# The Farms in Rough Cilicia in the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods

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Upon the surveys of the eastern part of Rough Cilicia region, plenty of rural settlements have been discovered. It has been known that there was a temple state hegemony in this area during the Hellenistic Period and that the region was called as Olba Territorium. It has also been known that this region became a state known as Isauria during the Diocletianus Period¹ (Fig. 1). The rural settlements found in the area show that agriculture played an important role in the region in the Ancient economy, and different patterns were used in the production. There has been archeological proof and literature regarding the existence of an economy based on small farms and villages in the east of Rome that originated in the Hellenistic Period and extended into the Byzantine Period². The fact that we have encountered a plethora of similar, well protected samples throughout the surveys further supports this process. In the area the survey was conducted, rural settlements have spread all over the area; moreover, several production equipments have been discovered in the area.

In this study, we focus on a limited number of farms since to scrutinize all the rural settlements in the area would go beyond the scope of this study. Although the number of farms investigated in the area is somehow limited, with the well protected remains within these farms, it is possible both to form a regional typology and to conduct a chronological study. Some of these farms have already been used in previous studies; however, the discovery of many others in the area and the improvements in the documentation techniques have made it possible to re-evaluate the farms in question.

The limited number of studies on the geographical and historical features of the rural settlements in this area<sup>3</sup> as well as the lack of any study on the settlement patterns have made it crucial to carry out a study on the existence of a regional organization and a

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The investigation on the topic of this study was carried out in the eastern part of Rough Cilicia. This is the area between the two rivers Calycadnos and Lamos and is located between Erdemli and Silifke, the two districts of Mersin city today. Compared with the other hilly areas of Cilicia, this area is more suitable for settlement and production. The study has been supported by Tübitak.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hirschfeld 1997, 33; Cameron 1993; Jones 1964, I, 713.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Sayar 2006; Sayar 2007; Sayar 2008; Erten-Özyıldırım 2007, 421; Erten-Özyıldırım 2008, 52; Erten 2009, 134-135; Durugönül 1998b; Durugönül-Durukan 2007, 19-22; Durugönül et al. 2008, 122-123; Şahin 2007a; Şahin 2007b; Şahin 2008; Şahin-Pullu 2009; Aydınoğlu 2009a; Aydınoğlu 2010; Aydınoğlu 2009b; Aydınoğlu 2009c; Hild-Hellenkemper 1990 for the latest studies on the rural settlements in the area.

settlement pattern. Nevertheless, the place the farms occupy in the regional organization as a whole is the subject of another study. This study includes the preliminary results of an investigation to be used in further studies. The study aims to find answers to several questions concerning the farms in this area. These questions are as follows: (i) Is there a farm pattern peculiar to the region? (ii) Is there any proof to confirm the existence of landlords we have known to exist due to other studies in the literature? (iii) In which periods did the farms originate and develop, and what were the needs that gave rise to the birth and development of farms? (iv) What are the reasons underlying the increase in the number of farms in the Roman Period and afterwards? (v) What is the relationship between the villages and farms? (vi) What is the earliest date showing the starting point of the farm tradition that is observed both during and after the Roman Period?

The rural settlements in the Rough Cilicia region exhibit typological diversities: simple or complex farmsteads, small villages, middle-sized or large villages that are close to cities, the workshops that were constructed either within the villages or on independent lands. This diversity can also be observed in the ancient literature and inscriptions<sup>4</sup>. Accordingly, the definitions  $-\epsilon\pi\sigma$ 0′κιον (epoikion), κτήμα (ktema), or χωρίον (chorion) signify the land ownership and the territory of a person such as a farmstead. Based on the documents that originated in early 10<sup>th</sup> century, such terms as (agridion=small field) are known to have been used to refer to small villages in Asia Minor.

## The Survey of the Farms

Although we have encountered many farms during our survey, only some of the well protected farms that could provide us with the required data in terms of typology and chronology will be examined in this study<sup>5</sup>. We have determined that these farmsteads were constructed during the Roman Period, but some of the structures (like houses, churches, etc.) were added during the Byzantine Period. Although the area where this survey has been conducted is a mountainous and hilly area, the existence of the karst collapse areas that made agriculture possible in the area also enabled the development of rural settlements.

## Çildiremez

The surrounding of the Hüsametli village, Erdemli, where one of the vast karst collapse areas lies, still serves as an important agricultural area today. Ample evidence suggests that a lot of villages and farms were constructed around the karst collapse area that covers an area of 30 ha. The farmstead in Çildiremez is constructed on a high hill surrounded by terrace sets and fields. The farm here consists of structures that are placed inside a wall

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hirschfeld 1997, 37; Procopius Caesarea, Anecdota 30.19; Bacon 1907, 317; Feissel 1982, 334.

Some of the farms investigated here have also appeared in the previous studies with the archeological remains they have. See Aydınoğlu 1999, 157 for Hüsametli Çildiremez. See Tırpan-Söğüt 1998, 173; Aydınoğlu 1999, 159 for Hüsametli Üçayak. See Şahin 2007a, 156 fig. 10 for Küstüllü Gökören. See Sayar 2006, 2 for Şahmurlu Eşkintepe. See Hild-Hellenkemper 1990, 419; Durukan 2005, 123 for Sömek Vakıf. See Aydınoğlu 2007, 107; Aydın 2005, 89 for Sömek Örendibi. See Hild-Hellenkemper 1990, 260; Keil-Wilhelm 1931, 31; Eyice 1988, 26; Aydınoğlu 1999, 158; Aydınoğlu 2007, 110 for İmamlı Gökkale. See Hild-Hellenkemper 1990, 299; Hellenkemper-Hild 1986, 62; Aydınoğlu 1999, 156 for Keşlitürkmenli. See Eyice 1981, 204 ff.; Eyice 1988, 15 ff.; Eyice 1996, 206 ff.; Dagron-Callot 1988, 55 ff.; Hild-Hellenkemper 1990, 290; Tiryaki 2003; Varinlioğlu 2008; Eichner 2005, 201 ff.; Eichner 2004, 74 ff.; Çakmak 2010 for Karakabaklı.

with dimensions of approximately 64x42 meters. The farm is surrounded by walls with towers in all four corners (Fig. 2a). This way, the structure has an appearance of a fortified farmstead. The towers have dimensions of approximately 4.5x4.5 m. We understand that the two towers in the west were restored later. It is notable that the walls surrounding the farms were constructed with polygonal masonry (Fig. 2b-c). We understand that several other buildings were added inside the walls in later periods, and an arched hall that starts from the entrance was added possibly in the latest period of the farm (Fig. 2d). However, the farmstead have been damaged to a large extent. There lies an ancient road pavement between the hilly area and the highway. Some levers and weights presses have been discovered around the farmstead. Also, we have observed that a small church was built in the southwest of the farm in later periods (Fig. 2e).

#### Gacarlar

Among the structures discovered in the farmstead in Gacarlar (near Hüsametli village) are a farm house (Fig. 3a-c) and some other houses around it (Fig. 3f), the remains of an olive oil production building, rock cut lever and weights presses in the open field (Fig. 3e), screw weights, a church, two big cisterns (Fig. 3d), and chamosorion type sarcophagi. The farm house, with a rectangular design and with dimensions of 25x16 m., is constructed on a hill, and there is a nearby valley with a vast plateau (Fig. 3b). Some sections inside the house have been damaged. There is a tower with dimensions of 10x8 m. in the south corner of the house. There are remains of the houses scattered around inside the forest to the north of the hill. However, due to the differences in the patterns on the walls, we understand that these structures were added in later periods.

#### Esseler

The farm in Esseler, with dimension of 27x19 m., has a fortified wall, and there exist different structures inside the wall (Fig. 4a). The farm is made up of rectangular stones and has walls with isodomic masonry technique. We understand from the additions that both the construction and the use of the farmstead have continued in later periods (Fig. 4b-c). The projection in the southeast corner of the wall surrounding the farm signals the existence of a possible tower here. The protected remains show that some of the structures inside were used for production and storage purposes. We have also discovered remains belonging to some other buildings around the farm, rock cut lever and weights presses in the open field, and a few chamosorion type sarcophagi. Regarding the other structures located around the farm, we understand from different techniques on their walls that they were constructed in later periods. One of the additions made in later periods is a small nearby church with dimension of 7x4.5 m. (Fig. 4d).

## Üçayak

One of the rural settlements discovered around the karst collapse areas in the Hüsametli village is the farmstead in Üçayak (Fig. 5a). Founded on a hill surrounded by a smooth area, the farm consists of a well protected farm house, a building around the house used for both production and storage, and a cistern. In this area, we have also discovered plenty of levers and weights presses, press weights, and a church added to the structure

later on. The farm house is quite spectacular since it is well protected with its three-floor structure (Fig. 5b-c). The building has an entrance with a charming arch. Also, the consoles of the balconies of the second and the third floors are well protected. There are rectangular rooms behind the entrance. Due to the small windows on the first floor, we understand that this floor was used as a store, while the upper floors were used for dwelling. Nonetheless, the third floor was destroyed. We understand that the farm house has an area of nearly 400 m<sup>2</sup>. Behind the farm house, there is a big cistern attached to the house itself. The cistern is surrounded by a wall supported by arches (Fig. 5b). Inside the building, there is a section with three naves supported by two rows of arch. We understand that these arches carry the superstructure (Fig. 5d). The structure has architecture similar to that of the cisterns in the region (Fig. 5f). Another charming feature of the farmstead is the building which spreads as far as 50 metres to the farm house and includes production equipment carved on the bedrock. This structure is particularly important in the sense that it shows the existence of a distinct structure used for production and storage in the farmstead (Fig. 5e). The structure with dimensions of 18x7 m. consists of four rooms. The fact that the soil level of the structure is below the ground level and that only one of the floors has a high ceiling demonstrates the production and storage activities here.

#### Gökören

Several rural settlements have also been discovered around the village Küstüllü, Erdemli. Among these settlements, there is a farmstead founded on the skirts of a hill that has a plateau of approximately 3 ha. in Gökören (Fig. 6a). We understand that the farm's cultivable terrains spread among the hills in the form of a valley (Fig. 6c). In this area, in addition to a well protected farm house, we have discovered some production equipment and some remains belonging to four or five different structures. We have observed that the bedrock was also utilized in the construction of the farm house located on the skirt of the hill. The farm house, with dimensions of 25x13 m., was built with big rectangular stones; today, an area of 10 m. height has been well-protected. We understand that the structure consists of two sections, and includes at least three floors. There is a cistern right next to the entrance door. There is a tower on the rocks next to the farm house (Fig. 6b). Because of the damage, it is not possible to describe the plans of the remains discovered on the terrace in front of the farm house. We have additionally observed that different rooms were created by processing the rocky areas. The existence of rock cut lever and weights presses and press weights indicates the existence of wine production in the area.

