waelkens et al. 2000a, 113-4 Figs. 152-3.

¹⁵⁸ Waelkens et al. 2000, 89-95 Figs. 104, 106; Bean 1959, 109 pl. 20d.

¹⁵⁹ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 545.

¹⁶⁰ Köse 2006, 101.

¹⁶¹ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 104 Fig. 136 and 64 Fig. 74, Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens 2003, 278 Fig. 115.

The tomb is located on the highest point of the bedrock overlooking the valley to the east. It is quite secluded from the main cemetery. The rock around the sarcophagus was carefully carved to provide a platform, which may have functioned as a bench for visitors. Another elaborate rock-cut sarcophagus is located near the cemetery of Neapolis (Doyran). The tomb was carved out of bedrock and closed with a plain roof type lid (Fig. 16). It is sheltered on three sides by a large aedicula built of ashlar. The front of the tomb overlooks the city below. At Sagalassos, there are two similar tombs placed in niches. One of them is half buried in soil and the profile of its lid is rather curved¹⁶². The tombs at Neapolis and Melli were probably built for important local citizens. In the territory of Sagalassos, the village of Aşağımüslimler houses the remains of a classical site¹⁶³. Here, there are several rock-cut sarcophagi, one of which carries an inscription¹⁶⁴. These tombs are much simpler than those at Neapolis and Melli, and they belonged to lower class people.

IV d. Rock-cut Tombs and arcosolia

Rock-cut tombs were already a prominent feature of the pre-Roman burial picture and continued to be favoured during the Roman Period. Rock carving, however, was not limited to sepulchral architecture. The Hittites already used rocky cliffs for their sanctuaries at Yazılıkaya in the Bronze Age. Phrygia also contains many examples of rock-art ranging from religious to sepulchral architecture, from the 8th century BC onwards. The Phrygians applied their own architectural models to their 'façade monuments' and in the same way, they copied the interior design of their pitched-roof houses in their rock-cut tomb chambers. In Lycia, during the 6th to 4th century BC rock monuments copied wooden constructions as well, but only on the outside. According to Haspels, there was no connection or influence between these regions, because of the fact that the styles are different and these two regions have no geographical connection¹⁶⁵. However, the Phrygian influence reached as far as Elmalı in Lycia. Even if the style and the chronology are different, the Phrygians may have passed their tradition of rock carving to the Lycians. Rock carving in later periods, was applied to tombs and created many different forms such as free standing (Melli), engaged (Kremna), a façade in niche (as at Pinara and Telmessos in Lycia), a sunken façade, and a projecting façade¹⁶⁶. Other types include simple to elaborate tombs with columns *in antis* and gabled roofs, from small to large and from decorated to plain ones, depending on the status and the financial situation of the owner. Tombs with columns *in antis* appear from the 4th century BC onwards (e.g. at Telmessos and Kaunos) as a sign of Hellenization. The very simple ones are just cubic hollows carved into inaccessible vertical rock faces with or without *klinai* (couches). This non-elite, but still notable form of burial is seen in almost all Pisidian cities¹⁶⁷. The frequent or rare use of such forms depends on availability of rock. Pisidian cities like Sagalassos, Kapıkaya, Panemoteichos, Pednelissos,

¹⁶² Köse 2006, 91-2 Fig. 350. Another similar example appears at Magastara (Çingiraklı Mevkii) in a very dominating position.

¹⁶³ The site was identified by Bean as the komè of Tymbrianassos. Bean 1959, 88.

¹⁶⁴ The inscription: *for Doulion, son of Eutycho and his wife Zotike*. Waelkens et al. 2000a, 160 Fig. 223.

¹⁶⁵ Haspels 1971 vol. 1: 101, also 36-146 and illustrations in the second volume especially Figs. 8: Midas Monument, 84: Arezastis Monument, 85: Gerdek Kaya, 96: Tomb of Solon, 157: Mal Taş, 189: Aslan Kaya, 235: Hellenistic tomb at 'Kilise' near Hasırcı Köprü

¹⁶⁶ Fedak 1990, 19, 47.

¹⁶⁷ Cormack 1997, 139.

Andeda, Termessos, Kolbasa, Etenna, Ariassos, Sia and Melli could largely make use of rock surfaces, which were freely available and much more convenient to carve. However, rocks functioned primarily as quarries for the production of building stones and portable tomb types. The suitability and availability of the rock face remaining after the primary use played a definitive role for the presence, the amount, and even the design of rock-cut tombs. This explains for instance the absence of rock cut-tombs in some Pisidian cities such as Selge, Pisidian Antioch (except for some in its territory), and Neapolis (Doyran)¹⁶⁸.

Rock-cut tombs can be designed both for inhumation and for cremation burials. Those for inhumation generally house one or multiple couches. Tombs with multiple klinai were described by Fedak as '*loculus* burials', which were presumably designed for families¹⁶⁹. The rock cut tombs for cremation generally occur in the form of *arcosolia* (see below). In Pisidia both types were commonly used. At Andeda, at a place called İnlice, there are tombs carved into the rock, which look simple outside, but are rather sophisticated inside with three chambers linked to one another by dromos (Figs. 17-8). Each room with a gabled roof was carefully carved to contain two to three klinai. The first chamber has on its left sidewall a large and a small rectangular niche probably made for offerings¹⁷⁰. A similar tomb consisting of a large chamber with three klinai was found on the slopes of the Karaköy Mountain in the town of Yeşilova. It has a gabled roof similar to those at İnlice, but has a sunken facade. The left side of its entrance was decorated with a scene depicting a lion attacking a herd of goats¹⁷¹. In the territory of Sagalassos, rock-cut tombs familiar to those of Andeda/İnlice, are located at Berber Taşı (between Büğdüz and Bayındır) and at Çingiraklı Mevkii (ancient Magastara). One of the tombs at Berber Taşı has a rectangular doorway (0.68 m high, 0.48 m wide) giving access to a rectangular grave chamber (1.32 m high, 1.08 m wide and 1.68 m long) which contains a single kline. Those at Çingiraklı contain multiple klinai inside. These tombs may have belonged to local landowners¹⁷². At Gavurini/Kolbasa an interesting rock cut structure, perhaps a temple or a hero's grave was set back into a recess in the rock, which was specially carved to accommodate it. The structure faces the ruined buildings at the site and the valley below. It has a porch 3.80m wide and 2.80m deep. At the back a grave chamber of 2.18m high, 1.65m wide and 1.07m deep with an arched roof is located. Above, a sort of pediment consisting of irregular double oblique lines was incised in the rock. The lines meet at the apex (Fig. 19). The porch is not roofed, but partially overhung by the rock. Nearly 2m to the right of the tomb is a triangular niche (h: 0.90, w: 0.70, depth: 0.95) and next to it an altar is located¹⁷³. On the Burdur-Antalya highway coming from the south, the rocks near the path leading to the ruins of Ariassos yield an outlined rock cut structure possibly intended for a tomb. It is perhaps still in the territory of the east necropolis of Ariassos. This rock-cut 'tomb', which is partly under soil, shares common features with the one at Kolbasa.

¹⁶⁸ Çevik 2003, 108.

¹⁶⁹ Fedak 1990, 25.

¹⁷⁰ Mitchell – Güceren 1995, 499.

¹⁷¹ Özşait 2002, 181 Figs. 4-5.

¹⁷² The necropolis at Çingiraklı has also various heroa, *arcosolia* (with archivolt, pilasters and decorated with busts), sarcophagi, *chamosoria* and rock cut sarcophagi (one decorated with a 'Lycian' motif). Magastra must have been one of the richest demes of Sagalassos, Waelkens et al. 1997a, 92 Fig. 104; 2000a, 83 Fig. 96-7

¹⁷³ Bean 1960, 46; Mitchell 1991a, 138.

The city of Etenna is the only Pisidian city containing an enormous number of inhumation type rock-cut tombs, which total 41 in number. They are all dated to the Imperial period. Although their setting reminds that of those from Lycia, they have no connection with that region, as their facades do not imitate timber constructions at all. They were stylistically grouped by Çevik into two types. Tombs of the first group have simple facades with a doorframe decorated with floral scrolls on their upper right and left corners¹⁷⁴. Tombs of the second group in the necropolis have simple facades and undecorated openings. Tombs with doorframes have no benches in front of them whereas those without doorframes have this element. All of the tombs were cut into deeply recessed panel or frame, which is either gabled or has a horizontal upper edge. Inside, these tombs have more than one couch, and some of them have even two to three levels of couches, in which the first one is solid, whereas the upper ones are carved as shelves in stone. Some of them have extra holes on the walls to support additional wooden couches. This arrangement is completely different from that of other known rock-cut chambers¹⁷⁵. At Delikli Ören (the second necropolis of Etenna), there are three rock-cut tombs which are slightly different from those at Etenna. They are carved into the vertical rock panels at the end of the rock porch areas, which are much deeper than those at Etenna. This difference is related to the shape of the rock¹⁷⁶. These tombs have parallels in Pisidia and Cilicia, such as the one at Tynada and at Yeşilova dated to the Roman Period¹⁷⁷. At Termessos, there are only five clustered rock-cut tombs in comparison to an enormous number of tombs of other kinds. These rock-cut tombs also have a setting similar to those of nearby Lycia, but stylistically they relate more closely to the Pisidian tombs¹⁷⁸.

