

The Doric Order in Rough Cilicia: Local Identities or Cultural Interactions?

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Abstract

This contribution discusses architectural decoration in South–Eastern Anatolia as an expression of local identities and cultural interactions in Asia Minor. It focuses on the Doric buildings built in Rough Cilicia between the late Hellenistic period and the Imperial age (2nd century BC – 3rd century AD), examining cases of sacred and funerary architecture. This analysis of the Doric order demonstrates the existence of local tendencies and well-established workshops active in Rough Cilicia, as well as the interaction with neighbouring regions (especially with Lycia, Commagene and north Syria).

Keywords: *Doric order; Cilicia; Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor; Roman provinces; funerary architecture.*

Introduction

The diffusion of Doric architecture in Cilicia in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods offers interesting insights into local identities and cultural interactions in South–Eastern Anatolia.² In this paper we will analyse a small group of Doric buildings dating between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD and belonging to sacred and funerary architecture. It should be noted that our knowledge of Doric architectural decoration in Cilicia is characterised by a lack of evidence. The number of Doric buildings known in literature is in fact extremely fragmentary and essentially limited to Rough Cilicia (**Table 1**).³ This lack of data is especially evident for the Hellenistic and late Hellenistic periods. During these periods, the employment of the Doric order in Cilicia was apparently limited to buildings of uncertain chronology, such as the funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia,⁴ and buildings that are only partially known, such as that under the Church–Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla)⁵ and that near the Korykion Antron (Cennet Cehennem).⁶ The anomalous nature of this situation is clear when it is compared to that of other regions of Asia Minor, where the use of the Doric order was prevalent during the Hellenistic age, with a period of greater diffusion especially from the 3rd century BC to the late 2nd century BC.⁷ When we take into account the geographical and political situation of Rough Cilicia, the fragmentary nature of this data must be viewed as reflecting the region’s urbanisation. The limited urbanisation that characterised this region during the Hellenistic period and the process of founding or re–founding

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² The Doric buildings cited in this paper have been analysed in light of the existing literature. Apart from the presented images, where possible, a photographic reference of the buildings mentioned is given in the form of a web–link to Arachne (<https://arachne.dainst.org>), the central object database of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the Archaeological Institute of the Universität zu Köln. I am grateful to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut for giving me the permission to publish the illustrations from the photographic collection of the DAI Istanbul (Figures nos. 1–2; 4; 8–9 of this paper, whose reproduction, whole or in part, is prohibited). I am also grateful to the Museo Nazionale d’Abruzzo – L’Aquila and the Italian Ministero della Cultura for the authorization to publish the image of the Doric frieze preserved at L’Aquila Archaeological Museum (Figure 10). I finally thank Carole Raddato for the image of the Tumulus at Karakuş (Figure 7).

³ In general for Cilicia: Hoff and Townsend 2013 (with a focus on Rough Cilicia); Hild and Hellenkemper 1990.

⁴ On the funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia, see note 15.

⁵ On the Church–Cave of St. Thecla, see note 80.

⁶ On Korykion Antron context, see note 79.

⁷ On the Doric architecture in Hellenistic Asia Minor: Rocco 1994: 93–119; Rumscheid 1994: 302–315; Coulton 1976: 55–74, *passim*. For the Doric order in the Imperial age, see principally: Ismaelli 2009. Regarding the use of Doric order in the province of Asia between the Hellenistic time and the Roman Imperial period, also see: Fochetti 2020: 119–132.

certain settlements that marked this area in the late Republican period make it difficult to view the degree to which the Doric order was used in Hellenistic Cilicia.⁸ Instead, the advent of the Roman Imperial age saw the use of the Doric order mainly limited to funerary and sacred building contexts (**Table 1**).