# Eşkintepe

There are plenty of rural settlements around the karst collapse areas in the Sahmurlu village located in the north of Erdemli. Among these, Eskintepe is especially remarkable with a farm house, production and storage buildings, dwellings, production equipment, and tombs. The farm house located on a rocky hill including a diversity of agricultural lands is constructed on the bedrock itself from rectangular stones (Fig. 7a-c). We understand from the additions that the two-floored farm house continued to be in use in later periods. The small windows and the embrasures on the first floor signal that this part was used for storage purposes. The arch on the entrance door facing the south focuses the entrance. To the northwest of the farm house, there are rectangular buildings that extend

in the form of an aisle; these buildings must have been used for several purposes such as dwelling, storage, and production. We understand that these buildings appeared in the early phases of the farmhouse and continued to be in use in later periods with some other additions (Fig. 7d). There are some remains belonging to other structures on the hill which we understand to have been added in later periods. The barrel-vaulted aedicule tomb we have found in the region is of high importance since it stands as a criterion to date the farmstead (Fig. 7e). Additionally, we have found four chamosorion type sarcophagi in the farm. The existence of rock cut lever and weights presses and press weights indicates the existence of wine production in the area.

#### Sömek Vakıf

The farm in Sömek Vakıf, among many other rural settlements discovered around the karst collapse area in Esenpinar, Erdemli, is located at a central point dominating the karst collapse area. The farm is surrounded by a wall that has been ruined to a big extent. We understand that inside the wall there is a court and some other buildings (Fig. 8a). Big polygonal stones were used in the construction of the surrounding walls (Fig. 8b). The farm has dimensions of approximately 28x20 m., and the north part is constructed by processing the bedrock. Inside the wall, there are remains belonging to the dwellings, and some of these carry the traces of an upper floor. However, it is not possible to define those parts since they are extensively damaged (Fig. 8d). The most impressive section of the farmstead is the tower which has dimensions of 11x8 m. The tower is located in the northwest corner next to the wall surrounding the farm. There is also a big vaulted cistern next to this wall. Around the farmstead, there are buildings that have walls with similar masonry techniques as those of the farm wall. We understand that the structures that are located both within and around the farm and constructed with small stones were added at a later stage (Fig. 8c). We have also discovered a monumental tomb and a chamosorion type sarcophagus. The monumental tomb is of the type known as the gable roofed aedicule tomb in the region (Fig. 8e). Finally, we have discovered production equipment around the farmstead.

#### Sömek Örendibi

Another farm discovered around the karst collapse area in Esenpınar, Erdemli is located in Sömek Örendibi. The farm discovered here sits on a hill, and thus possesses vast agricultural lands. The smooth area on the hill where the farm was constructed makes it possible to cultivate the land here. The farmstead, with dimensions of 25x24 m., has a masonry consisting of big polygonal stones and includes some other buildings inside the walls (Fig. 9a). Nonetheless, both the damage on the structures and the bushy areas here make it hard to define the plan of the construction. Again, thanks to the additions made, we understand that the constructions were also used in later stages. In front of the farm, we have discovered a vaulted cistern, a round altar, a tank used to store liquids during olive oil production in the region. There are remains of walls and door lintels that belong to some other buildings on the outskirts of the hill where the farm is located. The symbol of thunderbolt, the shield, and a menorah-candelabrum relief are among the symbols we know to have been used in this region in the Roman and Hellenistic Periods<sup>6</sup>. Besides, we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For symbols of Olba see Bent 1890, 322; Durugönül 1998a, 85. There are also menorah reliefs that demonstrate the existence of the Jewish people in the region. Some of these appear on the tombs, and a goup that belongs to

have discovered several rock cut lever and weights presses and press weights on the terraces in this area. The two important discoveries in dating the structures here are the two sarcophagi, with altar and tabula ansata reliefs on one of the sarcophagi, and three chamosorion type sarcophagi (Fig. 9c). The big church located in the area exhibits the general characteristics of Cilicia and Isauria churches in terms of design and materials used<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 9b).

#### Gökkale

We have discovered many rural settlements in the mountainous areas in the north of Silifke. The farm in Gökkale, located near the İmamlı village, lies on a highland; also, it is possible to reach the area through an ancient road whose stone pavement is still apparent today (Fig. 11a). In this area, we have discovered a farm house, buildings used for production and storage purposes, houses, a monumental tomb, sarcophagi, a lot of production equipment and cisterns (Fig. 10a). The well-protected farm house here has two floors and four separate rooms. Considering the embrasures on the first floor, we hypothesize that this ground floor must have been used for storage (Fig. 10b-c). On the other hand, the second floor is surrounded by doors and windows; hence, we understand that the upper floor was used for dwelling. At the front part of the structure facing the south, which has an area of 150 m<sup>2</sup>, there is a balcony supported by arches (Fig. 10c). There is also a cistern under the front court (Fig. 11c). The structuring to the west and north of the farm house carries similar masonry techniques as the farm house itself, so that part must be contemporary with the farm house (Fig. 11d). The building to the west of the farm house has three rooms and covers an area of 240 m<sup>2</sup>; we consider this construction to have been used for storage and production (Fig. 10d). The structures to the north of the house must have been used for dwelling. There exists a narrow path among these structures. We have discovered many rock cut lever and weights presses and press weights in the open field as well as cisterns in the area. A monumental tomb discovered around the farm house is of the type defined as the barrel-vaulted aedicule tomb (Fig. 11b). Additionally, we have discovered a sarcophagus and two chamosorion type sarcophagi having covers with cross patterns on (Fig. 11e).

## Keşlitürkmenli

Another farm in the north of Silifke is in Keşlitürkmenli, which is located on the Seleukeia-Diokaesareia ancient route. The farm lies on a low hill which has a smooth cultivable area of 5ha. by the highway. The farm is surrounded by walls with towers in the corners, and inside the walls there are buildings that might have been used for dwelling and storage. Thus, it has the appearance of a fortified farm. Inside the walls, there is a central court as well; along the long edges of the court, there are possibly wooden porches (Fig. 12a-c). The farm covers an area of 30x16.6 m. and floor of the court is also paved with stones (Fig. 13d). The building used as a residence is located along the short edge. It is rectangular, has an area of 100 m² for dwelling, and possibly has two floors

these reliefs lies in Korykos necropolis, Koch 2000, 594. Besides, it is possible to come across this pattern on some of the reliefs and on the door lintels, see Durugönül 1989, 128; Aydın 2007, 275.

Aydın 2005, 89. See Hill 1996, 1-61 regarding the general characteristics of the Cilicia and Isauria churches.

(Fig. 13a). The big cistern that is situated under this building has a vaulted architecture and is accessible through the court. We consider the other structures along the short edges to have been used for production and storage purposes. There are towers in all four corners of the wall surrounding the farmstead. These towers are of dimensions of approximately 5x6.5m, and they have at least two floors (Fig. 13b). As far as we have understood from the protected high points of the towers, there is a door opening to the farmstead itself under two of the towers, while there is a door opening outside the farmstead under one of the towers. There are rock cut lever and weights presses on the outskirts of the low hill where the farmstead is constructed (Fig. 13c). Also, there are remains belonging to the structures that might have been used as an olive oil production building. The stone pavements of the road that combines the farmstead to the ancient route are well protected (Fig. 13d).

#### Karakabaklı

A lot of rural settlements have been discovered on the ancient route in the north of Susanoğlu (Korasion). In Karakabaklı, one of these rural settlements, we have discovered a farm house, buildings used for production and storage purposes, dwellings, monumental tombs and sarcophagi, some production equipment, two churches, and monumental gates. We have understood that some of these buildings have been added in later stages. The rectangular farm house has two floors with dimensions of 12,80x8,60 m. (Fig. 14a-c). The different masonry techniques on the walls of the first floor and the second floor show that the structure has gone through different phases. We understand that the first floor, with high ceilings supported by arches, serves as the storeroom. We see that the upper floor was used as a residence since there are windows in all directions, doors, and balcony supports that must have carried a wooden structure. It is claimed that there are three rooms on the upper floor<sup>8</sup>. In the part facing the court, there is also a vault carrying the ladders which lead to the upper floor. There is a large court next to the farm house. In the court as it is surrounded by the walls, there is a pentagon tower with dimensions of approximately 5,45x6 m. We understand from the additions that both the tower and the court continued to be in use in later stages, also. But it is remarkable that the farm house is located in the outer edge of the court, not inside it (Fig. 14a). We understand that the four structures located to the west of the farm house were constructed in the same period as the farm house itself due to the technical characteristics and the design features they have in common. It is possible that these four structures were used for production and storage purposes. Especially the rectangular structure next to the farm house, with dimensions of approximately 22x13 m., must have been used for production since it has a peristyle court and four different sections, and presses inside these sections (Fig. 14d). Additionally, in this area, we have also discovered two buildings used for olive oil production. One of the buildings has dimensions of nearly 7x11 m. and includes two lever and screw presses with perforated press piers at the fulcrum, mortar-shaped crushing basins and roundshaped crushing stones inside it. Around the farm, we have discovered many rock cut lever and weights presses and press weights. There is also a barrel-vaulted aedicule tomb made by processing the bedrock (Fig. 14e). In this area, apart from another example of barrel-vaulted aedicule tomb, we have discovered a sarcophagus and two chamosorion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Dagron-Callot 1988, 65.

type sarcophagi having covers with cross patterns on as well as plenty of cisterns. Also, some of the spectacular structures in this area are the two tetrapylons, two churches, and houses which must have been added in later stages. The houses reflect the architecture of the early Byzantine Period and thus are plain structures with simple designs. They are also in harmony with the rural land here; moreover, they include two floors, arched entrances, and small sub-sections inside them. All of these building are constructed on or by an ancient road. The road passes by the settlement here, and its stone pavements are still visible today. By the same ancient route, there exist two churches next to each other constructed with basilical plan. The structures here indicate that a small village developed around the farm in later periods.

