

The Bathing Complexes of Anazarbos and the Baths of Cilicia

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Historical Background

The city of Anazarbos is located 60 km. northeast of modern Adana, close to a hill that rises more than 220 m. above the Çukurova plain¹. Below the plain there used to stand a Roman city covering an area of 101 hectares. If we agree with Gough², we can recognize the ancient settlement of Kyinda as Anazarbos, a site that was occupied since the 7th century B.C.³. Only very traces of the city from the pre-Roman times are preserved, but in recent years the site investigations have increased our knowledge about the Hellenistic development of Anazarbos⁴. The first certain archaeological elements related to the existence of the city are the autonomous bronze coins of the 1st century B.C. with the legend ANAZAPBEΩN⁵. In 19 B.C. Anazarbos was renamed Caesarea or Caesarea Anazarbus by the Romans due to the restoration of Tarcondimotus II⁶, whose client kingdom included Anazarbos. The king provided control of the eastern Cilician hinterland of the Roman Empire from the end of the 1st century B.C. until the third-quarter of the 1st century A.D.⁷. The province of Cilicia, ruled by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, was definitely constituted by Vespasian in 72 A.D. Although the capital city became Tarsos, the emperor encouraged urbanization in many other urban centers, among which Anazarbos profited by expanding sensibly. During the 3rd century A.D. the status of the city was changed by Septimius Severus who gave it the title of *metropolis*, so joining Tarsus and Mopsuestia⁸. The city became a strategic settlement for the military troops to and from the

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1 Posamentir 2011a, 207.

2 Gough 1952, 92.

3 About the pre-Hellenistic period of Anazarbos, see De Giorgi 2011, 121-136.

4 Richard Posamentir 2011b published a study about the development of Anazarbos during the Hellenistic times as a result of the archaeological activities carried out on site between 2004 and 2007. His work is pioneering because of the lack of our knowledge about the first phases of the city. The geophysical surveys made by Posamentir show that the original plan of the city was modified several times all over its history. The Hellenistic settlement, judging by finds, was concentrated on the foot of the hill, occupied today by Byzantine structures (De Giorgi 2011, 130).

5 Hill 1900; Ziegler 1993, 217.

6 Gough 1952, 93.

7 Posamentir - Sayar 2006, 317-357.

8 Gough 1952, 96. Anazarbos became one of the most important cities of Cilicia during the 3rd century A.D. as demonstrated by the status of neokoros obtained at this time: this period, in fact, was dominated by the dualism between Anazarbos and Tarsos as city-guide of the whole province. About the neokorate of Anazarbos and Tarsos, see Ziegler 1993, 111-114.

Near East and other Anatolian provinces: a funerary inscription found on site, for example, mentions the *equites singulares Augusti*⁹.

The Late Roman period, characterized by a general crisis in the city and province, brought a subdivision of Cilicia into two parts. Anazarbos was then elevated to the role of *metropolis* of Cilicia *Secunda*¹⁰. The following centuries were marred by a general decline of the city, due not only to natural disasters like earthquakes¹¹ but also by foreign invasions¹².

The Roman urban pattern of the city, highly modified during the Byzantine and later phases, was built with an orthogonal grid system arranged along a monumental north-south-oriented colonnaded street which today is 34 m. wide and 1,75 km. long¹³. The two sides of the street ended probably in archways: unfortunately we do not have any evidences about the northern limit of the street, whether two more colonnaded streets crossed the city from west to east. The triumphal arch at the southern door was studied, documented and restored¹⁴. The southern part of the city held the structures for spectacles, such as the theatre, the amphitheatre and the stadium close to one of the largest necropolises of the city, used from the 1st century A.D. to the 6th century A.D. The city walls, judging by the archaeological remains, did not exist during imperial times, when a series of public buildings such as the three sanctuaries were constructed in the city. North of the urban area runs the aqueduct which supplied water to Anazarbos from the headwaters of the Sumbas Çay¹⁵. The water channel was repaired many times, but the main construction of the aqueduct can be dated to 90 A.D. from an inscription mentioning Domitian¹⁶. Another aqueduct, north of the city and parallel to the Roman one, dates to the Byzantine period¹⁷. The castle, located on the rock on top of the acropolis, was constructed during the 1st century A.D. However, the main visible phases of the building are related to a period extending from the 6th to the 14th century A.D.¹⁸. Following the Roman period, two different fortification walls were erected: the first surrounded the entire Roman settlement except for a narrow section of the colonnaded street at the northern end where the structures faced

9 Regarding the *equites singulares Augusti*, see Sayar 1991, 19-38.

10 Gough 1952, 98. The debate about the chronology of the provincial division of Cilicia in the Late Roman period is unsolved. Thanks to the analysis of the ancient sources, it is possible to follow the political development of the region. The *Laterculus Veronensis* (297 A.D.), the *Laterculus of Polemius Silvius* (449 A.D.) and Ammianus (383-390 A.D.) mention the two provinces of Cilicia and Isauria. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, dating to the beginning of the 5th century A.D., shows a different political subdivision. Cilicia and Isauria were combined in the Diocese of the East to form the new province of Cilicia *Secunda*. According to ancient sources, it seems that before the 5th century A.D. the Cilician region suffered several political changes, probably during the Theodosian period (Posamentir 2011a, 215). The territorial reform of Cilicia could be occurred in the Diocletian period; other scholars, instead, include these changes in the general renovation of the region made by Septimius Severus.

11 The territory of Cilicia, like Anazarbos, was struck through the centuries by a series of natural disasters, mainly earthquakes. One of the most severe occurred during the Flavian period, but many others are documented in ancient sources (see Ambraseys 2009)

12 According to Procopius (*Hist. Sec.*, 18, 10), Anazarbos had to be rebuilt by Justin and Justinian, successively renaming it Justinopolis and Justinianopolis. During Late Antiquity Anazarbos suffered a quick decline, due also to the Arab and Armenian invasions (see Posamentir 2011a, 207).

13 Posamentir - Sayar 2006, 1025: the colonnaded street with its 34 m. width was the result of several arrangements and restorations that occurred in Byzantine and later phases.

14 Posamentir - Sayar 2006, 325-331.

15 Gough 1952, 109-110.

16 About the inscription mentioning Domitian, see Gough 1952, 149; Sayar 2000, 30.

17 Gough 1952, 106.

18 Posamentir - Sayar 2006, 339-342.

the road, and the second - the most recent - reduced the dimensions of the city significantly¹⁹. The chronology of the fortifications, because of the lack of accurate on-site investigations, cannot be precise. However, the preliminary study of the construction technique and the materials applied can highlight some dating elements. The discovery of an inscription dating to 222-235 A.D. reused as construction material in the lower part of the fortification walls could confirm the 3rd century A.D. as the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the first enceinte²⁰. The construction technique of the inner and outer facing is later than the Hellenistic and Roman times and suggests a 4th century A.D. chronology²¹. The original thickness of the facing is preserved and reaches 2 m.; its maximum height is 6 m. Several changes to the fortification wall occurred during the 6th century A.D. when Justin rebuilt the city. The structure, together with the Roman aqueduct and other buildings, experienced additional transformation during the Arab and Armenian periods²². The fortification system enclosed six Christian religious buildings not aligned to the Roman grid²³, three of which are well studied²⁴.

The historical development of Anazarbos saw a major increase in building activities coinciding with the definitive constitution of the province made by Vespasian. The importance of the city continued also during the 2nd and the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. when Septimius Severus gave the city the title of metropolis. One of the clearest evidence of the expansion of the urban area of Anazarbos can be found in the west-central part of the city where the main bath buildings of the city, the so-called North-Western and the South-Western Baths are preserved. It is on these complexes, together with other structures not archaeologically studied yet, that the present study will be focused. The main buildings of Anazarbos were studied only partially in past years by various scholars who traced the trajectory of the development of the city²⁵. One building category less studied on site is the baths, which have yet neither been excavated thoroughly nor investigated²⁶. During the archaeological activities on site, another bath located in the southern part of the settlement has been identified inside the Byzantine fortification wall. The remains of the so-called Southern Baths (South-Western Baths according to the

19 Concerning the fortification walls of Anazarbos, see Gough 1952; Verzone 1957b; Ricci 1990.

20 Ricci 1990, 458. About the fortification wall of Anazarbos, Verzone (1957b, 13) proposed a 4th century A.D. chronology.