At Termessos, the so-called “Tomb of Alketas” dated to the early Hellenistic period, displays a combination of different styles, as it contains both an ostotheca and sarcophagus. The monument does not seem to be a façade-tomb; it is rather a natural hollow rock, which was enlarged to provide a space for the tomb. The north wall contains a sarcophagus, the front of which is carved for a kline. Above the actual burial arrangement, there is a relief screen wall, bordered by pilasters with a representation of a grid in the middle. The pilasters support an Ionic entablature consisting of an architrave with three fasciae with a row of dentils. They are crowned by a pediment. This section appears to be a representation of a structure in relief as in Phrygian examples¹⁷⁹. Above the gabled roof, to the left side there is an eagle with open wings holding a snake in its claws, which here represents the royal rank of the person buried there. To the left of the kline sarcophagus is a broken ostotheca with a false door on its front. As discussed above such ostothecae in the form of a house appear also in other Pisidian and Pamphylian cities¹⁸⁰. To the right of the sarcophagus, there are broken rock-cut containers, a large vessel, and two small relief figures. In the centre of the west wall, there is a carving of an equestrian nearly 2 m high

¹⁷⁴ Çevik 2003, 102 Fig. 7-9.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 97-105 Figs. 10-1, 19.

¹⁷⁶ Çevik 2003, 108; Nollé 1992 pl. 26.2.

¹⁷⁷ In Cilicia for example, at Korykos, see Çevik 2003, Fig. 30; for Tynada, Özşait – Şahin 1998, 125 Fig. 4 and for Yeşilova, Özşait 2002, 181 Figs. 4-5.

¹⁷⁸ Pekridou 1986, 112.

¹⁷⁹ Haspels 1971, vol. II.

¹⁸⁰ For details on ostothecae, Pekridou 1986, 68-70.

and in the northwest corner of the same wall, there are pieces of armour and weaponry in relief including a round shield, a sword, a pair of greaves, and a helmet¹⁸¹. According to M. Waelkens, this tomb is unusual because of the Macedonian origin of Alketas and his important position as the brother of the regent Perdikkas. The examples presented above show that in comparison to the rock cut tombs in Lycia and Caria, and even to those of the Pisidian city of Termessos, the rock cut tombs in the rest of Pisidia looked much simpler. This may be related to the availability and suitability of rocks for carving. Although some of the examples in this text were not dated, the period of their production cannot be a proper explanation of their simplicity, since the much earlier examples bear the more elaborate decorations.

'Arcosolia' are rock cut tombs in a vaulted niche shape, designed to house cremation burials in various forms, including urns or ostothecae. According to Köse, the idea of placing a coffin in a niche may have been derived from tabernacle façade niches, which were arranged to shelter statues from the early Imperial period onwards. Thus, the combination of an older tomb form, the ostothecae, and of the tabernacle façade might have resulted into the creation of the arcosolium¹⁸². Arcosolia can appear either with or without a rock cut coffin. Those without containers can be a symbolic place of a separate ostothecae, urn, stele, or a figural representation of a grave owner. At Melli an arcosolium in the north necropolis of the city carries the bust of a man. There are three holes near the tomb showing that the niche was not actually used as a tomb but rather for ritual purposes¹⁸³. Arcosolia without coffins are also found at Kapıkaya and Sagalassos. The most frequent decorative elements of arcosolia include two Doric pilasters on each side of the niche with the capitals either simple or highly decorated. The capitals are crowned by a vault divided by three fasciae. The coffins carry on their outer face various decorations including wreaths, palm leaves, doors, garlands, and inscriptions. Sagalassos is the only city in Pisidia with a great number of arcosolia, which occupy the rocky cliffs on its north, east, and west, and on the rocks along the road leading to the city (Fig. 20). Here, each arcosolium shows an example of one of the decorative elements mentioned above. The stylistic grouping of arcosolia in the necropoleis of Sagalassos may represent family units, a certain group of people or perhaps different artisans groups¹⁸⁴. The research of Köse shows that they belong to the late 2nd and the 1st half of the 3rd century AD. This implies that they were popular at the same time as the use of sarcophagi and that two burial traditions, inhumation and cremation, coexisted by the choice of different classes within the city¹⁸⁵.

At Kapıkaya, various arcosolia occupy the rock faces outside the Hellenistic city walls. One of them is decorated on the outer face of its coffin with grape leaves springing from a vase (Fig. 21). The top of the niche carries a female bust and on her left, there is a panel with an inscription. Another arcosolium in the same spot is decorated with a garland motif carried by the bull's heads. Below the garlands, there are grapes and above each garland, there are busts of a couple (Fig. 22). Near these two arcosolia there is a niche, probably for offerings. The most remarkable arcosolium at Kapıkaya is located within the

¹⁸¹ Fedak 1990, 94-5, Pekridou 1986, 23-31, 53-4, 73-80.

¹⁸² Köse 2006, 146.

¹⁸³ Köse 2006, 135.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.* 135-147 Figs. 452-501.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.* 147.

Hellenistic civic centre near the municipal buildings. Its niche was covered inside like a shell and the rock-cut coffin below carries a garland with two bull's heads (Fig. 23). The location of the monument can be interpreted as that of a Heroon or a memorial, dating to the early Imperial period. This 'Heroon' does not seem to be contemporary with the buildings around it, but it can be considered as one of the examples in Pisidia, where public and funerary buildings mix¹⁸⁶. Another intramural arcosolium in the city centre was carved from a rock overlooking the public buildings (Fig. 24). It has on either side tall Doric pilasters crowned by a vault divided by three fasciae. Its coffin was decorated with a false door and two palm branches on either side. The upper right and left sides of the niche carry round objects, probably shields and the left side of the tomb has a panel carrying an inscription. It is not clear whether the top of the arcosolium bears a bust, because it is covered by thick plants. At Sagalassos there are also two arcosolia with door representation on their coffins. According to C. H. Roosevelt, the origin of this motif is Lydian and it symbolises the door of the afterlife, the tomb, and the household¹⁸⁷. Door representations were used without any interruption from the 4th century BC to the early Imperial period on the short sides of the ostothecae, and in the late Imperial period the motif was also used on sarcophagi in Dokimeion the 'main' workshop of Asia Minor¹⁸⁸. Arcosolium type of tombs can also be found in the territory of Sagalassos. In the plain of Çanaklı at a place called Koca Boğaz, there is a small rock cut necropolis containing two arcosolia from the middle Imperial period. As at Sagalassos and Kapıkaya, they have rock cut coffins below the vaulted niches. This necropolis may be connected with the Roman Imperial activity in the nearby clay quarry¹⁸⁹. Near Çatağıl, at a place called Sandık Taş Mevkii, there are a few arcosolia tombs, rather plain and undecorated¹⁹⁰.

V. Burial practices and measures against violation

V a) Right of Burial

Although the funerary inscriptions talk more about social status and patronage or to a certain extent even serve as a guide to reconstruct a family lineage within city, they are surprisingly silent about religious beliefs. According to Morris, burial was only part of the funeral and the funeral was a reflection of the social reactions of the living towards death. Religion also affects the social behaviour and approaches to the afterlife, so it can be a starting point to reconstruct the religious beliefs of ancient people¹⁹¹. The only information to be deduced from the burials are the ritual activities and the practices, which took place at or near the tombs. Whatever the rituals were, before and during the Roman Imperial Period the idea of losing a tomb was the ultimate 'nightmare' for ancient people, who used various ways to keep the hands off their tombs, either through publicly known documents or through warnings and curses¹⁹². Such efforts and measures to keep the burial

¹⁸⁶ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 23.

¹⁸⁷ Roosevelt 2006, 65-91.

¹⁸⁸ Köse 2006, 140-1.

¹⁸⁹ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 199 Fig. 256.

¹⁹⁰ Waelkens et al. 1997a, 90 Fig. 102.

¹⁹¹ Morris 1987, 29; 1994, 147.

¹⁹² Hopkins – Letts 1985, 248; Cormack 1997, 151; Strubbe 1991.

untouched are very well documented in Pisidia and elsewhere in Anatolia. The research of A. S. Hall in Kibyra, Olbasa, Bubon, Balboura, Kormasa and their surroundings shows how people wished to guarantee that their burials would not be violated. Most of these texts dating to the Roman Imperial period are funerary inscriptions following a uniform formula, in which the names of those who set up these appear first and the name of the deceased comes after, such as *Demetrios, son of Demetrios set it up for Meleagros his son, in loving memory*¹⁹³. This order reflects the claim to the ownership of a grave, in which, if the owner was unidentifiable, there could have been a probable danger to be ejected and to lose the already reserved plot. If this happened, then ancient people believed that their restless and misshaped ghost would wander across the earth forever. This was the basis of the expression like “*not to pass to the heirs*,” which occurs in numerous tombs, for one’s heirs who might attempt to have themselves buried in the tomb, throwing out one’s remains to make room for themselves¹⁹⁴. For this reason, the tombs were recorded officially as a property. This is evident in the inscriptions like “*two copies deposited in the city archives/a copy deposited in the city archives*.” These documents were also the proof of ownership, so that people were discouraged from erasing the inscription, if they knew that there was a certified, publicly available copy of the property elsewhere. Hall also noted that the ability to pay for an inscribed stone incidentally does not guarantee the literacy of the owner either, but the functionality of the written labels in society. It is clear that even very ordinary people could spend money on tombs¹⁹⁵. In Pisidia and the rest of Asia Minor, there was also an insistence on the right of burial in a tomb. Most funerary inscriptions are extremely specific about who could be buried within a particular grave, regardless of its architectural form, whose elaboration depended on social status and wealth of the deceased. This right is sometimes extended to those defined as family, such as spouses, sisters, brothers, grandchildren, which is clearly a tendency to make the genealogy more pronounced in comparison to the Roman West¹⁹⁶. Termessos and the sites mentioned above for example offer numerous examples in such a way that a particular family tree can be reconstructed¹⁹⁷.