## Hayatınbaşı

We have discovered a lot of rural settlements around the karst collapse area in Ovacıkalanı in the north of Silifke. The farm in Hayatınbaşı is located on a hill including agricultural terraces. In this area, there is a farm house, door lintels of the houses and wall ruins, production equipment, cisterns, sarcophagi, and an area used for worship. The farm house is located to the south of the hilly land and possesses cultivable lands. The square farm house is of the dimensions nearly 12.5x13 m. and consists of two sections (Fig. 15a). The farm house probably has upper floors which we cannot verify due to the damage here (Fig. 15b). The farm house has a masonry consisting of big polygonal stones (Fig. 15c). The comparatively less elaborate polygonal masonry used in the construction of the walls of the houses around the farm house indicates that the farm was used in different phases. In addition to the big cisterns in this area, the existence of rock cut lever and weights presses and press weights indicates the existence of agricultural production in the area (Fig. 15e). On the slope to the west of the hilly area, we have discovered five chamosorion type sarcophagi with an altar relief on one of the tombs (Fig. 15d). The eagle relief carved in a stone recess positioned behind the farm house is quite impressive. The area where the recess is placed is surrounded by walls; we understand that the site was used for worship.

## Çukurbağ

The farm in Çukurbağ, located near the Veyselli village, is situated on a highland which has an area of 1.9 ha. in the front part and also has plateaus that spread among the hills (Fig. 16a). The farm house looks like a rectangle in shape and has dimensions of 31x11 m. The front side of the farm house has a masonry constructed with huge rectangular stones (Fig. 16d). We have observed that the bedrock was also utilized in the construction of the farmhouse (Fig. 16b-c). We have identified six sub-sections inside the building. The arches in these sections signal the existence of an upper floor. It is not possible to determine what the places on the first floor were used for. There are some other buildings around the farm house with similar masonry. We have also discovered rock cut lever and weights presses and tombs in this area. Next to the farms house, a church was built with reused stones later on (Fig. 16e).

### The Characteristics of the Farms

We have discovered farms with different characteristics in the area. These farms vary in their features according to the simplex versus complex structures of the farmsteads. In our previous study, we categorized some of the farms investigated in this study as the ones which had towers and buildings. In the light of the data collected in this study, we support that these farms should be regarded as complex farmsteads. Some of the farms are huge with complex architecture. These farms include some buildings used for production and storage, different types of tombs, production equipments, plenty of houses, and cisterns as well as a farm house where the owner of the farm or the landlord inhabits. Be that as it may, we understand that the farmsteads were always used in different and later stages and that some of the structures inside these farmsteads were added in later phases according to the needs of the farmsteads in the area. The farm houses investigated face either the south or the southwest and sometimes open to a court in either of these directions. This location of the houses well suits the weather conditions. Thus, the houses receive the utmost sun light and heat during the winter months. The location, moreover, hinders the cold winds blowing from the north or the northeast. The farm houses generally have two floors; the first floor serves for agricultural needs, whereas the upper floor is used as a residence. The embrasures on the first floor do not let much light in. Hence, we understand that the first floor is typically used as a store. The existence of doors and wide windows in the upper floors indicates that the upper floors in the farm houses were used for dwelling purposes. The farm houses in the area generally do not have a standard design. The farm house in Gökkale has a rectangular design with five rooms (Fig. 10a); the farm house in Üçayak has a rectangular design with three floors and probably three rooms (Fig. 5a); finally, the farm house in Hayatınbaşı has a square design with two rooms (Fig. 15a).

Some of the farms in the area are surrounded by walls and are thus fortified. The well protected farm in Keşlitürkmenli is an example of fortified farmsteads. Inside the walls of this farm, there are buildings that might have been used for dwelling and storage. Besides, there is a central court situated in the centre of these walls; there are also wooden porches along the long edges of this court (Fig. 12a). Similar features can be observed in the farmsteads in Çildiremez, Sömek Vakıf and Esseler. We have also discovered farms with no walls around, but with courts either in front of or near the farmhouses. For example, the court is placed in front of the farm house in Gökkale (Fig. 10a). Analyzing the well protected samples, we have understood that these courts have floors paved with stones. Besides, inside the court, there are cisterns big enough to cover the whole court. In some of the farmsteads, we observe that there is certainly a cistern outside of the wall and next to it. There exist many other cisterns scattered around inside the farmsteads.

We understand towers too are one of the common characteristics of the farmsteads. The existence of four towers in every corner of the walls surrounding the farms in Çildiremez and Keşlitürkmenli reinforces the fortified appearance of the farms. On the other hand, there are some farms where there is only one tower situated in one of the corners of the wall around the farmstead. The tower in the farmstead in Karakabaklı has a pentagonal design and also serves as an entrance leading to the court. In Gacarlar, it is not possible to have an idea regarding the height of the tower located in the corner of the farm house due to the damage incurred. However, we understand that there is a basement under the tower which is probably used for storage. The tower in the corner of the

farmstead in Sömek Vakıf is different from other towers regarding its dimensions and appearance. This in turn shows that there is no standard as to the dimensions of the towers the farmsteads have in this area. In some of the farmsteads, although the farm itself has no towers, the need for one is met by constructing the farm house in the form of a tower. The farm house in Üçayak is an example of this with its height and architecture. Actually, why we defined this farm house as a tower in previous studies has to do with the fact that the farm house retains its height and still has an appearance similar to that of a tower (Fig. 5b-c). It is also notable that the farm house discovered in Hayatınbaşı is quite like the towers of the Hellenistic Period in this area with its square design, small dimensions, and thick polygonal masonry (Fig. 15a-b). In Byzantine sources, it is suggested that the fortified farmsteads, also referred to as limitanei in these sources, are the dwellings of the military settlers. However, we propose that these fortified farmsteads in Rough Cilicia were used either by landlords or by the owners of the farms rather than the military settlers, as was the case in Philistine<sup>9</sup>.

In complex farmsteads, there are buildings around the farm house used for storage and production. These buildings also include the production equipment, which confirms the existence of production in the farms. The production equipment found in such a well protected building in the farmstead in Üçayak well supports this claim (Fig. 5e). There are similar well protected buildings in the farmsteads in Karakabaklı (Fig. 14d) and Gökkale (Fig. 10d). These buildings must have been used for storage and production purposes with their thick walls and elaborate masonry techniques on these walls. Lever and screw presses with perforated press piers at the fulcrum, mortar-shaped crushing basins, and roundshaped crushing stones discovered in two buildings in Karakabaklı suggest that these buildings were used for olive oil production. In the farmsteads, we have also discovered many rock cut lever and weights presses (Fig. 3e-13c-15e). That they are located in the open field makes it possible to install them everywhere in the field easily. Another proof regarding the agricultural production in the area is the existence of the press weights. We have also discovered many houses in the farmsteads. Most of these houses must have been added in later periods, which not only shows that the farmsteads were continuously in use throughout all the periods but also makes it possible to consider some of the farmsteads as small villages in the early Byzantine Period. The farmsteads with the building they have in Karakabaklı, Esseler and Gacarlar could be regarded as the examples of such developments in the area. These houses can be anlayzed in two groups as detached houses and serried houses. They generally have lengthwise rooms, different dimensions, surrounding walls, and courts. They also reflect the characteristics of the early Byzantine Period in that they are in harmony with the rural land here; they are plain and simply designed with two floors, arched entrances, and small sub-sections inside them<sup>10</sup>.

It is noteworthy that there are also churches in these farmsteads. It is quite obvious from the location of the churches and the construction techniques that the churches were added to the farmstead in later periods. The reused stones (previously utilized in building farmsteads) observed on the church buildings discovered in Çukurbağ<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 16e) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Hirschfeld 1997, 69 for further detail on the farmsteads in Philistine.

Eichner 2005, 201. See also Eyice 1981, 204; Tiryaki 2003 for studies on the houses that are commonly encountered in the area and that reflect the characteristics of early Byzantine Period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Durugönül 1998b, 287.

Örendibi (Fig. 9b) can also support this finding<sup>12</sup>. This must be related to the fact that the farms were continuously in use over the course of many periods and through époques of political and cultural change. That's why, the emergence of churches especially in certain farmsteads raises questions regarding their relationship to the farms. There exists a church in almost all of the farmsteads around Hüsametli. The dimensions of the churches in Çildiremez (Fig. 2e) and Esseler (Fig. 4d) (9x5m and 7x4.5 m. respectively) demonstrate that it was preferred in the farmsteads for such structures to be of small dimensions. The church in Üçayak is remarkable in its location on a hill viewing the farmstead. The discovery of an eagle relief in a rock recess near the farm house in Hayatınbaşı signals the existence of an area for worship near the farm houses in every period.

The existence of tombs in the farmsteads signals the permanence of life; one can observe different types of tombs in the farmsteads. There are a few sarcophagi and generally only one monumental tomb in the farmsteads. One of the reasons why there are different types of tombs is that the farms were continuously in use in all periods. The tombs are generally located very close to the farm houses; there are no specific necropolises in the farmsteads due to the limited number of the tombs. The tomb types are parallel to the types commonly observed in the region. Among these, the existence of the monumental tombs is especially striking. The tomb discovered in the farmstead in Sömek Vakıf is of the type known as gable roofed aedicule tomb. It is thought that this tomb is somehow affected by temple tombs in their style<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 8e). The tomb discovered in the farmstead in Gökkale, on the other hand, is of the type barrel-vaulted aedicula tomb, a type commonly known in the area (Fig. 11b). Some other examples of the latter type have also been discovered in the farmsteads in Eşkintepe (Fig. 7e) and Karakabaklı (Fig. 14e). There are additionally some sarcophagi in these farmsteads. We have also discovered sarcophagi in the farmsteads in Gökkale (Fig. 11e), Esseler and Örendibi'ndeki (Fig. 9c), two chamosorion type sarcophagi (which we consider to belong to early Byzantine Period because of the cross reliefs on their covers) in the farmstead in Gökkale, and finally plenty of chamosorion type sarcophagi in the farmsteads in Esseler, Çildiremez, and Gacarlar. The existence of different types of tombs in the farms is especially important in dating the farmsteads.

