A New Greek Inscription from Laertes (Rough Cilicia): Some Considerations about the Attribution of the Temple in the Agora and the Severan Exedra

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In an article concerning two Roman temples of western Rough Cilicia, Bilal Söğüt suggests that the small temple placed at the north-western end of the agora of Laertes (Figs. 1-3) is a temple of the imperial cult dedicated to Claudius. The author has based his hypothesis upon two inscriptions, the former found in 1966 by G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford and no longer visible, the latter which he reportedly discovered among the ruins of the temple.

Some considerations, however, cause some doubt about the relevance of both inscriptions to the temple in the agora and, consequently, put the attribution of the building up for discussion again.

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1 Söğüt 2001. The article concerns the Roman temples of Laertes and Karalia, which, according to the author, would have been built for the emperor Claudius, being the most ancient temple of the imperial cult found in the Cilicia region.

2 For the temple, see Söğüt 2001, 481-483 fig. 1-17; the building is marked as T1 in the sketch-plan published by the author in his fig. 1. The small temple (12.30 m x 6.90 m), largely in ruins, is orientated east-westward with the front facing the agora; the remains of the temple include the walls of the naos and of the pronaoi, built in coementicium with a double face in small blocks of grey limestone and irregular stones, and the blocks of the stylobate of the columned front. The presence of a base of an anta in situ, of a second base in the southern part of the pronaoi and of portions of column shafts in ruins in front of the stylobate makes possible the reconstruction of a distyle in antis front (on the contrary, Söğüt supposed a temple with a tetrasyle front, hypothesis, however, that doesn't consider the presence of the architectural elements related to the antae; see Söğüt 2001, fig. 17).

For the history, the topography and particularly the inscriptions of Laertes, located over a small plateau at a height of approximately 750 m. a.s.l. along the southern slope of Gebelires Daği, a prominent mountain that rises from the coastal plain about 17 km north-east of Alanya, see RE 12/1, 424; Bean – Mitford 1962, 194-206, nos. 12-29 pl. XXXVb-d, XXXVla; Bean – Mitford 1970, 94-105, nos. 71-91 Photo. 75-77; Bean 1976, 476; Righini 1976, 128-133; Price 1984, 135; Mosca – Russell 1987, especially 1-2; Mitford 1990, 2142, 2153; Balty 1991, 553-555; Russell 1991, especially 469-470, 484-485; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 300-311 L. 1-42a-b.

3 For the inscription, see Bean – Mitford 1970, 96-97, no. 74; BE 1972, 493, no. 507; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 306 L. 22; see further Price 1984, 273, no. 150.

4 See Söğüt 2001, 483; see also SEG LI, no. 1859 bis.
The inscription found by Bean and Mitford, inscribed over an architrave block of limestone, consisted of the dedication of the door of a Kaisareion, offered by a person whose name was not preserved[^5], and it was dated by the two scholars to the reign of Claudius. Söğüt, accepting this dating and asserting that the recovery of the inscription was among the ruins of the temple in the agora, considers the structure a temple probably of the imperial cult dedicated to Claudius.

However, the inscribed moulded architrave that would permit the identification of the building with a *Kaisareion* wasn’t found among the ruins of the monument but, as reported by the publishers, “some 12 m. to the SE of the Severan exedra, in front therefore of the Apollo temple and facing the city gate”[^6]. Therefore, the architrave lay on the eastern side of the agora, at the foot of the little mound upon which the remains of the temple dedicated to Apollo[^7] are situated, on the opposite side compared to the one along which the temple attributed to Claudius rises.

Moreover, it must be noted that Bean and Mitford, even considering the inscription as evidence for the existence at Laertes of a temple of the imperial cult, perhaps belonging to Claudius, haven’t connected the text with the remains of the temple placed at the northwestern end of the agora, which furthermore they don’t mention at all.

Therefore, there isn’t any archaeological solid evidence that permits to connect this inscription with the temple with certainty[^8].