V b) Protection of Tombs:

Ancient people protected their graves through funerary inscriptions also against violation or misuse either in the form of fines to be imposed for such incidents or in the form of curses, which were also thought to be very effective¹⁹⁸. Curses have deep roots in Asia Minor, going already back to the Phoenicians¹⁹⁹. Under Persian domination, this indigenous oriental tradition led to the emergence of similar funerary curses in Asia Minor first in the Lycian language (6th to 4th century BC) and then in the Lydian language (4th Century

¹⁹³ Milner 1998 (A. S. Hall’s collection). For similar inscriptions from Bubon see no’s. 3, 4, 5; from Balboura no’s. 6-10; from Kibyra no’s. 12, 17-21, 23-29, 32-39, 41-43, 45, 48, 51-55, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65-68, 70, 71-73, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87. Also Kibyra’s territory no’s. 90, 91, 93, 97, 100, 103-106; Olbasa and its environments no’s. 125, 127, 129, 136, 137, Kormasa no’s. 152, 154; Karacaören no. 160; Macropedion no. 161

¹⁹⁴ Milner 1996, 30; 1998, xiv-xv see note 13.

¹⁹⁵ Milner 1996, 30; 1998, xiv-xvi.

¹⁹⁶ Cormack 1997, 149.

¹⁹⁷ Lanckoroński 1892, no’s: 122, 58, 55.

¹⁹⁸ Mitchell 1995a, 2.

¹⁹⁹ Strubbe 1991, 38.

BC). The curses began to be written in Greek after the end of Persian rule. During the remainder of the Hellenistic Period, the warnings and curses against tomb violators were not numerous perhaps due to the economic problems and wars in the country, but in the Imperial period, they reappear in large numbers²⁰⁰. However, relating the frequency of imprecations to political events and economic fluctuations may not be a good explanation. There are also other factors such as epigraphic habit, fashion, or psychological attitude. If the latter factors are taken into account, the frequency of tomb violation should be reconsidered. Because it is uncertain, how widespread tomb violation was and it is not known whether all cemeteries were guarded by responsible institutions as was the case in Lycia, people in other regions may have been precautionous, perhaps due to inefficiency, corruption, or lack of civil institutions²⁰¹. These may be the reasons why people preferred to write 'effective' curses and fines, but on the other hand, it also reveals the fact that tomb violation or reuse may have been a widespread practice in Anatolia.

Curses in Asia Minor were based on two traditions: Greek and Oriental. In the Greek world, as well as in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, it was customary to protect the material and non-material objects against offenders. Strubbe calls these 'non-funerary imprecations' and says that there is actually no fundamental difference between the Anatolian and Greek curses in that manner and therefore, many of the funerary imprecations used by the Greeks of Asia Minor to protect their graves correspond to the non-funerary imprecations of the Greek world²⁰². In the case of tombs, however, the situation in Anatolia and Greece appears to be different. In Greece, the use of curses and warnings against tomb violation was very rare. The Greeks in their homeland believed that, after death, the soul would leave the body, go to the underworld, and would remain there happy as long as the name of the deceased was remembered²⁰³. Therefore, the dead body was just a leftover, free from feelings and desires, but the Greeks living in Anatolia were protecting their tombs against misuse and violation. The cause of this contrast can be that in Anatolia and in the Near East, there was a long tradition of protecting tombs with curses, and ideas about dead and afterlife were different. Anatolians thought that after death, the soul would continue to live having ongoing feelings, needs and desires just as a living person and it needed a 'house' which should remain undisturbed²⁰⁴. Pisidia, in particular has a considerable amount of examples announcing fines and punishments. For example, at Termessos most of the tomb inscriptions refer to punishments in the form of money. The formula follows this order:

-Son/daughter of X - priest- Y... etc built this tomb for his wife and himself/his daughter/father ...etc. Shall no other be buried inside, otherwise the person with such an intention will be punished as tomb violator (tymborykbia)/with 1.500/ 5000/50.000 denarii to Zeus Solymus/ to the council/ they will have the depth to dead²⁰⁵.

²⁰⁰ ibid. 39 and note: 54.

²⁰¹ Strubbe 1991, 40-1; Morris 1994, 147

²⁰² ibid. 36-38

²⁰³ Morris 1987, 32

²⁰⁴ Strubbe 1991, 40-1, Morris 1994, 147

²⁰⁵ For further funerary texts see İplikçioğlu et al. 1993, 222-5; Çelgin, et al. 1992, 196-202; Strubbe 1991, 34-5 and 33-47 for further examples of curses, found in Asia Minor

A similar inscription from Gölhisar (Kibyra) written on a pedestal base mentions: *Orestes son of Tyrannos built the tomb with the chamber and the sarcophagus inside for Tateis his wife and himself... If anyone shall try to inter another in the sarcophagus, he shall pay to the Fisc...denarii*²⁰⁶. In the village of Düğer, inside the local mosque, a sepulchral column carries an epitaph in the *tabula ansata* announcing a fine against tomb violation²⁰⁷. Similar epitaphs appear also at Kremna, Keraitai, Döşeme Boğazı and Neapolis (Doyran)²⁰⁸ (Fig. 8). A longer text has been discovered on the podium of a heroon at Trebenna, where the owner of the tomb gives detailed instructions against misuse and tomb violation. Apollonians on the other hand chose religious punishments and curses to protect their final resting place²⁰⁹. Such threatening inscriptions imply that a tomb was considered as a sacred area 'not to be misused'. It is hard to guess the measure of the violation, the success of such discouragements, and amount of money collected from these fines or those who were in charge of collecting and using it. Supposedly, if these fines were collected, they could either serve the city community or be kept in the religious treasury or be used as further benefactions on behalf of the deceased. Apparently, individuals hoped that their tomb would be protected by officials who collected these penalties. To encourage these officials, there was also a reward specified for them. In case of the failure of all above-mentioned measures, the final appeal was made to the gods who could take furious vengeance upon violators. Such inscriptions may occur in two types: either the name of the god is unspecified, such as *Theos*, *Thea* or *Theoi* or the name is indicated as Zeus Olympios, Leto, Hekate, Men, Selene and Apollo and so on. An inscription on a round funerary column in Söğüt (territory of Balboursa) mentions '*Triolos son of Sokrates while alive set it up for himself and for Artemis daughter of Menelaos... If anyone shall damage it, let him be answerable to all gods and to Selene and Leto or T. Fl. Capito for Anthousia his own foster daughter; in remembrance, if anyone damages this tomb or throws down the bomos, he is lost with all his house*'²¹⁰. Although very rare, names of foreign gods can also be used. An inscription from Acipayam in Pisidia thus mentions 'the god of the Persians', who was introduced into the area by the Persian colonists²¹¹. Why these individuals chose a specific god to protect their tombs or what factors played a role in this choice remains obscure, but the religiosity of a person and the local customs could have been effective²¹². Ultimately, these texts show how people fully relied on gods, who would give the necessary punishment, because they could see every single action of all people regardless of their secrecy. Another inscription from Gölde is found on a funeral altar, which announces the dedication to Helios and ends with a curse and an invocation²¹³.

²⁰⁶ Milner 1998 (A. S. Hall's collection) 11-2 text 16

²⁰⁷ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 171 and Bean 1959, 89, no. 34 for the original inscription

²⁰⁸ Horsley – Mitchell 2000. For Kremna, pg. 77-84, especially no. 55, for Keraitai, pg. 95-6: no. 84, for Döşeme Boğazı: pg. 169-75 no. 167, 168, 169, 170, 172.

²⁰⁹ For Trebenna and Apollonia, İplikçioğlu et al. 2001, 241-2; Çevik, the abstract: The social structure as reflected through the necropolis of Trebenna, 2005, 30-2 in Dörtlük – Varkıvanç – Kahya et al. 2006; Cormack 1997, 149; Drew-Bear 2002, 134

²¹⁰ Milner 1998, xv, 7, 32: text 9, 75. Text no. 9 is also in Strubbe 1991, 34 and note 7. See also similar texts no: 16, 31, 79 in Milner 1998.

²¹¹ Strubbe 1991, 46.

²¹² ibid. 35, 45-7.

²¹³ Waelkens et al. 2000a, 53; Bean 1959, 109, no. 78 for the original inscription.