#### Conclusion

Geographical and Historical Effect on the Rural Settlement in Rough Cilicia

Geograpical/climatic and social/political factors played a role in the emergence of the rural settlements in the area in which this investigation was conducted. The Mediterranean climate here must have enabled olive and grape production both to develop and to diversify. The discovery of olive cultivation and the production of olive oil in the areas close to the coastline have something to do with the humid climate here. We have, furthermore, discovered proof verifying the grape cultivation and wine production in higher altitudes. The severe climate in higher altitudes must have hindered the emergence of a permanent rural settlement and production in these areas. Therefore, we conclude that the farmsteads in the area are placed at altitudes ranging between 0-1400 m. because of the climatic

See Aydın 2005, 93 for the proposal that the column headings used in the construction of the churches belong to a temple tomb dating back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Durukan 2005, 123.

conditions. Even though the area is hilly and mountainous, the existence of many karst collapse areas made the development of rural settlements possible at the time. These areas assisted agricultural activities and thus were one of the basic criteria in choice of the location rural settlements were to be founded. These lands are still used for agriculture today. Most of the farmsteads investigated in the area are established on the skirts of the hills around the karst collapse areas. The following karst collapse areas were preferred for settlement in the area: the one that covers an area of almost 30 ha. in the village Hüsametli, Erdemli; another one that covers an area of almost 53 ha. in Ovacıkalanı, Silifke; and a similar karst collapse area in Esenpınar. We have observed that the areas where cultivable small plateaus and terraces lie were also preferred for rural settlements. The plateaus cultivated in the farmsteads in this area are as follows: the plateau in Gökören with an area of nearly 3ha, the plateau in Eşkintepe with an area of nearly 0.9 ha., and the plateau in Çukurbağ with an area of nearly 1.9 ha. The farmstead in Gökkale controls the plateaus among the hills, while the farmstead in Keşlitürkmenli controls the plateau with an area of almost 5ha. One of the geographical conditions that affect the establishment of the farmsteads in the region is the existence of valleys and roads between the hinterland and coastline that make the transportation in the area more manageable. It is known that several villages, workshops, and farmsteads were founded along the roads close to the ancient cities on the coastline. The farmstead in Karakabaklı is remarkable in that it is located near Korasion on the seashore and is connected to Korasion through an ancient road. The rural settlements established along this route are especially important since they are helpful defining the relationship between the ancient cities on the seashore and its kbora. The same is true for Korykos and Elaiussa Sebaste on the seashore. Behind these ancient cities on the coast, we have also discovered many other rural settlements. A regional organization in this area is possible thanks to the valleys that provide the avenues of transportation between the hilly areas and coastline and the ancient cities on the coast. It is known that the ancient road routes in the area are connected to the rural settlements. The farmsteads constructed on the skirts of hills are connected to these major road routes via minor roads. The pavements of the ancient minor roads that connect to the major roads around the farmsteads in Keşlitürkmenli, Çildiremez and Gökkale (Fig. 11a) are still visible today, which is a general characteristic of the farms in this area.

We understand that the historical traits of the area play an important role in the emergence, formulation, and development of rural settlements. Among the oldest known agricultural structures in the area are the Cilician Towers, which are known to have been built between the early Hellenistic Period and the early Roman Period in the region. It is also suggested by some other scholars that these towers were used for the security of agricultural production as well as defense purposes<sup>14</sup>. During the surveys, we have discovered evidence illustrating the towers were used as farm houses. The farm house discovered in Hayatınbaşı has a design similar to towers in the Hellenistic Period in the area with its dimensions and masonry techniques. The eagle relief in one of the recesses behind the farm house is particularly important in the sense that it indicates the area was constantly in use since the beginning of the Hellenistic Period.

Durugönül 1998a, 113. It is known that some of these towers were used as oil poduction buildings with the production installations added later on in Roman and early Byzantine Periods. See Aydınoğlu 2009a, 49-50 for further information.

The discovery of some small farms and workshops, production installations belonging to these farms around Korykos is remarkable since it can be considered as the first archeological proof pointing to the existence of agricultural production and organization in the Hellenistic Period in the area<sup>15</sup>. Besides, the coins and ceramics found in this area provide us with the evidence regarding olive oil and wine production during the Hellenistic Period in this area<sup>16</sup>. This evidence further verifies the existence of agricultural production in this period. We see that similar structures can be observed in some other areas, too. The towers discovered during the surveys in Attica, for example, were also used as farmsteads. It is claimed that these towers were in use throughout the Classic and Hellenistic Period and that they were composed of three sections: a tower, a court, and a house<sup>17</sup>. Another example of towers used as a farmstead is the one found in Lycia, Kelbessos. This tower also has a house, a workshop, and stores, which shows that this tradition had existed in the area since the Hellenistic Period<sup>18</sup>.

The farmsteads and other rural settlements in Rough Cilicia increased together with the Roman Period, and survived through the early Byzantine Period. Although there are certain problems in identifying and dating the archeological remains in the area due to the constant use of these remains in all periods, we can refer to some results regarding the dates the farmstead were in use. The gable roofed aedicula tomb found in Sömek Vakıf and the barrel-vaulted aedicula tombs found in the farmsteads in Gökkale, Eskintepe and Karakabaklı reveal that such examples of tombs emerged in the area after the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D<sup>19</sup>. This further shows that the farmsteads in the region were also in use during the aforementioned periods. Besides, there are also sarcophagi discovered in farmsteads in Gökkale, Esseler and Örendibi. The tabula ansata and an altar on one of the sarcophagi discovered in the farmsteads in Örendibi show the characteristics of the sarcophagi encountered in this area. It is suggested that the initial sarcophagi were produced based on the examples made Korykos either towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. or at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>20</sup>. Along with the expansion of Christianity in the region, the sarcophagi used in previous periods were reused with some additions such as cross reliefs or inscription starting from the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. The existence of chamosorion type sarcophagi with cross patterns in some other farmsteads in Gökkale and Karakabaklı proves the use of Roman farmsteads in the early Byzantine Periods. In view of the construction equipments, the simplicity of the designs, the existence of small subsections in the houses in the farmsteads, and finally their similarity to the house architecture in rural settlements in North Syria, it is suggested that the dates of these houses be set as the 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>21</sup>. The production equipments discovered in the farmsteads

The buildings used for agriculture in Korykos consist of structures such as a tower having walls constructed with polygonal masonry technique, rock cut lever and weights presses in the open field near the tower, and finally tomb houses with polygonal masonry around the farm house. The fact that all the lever and weights presses are located very close to the towers without any exceptions shows that lever and weight presses are contemporary with towers. See Aşkın 2010, 36-40 for more on this relationship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Aşkın 2010, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Young 1956, 134-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Çevik-Bulut 2007, 110-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Durukan 2005, 119, 123.

Machatschek 1967, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Eichner 2004, 78; Eichner 2005, 204.

further supports this conclusion. Production equipment such as lever and screw presses with perforated press piers at the fulcrum, screw weights, mortar-shaped crushing basins and round-shaped crushing stones as well as rock cut lever and weights presses in the open field show similar characteristics to the ones in the other areas in the Mediterranean region<sup>22</sup>. All the archeological evidence support the existence of a production process starting towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and developing more and more by the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D<sup>23</sup>. The archeological evidence suggests the production activities continued in later periods. Regarding the period until which the farmsteads were in use, the churches in these farmsteads provide us with the relevant information. The location of the churches in the farmsteads and construction techniques indicate that they were added to the farmsteads in later periods. The structural and decorative elements the small churches in Çildiremez and Esseler have illustrate that these churches were in use in the middle Byzantine Period<sup>24</sup>. During the excavations conducted in Elaiussa Sebaste, it was understood that the settlement had been interrupted by Arabian occupations from the second half the 7th century A.D. on the coastline in Cilicia region, which is particularly important since it points to a similar process regarding the dates the farmsteads were in use<sup>25</sup>.

The history of the area provides us with the data to explain the increase in the rural settlements especially at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. We understand that Cilicia and Isauria regions, having been exposed to the effects of the Roman Empire, started to resemble the Roman Empire in social and economic structure. This effect can be further observed in the structures that reflect urban architecture, i.e. aqueducts, altars, monumental gates, fountains, necropolises, and colonnaded streets<sup>26</sup>. Similar effects of the Roman Empire can also be observed in rural areas: rural participation in the production process of this period, private farms becoming the foundation of the economic life and urban growth, and also artifacts relevant to the period emerge in greater quantities. The construction of the new buildings in rural areas that carry the traces of urban architecture commences. It becomes frequent to use elements such as mosaic decoration, peristyle courts, monumental gates, and necropolises. It is clear from the traces of new settlement patterns in rural settlements in Cilicia and Isauria in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century that the economic crisis that prevailed within the boundaries of the empire in general

See Avni-Gudovitz 1996, 141; Ayalon 1996, 153; Dar 1996, 160 for the corresponding examples of the lever and screw presses and screw weights used together with the screws and for the similarities in press techniques in Israel. See Hadjisavvas 1988, 115 and Hadjisavvas 1992, 12-14 for the examples in Cyprus and for the typological similarities in mortar-shaped crushing basins and round-shaped crushing stones here. See also Mattingly-Hitchner 1993, 444 for the examples in North Africa. See Çevik *et al.* 2005b, 51; Diler 1995, 90 for Lycia examples and similarities observed on rock cut lever and weights presses in Lycia, and see also Frankel 1997, 74 for Eastern Mediterranean examples. See Hadjisavvas 1992, 60 for Cyprus examples and for the similarities in press weights in Cyprus. See also Dar 1996, 160 for the corresponding examples in Philistine, Lubnan, and Israel. Finally, see Aydınoğlu 2009a, 70 for the typology and dating criteria of the production equipments found in Rough Cilicia.

We have determined that the production activities in the region has started at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and increased as from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. However, we deduce there must have been rural settlements in the region in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries also. But due to the constant use of the farmsteads and the dating and identification problems peculiar to the archeological remains, the archeological evidence concerning the existence of the farmsteads in the area in this period are not clear yet.

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  The detailed information on the subject has been provided by Prof. Dr. Ayşe Aydın.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Equini Schneider 2008, 18-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Waelkens 1987, 94 ff; Dodge 1987, 106 ff.

affected the rural settlements as well<sup>27</sup>. The farm houses, necropolises, other dwellings, production and storage buildings in the farmsteads in this area are quite in harmony with the historical process described in this study.