21 Verzone 1957b, 13-14.

22 Verzone 1957b, 15.

23 Posamentir 2011a, 208a.

24 Mietke 1999, 236-237.

25 The site of Anazarbos has been studied by several scholars in recent years. The first who demonstrated interest in the development of the city was Gough who published the results in 1952 (see Gough 1952). His work contained an overall view of the main buildings of the city. Verzone presented a similar overview in his article of 1957 (see Verzone 1957b), which mainly concentrated on architectural aspects. In recent years, after sporadic and general publications about the site, one of the most important works was that of Hild and Hellenkemper (1990) with the fifth volume of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* which discusses the visible remains on site. The Anazarbos field survey of 2004-2007 conducted by the Istanbul University and the German Archaeological Institute of Istanbul and directed by the Pr. Dr. M. H. Sayar collected much new archaeological data. The results of its investigations offered new aspects for research concerning the Cilician city. Sayar, after devoting his attention to the inscriptions from the city (see Sayar 2000), elaborated with Posamentir on the historical development of Anazarbos drawn from new data collected during their most recent analysis carried out on site (see Posamentir - Sayar 2006).

26 Hild and Hellenkemper, in the fifth volume of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, described a bathing complex located in the northern part of the city surrounded by the Byzantine wall. The building, surveyed in 1969, 1971, 1975, 1983, 1987 and 1989, can be identified with the northernmost baths of Anazarbos (the so-called North-Western Baths; see Hild - Hellenkemper 1990, 181). The same complex was analyzed also by Posamentir and Sayar (2006, 317-357). Neither contribution focuses attention on the structural elements of the building, and they give only general information about the position and chronology of the baths.

present author) are distinguishable by the massive use of the black pumice for the construction of its vaults²⁷. The archaeological investigations carried out in previous years allow us to identify more than 30 brick buildings (*ziegel bauten*)²⁸ which have no chronological assessment and their use has not been clarified yet²⁹. Some of these buildings, constructed during the Late Antique period, can be identified as bathing complexes. Besides the two aforementioned imperial baths, two more bathing complexes - the Little Western Baths and the Northern Baths - have been identified, each one with its own structural peculiarities.

The South-Western Baths

This complex, also called “the black pumice Baths”³⁰, is located at the center of the city west of the main colonnaded street. It is one of the most important buildings of the site, and the second bathing complex by size. Preliminary study of the complex allows us to identify a particular construction technique which used black pumice as an internal element for the vaults of the roof. The use of the pumice, as highlighted by Spanu³¹, is a specific technique of this area of Cilicia. The vaults of the building, largely collapsed due to damage, are made with this particular stone that comes from the surrounding region. The emerging structures may be related to the heating rooms of the complex. They are built with a facing of bricks and tiles of different colors. The standard length is 53,5 cm. and the thickness varies from 2,5 to 4 cm. The mortar and terracotta elements generally have the same thickness of 4 cm., and this feature may be an important diagnostic element for comparative analysis with other baths in the region. The mortar is pink and very tenacious, with very few traces of sand³² and little inclusions (less than 3 mm. in diameter) of pumice, schist and basalt.

The complex was constructed mainly with brick facing and tiles that covered the internal conglomerate constituted by mortar. The massive supporting walls are built with limestone blocks. The roofs of the emerging rooms were barrel vaulted, but the lack of any archaeological data concerning the development of the chambers does not allow us to identify their precise usage. The southern position of these rooms, which relates to the overall layout of the complex together with the construction elements evidenced on site, allows us to determine its use as heated chambers. The pumice of the vaults was cut into regular medium-sized (25x18x7 cm.) and small blocks (10x6x5 cm.). The exterior upper part of the roof was coated by a thick layer of white mortar composed of lime, terracotta fragments (3-8 mm.) and sandstone fragments (5-14 mm.).

The building probably had two floors, judging by the presence of string courses in the surviving wall located north-east of the complex. The size of the construction elements is variable: the bricks of the pillars of the arches are longer (53,5 cm.) but narrower (2,5-3,5 cm.) than the elements of the walls.

27 The South-Western Bath complex was partially investigated and analyzed by Posamentir and Sayar (2006).

28 “Ziegel bauten”, according to Posamentir - Sayar 2006.

29 Posamentir - Sayar 2006, 331-333.

30 The complex, in the scientific literature, has been called the “Southern Baths” to distinguish it from the “Northern Baths” located further north. Following the identification of additional bath buildings on site, this terminology is today inappropriate. For this reason I have decided to rename it the “South-Western Baths”. The complex could be also called “the black pumice Baths” because of the particular construction elements used for its ceilings.

31 Spanu 2010, 408.

32 Probably river sand.

Along the north-eastern end of the complex the remains of a vault with a circular hole that was part of the *tubulatio* system for the heated rooms are visible. The leakage hole, with a diameter of 29,5 cm., preserved some parts of the original terracotta pipe. The string courses in the upper parts already mentioned were made with thicker mortar (5,4 cm. in depth) and narrower bricks (2,7 cm in depth). The preliminary study on site revealed two different phases of the complex judging by their construction elements.

The North-Western Baths

Another important bathing complex was located west of the city's main north-south colonnaded street and further north of the South-Western Baths³³. The complex, called "Baths in *opus latericium*" because of the predominant use of brick as facing material, has been identified and partially analyzed by Paolo Verzone³⁴. The baths, the biggest of the city, display the remains of the heated rooms, and its chambers were roofed by vaults³⁵ made with black pumice like the South-Western Baths. The emerging sector of the complex, misinterpreted by Heberdey³⁶ as a Byzantine church, occupied an area of approximately 40x25 m. Along the western side of the building was the main chamber with a large cold pool. The room was accessible from the south and the west. From the west a passage led into the caldarium that occupied the south-eastern part of the building; north of the caldarium was the tepidarium³⁷. The analysis of the bricks made by Gough suggested that the building materials have two different sizes related to a different chronology. The bricks measuring 24x35 cm., according to Gough, were Roman, while those measuring 35x35 cm. display a Byzantine restoration phase for the complex.

Another important architectural feature of the complex is the use of the pumice in the vaults. Here the use of this stone is less frequent and visible than in the South-Western Baths. This can probably be related to a different chronological period. Moreover, by analyzing the remains of the structure, it was possible to identify the use of crossed bricks for the walls. The use of no-cutting bricks, which consists essentially in the setting up of entire rectangular bricks signed with two diagonal lines for the cutting, is well attested in many bathing complexes of Cilicia and of other regions of Anatolia³⁸. As such, the cross on the bricks viewed on the mortar of the fallen structures is made with just one line, and the dimensions of the cross generally are bigger than that recognized at Elaiussa Sebaste.

By using macroscopic analysis of the mortar used for the construction of the brick-walls, it was possible to distinguish three different types. First, the mortar used for the passageway opening between the tepidarium and the caldarium is grey, very soft and sandy (the sand comes probably from a river, not from the sea which is far from the city). The mortar is very depurated, and few traces of the inclusions are visible, most of all limestone. Second, along the upper part of the walls another type of mortar is recognizable, which is very compact due

33 The "North-Western Baths" has been called in the scientific literature the "Northern Baths", but, like the "South Western Baths", the name has been changed to reflect more topographic accuracy.

34 Verzone 1957b, 9-25.

35 Probably the central room of the complex was covered by a dome.

36 Gough 1952, 105.

37 Gough (1952, 106) spoke about the caldarium located north of the tepidarium. Today thanks to the study of many scholars (one of the most important is Yegül), we know that generally the caldaria are located south of the tepidaria.

38 See Spanu 2010. In particular in the unpublished Little Baths of Elaiussa Sebaste the use of no-cutting bricks is attested, as in the other baths of the city.

to the presence of little terracotta fragments (less than 1 mm.) and some other little inclusions such as stones of various colors and limestone. Third, the vaults are constructed with a very compact pinkish-grey mortar and white quicklime. The inclusions inside of it, above all stones, have a small granulometry (less than 1 mm.). The North-Western Baths can be dated to the Roman times, but the presence of Byzantine bricks in the wall facing is a clear sign of a phase of restoration of the building.