Outside Pisidia, curses and threats sound more thrilling, ranging from death, blindness to infertility and the destruction of the race. In this manner, there seems to be a big difference between the Pisidian imprecations and those of other regions. For example, a text found at Telmessos in Lycia (4th century BC) writes '*...may there be for him complete ruin and destruction of all.*' On the other hand, a formula from North Phrygia mentions '*Whoever will lay a hand heavy of envy against this tomb, may he fall foul in the same way of untimely fates.*' In Eastern Phrygia, such threats are getting even harsher such as '*may he leave orphaned children, an empty (childless) life, and a desolate house behind him*' or '*may the wives not bear children according to nature (deformed or monstrous children)*'²¹⁴. Overall, the examples show that the owners of the tombs wished only the revenge of the crimes, but they did not ask for repair of damage to the tomb or the corpse. Probably the reason was the lack of any institution taking care of such cases or that curses were thought or hoped to be effective enough. However, according to Milner, the curses may not have been universal and many people may not have been convinced by the efficiency of such divine protection²¹⁵.

c) The Cult Practices:

Architectural elements and small finds regarding the cult of the dead provide evidence for cult practices. These elements help us to understand local profiles of the cultures as these elements change from one culture to another. Today architectural elements in or around the tombs or in connection with them, inscriptions and depictions are the main sources and a starting point to gather information about cult practices for the dead. However, there is still little information about the elements related to the cult of the dead, because most of the tombs were disturbed, looted, or heavily destroyed by treasure hunters. Another problem is that funerary inscriptions of the Roman period do not provide enough information concerning the cult of the dead or evidence of beliefs in the afterlife. As the result of these, a lack of sufficient information regarding the faith and customs of people remains. Data on the upper class are more informative due to the quality of their tombs²¹⁶. However, beliefs and customs in a particular society probably would not have been different among the poor and the rich.

Practices known from archaeological evidence are the concepts of pouring libations, offerings, and having banquets in honour of the dead at the burial site, practices, which already existed during the Hellenistic and continued into the Roman period. Pouring libations was an important part of ceremonies attested in the western half of the Roman Empire²¹⁷. In Rome, some people were putting aside extra money to make sure that their burial place was taken care of by relatives or others after their death; and that, libations, feasts, and sacrifices were run on a regular basis. For this purpose, some tombs were provided with pipes to pour food and liquid. If these have not been done as was promised, the shapeless ghost would come out and terrorize the peaceful houses in the city²¹⁸. Although the practice is less studied, pouring libations must also have been also a widespread practice

²¹⁴ Strubbe 1991, 41-5.

²¹⁵ Milner 1998, xv.

²¹⁶ Çevik 2005, 121-2.

²¹⁷ Toynbee 1971, 50-64; Morris 1994, 43-69; Hughes 1999, 160; Hopkins – Letts 1985, 233; Cormack 1997, 151.

²¹⁸ Hopkins – Letts 1985, 233-5; Toynbee 1971, 62.

in Asia Minor. For example, in the Roman Imperial tomb at Gümüşkesen/ Milas (Mylasa), there is a hole for libation in the cella floor leading to the burials in the *hyposorion* below²¹⁹. At Aizanoi, most of the door stones are standing on a socle, which has a carved out cup to be used for libations²²⁰. At İnlice/Andeda, a gutter in front of the rock-cut tomb, leads to first chamber via a hole (Fig. 25). At Sagalassos, lids of ostothecae (both rectangular and vase form) also have libation holes. A vase-formed ostotheca from Sagalassos, now in the Burdur Museum, has on its lid a libation hole (Fig. 7). Such holes for offerings can also appear on the roofs of sarcophagi²²¹. Additionally, there are also recesses and niches near or inside the tombs for offerings. For example at Melli, there are three recesses, which were carved near an arcosolium for offerings. Such elements were also found at Termessos (Fig. 26)²²², Kolbasa, Kapıkaya and Andeda. Additionally, altars were used for offerings and sacrifices. On the other hand, built or carved benches in front of the tombs were arranged for rituals and visitors. Sometimes in a necropolis, family tombs can be separated from other tombs by temenos walls, so that a private ritual and visit could take place. Such tombs with temenos walls can be seen in the south necropolis of Sagalassos, at Ariassos and Sia²²³. In the necropolis of the cities, sarcophagi were not randomly spread but rather they were placed either on smoothened rocky grounds or on a podium at a distance from each other to ease funerals and cult practices. This careful planning can be clearly seen in the cities of Asia Minor such as Hierapolis, Perge, Assos, Patara, Termessos, Sagalassos, Sia etc²²⁴. This implies that, this way of providing subsistence to the dead was common throughout the empire.

VI. Conclusion

In Asia Minor, funerary architecture had an important place in the civic landscape. Even though the Romans brought new ideas, the province in general was quite indifferent to adopt them. Especially in Southwest Anatolia (Lycia, Pisidia), the idea of isolating the necropolis from the area of living, as Greeks and Romans did, was apparently less stringent. As mentioned above, in Pisidia, the cemeteries are located very close to the cities. The reason behind this can be topographical features of the region and traditions related to afterlife. Ancient people who were not inclined to live far from the dead members of their families arranged their cemeteries near the area of the living and for that reason; they made the best use of the available land around their settlements. In the beginning, however, most cemeteries seem to have occupied land outside the city walls, although reach close to them. Starting with the peace brought by Augustus, cities began to expand beyond existing city walls, which at the same time lost their importance, and were partly dismantled. The necropoleis on the other hand were also expanding. Most probably, during this 'double' expansion, the space between buildings of the living and the cemeteries started to disappear in such a way that in some cases the latter eventually encroached upon the former. Whereas in most cities (e.g. Hierapolis after the earthquake under Nero), tombs were

²¹⁹ Cormack 1997, 151.

²²⁰ Waelkens 1986, 46-9, especially pl. 2.28.

²²¹ Köse 2006, 159 Fig. 81.

²²² *ibid.*

²²³ *ibid.* 19-20, 159-61, 167.

²²⁴ *ibid.* 107 Figs. 293, 452.

moved out of the settlement, but in Pisidia this was not the case. This can clearly be seen at Ariassos, Termessos (west necropolis), Sia and Panemoteichos. At Melli, Etenna and at Pisidian Antioch, however, the cemeteries were totally isolated. In other cities of Pisidia, the necropoleis were touching the area of living, but there seems to have been no overlap. It seems that there is no geographical distinction between cities with mixed or touching cemeteries and cities with separated necropoleis. In Pisidia, the concept of 'roadside tombs', which is typical Roman, is also seen in various cities, including Melli, Pednelissos and perhaps Ariassos. Beside external cemeteries, Pisidia, as the rest of Asia Minor, also knew intramural tombs and Heroa, which in most cases were monumental. Most of these intramural tombs dating to the Roman Imperial period point to a remarkable increase in the number of these buildings and a notable change in the concept of heroization. However, there seems to have been no external directive or force of any kind inflicted upon the locals by the new power. It rather seems an initiative coming from the local aristocrats and benefactors, which led to an increase in the number and the popularity of mausolea and heroa during the 1st century BC and the early Imperial period. At the beginning of this period, wealthy citizens could only reaffirm themselves through the construction of monumental tombs located at a certain distance to the cities. Soon these structures acquired a more massive volume and were built in conspicuous locations closer to the settlements or even in the heart of cities such as at Termessos, Selge, Kapıkaya and Ariassos. At the same time, they adopted various elements from monumental architecture and received new decorative elements such as garlands and bull's heads or theatre masks, which are mostly seen on marble sarcophagi and other monumental structures. The most notable addition to the tomb repertoire of Asia Minor is the temple tomb, which was adopted from the Roman podium temples. This specific type of tomb was very popular both in the urban centres and in the countryside, where the landowning families followed the same trends as those in the cities.

In the funerary records of Anatolia, although not frequently, the use of ostothecae designed for cremation, appears from the late 4th and 3rd century BC onwards. The most common type, the rectangular ostotheca with a typical shield motif, was extensively used in Pisidia during the Hellenistic period. The research of V. Köse shows that in the 2nd century BC, weaponry reliefs were replaced by wreaths, busts and palm leaves²²⁵. They were used in small numbers until the 1st century AD. Ostothecae in vase-form were produced and used only at Sagalassos and in its territory during the Julio-Claudian period. This type seems to have been introduced from Rome. As a Roman influence, there was a change in the burial traditions in the 2nd century AD, and ostothecae were replaced by sarcophagi. A typical Pisidian sarcophagus also carries weaponry motifs consisting of shields with diagonally placed spears behind and a *tabula ansata* in the middle. The type was very popular at Sagalassos, Termessos, Ariassos, Sia and Neapolis (Doyran). Garland sarcophagi began to be used from the first half of the 2nd century AD and their decorations followed the main production centres at Proconnesos, Dokimeion, Aphrodisias and Ephesos. Beside these, local creations and independent motifs can be seen, probably designed according to the taste of the grave owner. Even Pisidian cities such as Selge and Pednelissos copied the half-finished form of Proconnesian garland sarcophagi and created their own local type. Although not very frequently, other sarcophagus types including those with the 'Lycian motif', the 'Torre Nova Type', columnar sarcophagi, chamosoria and rock cut

²²⁵ Köse 2006, 76-7.

sarcophagi were also produced in the local workshops of Pisidia. Rock-cut tombs for inhumation were also common in Roman Pisidia. The most popular one is the '*loculus* type' (those with multiple klinai) which appears at Etenna in rather large numbers. The type is also seen at Andeda and in the Pisidian countryside, but in smaller numbers. At Kolbasa the rock-cut tomb must have been a hero's grave or a temple. In some cities, rock-cut tombs are either absent, as at Selge and Neapolis, or are limited to small numbers as at Termessos, Tynada, Ariassos and Sia.