The farmsteads discovered in Rough Cilicia have similar characteristics to their corresponding examples in Lycia, Pamphylia, Philistine, Syria, and Africa. One can come across many farmsteads in the areas in question. The farmsteads discovered around Trebenna, which has borders to Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycia, are similar to the farmsteads in Rough Cilicia in that they are located in close areas to the urban settlements, they are connected to urban settlements with roads, they have buildings used for production and storage, and they have necropolises<sup>28</sup>. It is also remarkable that the farmsteads in Rough Cilicia and those in the aforementioned places are similar to each other in the sense that both have two floors, with the second floor used for dwelling whilst the first floor is used for storage<sup>29</sup>. It is also suggested that the farmsteads were in use in late Roman and early Byzantine Periods, yet also date as early as pre-3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>30</sup>. It is acknowledged that in Kyaneai territorium in the east of Lycia the population increased and new buildings such as churches appeared (whereby old structures were enhanced with further additions) bearing the architectural improvements introduced in the Roman Empire Period. In the territorium, where early farmsteads with towers dating back to Archaic Period also appeared, there are many settlements such as Korba, Trysa, Teimiusa, Tyinda, and Büyük Avsar and farms connected to these settlements. Some other remarkable characteristics these areas have in common with Rough Cilicia in terms of settlement areas are as follows: there are ten farmsteads with towers in the southwest of Avşar Hill and there are thirty-five similar farmsteads around Hoyran and Trysa, in the farmsteads discovered in Oğlansarnıcı and Yurtene there are courts (with some other dwellings around), production equipments, necropolises, and cisterns, with architectural elements utilized since early times<sup>31</sup>. Furthermore, there are many farmsteads discovered around Alanya; these farmsteads reflect the characteristics of the early Byzantine Period<sup>32</sup>. The latest surveys conducted in Karia are also noteworthy since they provide us with detailed information on plenty of farmsteads. A farmstead located in Loryma is similar to the farmsteads in Rough Cilicia with its court, farm house, cistern, and production buildings<sup>33</sup>. The discovery of farmsteads that comprise rural settlements on Halikarnasos peninsula also enhances the findings of our study<sup>34</sup>. The farmsteads discovered on the peninsula Bozburun, Karia are similar to the ones in Rough Cilicia in the sense that they also include a section for dwelling, a section for agricultural production, a necropolis, and a cistern<sup>35</sup>. Some other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Mitchell 1999, 193 ff.

See Bulut 2007a, 24 on the building included in the farmsteads in Mersincik, Gedeller, Neapolis, Üçtepeler ve Kessener. See also Çevik 1995; Çevik 2000; Çevik et al. 2003a, 52; Çevik et al. 2003b: 200; Çevik et al. 2005a, 104 – 105; Çevik et al. 2005b; Çevik et al. 2006, 142, 143, 145, 148-150; Çevik et al. 2007, 92; Bulut 2005, 192-193; Bulut 2007a, 24, 30, 32; Bulut 2007b, 418, 419 for further investigations conducted in this region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See Çevik *et al.* 2007, 92; Bulut 2007b, 419 for the farmstead discovered in Gazelin İni in Trebenna territorium.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See Cevik et al. 1995, 42 for dating of the farmstead discovered in the village Hurma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kolb 1998, 350-351; Kolb 1999, 281 ff.; Kolb-Thomsen 2000, 218, 219.

<sup>32</sup> Doğan 2008, 2 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Held-Şenol 2010, 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Diler 2010, 136.

<sup>35</sup> Kuban 2010, 203.

rural settlements that belong to the late Ancient Period with different designs were also discovered in Philistine<sup>36</sup>. It is observed that these rural settlements were established near urban settlements and were connected via ancient roads and that they were located in the central areas having an outlook of valley roads and significant presence within them. The farmsteads in Philistine have cultivable lands around them and include a farm house owned by the landlord. The farmsteads in Philistine are similar to those in Rough Cilicia in the following ways: they are constructed around a court as it is surrounded by walls, their farm houses generally consist of two floors (the first floor serves for the agricultural needs while the second floor is used for dwelling), and there are production equipments and cisterns in those farmsteads, too. As for the dating, the farmsteads in Philistine are known to have been used between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.

The most remarkable feature the farmsteads have in common is their towers. They are known to be commonly used in the Mediterranean region and Near East<sup>37</sup>. The towers were used to protect the estates surrounded by walls in the Severus Period in North Africa: also, they were considered as typical constituents of the big dwellings that belonged to the landlords in rural areas in the late Roman Period. Apart from protecting the land, the towers symbolized the hegemony of the landlord<sup>38</sup>. It is also possible to come across farmsteads with towers in North Africa and Syria. The farmstead discovered in Henscir Sidi Hamdan, Tunus is constructed around a rectangular court, and there exist towers in the corners of the wall surrounding it<sup>39</sup>. It is also known that there are similar farms located in Tripolitania and Tipasa<sup>40</sup>. The scene on the mosaic discovered in Tabarka is especially important in defining these farmsteads with towers<sup>41</sup>. It is also acknowledged that there are towers with two or three floors as well as buildings used as stores in the farmsteads found in Benabil and Banaqf, Syria. Additionally, it is suggested that these farmsteads date back to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D42. There are also towers known to have existed either near or in the center of the farm houses that belong to the Roman and Byzantine Periods in Philistine. These towers generally have two or three rooms. In Philistine, it is possible to come across many farmsteads or estates which have more than one, maybe two, towers<sup>43</sup>. All the farmsteads investigated by Konency in Lycia have small structures or traces of settlements that might have been founded in the surrounding area; it is suggested that there is an architectural style peculiar to this region. Among the towers here, the towers Limyra, Göklimanı, Myra, and Sura have pseudo-isodomic masonry and are constructed with smaller stones. It is further suggested that these towers served for agricultural purposes since they are situated near cultivable lands<sup>44</sup>. The tower in Lyrboton Kome, Lycia is known to have been constructed in the 1st century A.D. and to have been restored in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. It is proposed that the tower was used not only to observe the en-

<sup>36</sup> Hirschfeld, 1997, 50 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Hopwood 1986, 219.

<sup>38</sup> McKay 1975, 235-236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Parrish 1979, 279 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ellis 1988, 568.

<sup>41</sup> McKay 1975, 235; Percival 1976, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> McKay 1975, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Hirschfeld 1997, 69.

<sup>44</sup> Konency 1993, 47-54.

trance and maintain the security in the farm but also to address the agricultural needs of the cultivable lands and the production equipments around it<sup>45</sup>. The farmstead discovered in Emerye Kalesi, Eastern Pamphilia has a tower with a square design and some other buildings around. The inscription found in the area prove that the land was a farm that belonged to a family<sup>46</sup>. The farmsteads found in Belen and Kelbessos, Lycia also have towers constructed near the agricultural lands and main roads; they include houses, presses, and stores<sup>47</sup>. It is put forward that the farmstead in Belen was founded in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., which shows that it is historically similar to the farmsteads in Rough Cilicia<sup>48</sup>. Other similarities proposed to exist between the two farmsteads in question could be briefly summarized as the following: similar safety measures that could be considered as typical features of these farmsteads and the continuation of the Hellenistic traditions. In addition, it is noteworthy that a farmstead discovered in Loryma is similar to the farmsteads in Rough Cilicia given its huge surrounding polygonal walls<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Çevik 2000, 82 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bean-Mitford 1970, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Çevik-Bulut 2007, 113.

<sup>48</sup> Çevik-Bulut 2007, 113.

<sup>49</sup> Held-Senol 2010, 177.

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# Öz

# Dağlık Kilikya'da Roma ve Erken Bizans Dönemi'nde Çiftlikler

Dağlık Kilikya Bölgesi'nin doğusunda gerçekleştirilen yüzey araştırmalarında, çok sayıda kırsal yerleşim tespit edilmiştir. Atölye, çiftlik ve köylerden oluşan bu kırsal yerleşimlerin varlığı bölgenin Antik Çağ ekonomisinde tarımsal üretimin önemli bir rol oynadığına ve üretime yönelik farklı modellere işaret eder. Roma'nın doğusunda, Hellenistik Dönem'den gelen ve Bizans Dönemi'nin içlerine kadar uzayan küçük çiftlik ve köy temelli bir ekonominin varlığına ilişkin çok sayıda literatür ve arkeolojik kanıt bulunmaktadır. Sürdürülen yüzey araştırmalarda çok sayıda iyi korunmuş benzer örnekle karşılaşılması bu süreci destekler. Araştırmanın gerçekleştirildiği alanda, kırsal yerleşimler bütün coğrafyaya yayılmış durumdadırlar ve buralarda çok sayıda üretim donanımı da tespit edilmiştir. Bölgedeki kırsal yerleşimlerin tamamını ele almak bu çalışmanın sınırlarını aşacağı icin bu çalışmada sadece sınırlı sayıda çiftlik üzerinde durulacaktır. Ele alınan ciftlikler, bölgede tespit edilen çok sayıdaki çiftliğin küçük bir parçası olmasına karşın sahip oldukları iyi korunmuş kalıntılarıyla bölgesel bir tipoloji oluşturmaya ve tarihleme yapmaya yardımcı olabilecek özelliklere sahiptirler. Bu çiftliklerden bazıları daha önce tarafımızdan bir yayın olarak değerlendirilmiş olmasına karşın, süreç içerisinde bölgede çok sayıda yeni çiftliğin tespit edilmesi ve belgelenme tekniklerinin gelişmesi bunların tekrar değerlendirilmelerine imkan sağlamıştır. Bugüne kadar, sözkonusu bölgede kırsal yerleşimler ve tarihi-coğrafya üzerine az sayıda çalışmanın yapılmış olması, buna karşın yerleşim düzenlemesi konusunda yapılan çalışmaların olmaması, çiftliklerin bölgesel bir organizasyon ve yerleşim düzenlemesinin varlığı hakkında sağlayacağı verilerin ele alınmasını zorunlu kılmıştır. Ancak bunların bölgesel organizasyon içerisindeki yerlerinin tartışılması başka bir çalışmanın konusu olacaktır. Bu çalışma, yapılacak daha kapsamlı bir çalışmanın ilk sonuçlarını içermektedir ve bölgedeki bu çiftliklerle ilgili sorunlara da cevap bulmayı hedeflemektedir: Yöreye özgü tipik bir çiftlik modeli söz konusu mudur? Varlığını literatürden bildiğimiz, geniş toprak sahiplerinin varlığına ait kanıt var mı? Hangi dönemlerde, hangi ihtiyaçlara bağlı olarak çiftlikler ortaya çıktı ve gelişti? Roma ve sonraki dönemlerde çiftlik sayılarının hızlı artışının nedenleri nelerdir? Çiftlik ve köy yerleşimleri arasındaki ilişkiler nelerdir? Bölgede, Roma ve sonrasındaki dönemlerde görülen çiftlik geleneginin bölgedeki en erken başlangıçları nelerdir? Dağlık Kilikya Bölgesi'ndeki kırsal yerleşimler tipolojik olarak çeşitlilik gösterir: Basit ya da daha kompleks çiftlikler, küçük köyler, kentlere yakın konumdaki orta ya da büyük boyutlu köyler, ürünün işlenmesi için köylerin için de ya da bağımsız şekilde yapılmış atölyeler.