On the other hand, even admitting the relevance of the inscribed architrave to the temple, only because it was found in the agora not far from the building, this would prove the identification of the structure with a temple of the imperial cult, but it wouldn’t confirm its dating to the reign of Claudius.

Actually, the assumption that the *Kaisareion* mentioned in the inscription was dedicated to this emperor has been proposed only according to some historical considerations. The presence of a temple dedicated to Claudius would be relevant to the important political and administrative change concerning this part of the Cilicia region, that Claudius wanted and that was accepted favourably by Laertes as well as by the other cities of this area: in 43 A.D. Rough Cilicia west of Iotape was detached from the reign of Antiochus IV of Commagene (formerly belonged to Amyntas of Galatia and then to Archelaos of Cappadocia) and was joined to the newly created province of Lycia and Pamphylia.

However, the historical likelihood of the existence of Claudius’ cult in Laertes[^9] doesn’t provide a sufficiently acceptable clue to set the dating of the *Kaisareion* during the reign of this emperor.

[^5]: See supra, n. 3. [← τὴν θύλαν τοῦ Καίσαρείου ἐκ τῶν ἑδέων: “someone raised) the door of the Kaisareion at his own expense”.


[^7]: The assumption that this small temple, distyle *in antis* as well as the one placed in the agora, could be dedicated to Apollo has been proposed according to an inscription, no longer visible, consisting of the dedication to the god of a base, clearly for his statue, by his priest *L. Antonius Neon*; for the inscription, see Bean - Mitford 1970, 95-96, no. 72 Photo. 76; BE 1972, 493, no. 507; Hagel - Tomashitz 1998, 306 Læ. 20; see further Mitford 1990, 2142.

[^8]: The connection between the inscription and the temple has been suggested by Söğüt: see Söğüt 2001, 483.

[^9]: The gratitude expressed by the citizens of Laertes to Claudius would be confirmed by another inscription, found near the *bouleuterion*: it consists of the dedication of a statue to Claudius by *Polemon, Nous*’ son, winner in the
In my opinion, the fragmentary inscription that has been recently connected with the building also isn’t proof of the attribution of the temple to Claudius.

In his article, Söğüt mentions the discovery among the ruins of the temple of an inscribed architrave fragment and says that the letters [...] Βρετανν[...] are readable on its second fascia.

This word, which can be completed as Βρεταννικός, has been interpreted as a part of Claudius’ titulature: consequently, the inscription has been considered as more evidence that the building was dedicated to Claudius and the building has been interpreted as the first temple of the imperial cult documented in Cilicia.

In this paper, I will take the inscription into account again, trying to prove that it belongs not to Claudius but, in all probability, to Caracalla and that it was relevant not to the temple in the agora (Fig. 3) but, most likely, to the next exedra (Fig. 4) that, as attested by some inscriptions found near this structure, was dedicated to the Severan dynasty.

In this respect, first of all it’s important to specify that the piece of inscribed architrave is not among the ruins of the temple, but it lies on the ground, overturned and partly buried, a few meters to the north-east of the pronaoς, exactly in front of the Severan exedra (Fig. 2).

**The inscribed architrave fragment (Fig. 5)**

The architrave block of limestone is broken away on both sides; the top mouldings and the upper face are buried (max. h. 0.25 m; max. w. 0.85 m; max. th. 0.37 m); its moulded front is divided in two fasciae of decreasing height from top to bottom (first fascia h. 0.12 m; second fascia h. 0.09 m); a third fascia seems to have been chiselled. The text is

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Olympic Games; in this inscription the emperor is honoured as “σωτήρ καὶ κτίστης τοῦ κόσμου” (“saviour and founder of the world”): these epithets are not very common in his titulature and probably were assigned to him for his intervention in the administrative reorganization of the province. For the inscription, see Bean – Mitford 1962, 197-198 no. 13; SEG XX, no. 69; BE 1965, 173 no. 424; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 300 Lae. 2; see also Vermeule 1968, 496, who dates the dedication to 50 A.D.