Arcosolia, which were used for cremation, appear only in various cities. Sagalassos is the only Pisidian city containing an enormous number and an important collection of these tombs, which were dated by V. Köse to the end of the 2nd century AD or the first half of the 3rd century AD. The date of the arcosolia at Sagalassos shows that sarcophagi and arcosolia were used at the same time, although they follow different burial traditions. At Kapıkaya, there are also various arcosolia, which in my opinion should be dated to the Roman Imperial period. As among those, an intramural arcosolium should be dated to the early Imperial period, thus an earlier emergence of the type should be considered²²⁶. The appearance of both burial types in some Pisidian cities is explained by Çevik, as due to ethnic structures, individual preferences or cultural changes in the inhumation dominated society of Anatolia during the High Imperial Period²²⁷. The existence or absence of specific types of tombs and their distribution in the Pisidian cities were already explained above. Although a specific tomb type appears in large numbers in some Pisidian cities, it appears that, as in the case of the necropoleis, there is no real geographical distinction in the distribution of tomb types in Pisidia.

In Pisidia, as in the rest of Asia Minor, the tombs were 'houses' of the deceased, sometimes even imitating their shapes (doors, gabled lids). The house of the dead needed to be taken care of, respected and were also needed to be protected against violation or misuse. Hence, the ancient people identified their final resting places through various ways including publicly known documents, through fines to be imposed for such incidents or through curses, which were thought or at least hoped to be more effective. The occurrence of large numbers of such inscriptions may have been due to a widespread activity of tomb violation. In fact, the scale of these actions is not clear, when we take into account other possible factors such as epigraphic habit, fashion, or psychological attitude. Moreover, it is not known whether these precautions were effective, but their mere numbers suggest that they were not.

Although the material evidence concerning the cult of the dead and beliefs in after-life is insufficient, the existing solid elements help us to understand local profiles of the cultures, as these elements change from one culture to another. Today architectural elements in or around tombs or in connection with them, inscriptions and depictions are the main sources and a starting point to gather information about cult practices for dead. The known practices from the archaeological evidence are the concepts of pouring libations, offerings, and banquets in honour of the dead at the burial site, which already existed during the Hellenistic Period and continued into the Roman periods. In Pisidia, the benches and niches near the tombs and libation holes point to a tradition of providing subsistence

²²⁶ Köse 2006, 145-7.

²²⁷ Çevik 1998, 136.

to the deceased, which was common throughout the empire. The examples from Pisidia presented in this text show that, during the Imperial period adoption of new forms as well as a change in the concept of heroization are evident, yet a thorough change in the character of the cemeteries, traditions, and beliefs related to afterlife is not detectable. Above all, roadside tombs, temple tombs, vase-formed ostothecae and the explosion of heroization can be regarded as the result of Roman rule in the region. Some of these features (increasing heroization and to some extent temple tombs) may have as much to do with the prosperity introduced by the Empire rather than having been considered as something imported 'from the West'. Even the roadside tombs were not a completely new feature, as for instance the Archaic and Classical necropolis in front of one of the main gates of Assos show. Yet, people successfully managed to amalgamate new forms with tradition and created a new style of their own without changing their view of afterlife as proven by the funerary architecture of so many Pisidian cities.

Bibliography

- Abbasoğlu – İplikçioğlu 1991 H. Abbasoğlu – B. İplikçioğlu, “Antik Termessos Kenti ve Çevresinde Epigrafya Araştırmaları”, AST VII, 1991, 209-14.
- Abbasoğlu 1988 H. Abbasoğlu, “1986 Yılı Termessos Yüzey Araştırmaları”, AST V.1, 1988, 213-29.
- Asgari 1990 N. Asgari, “Onvoltooide, Half Voltooide, en Voltooide Marmeren Voorwerpen van de Prokonnesos”, M. Waelkens (ed.), Eeuwige Steen van Nijl tot Rijn Groeven en Prefabricatie (1990) 106-26.
- Asgari 1977 N. Asgari, “Die Halbfabrikate kleinasiatischer Girlandensarkophage und ihre Herkunft”, AA 1977, 329-80.
- Aydal 1998 S. Aydal et al., “1996 Yılı Pisidia Yüzey Araştırması”, AST XV.2, 1998, 275-94.
- Aydal et al. 1997 S. Aydal et al., “The Pisidian Survey 1995: Panemoteichos and Ören Tepe”, AnatSt 47, 1997, 141-72.
- Bean 1960 G. E. Bean, “Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia, Part II”, AnatSt 10, 1960, 43-82.
- Bean 1959 G. E. Bean, “Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia, Part I”, AnatSt 9, 1959, 67-117.
- Berges 1993 D. Berges, “Frühe Girlandsarkophage in Kleinasien”, G. Koch (ed.), Grabeskunst der Römischen Kaiserzeit (1993) 23-35.
- Berns 2003 C. Berns, Untersuchungen zu den Grabbauten der frühen Kaiserzeit in Kleinasien, AsiaMS 51 (2003).
- Bracke 1993 H. Bracke, “Pisidia in the Hellenistic Times (334-25 BC)”, M. Waelkens (ed.) Sagalassos I: First General Report on the Survey (1986-1989) and Excavations (1990-1991), Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 5 (1993) 15-29.
- Büyükkolancı 1998 M. Büyükkolancı, Adada. Pisidia’da Antik Bir Kent (1998).
- Cahill 1988 N. Cahill, “Taşkule: A Persian Period Tomb near Phokaia”, AJA 92, 1988, 481-501.
- Cormack 1997 S. Cormack, “Funerary Monuments and Mortuary Practice in Roman Asia Minor”, S. E. Alcock (ed.) The Early Roman Empire in the East, Oxbow Monographs 95 (1997) 137-56.
- Cormack 1996 S. Cormack, “The Roman Period Necropolis of Ariassos, Pisidia”, AnatSt 46, 1996, 1-25.
- Cormack 1989 S. Cormack, “A Mausoleum at Ariassos, Pisidia”, AnatSt 39, 1989, 31-40.
- Çelgin et al. 1992 A. V. Çelgin et al., “Antik Termessos Kenti ve Çevresinde Epigrafya Araştırmaları”, AST IX, 1992, 193-202.
- Çelgin 1990 A. V. Çelgin, Termessos Kenti Nekropoller (Unpubl. Ph.D. Dissertation, İstanbul, 1990).
- Çevik 2005 N. Çevik, “New finds from Neapolis regarding the cult of the dead”, Adalya VIII, 2005, 121-33.
- Çevik 2003 N. Çevik, “New rock-cut tombs at Etenna and the rock-cut tomb tradition in Southern Anatolia”, AnatSt 53, 2003, 97-116.
- Çevik 1998 N. Çevik, “Yuvarlak Kaya Ostothelekleri, Trebenna’da Belgelenen Yeni Bir Mezar Tipi ve Onun Işığında Benzeri Çukurların Yeniden İrdelenmesi”, Adalya II, 1998, 127-50.
- Çevik et al. 2005 N. Çevik et al., “Beydağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2003: Neapolis-Kelbessos Çevreleri”, AST XXII.1, 2005, 101-114.
- Dörtlük 1976 K. Dörtlük, “Keratae Araştırma Raporu”, TürkArkDerg 23, 1976, 17-23.
- Dörtlük – Varkıvaç – Kahya et al. 2006 K. Dörtlük – B. Varkıvaç – T. Kahya et al., The IIIrd Symposium on Lycia Symposium Proceedings Vol. I (2006).

- Drew-Bear 2002 T. Drew-Bear, "Pisidia Antiocheia ve Apollonia'sı, Kotiaeion ve Yanık Laodikeia'da Yapılan Araştırmalar", AST XIX.2, 2002, 133-7.
- Fedak 1990 J. Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age* (1990).
- Hall 1999 M. J. Hall, "Beyond the Polis: the Multilocality of Heroes", R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Hero Cult. Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult*, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 21-23 April 1995 (1999) 49-59.
- Haspels 1971 C. H. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia. Sites and Monuments*, 2 vols. (1971).
- Hopkins – Letts 1985 K. Hopkins – M. Letts, "Death in Rome", K. Hopkins (ed.) *Death and Renewal* (1985) 232-256
- Horsley – Mitchell 2000 G. H. R. Horsley – S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia including Texts from Kremna, Ariassos, Keraia, Hyia, Panemotheikos, the Sanctuary of Apollo of the Perminoundeis, Sia, Kocaeliler and the Döşeme Boğazı*, *Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 57 (2000).
- Hughes 1999 D. D. Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead: Some Developments in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods", R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Hero Cult. Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult*, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 21-23 April 1995 (1999) 167-175.
- Işın 1998 G. Işın, "The Ruins at Kozan-Bodrumkaya: Pednelissos", *Adalya* III, 1998, 111-27
- Işık 1993 F. Işık, "Zur Kontinuitätsfrage der Kleinasiatischen Girlandsarkophage während des Hellenismus und der frühen Kaiserzeit", G. Koch (ed.) *Grabeskunst der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (1993) 9-21.
- İplikçioğlu et al. 2001 B. İplikçioğlu et al., "Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Lykia- Güneybatı Pisidia Epigrafik Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları Projesi 1999 Çalışmaları", AST XVIII.1, 2001, 241-246.
- İplikçioğlu et al. 1993 B. İplikçioğlu et al., "Termessos 1991 epigrafya araştırmaları", AST X, 1993, 219-226.
- Kader 1995 I. Kader, "Heroa und Memorialbauten", M. Wörrle und P. Zanker (ed.) *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus. Kolloquium, München 24 bis 26 Juni 1993* (1995) 199-230.
- Kearns 1992 E. Kearns, "Between God and Man: Status and Function of Heroes and their Sanctuaries", A. Schachter (ed.), *Le sanctuaire grec, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 37 (1992) 65-99.
- Koch – Sichtermann 1982 G. Koch – H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophag* (1982).
- Kosmetatou – Waelkens 1997 E. Kosmetatou – M. Waelkens, "The Macedonian Shields of Sagalassos", M. Waelkens – J. Poblome (eds.) *Sagalassos IV. Report on the survey and excavation campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 9 (1997) 277-291.
- Kosmetatou 1997 E. Kosmetatou et al., "The NE 'Heroon' at Sagalassos", M. Waelkens – J. Poblome (eds.) *Sagalassos IV. Report on the survey and excavation campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 9 (1997) 353-66.
- Köse 2006 V. Köse, *Nekropolen und Grabdenkmäler von Sagalassos in Pisidien in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, SEMA VII (2006).
- Köse 2004 V. Köse, "Pisidia kenti Pednelissos'tan yarım işlenmiş girlandlı lahit", *Anadolu'da Doğdu. 60. Yaşında Fahri Işık'a Armağan/Festschrift für Fahri Işık zum 60. Geburtstag* (2004) 461-9.