Araştırmanın sürdürüldüğü alanda farklı tiplerde çiftlikler tespit edilmiştir. Bunlar, sahip oldukları yapılar açısından basitten daha kompleks çiftliklere doğru değişiklik

gösterirler. Bazı çiftlikler büyük boyutludurlar ve mimari yapılanma açısından komplekstirler. Bunlar, toprak sahibinin ya da çiftlik yöneticisinin ikamet ettiği bir çiftlik evinin yanısıra atölye ve depolama amaçlı kullanılan mekanları, konutları, farklı tiplerde mezarları, üretim donanımlarını, kutsal alanları ve sarnıçları içlerinde barındırırlar. Bununla birlikte, çiftliklerin dönemler boyu sürekli kullanımlarının olduğu ve içlerindeki yapıların bazılarının sonraki kullanım evrelerinde ihtiyaca bağlı olarak eklendikleri de anlaşılmaktadır. Çiftlik evlerinin yüzleri güneye ya da güney batıya bakmaktadır ve bazen bu yönde bulunan bir avluya açılmaktadır. Çiftlik evleri genellikle iki katlıdır ve alt katları tarımsal amaçlara hizmet ederken, üst katları yaşam mekanı olarak kullanılmıştır. Bölgedeki çiftlik evleri standart bir plana sahip değildirler. Bölgedeki çiftliklerin bazılarının duvarla çevrili bir alan içerisinde yeraldıkları ve böylece tahkimli bir çiftlik görünümünün ortaya çıktığı görülür. Keşlitürkmenli'deki iyi korunmuş çiftlik, böyle bir örnektir ve bu duvar içerisinde ikamet ve depolama için kullanılmış olması muhtemel yapılar vardır, ayrıca merkezi bir avlu da bu duvarlar içerisinde yeralmaktadır ve avlunun uzun kenarlarında ise muhtemelen ahşap sundurmalar yer almaktadır. Benzer özellikler Çildiremez, Sömek Vakıf ve Esseler'deki çiftliklerde de görülür. Bununla birlikte, etrafı bir duvarla çevrili olmayan, yanında veya önünde bir avluya sahip çiftlik örnekleri de tespit edilmiştir. Gökkale'de avlu çiftlik evinin önünde yeralmaktadır. Bu avluların taş bir zemin döşemesine sahip oldukları ise korunmuş örneklerin tespit edilmesinden anlaşılmaktadır. Ayrıca, avlunun içinde, genellikle bütün avluyu kaplayacak büyüklükte sarnıçlar bulunmaktadır.

Kulelerin de bölgedeki çiftliklerde yaygın bir özellik olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Çildiremez ve Keşlitürkmenli'de çiftliği çevreleyen duvarın köşelerinde dört kule yeralması, tahkimli bir çiftlik görünümünü pekiştirir. Bununla birlikte, çiftliği çevreleyen duvarın kenarında tek bir kule içeren örnekler de çok sayıdadır. Bazı çiftlikler de ise, çiftliğin kuleye sahip olmamasına karşın, bu ihtiyaç çiftlik evinin kule görünümünde yapılmasıyla giderilmiştir. Bizans kaynaklarında *limitanei* olarak bilinen ve askeri yerleşimcilerin konutları olduğu önerilen bu tür tahkimli çiftliklerin, Filistin'de olduğu gibi, Dağlık Kilikya Bölgesi'nde de askeri amaçlardan daha çok çiftlik sahibinin mülkleri olarak hizmet gördüğü ve toprak sahipleri tarafından değerlendirildiği söylenebilir.

Çiftliklerin etrafında çok sayıda konut da tespit edilmiştir. Bunların varlığı, çiftliklerin dönemler boyunca sürekli kullanıldıklarını kanıtlamanın yanısıra özellikle bazı çiftliklere erken Bizans Dönemi'nde küçük bir köy yerleşimi kimliği de kazandırmıştır.

Bazı çiftliklerde kiliselerin bulunması dikkat çekicidir. Bu kiliselerin, gerek bulundukları konum, gerekse de inşa teknikleri, sonraki kullanım evrelerinde çiftliklere eklendiklerini açıkça göstermektedir. Bölgelerdeki çiftliklerde mezarların varlığı, bu alanları yaşamın sürekliliğine işaret eder ve farklı tiplerde mezarlar çiftliklerde görülür. Çiftliklerde genellikle bir anıt mezar ve birkaç tane de lahit mezar birarada görülür.

Bölgedeki çiftliklerin 0-1400 m. yükseklikler arasında tespit edilmesi iklimsel şartlarla bağlantılıdır. Bölge zor dağlık şartlara sahip olsa da, çok sayıdaki çöküntü düzlüğün varlığı kırsal yerleşimlerin gelişmesine imkan sağlar. Dolin olarak adlandırılan bu karstik çöküntü alanlar, tarımın yapılmasına olanak sağladığından, kırsal yerleşim alanı seçiminin temel nedenlerinden birini oluşturmaktadır. Bu alanların günümüzde de tarımsal amaçlarla kullanımı devam etmektedir. Bölgede tespit edilen çiftliklerin çoğu bu çöküntü düzlüklerin etrafındaki etrafındaki tepe yamaçlarına kurulmuşlardır. Bölgede, tepeler arasında

kalan, tarım yapmaya elverişli küçük düzlükler ve terasların olduğu alanlarda da ciftliklerin kurulduğu ve buralardaki düzlüklerin de değerlendirildiği tespit edilmistir. Bölgede, ic bölgelerle sahil arasında ulaşım bağlantısının kolaylıkla sağlanabileceği vadilerin ve yolların varlığı da kırsal yerleşimlerin kurulmasını etkileyen coğrafi şartlardan biridir. Bu yollar üzerinde, sahildeki antik kentlere yakın alanlarda köy, atölye ve çiftliklerin kurulduğu bilinmektedir. Bölgenin sahip olduğu tarihsel sürecin de kırsal yerleşimlerin ortaya çıkmasında, şekillenmesinde ve gelişmesinde önemli rol oynadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bölgedeki bilinen en erken tarımsal yapılanmalar arasında, Hellenistik Dönem ile Roma hakimiyetinin başlarına kadar olan dönemde yapıldıkları bilinen Kilikya kuleleri vardır ve bunların gözetleme amaçlarının yanısıra tarımsal üretim için de kullanıldıkları önerilir. Son dönem araştırmalarında Korykos'un yakın civarında çok sayıda küçük ciftlik ve bunların sahip olduğu atölye ve üretim donanımları tespit edilmiş olması, bölgedeki Hellenistik Dönem'deki tarımsal üretimin ve organizasyonun varlığına ait ilk arkeolojik kanıtlar olması açısından önemlidir. Hellenistik Dönem kırsal yerleşimlerine ait arkeolojik kanıtların sınırlı olmasına karşın, bölgede özellikle Roma ve erken Bizans dönemlerine ait çok sayıda kırsal yerleşime ve tarımsal üretime ait arkeolojik kanıt tespit edilmesi, bir yerleşim organizasyonuna işaret eder. Bölgede, dönemler boyu sürekli kullanımı sebebiyle arkeolojik kalıntılarının kendine özgü tanımlama ve tarihleme problemleri bulunmakla birlikte, çiftliklerin kullanımda oldukları tarihlerle ilgili bazı sonuçlar elde etmek mümkündür. Çiftliklerdeki beşik çatılı aedikula mezarlar ve beşik tonozlu aedikula mezar örneklerinin bölgede İ.S. 2 yy.'ın ikinci yarısından sonra görülmeye başladığı önerisi, çiftliklerin bu dönemde etkin olduklarına işaret etmesi nedeniyle önemlidir. Tespit edilen lahitler üzerindeki sunak ve tabula ansata bezemelerinin varlığı, bölgede lahitler üzerinde görülen bir özelliktir ve bunların ilk üretimlerinin, Korykos'daki örneklerden yola çıkarak İ.S. 2. yy.'ın sonuna ya da 3. yy.'ın başlarını ait olması gerektiği önerilir. Bölgede Hıristiyanlık dininin yaygınlaşmaya başlaması ile birlikte İ.S. 4. yy.'ın son çeyreğinden itibaren, erken dönemlerde yapılan lahitlerin üzerine haç motifleri ya da bir yazıt eklenerek yeniden kullanıldıkları gözlenmektedir. Çiftliklerde kapakları üzerinde haç motifi bulunan chamosorium mezarların varlığı, çiftliklerin erken Bizans Dönemi'ndeki kullanımlarının kanıtı olarak karşımıza çıkarlar. Çiftliklerdeki evler ise, inşalarında kullanılan malzemeleri, basit planları ve içlerinde küçük mekanlar barındırmaları gibi özellikler sebebiyle Kuzey Suriye kırsal konut mimarisi ile yakın benzerlikler gösterirler ve bunlar için 4.-7. yy.'lardaki kullanım önerilir. Çiftliklerde tespit edilen üretim donanımları da, bu tarihsel süreci destekler. Üretim faaliyetlerinin özellikle, bölgenin geç Roma Dönemi'nde yoğunlaştığı ve sonraki dönemlerde de devam ettiği tespit edilen arkeolojik malzemenin fazlalığından anlaşılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, bölgedeki tarımsal organizasyonun Hellenistik Dönem kökenlerinin de varolduğunu unutmamak gerekmektedir. Dağlık Kilikya Bölgesi'nde bu tarihsel süreç içerisinde görülen çiftlikler, Likya, Pamfilya, Filistin, Suriye ve Afrika'daki örneklerle benzer özelliklere sahiptir.