Figure 1: Remains of a peristyle house at Imbriogon kome, Demircili/Dösene (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R6858. Autor A. Peschlow, year unknown. arachne.dainst.org/entity/333452)

The cases which will be discussed in detail below, cover the period between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD. A number of private peristyle dwellings at Imbriogon kome (Demircili)⁹ (**Figure 1**) and Emirzeli/İmirzeli are also known, all of which date to the Imperial age.¹⁰ By contrast, monumental and public buildings are poorly represented. Worth noting is the *propylon* in the *temenos* of the Sanctuary of Zeus–Olbios at Diokaisareia, which dates from the Hellenistic period.¹¹ Furthermore, the existence of a monumental Doric building can currently only be hypothesised for Elaiussa–Sebaste, where an excavation in the ‘Byzantine Palace’ brought to light Doric order elements attributable to a building that was dismantled in the 4th century AD.¹²

⁸ With reference to architecture and urbanism in Cilicia, see most recently Krüger 2020: 195–213 fig. 2.

⁹ Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 275 fig. 195, s.v. ‘Imbriogon kome’. *Arachne, römisches Peristylhaus (Imbriogon kome)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9680> (accessed 28 June 2022).

¹⁰ Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 249 fig. 171, s.v. ‘Emirzeli’.

¹¹ The identification is based on Doric architectural elements re-employed in a modern house: Wannagat 2003: 198–200. On the Sanctuary of Zeus–Olbios, see Wannagat 2005: 117–165 (middle of the 2nd century BC); Rumscheid 1994: 33; 86–91 (3rd century BC). *Arachne, Tempel des Zeus Olbios*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8820> (accessed 28 June 2022).

¹² As mentioned in: Tempesta 2016: 223 nt. 30.

Table 1: Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia

| Building | Typology | Material | Chronology |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| Funerary tower tomb – Diokaisareia | tower tomb | local limestone | Beginning 2nd century BC – middle 1st century BC (Berns 2003) |
| Tomb West L4 – Diokaisareia | <i>arcosolium</i> niche tomb | local limestone | Beginning – middle 1st century AD (Linnemann 2013) |
| Tomb West L57 – Diokaisareia | <i>arcosolium</i> niche tomb | local limestone | Beginning – middle 1st century AD (Linnemann 2013) |
| Tomb West N9 – Diokaisareia | <i>arcosolium</i> chamber tomb | local limestone | Beginning/middle 1st century AD (Linnemann 2013) |
| Tomb – Kümbet (district of Silifke) | tomb with monumental column | local limestone | 2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005) |
| Tomb – Yukarı Hüseyinler (district of Silifke) | tomb with monumental column | local limestone | Second half 2nd century AD / first half 3rd century AD (Durukan 2005) |
| Tomb – Cennet Cehennem (district of Silifke) | tomb with monumental column | local limestone | 2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005) |
| Tomb – Sakızlıklı Harman (district of Silifke) | tomb with monumental column | local limestone | 2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005) |
| Tomb – Sancıören (district of Hasanlıler) | tomb with monumental column | local limestone | 2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005) |
| Tomb – Tülü/Kızılısalı (district of Tülü) | tomb with monumental column | local limestone | 2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005) |
| Temple tomb – Kanytelleis (Necropolis N9) | temple tomb, three prostyle columns | local limestone | Late 2nd–3rd century AD (Berns 2003) – late 3rd century AD (Machatschek 1967) |
| Tomb D2 – Imbriogon kome (Demircili) | temple tomb, four prostyle columns | local limestone | 3rd century AD (Durukan 2006) |
| Monumental tomb – Yeni yurt Kale (Mersin Province) | monumental tomb | local limestone | 2nd–3rd century AD (Evgen 2020) |
| Temple – İsmaili (Mersin Province) | tetrastyle temple | local limestone | Reign of Vespasian (Şahin 2014) |
| Temple of Hermes – Çatiören (Mersin Province) | temple <i>in antis</i> | local limestone | Imperial age (Hicks 1891: pp. 232–233, n. 13) |
| Doric building (?) – Korykion Antron (Cennet–Cehennem) | temple <i>in antis</i> (?) | local limestone | 2nd – 1st century BC (Tempesta 2016) |
| Doric columns under the Church–Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla) | uncertain | local limestone | Hellenistic age (Tempesta 2016) |
| House – Imbriogon kome (Demircili) | peristyle house | local limestone | Imperial age |
| House – Emirzeli (Province of Mersin) | peristyle house | local limestone | Imperial age |