- Köse 1998 V. Köse, "Eine augusteische Ostotek aus Sagalassos in Pisidien", *IstMitt* 48, 1998, 249-61.
- Lanckoroński 1892 K. Lanckoroński et al., *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, II. Pisidien* (1892).
- Machatschek – Schwarz 1981 A. Machatschek – M. Schwarz, *Bauforschungen in Selge, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris no: 9, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1981).
- Merkelbach 1976 R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos. Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 4* (1976).
- Milner 1998 N. P. Milner, *An Epigraphical Survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa Region, conducted by A. S. Hall, BIAA Mon. 24* (1998).
- Milner 1996 N. Milner, "Alan Hall Nachlass: Kibyratis Surveys 1984/85", *AnatA* 2, 1996, 30-31.
- Mitchell 1997 S. Mitchell, "1995 Yılı Pisidia Araştırması", *AST XIV.1*, 1997, 47-62.
- Mitchell 1996 S. Mitchell, "Pisidia", *AnatA* 2, 1996, 19-21.
- Mitchell 1995a S. Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia, An Ancient City in Peace and in War* (1995a).
- Mitchell 1995b S. Mitchell, "Pisidian Survey", *AnatA* 1, 1995b, 15-8.
- Mitchell 1994 S. Mitchell, "Three Cities in Pisidia", *AnatSt* 44, 1994, 129-48.
- Mitchell 1992 S. Mitchell, "Ariassos 1990", *AST IX*, 1992, 93-108.
- Mitchell 1991a S. Mitchell, "Hellenisation of Pisidia", *MeditArch* 4, 1991a, 119-45.
- Mitchell 1991b S. Mitchell, "Ariassos 1990", *AnatSt* 41, 1991b, 159-72.
- Mitchell – Güceren 1995 S. Mitchell – I. Güceren, "1993 Yılı Pisidia Yüzey Araştırmaları", *AST 12*, 1995, 497-511.
- Mitchell – Waelkens 1987 S. Mitchell – M. Waelkens, "Sagalassos and Cremna 1986", *AnatSt* 37, 1987, 37-47.
- Mitchell – Waelkens 1998 S. Mitchell – M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch, The Site and its Monuments* (1998).
- Mitchell et al. 1989 S. Mitchell et al., "Ariassos and Sagalassos 1988", *AnatSt* 39, 1989, 63-77.
- Morris 1994 I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (1994).
- Morris 1987 I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State* (1987).
- Nollé 1992 J. Nollé, "Zur Geschichte der Stadt Etenna in Pisidien", E. Schwertheim (ed.) *Forschungen in Pisidien, AMS 6*, 1992, 61-141.
- Özsait 2002 M. Özsait, "1999-2000 Yıllarında Burdur ve Isparta Yüzey Araştırmaları", *AST XIX*, 2002, 179-90.
- Özsait – Şahin 1998 M. Özsait – H. Şahin, "1996 Yılı Isparta ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları", *AST XV.2* 1998, 121-42.
- Pekridou 1986 A. Pekridou, *Das Alketas Grab in Termessos, IstMitt-BH 32* (1986).
- Purcell 1987 N. Purcell, "Tomb and Suburb", H. Von Hesberg – P. Zanker (eds.), *Römische Graberstraßen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard, Kolloquium in München vom 28 bis 30 Oktober 1985* (1987) 25-41.
- Ramage – Ramage 2005 N. H. Ramage – A. Ramage, *Roman Art. Romulus to Constantine*⁴ (2005).
- Roosevelt 2006 C. H. Roosevelt, "Symbolic Doorstelae and Graveside Monuments in Western Anatolia", *AJA* 110.1, 2006, 65-91.
- Sevinç – Rose 1999 N. Sevinç – C. Brian Rose, "A Child's Sarcophagus from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay", *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 489-509.

- Strong 1973 D. E. Strong, "The Early Roman Sarcophagi of Anatolia and the West", E. Akurgal (ed.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Ankara-İzmir, 23-30. IX. 1973 (1973) 677-83.
- Strubbe 1991 J. H. M. Strubbe, "Cursed be he that moves my bones" *Magika Hiera*, *Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (1991) 33-59.
- Toynbee 1971 J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971).
- Uysal 1985 M. Uysal et al., *Termessos. The ancient city where nature blends with history* (1985).
- Vandeput et al. 2005 L. Vandeput et al., "Pisidien Survey Projekt: Survey kampagne 2 in Pednelissos", *AST XXII.2*, 2005, 235-44.
- Vandeput – Köse 2002 L. Vandeput – V. Köse, "Pisidia Survey Project: The Third Survey Campaign at Melli", *AST XIX*, 2002, 15-28.
- Vandeput – Köse 2001 L. Vandeput – V. Köse, "The 1999 Pisidia Survey at Melli", *AnatSt* 51, 2001, 133-45.
- Vandeput et al. 2001 L. Vandeput et al., "Pisidia Survey Project: Melli 1999", *AST XVIII.1*, 2001, 257-70.
- Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens 2003 H. Vanhaverbeke – M. Waelkens, *The Chora of Sagalassos, The Evolution of the Settlement Pattern from Prehistoric until Recent Times*, *SEMA V* (2003).
- von Hesberg 1992 H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (1992).
- von Hesberg 1987 H. von Hesberg, "Planung und Ausgestaltung der Nekropolen Roms im 2. jh. n. Chr.", H. von Hesberg – P. Zanker (ed.), *Römische Graberstraßen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard, Kolloquium in München vom 28 bis 30 Oktober 1985* (1987) 43-60.
- Waelkens 2004 M. Waelkens, "Ein Blick von der Ferne. Seleukiden und attaliden in Pisidien", *IstMitt* 54, 2004, 435-71.
- Waelkens 2002 M. Waelkens, "Romanization in the East. A Case Study: Sagalassos and Pisidia (SW Turkey)", *IstMitt* 52, 2002, 311-68.
- Waelkens 1995 M. Waelkens, "The 1993 Survey in the District South and East of Sagalassos", M. Waelkens – J. Poblome (eds.), *Sagalassos III. Report on the Fourth Excavation Campaign of 1993*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 7 (1995) 11-22.
- Waelkens 1990 M. Waelkens, "Groevetechniek, Prefabricatie en Ateliers in de Klassieke Beschavingen. Griekse en Romeinse Wereld", M. Waelkens (ed.) *Eeuwige Steen van Nijl tot Rijn Groeven en Prefabricatie* (1990) 106-26.
- Waelkens 1986 M. Waelkens, *Die Kleinasiatischen Türsteine. Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür* (1986).
- Waelkens 1984 M. Waelkens, "Privatdeifikation in Kleinasien und in der griechisch-römischen Welt zu einer neuen Grabinschrift aus Phrygien", *Archéologie et Religions de l'Anatolie Ancienne. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster* (1984) 259-301.
- Waelkens 1982 M. Waelkens, *Dokimeion. Die Werkstatt der Repräsentativen Kleinasiatischen Sarkophage, Chronologie und Typologie ihrer Produktion* (1982).
- Waelkens et al. 2000a M. Waelkens et al., "The 1996 and 1997 surveys in the territory of Sagalassos", M. Waelkens – L. Loots (eds.), *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 11/A, (2000) 17-216.

- Waelkens et al. 2000b
M. Waelkens et al., "The Northwest Heroon at Sagalassos", M. Waelkens and L. Loots (eds.), *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 11/B (2000) 553-594.
- Waelkens et al. 1997a
M. Waelkens et al., "The 1994 and 1995 Surveys on the Territory of Sagalassos", M. Waelkens and J. Poblome (eds.), *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 9 (1997) 11-102.
- Waelkens et al. 1997b
M. Waelkens et al., "The 1994 and 1995 excavation seasons at Sagalassos", M. Waelkens and J. Poblome (eds.), *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 9, (1997) 103-216.
- Waelkens 1997
M. Waelkens – P. M. Vermeersch, "Sagalassos 1995", *KST XVIII.2* (1997) 119-51.
- Wiegartz 1965
H. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische Saulensarkophage. Untersuchungen zum sarkophagtypus und zu den figurlichen Darstellungen* (1965).