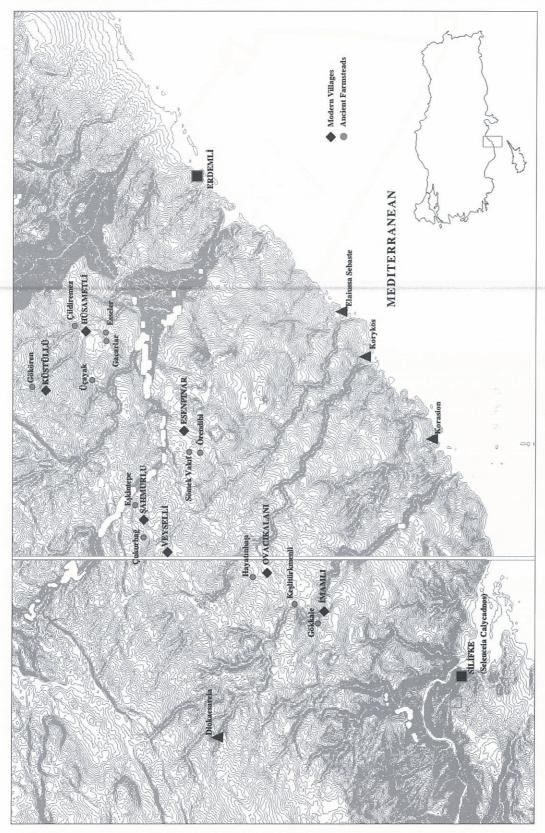


Fig. 1 The location of the farmsteads in Rough Cilicia

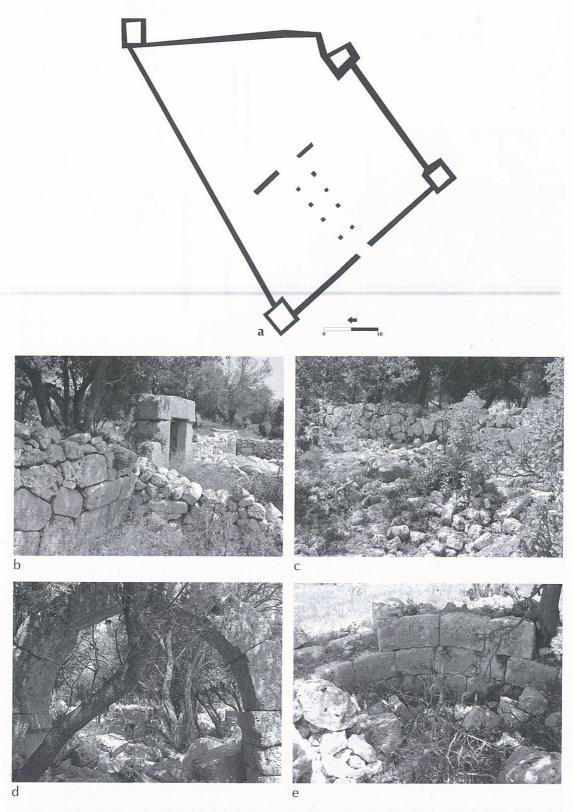


Fig. 2 The farmstead in Çildiremez a) plan of the Çildiremez farmstead b-c) the walls surrounding the farms d) the arched hall e) the church

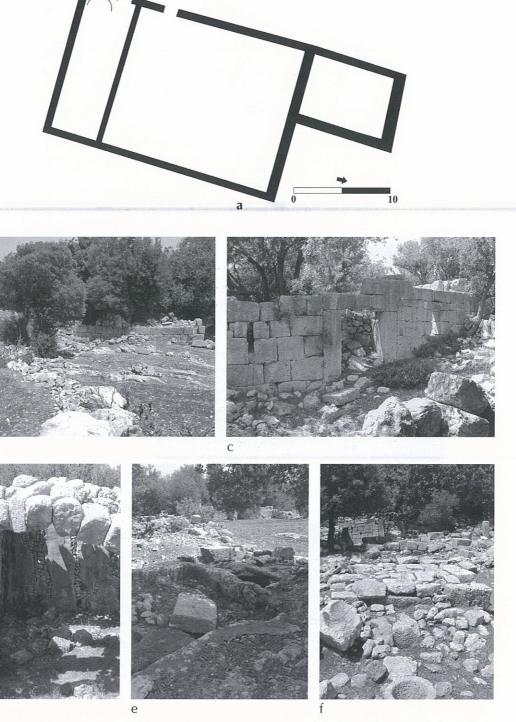
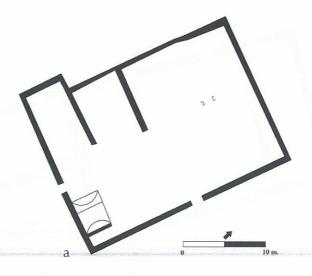


Fig. 3 The farmstead in Gacarlar a-b-c) the farm house d) the cistern e) rock cut lever and weights press f) the houses



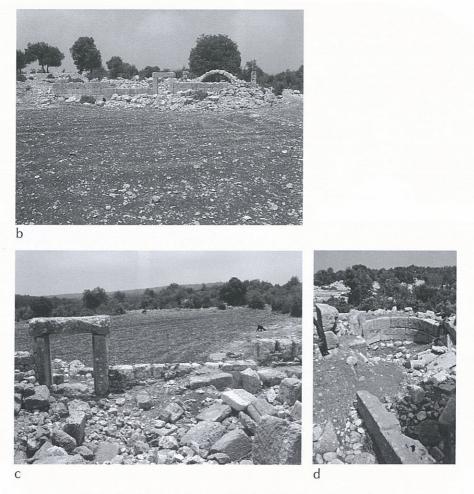


Fig. 4 The farmstead in Esseler a-b-c) the farm d) the church

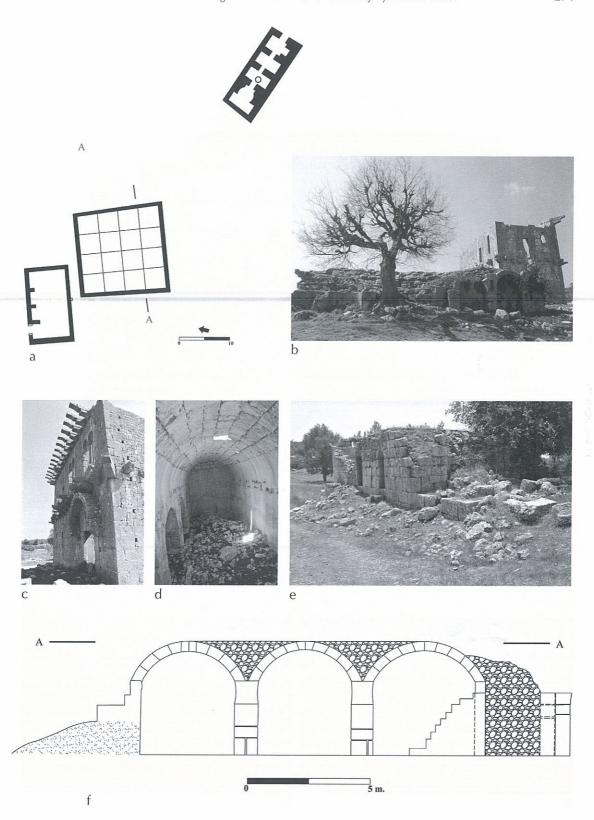


Fig. 5 The farmstead in  $\ddot{U}$ çayak a) plan of the  $\ddot{U}$ çayak farmstead b) the farm house and cistern c) the farm house d) the cistern e) the structure used for production and storage f) section of the cistern



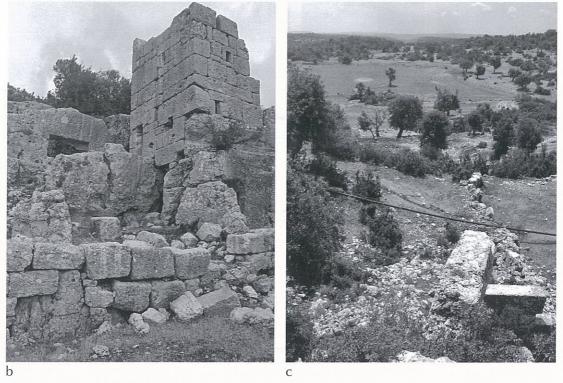
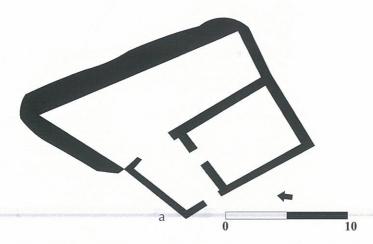


Fig. 6 The farmstead in Gökören a) the farm b) the tower c) the farm's land



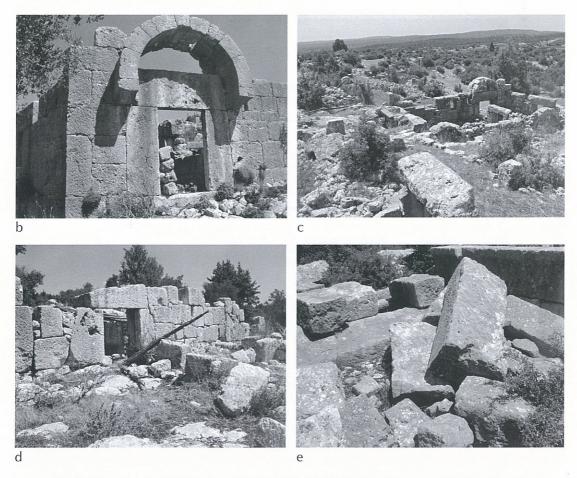


Fig. 7 The farmstead in Eşkintepe a) plan of the Eşkintepe farm house b-c) the farm house d) the structure used for production and storage e) the barrel-vaulted aedicula tomb

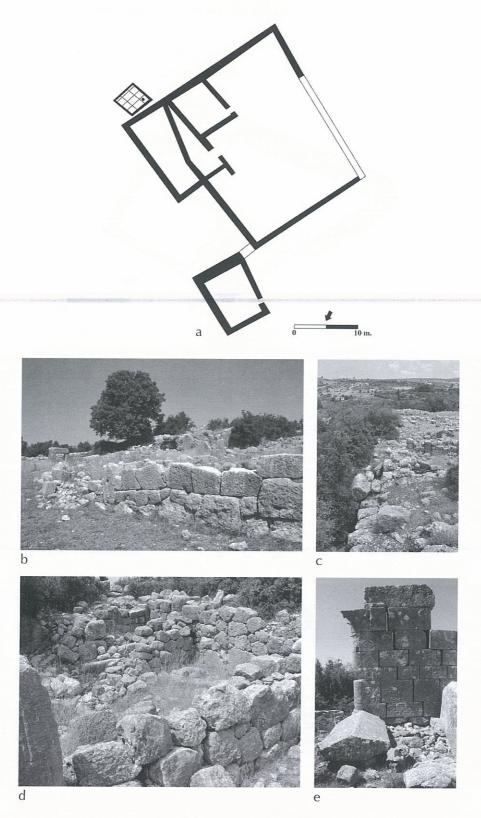


Fig. 8 The farmstead in Sömek Vakıf a) plan b-c-d) farm e) the gable roofed aedicule tomb