This lack of data must also be seen in the light of the political changes that affected the region during Roman times. The annexation of Cilicia as Roman province was fully formalised only during the reign of Vespasian. After this process the region experienced a substantial increase in building activity.¹³ However this increase took place during a period in which the Doric order had a marginal use in public

¹³ For a discussion on the Roman province of Cilicia and its formation process: Borgia 2017: 295–317.

buildings of Asia Minor: both in the Roman province of Asia and in the neighbouring Pisidia, Lycia and Pamphylia in the period between the early 1st century BC and the Flavian age, the Doric order experienced a long decline that led to the almost general abandonment of this architectural style after the 2nd century AD.¹⁴ From this point of view, it is interesting to observe the construction of two small Doric temples in Rough Cilicia, at Çatiören and İsmaili (**Figure 9**), during the early Imperial period (see below).

The analysis of the Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia reveals the existence of two trends regarding architectural decoration: on the one hand, the adoption of purely regional architectural and formal languages; on the other, the existence of interactions with neighbouring regions, above all with Lycia, Commagene and north Syria. In both cases, the analysis of the evidence proves the existence of well-established local workshops that make the Doric style of this region unique. The cases analysed are summarised in Tables 1–3.

Doric funerary architecture

In Cilicia, the evidence for funerary buildings in the Doric order is concentrated mainly in Rough Cilicia, a region that is itself rich in preserved funerary monuments (**Table 1**).¹⁵ Here, Doric tombs for the most part date to the Roman Imperial period (1st–3rd century AD) and, from an architectural point of view, show the existence of local traditions mixed with external influences.

The tower tomb of Diokaisareia

The tower tomb of Diokaisareia (Uzuncaburç) is probably the oldest example of a funerary building using the Doric order in Rough Cilicia (**Figures 2–3**).¹⁶ This monumental structure was erected on a hill c. 1km south of Diokaisareia. Built in *opus quadratum* with local limestone, the tower stands c. 15m high and consists of a square base (5.40 x 5.40m) with a pyramidal roof at its summit. Between the body of the tower and the pyramidal roof, the façade was decorated with a Doric entablature that ran on all four sides of the building and was supported by angular pillars. Conservative in style, the entablature presents the canonical alternation of metopes and triglyphs associated with well carved *guttae*. Similarly, mutules with *guttae* decorate the Doric *geison*, as is usual in Hellenistic architecture. On the four sides of the building there are *antae* pilasters,¹⁷ which are a recurring element of the Doric order in Cilicia (**Table 2**).

The chronology of the tower tomb of Diokaisareia is still uncertain. For stylistic reasons Berns has dated it between the beginning of the 2nd century BC and the middle of the 1st century BC.¹⁸ This chronology

¹⁴ See: Fochetti 2020: 119–120. For the monumental buildings built in the Doric order in the late 1st century AD or later, see the example of the so-called Via di Frontino at Hierapolis in Phrygia, dated to the principate of Domitian (Ismaelli 2009), or the Forum-Basilica at Kremna in Pisidia, which is dated by inscriptions to the principate of Hadrian (Mitchell 1995: 56–69).

¹⁵ Funerary architecture in Rough Cilicia has recently been discussed by Er Scarborough 2017. Among the many other studies dedicated to this subject, see also: Rönnberg 2018: 173–207; Linnemann 2013; Durukan 2005: 107–126; Söğüt 2005: 103–154; Berns 2003: 82–118; Spanu 2000: 169–177; Machatschek 1967.