Özet

Roma Dönemi Pisidya'sında Nekropoller ve Mezar Anıtları

Mezar mimarisi Anadolu'nun sivil topografyasında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Roma ve Yunanistan'da halkın önde gelenleri haricindekilerin şehrin resmi sınırı dahilinde veya yakınında gömülmesi yasaktı. Halbuki Anadolu'da farklı bir yöntem izleniyordu ve mezarlıklar yaşam alanlarına veya sivil bölgelere doğru sokuluyordu. Pisidya'da bu doku, İmparatorluk döneminde özellikle dikkat çekmektedir. Hellenistik Dönem'de mezarlıklar normalde şehir surları dışındaydı, fakat Augustus döneminde sağlanan barış ile surlar önemi yitirdi ve bazı durumlarda kısmen söküldü. Kentlerin büyümesine paralel olarak mezarlıklar da her yönde yayılmaya devam etti. Muhtemelen bu dönemde mezarlıklar yaşam alanlarına doğru da yayıldı. Böylece bazı kentlerde nekropolisler ile yaşayanların kenti nihayet birbirine karışmış oldu.

Pisidya kentleri, nekropolislerinin konumu açısından farklı durumlar sergilemektedir. Bazı kentlerde mezarlıklar ya kentten tamamen ayrı veya şehri kuşatırken diğer kentlerde yaşam alanlarına bitişmekte veya içine sokulmaktadır. Buna ek olarak bazı kentlerde evler ve mezarlar birbirine karışmış durumdadır. Fakat burada çağdaşlık sorunu gündeme gelmektedir. Bu durumda, iki olasılık söz konusudur. Birincisi, evler daha önceki dönemlere ait olup hâlihazırda terk edilmiş olabilir. İkincisi ise, evler, mezarlar hâlihazırda oradayken inşa edilmiş olabilir ama mezarlar yıkılmamıştır. Ancak genelde, Pisidya'da, Romalılaşmanın mezarlıkların planlanması ve daha sonraki genişlemeleri üzerine hiçbir etkisi görülmez ama İmparatorluk döneminde gelen refah sayesinde mezarlıklar sosyal gösteriş ve kamu reklamı için kullanılan mükemmel yerler haline gelmiştir.

Anadolu'nun diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi Pisidya'da da kahramanlaştırma kavramında bir değişiklik olmuştur. Bilindiği üzere İ.Ö. 7. yy.'dan itibaren heroonlar ve anıt mezarlar yalnızca kent kurucuları, kent tarafından onurlandırılan idareciler, hayır sahipleri, başarılı atletler ve askeri 'kahraman'lara ithaf edilirdi. Klasik Dönem'de onların inşa ettiği heroon ve mozoleler kente belirli bir uzaklıkta yer alırdı. İ.Ö. 3. yy.'ın sonlarından itibaren bu geleneksel yaklaşım değişmeye başladı ve anıt mezarlar kente yaklaştı ve İ.Ö. 1. yy.'dan itibaren de kent içinde de inşa edildiler. Böylece İmparatorluk döneminde 'heros – kahraman' terimi orijinal anlamını yitirmişti. Çünkü artık, ölen her kişi ailesi tarafından bir 'kahraman' olarak tanımlanabilir ve mezarı da bir 'heroon' olabilirdi. Ancak bu tür mezarlar sadece mezarlıklarda yer almaktaydı. Bu değişiklikler Pisidya kentlerinde de aynen görülmektedir.

Pisidya'da görülen diğer mezar tipleri arasında osthokler, lahitler, khamosorionlar, kaya lahitleri ve arkosoliumlar sayılabilir. Osthokler dikdörtgen veya vazo formunda karşımıza çıkmaktadır. En yaygın olan dikdörtgen biçimli osthokler Pisidya kalkanları, kılıçlar, gırlantalar, kapılar vb. motiflerle bezelidir. Bunlara Sagalassos ve territoryumunda, Termessos, Selge, Sia, Kaynarkale, Pednelissos ve Kepez Kalesi'nde rastlanmaktadır. Vazo biçimli osthokler

ise yalnızca Sagalassos ve territoryumunda görülmektedir. Dikdörtgen ostotheklere benzer şekilde tipik Pisidya lahitlerinde de arkasında çapraz yerleştirilmiş mızraklar bulunan kalınlar gibi silah motifleri ve ortada bir *tabula ansata* yer alır. Bu tip Sagalassos, Termessos, Ariassos, Sia ve Neapolis (Doyran)'de çok yaygındır. Gırlantlı lahitler İ.S. 2. yy.'ın ilk yarısında görülmeye başlanmış ve bezemeleri Prokonnessos, Dokimeion, Aphrodisias ve Ephesos ana atölyelerindekileri izler. Bunların yanı sıra görülen yerel kreasyonlar ve bağımsız motifler de muhtemelen mezar sahibinin zevkine göre tasarlanmış olmalıdır. Hatta Selge ve Pednelissos gibi Pisidya kentleri bile Prokonnessos'un yarım bitmiş gırlantlı lahitlerini kopyalamış ve kendi yerel tiplerini geliştirmiştir. Çok sık karşılaşılmassa da 'Likya motifli, 'Torre Nova Tipi', sütunlu lahit, khamosorion ve kayadan oyma lahitler gibi diğer lahit tipleri de Pisidya'da görülmektedir. İnhümasyon amaçlı kaya mezarları da Roma Dönemi Pisidyası'nda yaygındır. En yaygın tipi, Etenna'da çok sayıda karşımıza çıkan çoklu klineli '*loculus* tipi'dir. Bu açıdan Etenna inhümasyon kaya mezarlarının en yaygın olduğu tek Pisidya kentidir.

Kremasyonlarda kullanılan arcosoliumlar yalnızca birkaç kentte görülür. Sagalassos bu tip mezardan çok sayıda ve önemli bir koleksiyona sahip tek Pisidya kentidir. Sagalassos'un arcosoliumlarının tarihi bize hem arcosolium hem de lahitlerin, farklı gömme geleneğine ait olmalarına karşın aynı dönemde kullanıldıklarını göstermektedir. Kapıkaya'da da Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlenmesi gereken çeşitli arcosoliumlar vardır. Bunların arasında *intramural* bir arcosolium Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlenmelidir. Pisidya kentlerinde belirli mezar tiplerinin varlığı veya yokluğu ile dağılımları yukarıda açıklanmıştır. Belirli bir mezar tipi bazı Pisidya kentlerinde büyük miktarlarda karşımıza çıkmasına karşın görünüşe göre, nekropolislerle olduğu gibi Pisidya'da mezar tiplerinin dağılımında da gerçek bir coğrafi ayırım söz konusu değildir.

Anadolu'nun diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi Pisidya'da da mezarlar, ölülerin 'evleri' idi ve hatta (kapılar ve çatı biçimli kapaklar gibi) evleri de taklit ederlerdi. Ölünün evi iyi bakılmalıydı, saygı gösterilmeliydi ve talan veya kötü kullanıma karşı korunmalıydı. Böylece eski insanlar nihai istirahatgahlarını kamu belgeleri gibi çeşitli yollarla, bu tür durumlarda ceza uygulamalarıyla, ya da daha etkili olduğu düşünülen veya umulan lanetlerle belirlemişlerdir. Bu tür yazıtların sayıca çokluğunun, mezarların talan edilmesinin yaygın bir durum olmasından kaynaklanabileceği akla gelmekle birlikte bunun, bir yazım geleneği olabileceği de unutulmamalıdır.

Ölü kültü ve ölümden sonraki yaşam inançları hakkında maddi kanıtlar yetersiz olmasına karşın, mevcut veriler, kültürden kültüre değiştikleri için, kültürlerin yerel profillerini anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Günümüzde mezarların içindeki, çevresindeki veya onlarla ilintili durumdaki mimari unsurlar, yazıtlar ve tasvirler, ölümler için kült uygulamaları hakkında bilgi toplamanın başlangıç noktasını ve ana kaynaklarını oluşturur. Arkeolojik kanıtlardan bilinen uygulamalar arasında libasyon sunumu, sunular, mezar alanında ölünün onuruna ziyafet sayılabilir ki, bunlar zaten Hellenistik Dönem'den beri bilinen Roma Dönemi'nde de yaşayan kavramlardır. Pisidya'da mezar yakınındaki nişler ve sekiler ile libasyon çukurları, ölümler için yiyecek sağlama geleneğine işaret eder ki, bu zaten İmparatorluk genelinde yaygındır. Bu yazıda Pisidya'dan sunulan örneklerle İmparatorluk döneminde hem yeni formlar kullanılmaya başladığı hem de kahramanlaştırma kavramında değişiklik gerçekleştiği görülmekte, fakat yine de mezarlıkların, geleneklerin ve ölüm sonrası yaşama ilişkin inançlarla ilgili geniş çaplı bir değişikliğin gerçekleştiği saptanamamaktadır. Her şeyden önce, yolboyu mezarları, tapınak tipi mezarlar, vazo biçimli ostothekler ve kahramanlaştırmanın patlaması, bölgedeki Roma idaresinin dolaylı bir sonucu olarak yorumlanabilir.