The Little Western Baths

This building, located north-west of the North-Western Baths, was in the previous year interpreted simply as a “brick structure” without any kind of details about its ancient use³⁹. Some architectural and structural elements, however, can highlight its function and better clarify its purpose. The building is composed mainly of a mortar conglomerate with a facing of bricks; stone blocks have been used for supporting elements of the structure. Two rooms of the complex are roofed with vaults, whose surface is decorated with plaster. Some parts of the internal walls are coated by red painting. Evidence to its thermal use is given by the presence, along the wall of its biggest room, of two holes for the leakage of the warm gasses outside the complex.

The baths, the smallest one already identified in Anazarbos, are composed of two adjacent, vaulted rooms with equal proportions on the eastern part of the structure and of an elongated room to the west in a transverse position compared to the other chambers. Connected to the complex is a rectangular water reservoir located north-west of the largest room. Part of the vaults of the two adjacent rooms were constructed with black pumice in the nucleus.

The entrance to the complex was on the south, judging by its proximity on the same side to one of the colonnaded streets running east to west. Presumably to the east, before reaching the three rooms still visible, there were probably other chambers used as a vestibule, service areas and corridors. The first little chamber to the east (room II) has a rectangular shape (4,80 m. E-W x 3,30 m. N-S). There are no remains of the vaulted ceiling; and as the walls suggest, no traces of the heating system have been found. The best-preserved chamber (room I) is the furthest on the northern side, with the same plan of the previous chamber. It houses some elements pertaining to the original decoration of the building. The inner façade of the south-eastern wall of the room is partially coated by a red-pinkish plaster. Furthermore, the mortar on the inner vault of the room has preserved the remains of a fine geometric pattern of marble consisting of a series of central little squares surrounded by elongated hexagons on each side that form together a bigger octagonal drawing. The motif, compared with the bath building proper, could be dated to the Early Byzantine period because of its characteristics. The small twin rooms were not heated directly, but probably were partially warmed by hot air siphoned from the eastern wall of the heated chamber located further west. These chambers might have been used as tepidaria. The twin rooms communicated through a narrow passageway that opened on the western end of the northern wall of chamber I, whether the westernmost elongated room was connected to the south or the north with an unpreserved chamber. The surrounding walls of room III are made with bricks. The southern end of the chamber is collapsed, but it has been possible to reconstruct the original measures (6,90 m. N-S x 5,10 m. E-W). The room

39 The Little Western Baths of Anazarbos are mentioned as “*ziegel bauten 07*” in the city plan made by H. Birk and H. Stümpel (Posamentir 2011, 213 Fig. 10).

was heated by a praefurnium probably located north or west of the complex, although there is no visible evidence on the ground. In the supposed caldarium of the complex the remains of the *tubulatio* related to the heating system were on the eastern wall in which were two ceramic pipe holes that allowed for the leakage of warm air and excess gasses.

About 11 m. west of the heated room III there is a water reservoir that most probably was connected to the complex. The square-shaped well (4,80 m. E-W x 4,50 m. N-S) was coated by *cocciopesto* on its upper part judging by the remains of the revetment along the north-eastern corner of the structure. The vaulted entrance of the reservoir is very narrow and is composed of bricks and mortar; the structure, moreover, was realized with square limestone blocks of medium size.

The Little Western Baths represent one of the most important bathing complexes of the city for its constitutive elements: the particular decoration of the vaults and its dimensions are only the most visible traits. The construction layout provides the same thickness for bricks and mortar (2,9 cm.), but the measures are not univocally respected. In the western wall of room II there are bricks with a thickness of 2,5 cm.; their general length is 32,4 cm. But a specific technical use not found elsewhere in the city is observable: in the north-western corner of room II there are bricks cut in quarters forming triangles. The macroscopic analysis of the structure has revealed the use of different types of mortar. The walls were built with a mortar very similar to that of the North-Western Baths (very tenacious grey mortar), while the mortar of the vaults contains little fragments of black pumice, stones of various colors (more than 15 mm) and fragments of pottery sherds. Another type of mortar, with very little inclusions (less than 5 mm) which include ceramic powder, was used for the construction of the vault of room II.

The Northern Baths

The complex is the northernmost bath building identified up to the present in the ancient settlement of Anazarbos⁴⁰. The structure, completely constructed with brick facing, preserves the remains of six rooms of different shapes and sizes. To the north a water reservoir probably connected to the baths has been identified. On the eastern side of the building there are two identical vaulted rooms (I and II) which show a similar layout to that seen in the Little Western Baths. The central part of the building is occupied by two parallel rooms (III and IV), rectangular in shape and linked together. The central chamber (III) has a door opening on the northern wall. The western end of the complex, lesser known due to wall damage, is composed of two small rooms (V and VI) used probably for service activities. Judging by the height of the walls, the building had to have two floors. A macroscopic analysis of the structure's elements allowed us to identify only one type of mortar, which had a grey color and a coarse fabric.

More than any other building investigated on site, the northern complex presented the most interpretative difficulties. The surviving walls do not show any traces of a *tubulatio* system, which has prevented us from determining with clarity and certitude the nature of the complex. Later phases, well recognized on site, may also have changed the original structure of the building.

⁴⁰ The Northern Baths of Anazarbos are called "ziegel bauten 01" in the city plan realized by H. Birk and H. Stümpel (Posamentir 2011, 213 Fig. 10).

The Bathing Complexes of Cilicia and Anazarbos: Characteristics and Specificities

The bathing complexes of southern Asia Minor display great architectural diversity. Farrington⁴¹ proposed a classification of the bath buildings of south-western Anatolia drawn from a study conducted principally on the baths of Lycia⁴². Starting from the classification suggested by Farrington and integrating this information with the most recent contribution of Yegül⁴³ and the survey activities in Cilicia conducted by the present author, it is now possible to elaborate a typological seriation of the bath buildings of southern Anatolia.

A first group of buildings pertains to the “baths-gymnasium” type⁴⁴, which that consists of two main architectural elements - the bath block and the palaestra. Derived from a fusion of Hellenistic gymnasia and Roman baths, the baths-gymnasium type was popular throughout Asia Minor from the beginning of the 2nd century lasting at least until the 3rd century A.D.⁴⁵. The baths-gymnasium type displays various common features, with the usual sequence of bathing rooms (apodyterium, caldarium, tepidarium, frigidarium and sometimes natationes) arranged symmetrically around a central axis. The palaestra, generally entered by a monumental propylon, intercommunicated with the bath block and was surrounded by other various rooms, among which the well-known *Kaisersaal*⁴⁶, typically flanked by two chambers communicating with the first room of the bath block proper⁴⁷, is worthy of mention.

The second group of buildings displays a simple, rowed arrangement: the “row-type” baths (“Reihentyp”, according to Krencker⁴⁸ and “apsed type”, according to Onurkan)⁴⁹. These baths consist of a series of rectangular rooms (generally three) on parallel axes, where one of the chambers, usually the outer one, has an apse on the shortest wall⁵⁰. This is a very common pattern, especially for small bathing complexes all over the Empire but also in Anatolia⁵¹. The row-type baths, which had a strong development between the third-quarter of the 1st century A.D. and the mid-2nd century A.D., display different variations in their general layout. The three main rooms can be joined by another one, and the bath block can be adjoined by a small palaestra. The differentiation of the plan is the result of specific regional changes, as

41 Farrington 1987, 50-59.

42 The work of Farrington could be considered pioneering in the studies of the Roman baths of the Eastern provinces. Beginning with the planimetric development of the baths of Lycia, he developed a preliminary classification of the thermal complexes of southern Anatolia. About the baths of Lycia, see Farrington 1995.

43 Yegül (1992, 270-291; 414-423) has also discussed these types, and his considerations about the bath buildings of south-west Asia Minor constituted an excellent starting point for our research. Contained in his recent work is a small section completely dedicated to the baths of Cilicia (see Yegül 2010, 176-178).

44 The baths-gymnasium type may have multiple variations, as highlighted by Farrington (1995, 20-29).

45 About the baths-gymnasium type, the gymnasium of Sardis (Yegül 1986), the East Gymnasium of Ephesus (Barresi 2007, 137-151) and the Gymnasium of Vedius of Ephesus (Scherrer 2000, 168-170; Yegül 2010, 161-164) are the most important examples of this category.