10 By Söğüt, see supra, n. 4.

11 Söğüt 2001, 484 recalls that Karallia could have dedicated a temple to Claudius as well: an inscription found by Bean and Mitford in the city’s agora attests the dedication of a Kaisareion to an emperor and to his fellow citizens by a priest; even if the emperor’s name is only partly legible, the editors, from the juxtaposition of Caesar and Augustus and the presence of Σεβάστος, supposed that the temple was dedicated either to Tiberius, Claudius or Nero: the attribution to Claudius seems to be the most probable on account of the same historical considerations advanced for the inscription from Laertes. For the inscription from Karallia, see Bean – Mitford 1970, 60, no. 32 Photo. 48; AE 1972, 200, no. 651; BE 1972, 491, no. 503; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 98 GK 1.

12 During a visit to Laertes on 3rd June 2005 I had the possibility to examine the inscribed architrave fragment.

13 Two inscriptions have been found among the ruins of the exedra placed along the northern side of the agora and in its immediate proximity: the former, inscribed over two architrave fragments and dateable to 213 A.D., mentions Caracalla and Severus deified and consists of the dedication of a public building, perhaps the exedra itself: see Bean – Mitford 1962, 205 no. 26 Pl. XXXVIa; SEG XX, no. 72; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 305 Lae. 15; the latter, inscribed on a huge moulded base that may be dated between October 213 and April 217 A.D., consists of the dedication of a statue to Caracalla: see Bean – Mitford 1962, 205, no. 25 Pl. XXXVb; SEG XX, no. 71; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 304-305 Lae. 14. Moreover, slightly to the west of this exedra has been found the upper part of a base of Elagabalus’ statue (the emperor’s name was cancelled after his damnatio memoriae in 222 A.D.): see Bean – Mitford 1962, 205-206, no. 27; SEG XX, no. 73; BE 1965, 174, no. 424; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 305 Lae. 16; see further Bean – Mitford 1970, 98, note 195.
in two lines, inscribed over the first and the second fascia. The letters (h. 7 cm) are well spaced and slightly apicited; A, Σ and E are classical. The ordinatio is regular.

[--- μέγιστον Βρεταννικόν μέγιστον ---]
[--- ὑπατοῦ τὸ δ' π(ατηρα) π(ατρίδος) ἀ[νθύοπατον ---]

(... maximus, Britannicus maximus, (...) consul for the fourth time, father of the land, proconsul (...) 

The inscription, that contains part of an imperial titulature, consisted certainly of the dedication of a public building.

In order to identify the honoured person, the presence of the title Βρεταννικός is very important.

First of all, it must be noted that this cognomen ex virtute wasn't part of Claudius' titles. As Cassius Dio says¹⁴, after the military successes that led to the acquisition of Britannia, the Senate conceded the triumph to Claudius and proposed the epithet Britannicus for the emperor and his son. Claudius accepted this title for his son, with the result that Britannicus became de facto his first name, but he rejected it for himself, as documented by the fact that in the inscriptions and on the coins this epithet doesn't appear in the emperor's titles¹⁵.

Instead, Britannicus as cognomen ex virtute appears for the first time in Commodus' titulature: he got the title at the end of 184 A.D.¹⁶; after him, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta took on the title of Britannicus maximus at the end of 209 or at the beginning of 210 A.D.¹⁷.

Considering the place where the inscription has been found, near the exedra dedicated to Caracalla and Septimius Severus deified, it's likely that the mentioned person must be identified with one of the Severians rather than with Commodus.

The presence of the fourth consulate allows us to exclude both Severus' and Geta's titulature, because Severus held only three consulates, the last one in 202 A.D., and Geta only two, the last one in 208. Therefore, it's likely that the honoured person was Caracalla, who held his fourth consulate in 213 A.D.¹⁸.