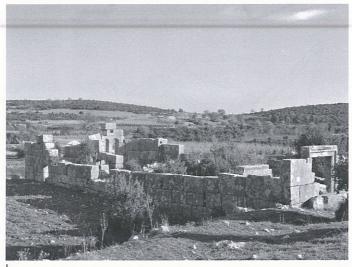




Fig. 9 The farmstead in Sömek Örendibi a) farm b) the church c) a sarcophagus

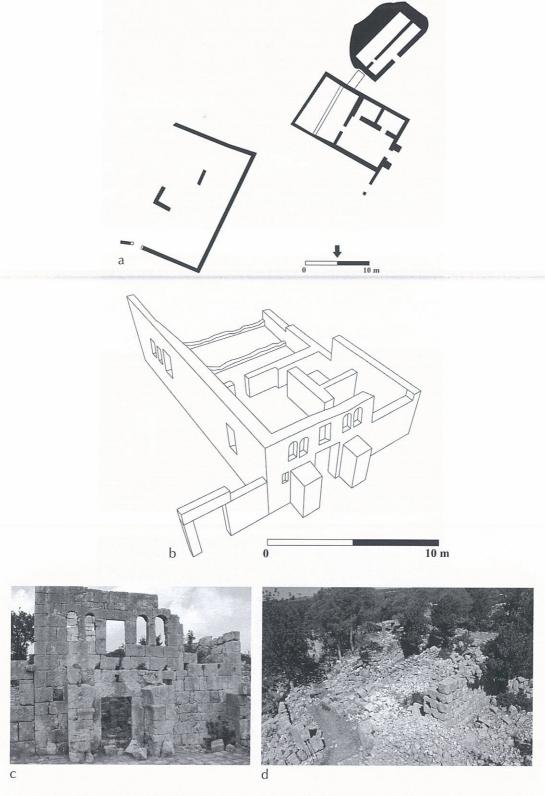


Fig. 10 The farmstead in Gökkale a) plan of the Gökkale farm house b) perspective viev of the Gökkale farm house c) the farm house d) the structure used for production and storage

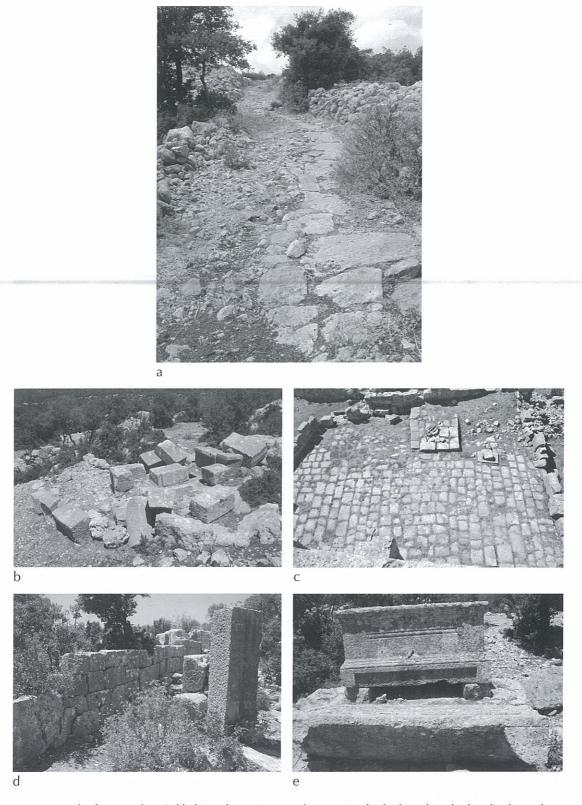


Fig. 11 The farmstead in Gökkale a) the ancient road pavament b) the barrel-vaulted aedicula tomb c) the court d) the houses e) a sarcophagus

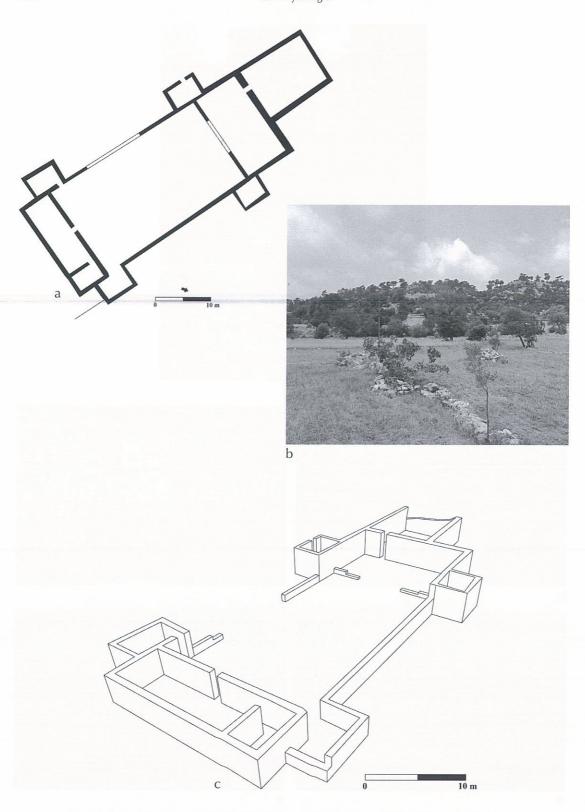


Fig. 12 The farmstead in Keşlitürkmenli a) plan of the Keşlitürkmenli farm b) the farm and farm's land c) perspective viev of the Keşlitürkmenli farm

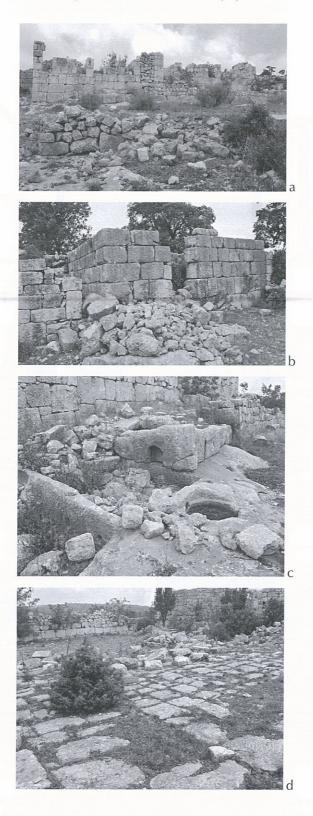
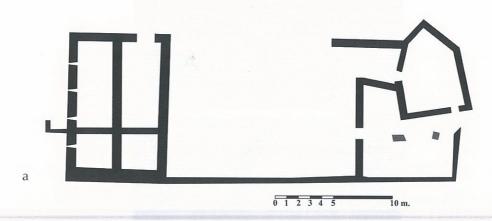


Fig. 13 The farmstead in Keşlitürkmenli a) The building used as a residence b) the tower c) the rock cut lever and weights press and cistern d) the court



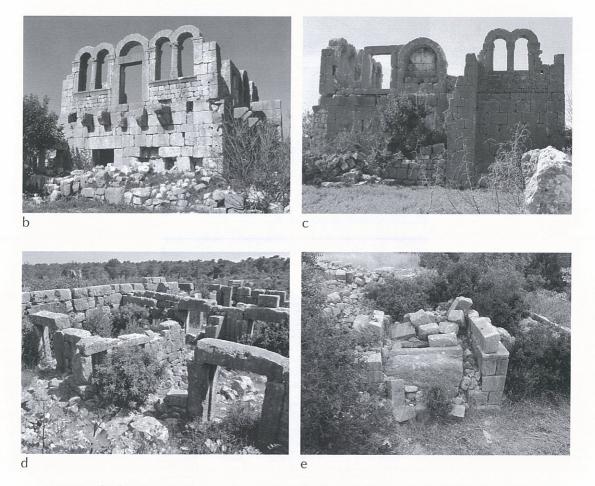


Fig. 14 The farmstead in Karakabaklı a) plan of the Karakabaklı farm house b) the farm house facing the south c) the farm house facing the north d) the structure used for production and storage e) the barrel-vaulted aedicula tomb

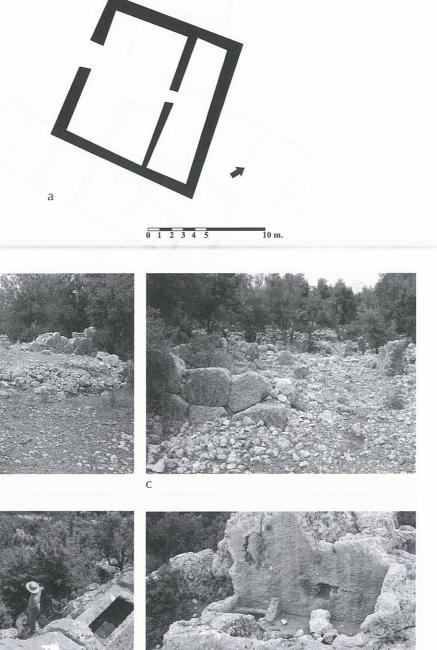


Fig. 15 The farmstead in Hayatınbaşı a) plan of the Hayatınbaşı farm house b-c) the farm house d) the chamosorion type sarcophagi e) the lever and weights press

e

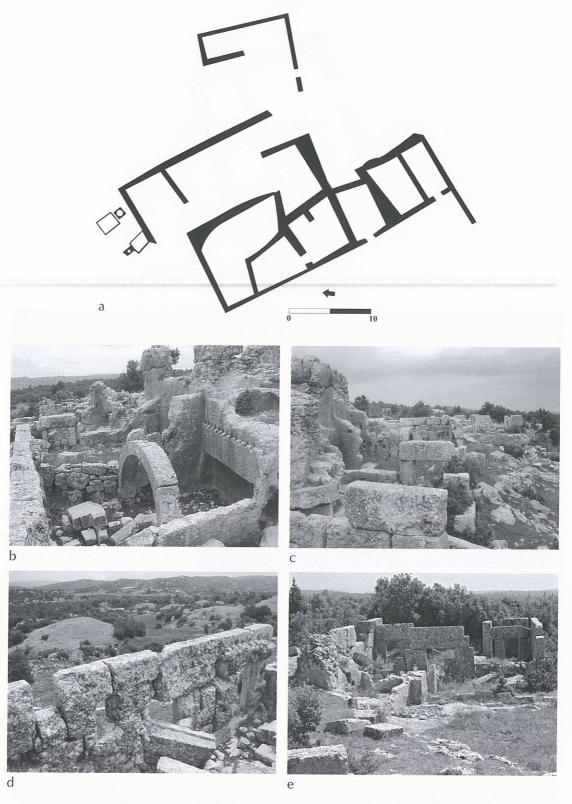


Fig. 16 The farmstead in Çukurbağ a) plan of the Çukurbağ farm house b-c-d) the farm house e) the church