46 Yegül 1992, 68.

47 Farrington 1987, 51.

48 Farrington 1995, 26.

49 Rosenbaum - Huber - Onurkan 1967, 71.

50 The row-type baths, commonly present in Lycia with the three-chambered variation, is highly recognizable in the western provinces and in Italy. The Stabian Baths (see Gallo 1991), the Forum Baths (see Eschebach 1982, 313-319) and the Central Baths (see Bargellini 1988, 115-128) of Pompeii strongly resemble this category of *thermae*.

51 In the province of Lycia 24 buildings have been catalogued in the row-type group, proving its widespread use on the western shoreline of Asia Minor. About the bath buildings of Lycia, see Farrington 1995.

demonstrated by some Cilician examples of the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. in Anemourion⁵² (Baths II.11.b; Baths III.15), Antiocheia ad Cragum⁵³ (Baths I.12.a), Iotape⁵⁴ (Baths 5b; Baths 6), Kelenderis⁵⁵ (Harbor Baths) and Syedra⁵⁶ (Baths II.1.a). The Baths III.2.b of Anemourion, dated between the 3rd and 5th centuries A.D., belong to this category too⁵⁷.

Some smaller Roman baths of southern Asia Minor can also be organized in a rectangular plan on a block arrangement. This type, called “block-baths”, is represented in Cilicia wherein the only example is the Late Baths of Korasion⁵⁸.

A fourth group includes those baths with a series of rooms organized around a central rectangular gallery which gave access to all the surrounding chambers. The “central gallery” type has different examples in eastern Pamphylia⁵⁹ and in Cilicia with the Baths II.7.a of Anemourion⁶⁰, the Baths I.12.a of Antiocheia ad Cragum⁶¹ and the Baths II.1.a of Syedra⁶².

Generally, the Cilician bathing complexes display a simple plan with the bath block proper joined by service rooms and water reservoirs. The warm chambers were generally provided with an apse and by shallow windows facing south or towards the sea, as is typified by some Lycian baths⁶³. The typological analysis conducted on the bath buildings of Cilicia allowed us to underline a predominant presence of “row” and “central gallery” typed baths. Of the 28 thermal structures of the province presented in Table IV (shown below), 40% are row typed, while the central gallery buildings represent only 14% of the total. This particular layout of the Cilician bathing complexes did not derive directly from Hellenistic culture, but from the western part of the Empire. Spanu’s article about the construction elements introduced in Cilicia during the Roman rule may help us to hypothesize an Italian influence on the architectural development of Cilicia Tracheia and Pedias⁶⁴. The introduction of the *opus caementicium* in the bathing complexes of Elaiussa Sebaste⁶⁵, Korykos⁶⁶, Seleuceia ad Calicadnus⁶⁷ and Soloi-Pompeioupolis⁶⁸ is the strongest evidence of such contact⁶⁹. Regional transformations,

52 For the city of Anemourion see Alföldi 1969, 37-39; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1989, 1647-1659; Russell 1975, 121-138; Russell 1982, 133-154; Russell 1986, 173-183.

53 For the city of Antiocheia ad Cragum see Erdemgil - Özorak 1975, 55-65; Hoff - Townsend - Erdoğan 2010, 95-102; Hoff - Townsend - Erdoğan 2009, 9-13.

54 For Iotape see Umar 2000; Türkmen - Karamut 1997, 291-305.

55 About the Harbor Baths of Kelenderis see Tekocak 2008, 133-161.

56 For Syedra see Huber 1993, 27-78; Huber 2003, 148-165; Karamut 1996, 49-56.

57 Baths III.2.b of Anemourion has been classified by Onurkan as an “apsed type” bath (see Rosenbaum - Huber - Onurkan 1967, 69-81). Its characteristics belong completely to the row-type baths here proposed.

58 The Late Baths of Korasion (3rd-4th century A.D.) belong to the block-baths type; see Hild - Hellenkemper 1990, 311-312.

59 The Pamphylian example of the central gallery type is represented by the Baths of Pamphylian Seleukeia. About the complex, see Bean 1979, 88; Yegül 1992, 301-303.

60 See note n. 51.

61 See note n. 52.

62 See note n. 53.

63 Yegül 2010, 176.

64 Spanu 2010.

65 The only two bathing complexes already published of Elaiussa Sebaste are the *Opus Mixtum* Baths (Spanu 1999, 103-114) and the Harbor Baths (Borgia - Spanu 2003, 247-335).

66 Aşkın 2010, 77-90.

67 Hild - Hellenkemper 1990, 402-406.

68 Hild - Hellenkemper 1990, 381-382.

69 Farrington 1987, 55.

however, can be evidenced in many cities of Cilicia. In the bathing complexes of Elaiussa Sebaste and Anazarbos, for example, the adaptation of the Italian bricks and concrete construction techniques to regional patterns are well attested. It is also very probable that workers from Italy were involved in the construction of the Harbor Baths⁷⁰ and the *opus mixtum* Baths⁷¹ at Elaiussa Sebaste.

One of the main characteristics of the bath buildings of Cilicia is the total absence of the baths-gymnasium type. The Baths III.2.b of Anemourion, provided by a palaestra, do not belong to this category of buildings that are well attested in western Anatolia. The only baths recognizable today representing the baths-gymnasium type may be the Great Baths of Elaiussa Sebaste. The area west of the bath-block proper, covered during the Byzantine period by a Christian basilica, may have hosted an open-space area surrounded by columns belonging to the bath building. The results from the excavation activities in the area begun in 2011 by the Italian Archaeological Mission and directed by the Eugenia Equini Schneider may clarify the overall layout of this particular, and surely the most important, bath building of Elaiussa Sebaste⁷².

Furthermore, the bathing complexes of Cilicia show the widespread use of limestone blocks for the façade of the walls⁷³. The baths of Anazarbos, in particular, clearly display a reinterpretation and adaptation of the new architectural techniques imported from Rome, such as the use of bricks for the walls of the main buildings. The regional specificity of Cilicia is visible from a metrological point of view. The Roman bricks are divided into *bessales*, *sesquipedales* and *bipedales* on the basis of their measurements⁷⁴; the Cilician bricks, on the other hand, reach approximately 30 cm. in length⁷⁵, a value equal to the Roman foot (*pes*). The particular use of the *pedales*, not used in Rome and in other provinces, can be derived from a transposition of the Cilician unit of measure into the imperial metrological system⁷⁶.

The Chronology of the Bathing Complexes of Anazarbos

The bathing complexes of Anazarbos have not yet been the object of systematic archaeological analysis and excavation activities. For this reason, together with a partial knowledge of their planimetric patterns and architectural features, we lack a precise chronological definition of each thermal building. However, on the basis of recent on-site studies and thanks to other publications related to the main structures of the city, it is possible to suggest a historical development of the baths. The construction of the fortification walls of Anazarbos after the Roman rule probably determined a sensible contraction of the imperial settlement of the city, leaving some Roman buildings outside the walls⁷⁷. Some or maybe all of the so-called brick structures (*ziegel bauten*), and even the bathing complexes, could be dated to the Roman phase of expansion of Anazarbos as one of the main centres of Cilicia Pedias.

70 Borgia - Spanu 2003, 247-335.

71 Spanu 1999, 103-114.

72 The Great Baths of Elaiussa Sebaste are unpublished so our very limited knowledge derives from the provisional excavation reports of the 2011-2012 seasons.

73 Spanu 2010, 397-409.

74 See Adam 2006.

75 The measurements of the Cilician bricks are comprised from 25-35 cm.

76 Spanu 2010, 404.

77 Gough 1952, 103; Posamentir 2011, 215-219.

Judging by the construction techniques, architectural elements and topographic settlement, the bathing complexes of Anazarbos were built in imperial times. The growth of the city during the late 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century A.D. could have been accompanied by an intense building activity in which some of the baths under study may have been constructed. The use of *opus latericium* for the Cilician bath buildings is attested from the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. Thanks to the archaeological data derived from the systematic investigations carried out in the main sites of the region, we believe that the two biggest baths of Anazarbos - the South-Western and North-Western Baths, according to their topographical position at the city's center - were built probably during the 2nd century A.D.⁷⁸. Concerning the Little Western Baths and the Northern Baths, we can propose a 2nd-3rd century A.D. chronology because of their position away from the city centre. As presented elsewhere in the article, during the period of Septimius Severus Anazarbos became a metropolis of Cilicia Pedias, and this new status may have inspired an intense building renovation of the city.