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¹⁴ Dio 60, 22, 1-2. See also Eutrop 7, 13, 3.
¹⁵ For Claudius' titulature and especially for his refusal of the title Britannicus, see Kneissl 1969, 34-36; Kienast 1990, 90-92; see further Hammond 1957, 52, note 202, who suggests that Claudius, not assuming the epithet Britannicus, could have imitated his father Drusus, who received the title Germanicus only as a posthumous honour, though his son bore it regularly as a personal name.
¹⁶ For Commodus' titulature, see Kneissl 1969, 110-125 and 208-211; Kienast 1990, 147-150.
¹⁷ The attribution of the title Britannicus maximus is connected with the victory won by Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta over the Caledonians in 209 A.D.; on that occasion Geta was proclaimed Augustus and, moreover, the three emperors took on the title of Britannici maximi: see Kneissl 1969, 151-157; Mastino 1981, 51. For Severus' titulature, see Kneissl 1969, 126-148, 151-157, 168-173 and 211-225; Kienast 1990, 156-159; for his acquisition of the title Britannicus maximus, see further Hist. Aug., Vita Severi XVIII, 2. For Caracalla's titulature, see Kneissl 1969, 148-165, 168-173 and 225-232; Mastino 1981, especially 50-57 (cognomina ex virtute) and 119-123 (index); Kienast 1990, 162-165. For Geta's titulature, see Kneissl 1969, 151-157; Mastino 1981, especially 50-57 (cognomina ex virtute) and 169 (index); Kienast 1990, 166-167.
¹⁸ Caracalla held the consulate four times, starting from 1st January, in 202, 205, 208 and 213 A.D.: see Mastino 1981, 41.
According to this reconstruction, it’s possible to suggest some integrations to the text.

First of all, in the first line we can complete (Παρθικόν ἢγιος), the title Particus maximus, that Caracalla probably got formally only after his fathers’ death, regularly appears together with Britannicus maximus in those inscriptions that, after 211, mention the emperor’s cognomina ex virtute19.

With regard to the second line, besides the mention of the fourth consulate, there is the title of pater patriae, attested for Caracalla since 159 A.D. but in the Greek version πάτηρ πατρίδος” only after 21120.

The last word may be completed most likely as ἀ(ντιπατον), proconsul, as this title, documented for Caracalla since 198 A.D. but used frequently only after 199, usually ends the emperor’s titulature21.

In light of these remarks, it’s possible to suppose that the inscribed architrave fragment would have been part of the dedicatory inscription that was found in 1961 by Bean and Mitford among the ruins of the exedra. The two scholars published two inscribed architrave fragments, which did not join, but it’s very likely that the inscription run to a considerable length over several adjoining blocks and it’s possible that the new inscribed fragment was one of them, not seen by the publishers.

The two fragments, no longer visible, carried the following text, that we know from the Bean and Mitford’s edition22:

a) [Μ. Αὐρήλιον Σ]ευήρον Ἀντωνί]ν [Σεβαστόν ---]
b) [δημαρχικής έξιονιας τ]ό iF’, αὐτοκράτορα τ]ό β’ ---]  
[--- καὶ θρόν Σευήρον] [---]

a) (To Marcus Aurelius) Severus Antoninus (Augustus...)  
b) (…) invested with tribunicia potestas for the sixteenth time, emperor (for the second time...)  
(…) and to the deified Severus (…)  

The two inscriptions attested the dedication of a public building, perhaps the exedra itself, to Caracalla and to Severus deified. The presence, in the first line of the second fragment, of Caracalla’s sixteenth tribunicia potestas permitted the dating of the dedication from 10th December 212 to 9th December 213 A.D.

The coincidence of the honoured person, Caracalla, and of the dating, 213 A.D., as well as the finding place suggest the hypothesis that the new inscribed architrave fragment could be part of the dedicatory inscription published by Bean and Mitford. Furthermore,

20 See Mastino 1981, 52.  
21 See Mastino 1981, 53.  
22 See supra, n. 13. The measures of the two architrave fragments were: a) h. 0,36 m; w. 1,22 m; th. 0,65 m; b) h. 0,42 m, max. w. 1,16 m; the letters were high from 6,2 to 7 cm.
this suggestion seems to be confirmed by the height of the letters (7 cm), that is the same in the three architrave pieces.

Unfortunately, however, the loss of the first two fragments doesn’t permit us to verify this hypothesis with absolute certainty.