¹⁶ For this building see: Er Scarborough 2017: 39; 131–134 figs. 4.1–2; Berns 2003: 241–242 no. 32A1 fig. 42; Fedak, 1990: 88; Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 5–60 pl. 31 fig. 90. Arachne, *Grabturm (Diocaesarea)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9675> (accessed 28 June 2022).

¹⁷ Gider Büyükközer 2020: figs. 6 a–b.

¹⁸ Berns 2003: 241–242 no. 32A1, with further literature.



Figure 2: Funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia, Uzuncaburç (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R6802. Autor A. Peschlow, 1973. arachne.dainst.org/entity/333408)

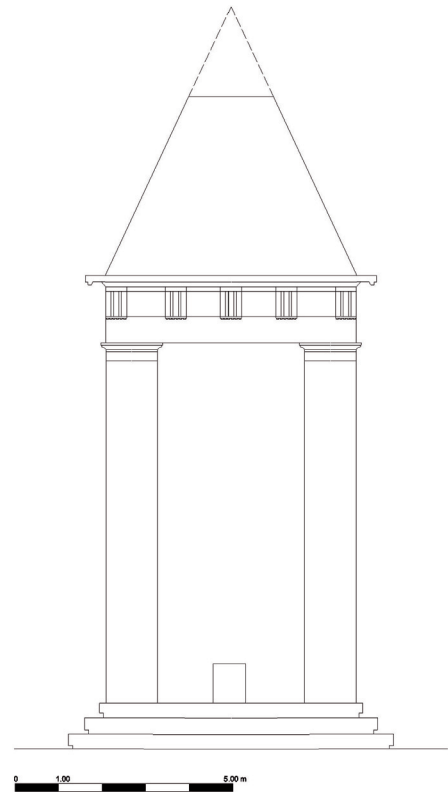


Figure 3: Funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia, Uzuncaburç (reworked from Berns 2003: fig. 42).

is debatable: Durukan suggests dating it to the 1st century AD,¹⁹ while Z. Gider Büyüközer has proposed a stylistic date between the end of the 3rd century BC and the middle of the 2nd century BC.²⁰

The question of the architectural model also remains open. In Asia Minor tower tombs are attested in the eastern part of Rough Cilicia. In addition to the one in Diokaisareia, two other tower tombs are known, both located in the ancient settlement of Imbriogon kome (Demircili), and both dating to the Imperial age (**Figure 4**).²¹ However, in neither case is the Doric order used. Therefore, the one at Diokaisareia is unique. On the other hand, it has been observed that the architectural type of tower tombs is widespread in northern Syria (especially at Palmyra as of the 1st century BC) and in the middle Euphrates near Dura-Europos.²² The geographical proximity to Syria leaves open the hypothesis of a reciprocal influence between the two regions.²³ However, this is a problem that cannot be easily resolved since it is directly connected to the debated dating of the funerary building. We shall return to these aspects later.

¹⁹ Durukan 2003: 220–238 pl. 36–40. See also: Durukan 2019: 113–129.

²⁰ Gider Büyüközer 2020: 134–135 pl. 1.

²¹ One had a still *in situ* pyramidal roof and is dated to the late 1st century AD: Berns 2003: 223–224 no. 16A1 ('Kleiner Grabturm'); cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 134–135 figs. 4.7–9. Arachne, *Grabturm (Imbriogon kome)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9684> (accessed 28 June 2022). The second one, with Corinthian capitals, is dated to the first half of the 1st century AD: Berns 2003: 224 no. 16A2 ('Großer Grabturm'); cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 134–135 figs. 4.10–11; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 275. Arachne, *Grabbau (Imbriogon kome)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9667> (accessed 28 June 2022).

²² On the funerary tower tombs at Palmyra: Henning 2013; Gawlikowski 1970. On those at Dura-Europos: Toll 1946.

²³ This topic is discussed by Er Scarborough 2017: 131–137.