Conclusion

The bathing complexes of Anazarbos belong to the typical Cilician baths type in which some variations due to regional peculiarities are evident. Volcanic stones, such as the black pumice used to reduce the weight of the vaults, is a pattern encountered in some cities of Cilicia Pedias such as Hierapolis Kastabala⁷⁹ and Tarsos⁸⁰. In Cilicia Tracheia such volcanic materials were not generally used and were replaced by travertine and limestone⁸¹. By cross analyzing the information derived from the study of the layout of the four baths actually identified on the site with the typological seriation of the bathing complexes of southern Asia Minor, it is possible to better define some characteristics of the structures of Anazarbos. The plan of the South-Western Baths is partially understandable and resembles the block-baths type. The North-Western Baths, conversely, seem to have the typical development of the row type baths with its series of rectangular rooms in which the central one preserves an apse on its northern side. The Little Western Baths and the Northern Baths, judging by their topographic pattern, display a similar planimetric development with the main rectangular room (in the Northern Baths there are two rooms) transverse to the other two small twin rooms located further east. These two baths belong to the row type, although, as has been observed elsewhere among the cities of southern Asia Minor, there are some variations in the plan and in the development of the rooms due to regional specificities. Beginning with the typical layout of the row type baths, the two buildings of Anazarbos differ because of the absence of the apse on the main rectangular hall. Moreover, the only vaulted rooms are located further east with a transversal development compared to the rectangular chambers. This particular variety, called transverse row type⁸², is evident in the Little Baths of Elaiussa Sebaste and in the Harbor Baths of Holmoi⁸³ (modern Taşucu). The Baths II.11.b of Anemourion and the Baths 5b of Iotape, with one or more rooms parallel to the main row of chambers, could also belong to this type. Concerning the main

78 Gough (1952) proposed a 1st century chronology, but the use of the *opus latericium* and the topographic position of the two main bath buildings of the city delays their construction by a century.

79 Verzone 1957a, 54-57; Zeyrek 2011, 25-28.

80 Adak-Adibelli 2007, 144-147.

81 The vaults of the heated rooms in the bath block proper of the Great Baths of Elaiussa Sebaste, in fact, contain the same black pumice contained in the bath buildings of Anazarbos.

82 This type was highlighted by Farrington as a sub-division of the row-type baths (Farrington 1995, 32-34).

83 Başal 1993, 22.

baths of Cilicia (presented in Table IV below), the transverse row type represents more than 20% of the bath buildings of the region.

Our macroscopic analysis of the archaeological remains belonging to the baths of Anazarbos might clarify the intended use of these complexes. Their topographical position, as well as the dimensions of each room together with their layout, represent the most important indicators for any concluding remarks. The South-Western Baths and the North-Western Baths, because of their central topographical position, as well as their development and dimensions, were probably the public bath buildings of Anazarbos. The Little Western Baths, conversely, was built for private purposes. The small extension of their rooms and the proximity of the structure to one of the housing areas of the city might confirm a private use by a small group of citizens.

This preliminary analysis, based on the information derived from previous studies and on a re-analysis of the archaeological evidences on site, has made it possible to trace an overall outline, even if still partial, of the bathing complexes of Anazarbos. It recognizes their specific features and highlights their characteristics within the framework of this typology of buildings in Cilicia⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ This kind of study must be considered as preliminary and awaits new primary data coming from a thorough archaeological investigation and excavation.

Tab. 1

	Mortar types used in the facing walls of the bathing complexes		
	Mortar type I	Mortar type II	Mortar type III
Little Western Baths	Mortar of the walls: this is very similar to the second mortar type of the North-Western Baths. Its color is grey and very tenacious.	Mortar of the vaults: the color is grey; its inside has little fragments of black pumice, stones of various colors (more than 15 mm.) and fragments of pottery sherds.	Mortar of the vault of room II: its color is grey with very little inclusions (less than 5 mm.) which include ceramic powder.
Northern Baths	Mortar with a grey color and a coarse fabric.		
North-Western Baths	Mortar of the passageway opening between the tepidarium and the caldarium: its color is grey; is very soft sandy, and depurated (few traces of limestone inclusions).	Mortar of the upper part of the walls: this grey mortar, very compact, has little ceramic fragments and small inclusions of stones.	Mortar of the vaults: its color is pinkish-grey and is very compact. The inclusions inside of it - white quicklime and stones - have a small granulometry (less than 1 mm.).
South-Western Baths	Mortar is pink and tenacious; few traces of sand (river sand ?) and inclusions of pumice, schists and basalts		

Tab. 2

	Bricks used in the bathing complexes of Anazarbos (length and thickness)			
	Brick type I	Brick type II	Brick type III	Brick type IV
Little Western Baths	32,4x2,9 cm.	32,4x2,5 cm.		
Northern Baths	Ca. 32x3 cm.			
North-Western Baths	35x4,5 cm.			
South-Western Baths	53,5x3,5 cm.	53,5x2,5 cm.	53,5x4 cm.	53,5x2,7 cm.

Tab. 3

	Typology of the bathing complexes of Anazarbos		
	Row type	Transverse row type	Block baths type
Little Western Baths		X	
Northern Baths		X	
North-Western Baths	X		
South-Western Baths			X

Tab. 4

	Some bathing complexes of Cilicia and their typology				
	Baths-Gymnasium type	Row type	Block-baths type	Central gallery type	Transverse row type
Akkale Baths			X		
Anazarbos Little Western Baths					X
Anazarbos Northern Baths					X
Anazarbos North-Western Baths		X			
Anazarbos South-Western Baths			X		
Anemourion Baths III.2.b		X			
Anemourion Baths II.11.b					X
Anemourion Baths III.15		X			
Anemourion Baths II.7.a				X	
Antiocheia ad Cragum Baths I.12.a				X	
Augusta Ciliciae Baths			X		
Catabolos (Küçük Burnaz) Baths			X		
Elaiussa Sebaste <i>Opus Mixtum</i> Baths		X			
Elaiussa Sebaste Great Baths	X (?)				
Elaiussa Sebaste Harbor Baths		X			
Elaiussa Sebaste Little Baths					X
Elaiussa Sebaste Sand Baths				X	
Holmoi Harbor Baths					X
Iotape Baths 5.b					X
Iotape Baths 6		X			
Kelenderis Harbor Baths		X			
Korasion Late Baths			X		
Korykos Baths		X			
Selinous Baths Building 3		X			
Soloi-Pompeioupolis Baths		X			
Syedra Baths II.1.a				X	
Tarsos Baths		X			
Yumurtalık-Aigeai Baths			X		

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Özet

Anazarbos Hamam Kompleksleri ve Kilikia Hamamları

Anazarbos kenti, modern Adana'nın 60 km. kuzeydoğusunda, Çukurova'dan 220 m. yükselen bir tepenin yakınında konumlanmıştır. Ovada yaklaşık 100 hektarlık alana yayılan bir Roma kenti vardı. Gough'un fikrini kabul edersek, M.Ö. 7. yy.'dan itibaren iskan edilen Kyinda yerleşmesini Anazarbos olarak görebiliriz. Kentte Roma öncesi döneme ait çok az veri bulunmasına karşın son yıllarda gerçekleşen incelemeler sayesinde Anazarbos'un Hellenistik Dönemi hakkındaki bilgimiz artmaktadır. Kentin bu dönemine ait en önemli kesin verilerden ilki M.Ö. 1. yy.'dan ANAZAPBEQN lejantlı otonom sikkeleridir. M.Ö. 1. yy.'ın sonlarından M.S. 1. yy.'ın üçüncü çeyreğine kadarki dönemde kent Roma İmparatorluğu'nun vasalı konumundaki Kral II. Tarcondimotus'un doğu Kilikia üzerindeki egemenliğine dâhil edilmesinden dolayı Romalılar tarafından M.Ö. 19 yılında Caesarea veya Caesarea Anazarbus adını aldı. Vespasianus M.S. 74 yılında Provincia Cilicia'yı kurdu ve başına *legatus Augusti pro praetore* gönderdi. Eyaletin başkenti Tarsus olmasına karşın diğer birçok merkezde kentleşme teşvik edildi ve Anabarzos bundan iyi şekilde yararlanarak büyüdü. M.S. 3. yy.'da Septimius Severus kentin statüsünü *metropolis* seviyesine yükselterek Tarsus ve Mopsuestia ile aynı düzeye getirdi. İzleyen asırlarda ise hem deprem ve benzeri doğal afetler hem de yabancı işgallerle kent geriledi.