The inscription, of which according to this reconstruction three fragments would have known, could have included the whole Caracalla’s titulature.

After the emperor’s name, there could have been the epithet Ἐὐσεβῆς, attested since 201 A.D.23, followed, as usual, by Σεβαστὸς and by Caracalla’s cognomina ex virtute. These may have included, after Partbicus maximus and Britannicus maximus, the title Germanicus maximus as well, which, since 213 A.D., ended the official sequence of Caracalla’s titles24.

Perhaps it’s possible that Arabicus and Adiabenicus were present as well: these two titles often appear after Severus’ death in his son’s titulature and usually come before Partbicus maximus.

As usual, the title pontifex maximus may have preceded the mention of the tribunicia potestas25.

The imperatorial acclamation mentioned in the inscription could have been the second26, formally attributed to Caracalla in 207 A.D., or the third, conferred to him in 21327.

At last, there were the mention of the consulate, the fourth, and the titles pater patriae and proconsul.

Therefore, the inscription could have been similar to the one inscribed over the huge base of Caracalla’s statue that still lies on the ground close to the exedra28 and, consequently, it could have something like this:

1 [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὔρηλιον Σ]ευήρον Ἀντωνι[δ]ν [Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστὸν, Ἀραβικὸν, Ἀδιαβηνικὸν, Παρθικὸν μέγιστον, Βοετινικὸν μέγιστον,
2 Γερμανικὸν μέγιστον, δρχιρέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικὴς ἐξουσίας τὸ ψ’ , αὐτοκράτορα τῷ β’, ὑπατον τῷ δ’, π(ατέρα) π(ατίδος), ὀ[νθύπατον ---]
3 [--- κ]αὶ θεὸν Σευήρον [---]

23 The Latin equivalent Pius appears in Caracalla’s inscriptions since 198 A.D.; see Mastino 1981, 38.
24 Caracalla got the title Germanicus maximus most likely in October 213 A.D., after his victory over the Alemanni: see Kneissl 1969, 159-165 and 227-229; Mastino 1981, 54.
25 The official counting of Caracalla’s tribuniciae potestates took into account the annual renewal on 10th December, starting from 28th January 198 A.D.; see Mastino 1981, 40. As we said, the presence of Caracalla’s sixteenth tribunicia potestas permits the dating of the dedication from 10th December 212 to 9th December 213 A.D.
26 The integration αὐτοκράτορα τῷ β’ was proposed by Bean – Mitford 1962, 205, no. 26. After the first acclamation on 28th January 198 A.D., were formally conferred to Caracalla a second acclamation in 207 A.D. and a third in 213; instead, documentation concerning a fourth acclamation held by the emperor in 214 is unproven: see Mastino 1981, 40.
27 The third imperatorial acclamation, together with the fourth consulate, appears in the inscription over the base of Caracalla’s statue which still stands near the exedra: see supra, n. 13; if in our inscription there had been the third acclamation, the dedication would have been dated between October and December 213 A.D.
28 For this inscription, see supra, n. 13. For other Cilician inscriptions in which Caracalla’s titles, including the epithet Britannicus maximus, are attested, see Dagron – Feissel 1987, 121-124, no. 78 Pl. XXXII (Aigeai); Sayar – Siewert – Taeuber 1989, 10-12 no. 2 fig. 3 (Hierapolis-Kastabala).
In any case, even apart from this hypothetical reconstruction, the new inscribed fragment corroborates the suggestion that the exedra placed along the northern side of the agora was dedicated to the Severan dynasty.

On the other hand, as we have tried to prove, the attribution of the temple in the agora to Claudius is not documented by the inscriptions and, consequently, the dating of the building may be based only on the analysis of the intrinsic elements of the temple.
Abbreviations

AE

L’Année épigraphique.

Balty 1991


BE

Bulletin épigraphique.

Bean 1976


Bean – Mitford 1962


Bean – Mitford 1970


Dagron – Feissel 1987


Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998


Hammond 1957

M. Hammond, “Imperial elements in the formula of the Roman emperors during the first two and half centuries of the Empire”, MemAmAc 25, 1957, 17-64.