Figure 4: Funerary tower tomb of Imbriogon kome, Demircili /Dösene (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R6912. Autor A. Peschlow, year unknown. arachne.dainst.org/entity/219959)

Tombs with Doric architectural façade at Diokaisareia’s West Necropolis

At Diokaisareia (Uzuncaburç) further evidence of the use of the Doric order for funerary contexts is offered by rock-cut tombs from the West Necropolis. Here, three tombs with a Doric architectural façade are to be found: the so-called ‘Dorischen Gräber’, which are identified as West L4,²⁴ West L57,²⁵ and West N9²⁶ in Linnemann’s catalogue (Figure 5). With respect to their typological classification, two of these rock-cut tombs belong to the type ‘*arcosolium niche tomb*’ (L4, L57), whereas the third belongs to the ‘*arcosolium chamber tomb*’ type (N9).²⁷

Stylistically, the Doric rock façade of these tombs was decorated with two *antae*, above which lay the Doric entablature. The tombs L57 and N9 also have a triangular *tympanum*, which in both cases is decorated in the centre with a six-leaved rosette that is carved inside a circle. The presence of a *tympanum* cannot be determined for tomb L4, but is quite likely.²⁸

²⁴ Linnemann 2013: 93–97; 212 (West L4), pl. 53.5; cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 37–38 figs. 3.31–32.

²⁵ Linnemann 2013: 218 (West L57), pls. 52.1; 53.1–2; cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 38 figs. 3.33–34.

²⁶ Linnemann 2013: 227 (West N9) fig. 9 pls. 52.2; 53.3–4; cf. Er Scarborough 2017, 38.

²⁷ These tomb typologies are discussed in Linnemann 2013: 73–85.

²⁸ As proposed by Er Scarborough 2017: 37 on the basis of a comparison with tombs L57 and N9.

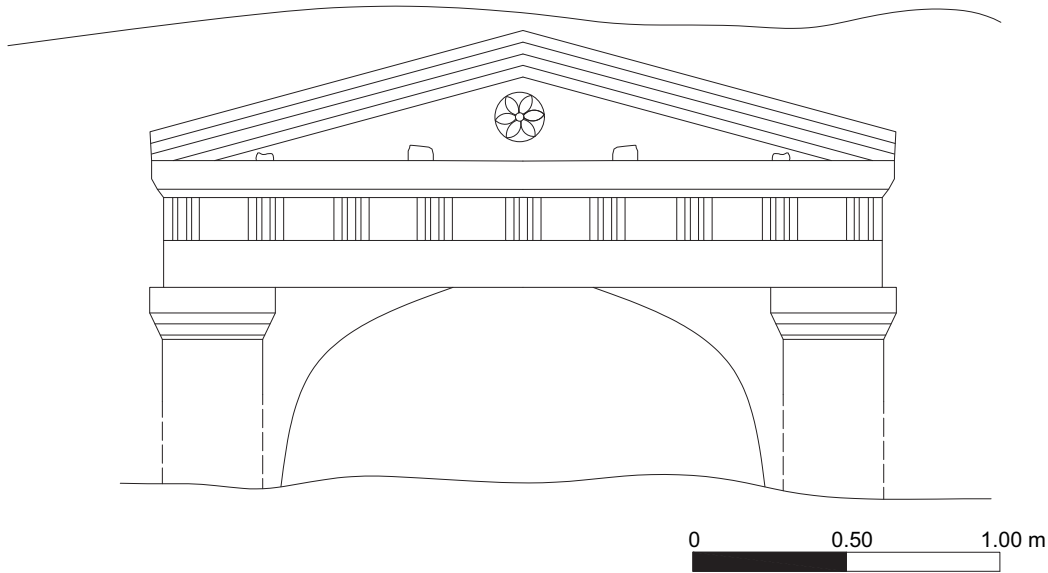


Figure 5: West Necropolis, Diokaisareia, Uzuncaburç, ‘arcosolium niche tomb’ L57 (reworked from Er Scarborough 2017: fig. 3.34 - original drawing by B. Söğüt)