Anazarbos'un tarihsel gelişiminde Flaviuslar döneminde Cilicia Eyaleti'nin kurulmasıyla inşaat faaliyetlerinde artış görülür; kentin önemi 2. yy.'da ve Septimius Severus tarafından metropolis yapıldığı 3. yy.'ın ilk çeyreğinde de devam etmiştir. Anazarbos'un kentsel alanının genişlemesi ile ilgili en önemli kanıt kentin ana hamamları olan Kuzeybatı ve Güneybatı Hamamların yer aldığı kentin orta-batı kesiminde bulunur. Bu çalışma, henüz arkeolojik açıdan incelenmemiş durumdaki diğer yapılarla birlikte bu hamam komplekslerini ele almaktadır.

Kentin belli başlı yapıları, kentin gelişiminin ana hatlarını irdeleyen çeşitli araştırmacılar tarafından yakın zamanda yalnızca kısmen incelenmiştir. Sahada nazaran daha az incelenen ve de kazılmamış olan yapı grubu ise hamamlardır.

Geçmiş yıllarda gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik incelemeler sırasında 30'dan fazla tuğla yapı tanımlanmış olmasına karşın kesin kronolojileri ve işlevleri saptanamamıştır. Roma Dönemi'nde inşa edilen bu yapılardan bazıları hamam kompleksi olarak tanımlanabilir. Yukarıda adı geçen iki hamamın haricinde, kendilerine özgü yapısal özellikleri bulunan Küçük Batı Hamamı ve Kuzey Hamamı da tespit edilmiştir. Bu araştırmanın yazarı tarafından 2012 yılında Anazarbos arazisi üzerinde yapılan yüzey araştırması sonucu dört (belki de beş) yapı daha hamam kompleksi olarak yorumlanmıştır.

Bu yapılardan ilki, kentin merkezinde, sütunlu caddeye yakın konumda yer alan Güneybatı Hamamı'dır. Ören yerindeki ana yapılardan biri olup ikinci büyük hamamdır. Siyah renkli ponza taşıyla inşa edildiğinden "Siyah Ponzalı Hamam" olarak da bilinir. Spanu'nun da dikkat

çektığı gibi ponza taşı kullanımı Kilikia'ya özgü bir tekniktir çünkü günümüze harap ulaşan yapının tonozları bu taş ile örülmüştür. Günümüze gelebilen kısımlar yapının ısıtmalı mekanları olup değişik renk ve ebatlardaki tuğlalarla inşa edilmişlerdir.

Daha kuzeyde yer alan Kuzeybatı Hamamı, kentin kuzey-güney yönlü ana sütunlu caddesinden çok uzakta değildir. Tespiti ve kısmen analizi Michael Gough ve Paolo Verzone tarafından yapılan kompleks kentin en büyük hamamıdır. Toplamda 40x25 m. alan kaplayan yapının batı kenarında büyük soğuk su havuzlu ana mekan bulunur ve hem güney hem de batıdan erişilebilir. Batı yönden bir geçitle yapının güneydoğusunu kaplayan caldarium'a erişilir. Caldarium'un kuzeyinde tepidarium yer alır. Tuğla duvarlardaki harcın makroskopik incelemesi sonucu üç harç tipi saptandı: Tepidarium ve caldarium arasındaki geçitte kullanılan harç, gri renkli, çok yumuşak ve kumlu (bu kum muhtemelen uzaktaki denizden değil de yakındaki bir akarsudan gelmiş olmalıdır) olup içinde yabancı madde olarak sadece eser miktarda kireçtaşı görüldüğünden oldukça temizdir. Duvarların üst kesimlerinde ise başka bir harç tipi dikkat çeker: 1 mm.'den küçük az miktarda seramik fragmanı ve az miktarda kireçtaşı ve farklı renklerde taşçıklar içeren çok kompakt bir harç. Tonozlar ise çok kompakt, pembemsi gri renkte harç ve beyaz sönmüş kireçle inşa edilmiştir. İçindeki katkılar, özellikle de taşçıklar 1 mm.'den küçüktür.

Küçük Batı Hamam olarak adlandırılan üçüncü hamamımız Kuzeybatı Hamamı'nın kuzey-batısındadır. Önceki yıllarda bu yapı, sadece "tuğla yapı" olarak adlandırılmış ve işlevi konusunda yorum yapılmamıştır. Kimi mimari ve yapısal unsurlar işlevini aydınlatılabilir. Kentteki en küçük hamam yapısı olan bu yapının doğu kesiminde bitişik tonozlu iki mekan, batısında ise uzunlamasına bir mekan yer alır. Daha büyük olan mekanın kuzeybatısındaki dikdörtgen su deposu da kompleksle ilintilidir. Bitişik iki mekanın tonozları kısmen siyah ponza taşı ile inşa edilmiştir. Güney yönde sütunlu bir caddenin yakınlığı nedeniyle komplekse buradan girildiği düşünülebilir. Olasılıkla, mevcut halde algılanabilen üç mekana erişmeden önce antre, servis alanı ve doğularında koridorlar olmak üzere başka mekanların varlığı söz konusu olmalıdır.

Dördüncü hamam kompleksi Kuzey Hamamı denen yapıdır. Yapı, bugüne kadar Anazarbos'ta saptanan en kuzey konumdadır. Tamamen tuğla ile kaplı yapıda farklı ebatlarda ve biçimlerde altı adet mekanın kalıntıları ve kuzeyinde muhtemel su deposu saptanmıştır. Arazide incelenen diğer yapılara nazaran bu yapıda yorum sıkıntısı yaşanmıştır. Mevcut duvarlarda *tubulatio* sistemine ait herhangi bir iz görülmemektedir. Dolayısıyla, kompleksin doğasını kesin şekilde saptamak mümkün olmadı. Ayrıca arazide iyi tanınan geç evrelerde yapının asıl işlevi değişmiş de olabilir.

Anazarbos hamam komplekslerinin kronolojisi hakkında, mimari unsurların ve inşa tekniklerinin incelenmesi sayesinde komplekslerin spesifik vaziyet planı ve şemasını saptamak mümkün olmuştur. Yeni arkeolojik incelemeler olmaksızın incelenen bu yapıların kronolojisini saptamak çok zordur. Ancak Anazarbos tarihi ve mevcut kalıntılar kronolojiye ilişkin daha kesin veriler sağlayabilir. İncelenen hamam komplekslerinin bazıları kentin M.S. 3. yy.'da genişlemesi sırasında inşa edilmiş olabilir. Kentin merkezinde yer alan ve komplekslerin en büyükleri olan Kuzeybatı ve Güneybatı Hamamları, konumları nedeniyle 2. yy.'da inşa edilmiş olabilir. Küçük Batı ve Kuzey Hamamları içinse kent merkezinden uzak konumları nedeniyle 2.-3. yy.'ları önerebiliriz.

Spesifik plan şemaları ve mimari elemanlarıyla Kilikia hamamlarının ana özellikleri, kentin Roma ve erken Bizans dönemlerindeki tarihi ile birlikte tümünden irdelendiği zaman kentteki hamam yapılarının gelişimi daha iyi algılanabilir. Anazarbos hamamları ile Elaiussa Sebaste'dekiler gibi örnekler arasında görülen benzerlikler sayesinde Kilikia İmparatorluk hamamları için benzer planimetrik gelişim ile yeni bir tipoloji önerilebilir.