Kienast 1990


Kneissl 1969


Mastino 1981


Mitford 1990


Mosca – Russell 1987


Price 1984


Righini 1976


Russell 1991


Sayar – Siewert – Taeuber 1989


SEG

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

Söğüt 2001


Vermeule 1968

C. Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor (1968).
Özet

Laertes’den (Dağlık Kilikya) Yeni Bir Yunanca Yazıt:
Agoradaki Tapınağın İthafi ve Severuslar Eksedrasi Hakkında
Bazı Görüşler

Birincisi 1966 yılında G. E. Bean ve T. B. Mitford tarafından bulunan ve günümüzde ulaşmamış; diğer ise B. Söğüt tarafından bulunan iki yazıt fragmanına göre Dağlık Kilikya’nın batı kesimindeki küçük Laertes kentinin agorasındaki tapınağın Claudius’a ithaf edilmiş bir imparatorlar kültü tapınağı olduğunu belirlemiştir.

Ancak, Kaisareion’un bir kapı ithafıyla ilgili birincisi yazıtın Claudius’a adanılmasına dair su götürmez bir kant olarak kabul edilemez çünkü bu yazıt hem tapınağın kalıntıları arasında değil agora’nın diğer ucunda bulunmuş hem de Claudius’un hükümдарlık dönemde tarihliyorludur. Sıvıca tarihçesi ile belirlenmiştir.

Yakın zamanda bu tapınak yapısıyla ilintilendirilmiş adı geçen ikinci yazıt da bir imparatorluk ünvanı taşıyan fragment olup tapınağın Claudius’a adanıldığına kant olarak kabul etmek de aynı şekilde pek olası değildir.

Söz konusu ikinci yazıt silmeli bir arşitrav fragmanı üzerindedir ve bir kamu yapısının ithafını içeriyor olmalıdır; ancak bu yazıt da birincisi gibi tapınağın kalıntıları üzerinde bulunmamıştır. İşte bu tapınak Caracalla ve Severus’a ithaf edilen eksesrandan önünde ele geçmiştir.

Ayrıca yazıtın Claudius’un unvanlarını kısmen içeriyor olması da mümkün değildir: Bretannikov unvanının varlığı bize, Roma Senatosu tarafından kendisine verilen bu unvanı reddeden Claudius’u listeden çıkarmamızı ve bilakis Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla veya Geta’yı dikkate almanızı istemeyi ediyor. Yazarın bulunduğu agora’nın kuzey kıyısında eksesrandan Severuslar adına göz önüne alırsak yazıtta bahsi geçen şahsen Commodus’tan ziyade Severuslardan biri olması ve hatta dördüncü konsulüğün varlığı da 213 yılında bu makamda bulunan Caracalla olmasının daha makul olduğunu gösteriyor.

Bu hususlara göre yeni yazıt fragmanının Bean ve Mitford tarafından bulunan ve iki arşitrav fragmanı üzerinde yazılı ithaf yazıtının bir parçası olması da söz konusu olabilir. Önurlendirilen şahsen Caracalla olması ve 213 yılı gibi bir tarihlenmemenin yanı sıra üç arşitrav fragmanının buluntu yerleri, ilk iki parçanın günümüzde ulaşmaması nedeniyle kanıtlanamasa da bu sahi de desteklemektedir.

Her halükarda yeni fragmanın Severuslar eksesrasıyla ilintilendirilmesi gereklidir, ve agorasındaki tapınağın Claudius’a ithaf edilmesiyle ilgili bir kant olarak kabul edilemez.
Fig. 1  Western Rough Cilicia (J. Russel, “A Roman Military Diploma from Rough Cilicia”, BJb 195, 1995, 105 fig. 5).

Fig. 2  Plan of Laertes (Söğüt 2001, fig. 1). The letter X indicates the finding place of the inscribed architrave fragment.
Fig. 3
The temple in the agora.

Fig. 4
The Severan exedra.

Fig. 5
The inscribed architrave fragment.