Fig. 1
A sarcophagus at Keraitae



Fig. 2
A monumental tomb
at Ariassos



Fig. 3
The northwest Heroon
at Sagalassos



Fig. 4
A monumental tomb
at Komama



Fig. 5
A monumental tomb located
between Yüreğil and Pogla
(Çomaklı)



Fig. 6
An ostotheca
in the Burdur Museum



Fig. 7 A vase formed
ostrotheca from Sagalassos,
Burdur Museum



Fig. 8 A typical Pisidian sarcophagus
at Neapolis (Doyran)



Fig. 9
A sarcophagus
in the northern
necropolis of Selge

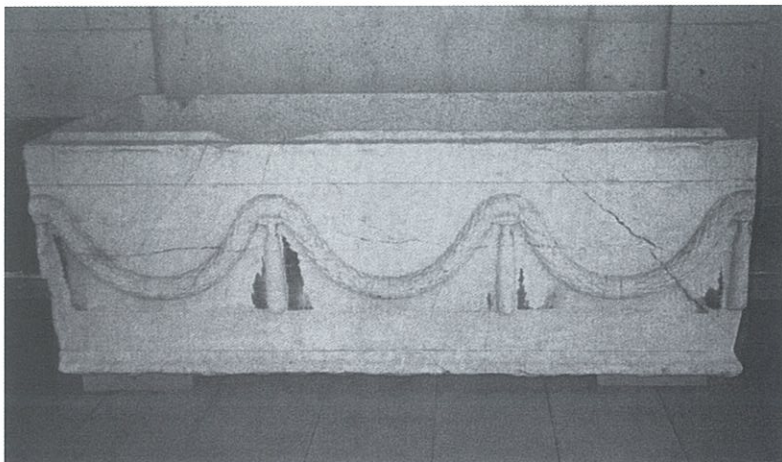


Fig. 10
A sarcophagus from Bubon,
Burdur Museum

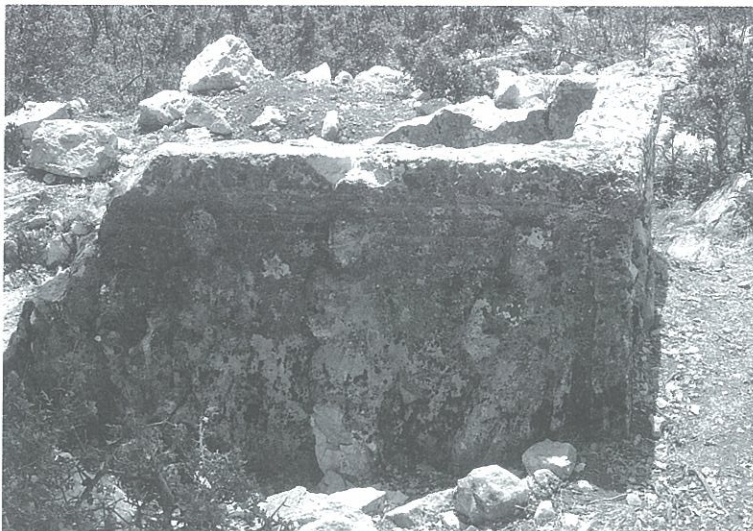


Fig. 11
A 'Torre Nova Type'
sarcophagus at Kapıkaya



Fig. 12
The short side of the
sarcophagus at Kapıkaya



Fig. 13
A kline lid found near the
'Torre Nova Type'
sarcophagus at Kapıkaya



Fig. 14
From the northern necropolis
of Selge

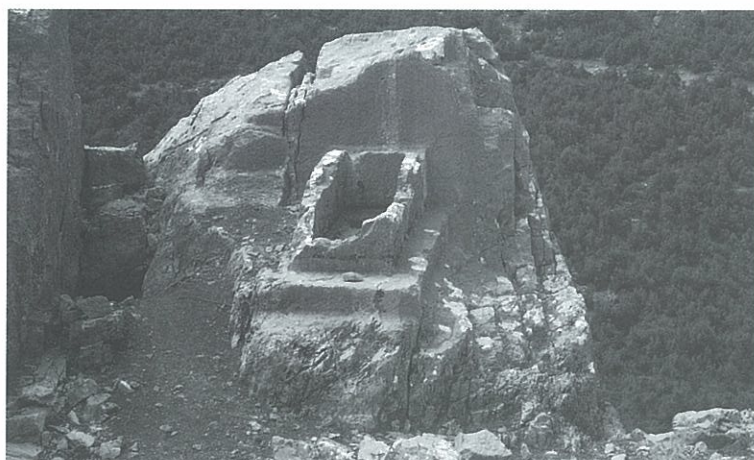


Fig. 15
A rock-cut sarcophagus
to the north of the site at Melli

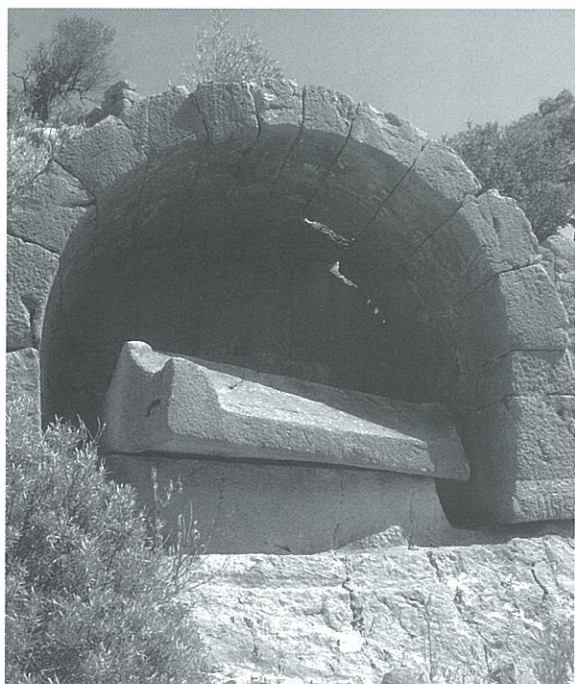


Fig. 16
A rock-cut sarcophagus
at Neapolis (Doyran)



Fig. 17 The corridor inside the rock-cut tomb leading to the next chamber at Andeda (İnlice)



Fig. 18 One of the tomb chambers at Andeda (İnlice)

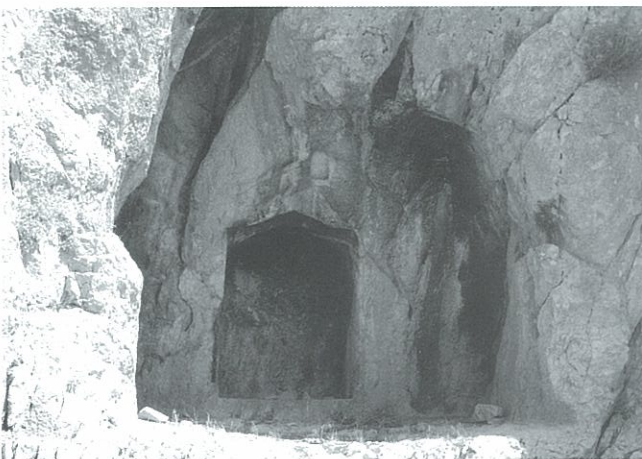


Fig. 19
The rock-cut tomb at Kolbasa (Gavurini)

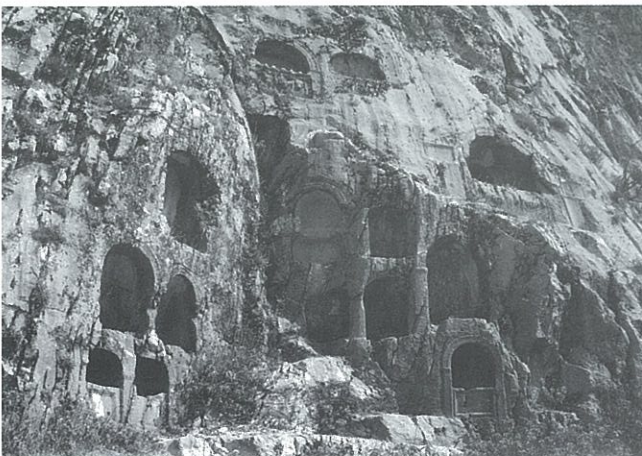


Fig. 20
Arcosolia in the northwest cemetery at Sagalassos



Fig. 21 An arcosolium type tomb at Kapıkaya



Fig. 22 An arcosolium type tomb at Kapıkaya



Fig. 23 An intramural arcosolium in the Hellenistic centre at Kapıkaya



Fig. 24 An arcosolium facing the Hellenistic centre at Kapıkaya

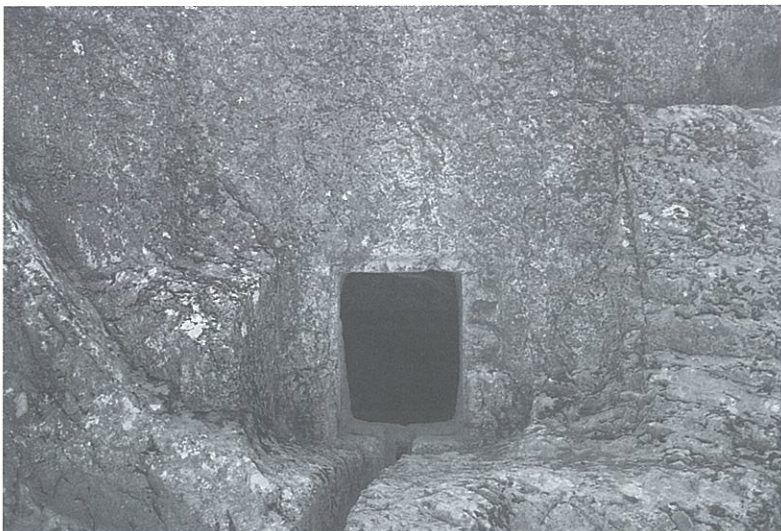


Fig. 25
The gutter in front
of the rock-cut tomb
at Andeda (İnlice)



Fig. 26
Niches on the podium
of the Hieron at Termessos