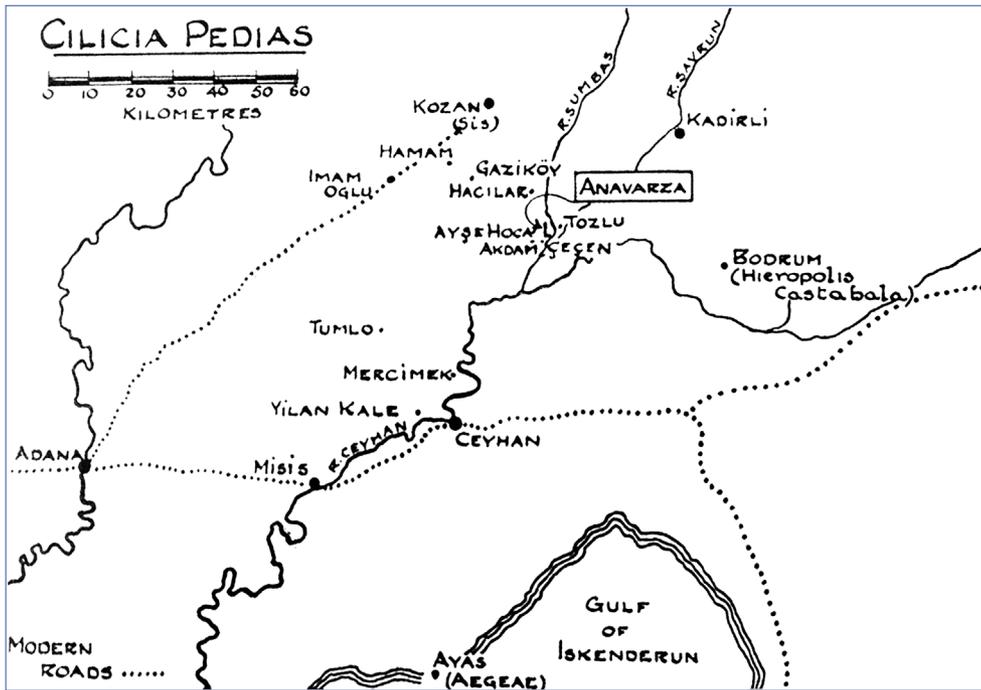


Fig. 1
Sketch of Cilicia Pedias
with the locating of
Anazarbos (Gough
1952, 86 fig. 1)

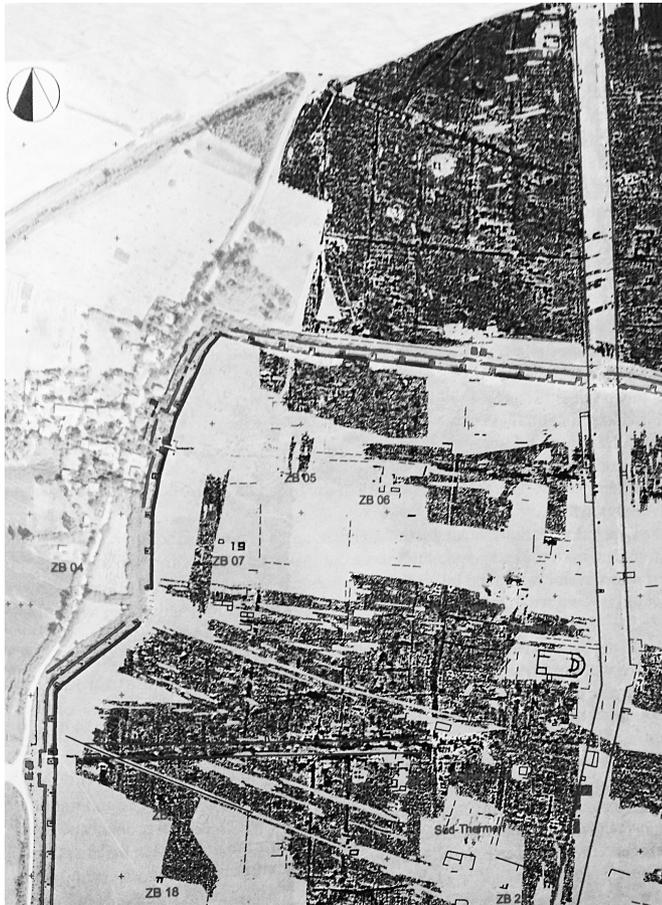


Fig. 2
Plan of Anazarbos after
the geomagnetic activities
conducted by H. Birk and
H. Stümpel (Posamentir
2011, 213 fig. 10)



Fig. 3
General view from the
satellite of the bath
buildings of Anazarbos



Fig. 4
The collapsed ceilings of
the South-Western Baths



Fig. 5
South-Western Baths:
particular of a bricks wall



Fig. 6
General view of the
North-Western Baths



Fig. 7
North-Western Baths:
particular of the roof (dome?)



Fig. 8
General view of the
Little Western Baths

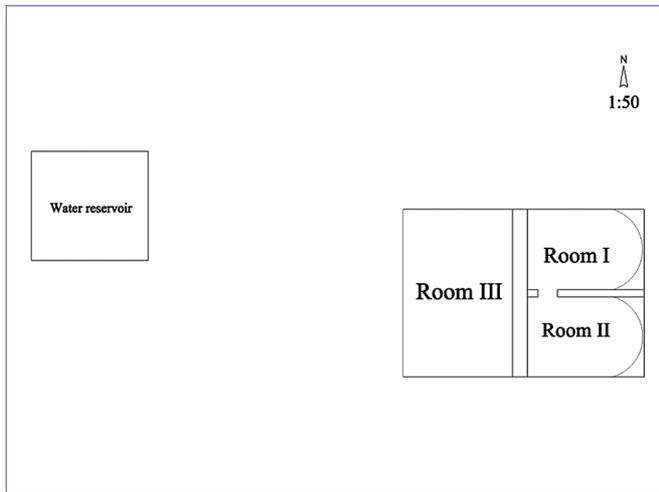


Fig. 9
Tentative plan of the
Little Western Baths



Fig. 10
Little Western Baths:
particular of the room I



Fig. 11 General view of the Northern Baths



Fig. 12
The Northern Baths
viewed from south

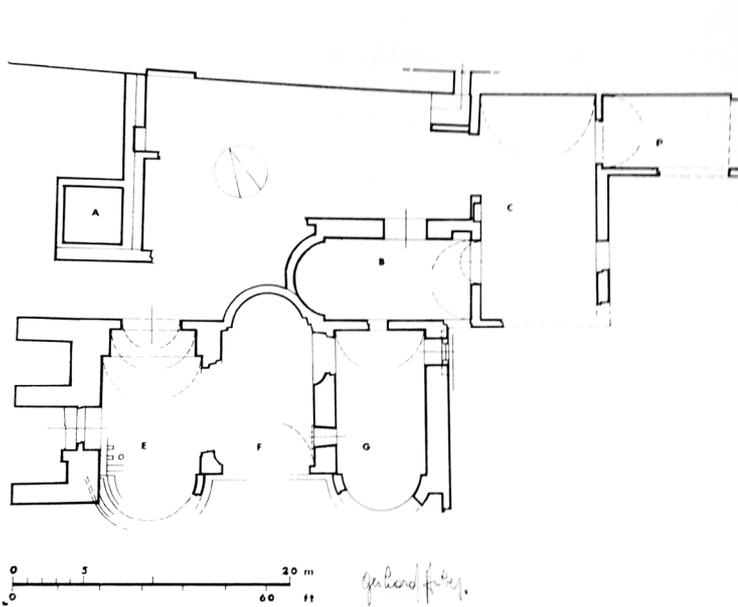


Fig. 13
Anemourion:
plan of the Baths II.11b
(Rosenbaum – Huber –
Onurkan 1967, 10 fig. 7)

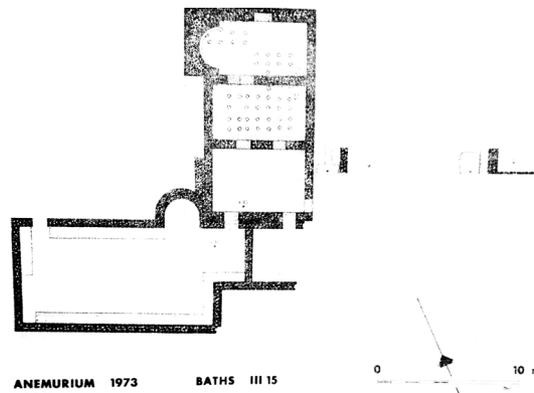


Fig. 14
Anemourion:
plan of the Baths III.15
(Russell 1975, 135 fig. 13)

ANEMURIUM 1973 BATHS III 15

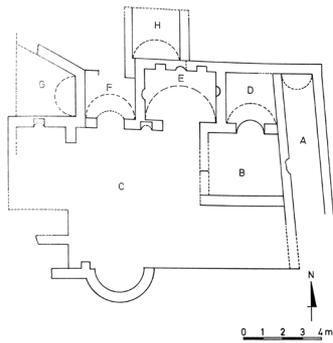


Fig. 15
Antiocheia ad Cragum:
plan of the Baths I.12a
(Erdemgil – Özoral 1975,
63 pl. 2)

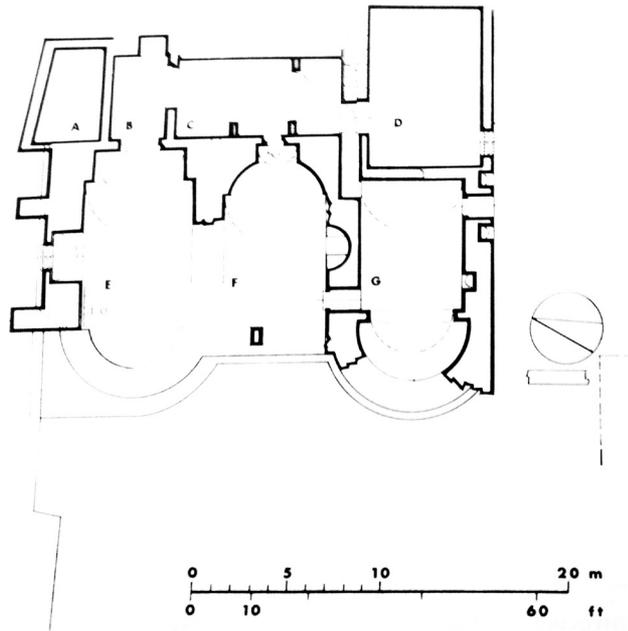


Fig. 16
Iotape: plan of the Baths
5b (Rosenbaum – Huber –
Onurkan 1967, 36 fig. 26)

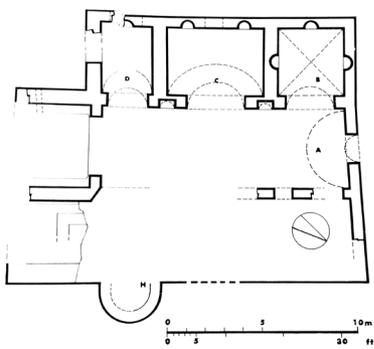


Fig. 17
Syedra: plan of the
Baths II.1a (Rosenbaum
– Huber – Onurkan
1967, 45 fig. 32)

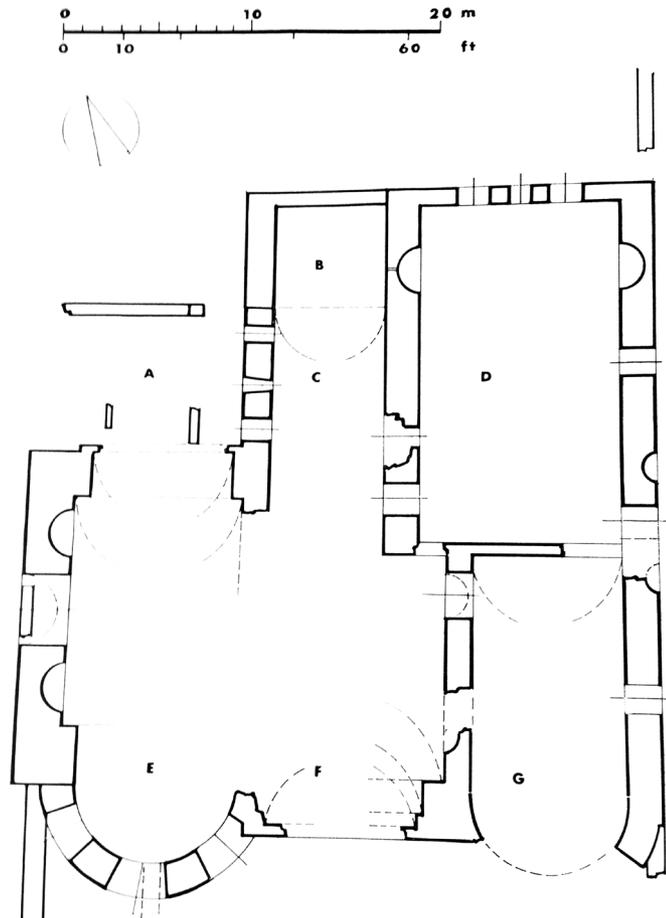


Fig. 18
Anemourion: plan of the Baths
III.2b (Rosenbaum – Huber –
Onurkan 1967, 12 fig. 8)

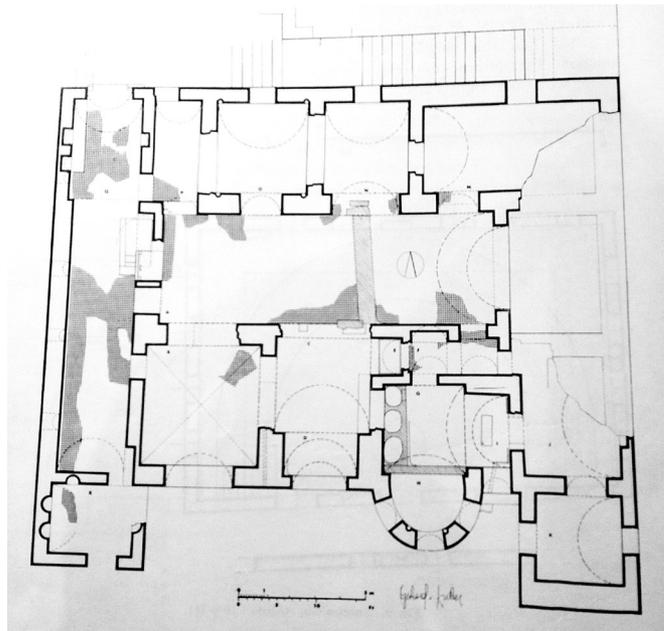


Fig. 19
Anemourion:
plan of the Baths II.7a
(Rosenbaum – Huber –
Onurkan 1967, 4 fig. 3)

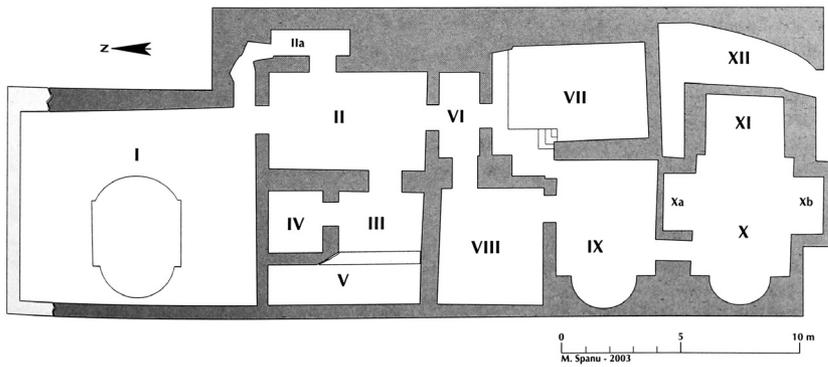


Fig. 20
Elaiussa Sebaste:
plan of the Harbor Baths
(Borgia – Spanu 2003,
317 fig. 254)

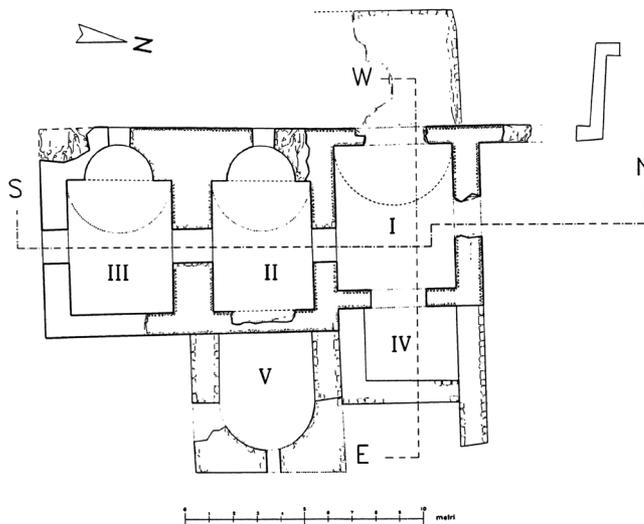


Fig. 21
Elaiussa Sebaste:
plan of the *Opus mixtum*
Baths (Spanu 1999,
105 fig. 44)