In Rough Cilicia, those of Diokaisareia are the only known rock-cut tombs in the Doric order. This is not in itself surprising since the use of the Doric order for rock tomb façades is also rare in other regions of Asia Minor, where the Ionic order (or in some cases the mixed order) was more widespread.²⁹ Moreover, the rare examples of the Doric order are also limited to the Hellenistic period and no later than the 2nd century BC.³⁰ The three Doric tombs of the West Necropolis of Diokaisareia, on the other hand, are later in date. Based on the archaeological finds discovered in the *arcosolium* chamber tomb N9, Linnemann was able to establish the existence of two periods of use: the first in the early/mid-1st century AD and a second in the Severan period.³¹ Due to common stylistic features, a dating to the early/mid-1st century AD can therefore also be assumed for the *arcosolium* niche tombs L57 and L4. This chronology is of great interest as it allows the use of the Doric order in tombs with architectural façades in Asia Minor to be extended to the early Imperial age, whereas it was previously considered to be exclusively used during the Hellenistic period.³²

The monumental tomb of Yeniyurt Kalesi

A recently published monumental tomb at Yeniyurt Kalesi allows us to discuss the influence of Lycian architecture.³³ Built in *opus quadratum* using the local limestone, this monumental tomb had a rectangular

²⁹ Linnemann 2013: 95–96 nt. 1320. For example, the mixed Doric–Ionic order is attested in a rock-cut tomb at Daidala (İnlce Asarı) at the border between Lycia and Caria, which is characterised by a Ionic cornice with dentils over the Doric entablature: Roos 1972: 75 nt. 54. Arachne, *Tempel-Grab (Daidala)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1962005> (accessed 28 June 2022).

³⁰ Among the Hellenistic rock-cut tombs in the Doric order are the tomb at Gerdek Kaya in Phrygia: Arachne, *Portikusgrab Gerdek Kaya*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9151> (accessed 28 June 2022); the tomb at Antiphellos (Kaş) in Lycia: Arachne, *dorisches Grabhaus (Kaş)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8531> (accessed 28 June 2022) that is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC in Fedak 1990: 79. Perhaps dating to the 2nd century BC is the Doric temple tomb C 50 at Kaunos in Caria: Roos 1972: 38–39; 97 pls. 38; 52.

³¹ Linnemann 2013: 96.

³² Er Scarborough 1991: 174; 411–412.

³³ The architectural features of this tomb are published in: Evgen 2020: 1–10 figs. 2–8. The building, incorporated in the Late Antique/Byzantine defensive wall, is dated by the author to the 2nd–3rd century AD. It is mentioned in: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 462.

plan (c. 4.00 x 4.20m) and a vaulted inner ceiling. The top of the building was decorated by a Doric entablature, whereas pilasters were probably erected at its corners, as was the case with the funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia mentioned above.

The architectural decoration of this funerary monument shows a mixture of regional solutions and influences from Lycia. First, the Doric frieze–architrave is characterised by the elimination of the canonical *regulae*, with six well defined *guttae* carved directly under the *taenia*.³⁴ In Cilicia, this rare and unconventional solution can be found in the frieze–architrave of the Temple of Hermes at Çatiören, which dates to the Roman period.³⁵ Another parallel is provided by a limestone frieze–architrave block found at Sidyma in Lycia.³⁶

The influence of Lycian architecture is also evident in the use of a Doric entablature combined with an Ionic cornice without the canonical *mutules* and *guttae*. The adoption of the mixed Doric–Ionic order is indeed not common in Cilicia. In Rough Cilicia, Ionic features embedded into the Doric order can be found in some tombs dating to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD at Kanytelleis/Kanytella (Necropolis N9)³⁷ (**Figure 8**) and Imbriogon kome (Tomb D2),³⁸ where, however, the formal languages of the canonical Doric order were no longer adopted. By contrast, the general tendency in Asia Minor of the use of the mixed Doric–Ionic order was usually a distinctive character of architectural decoration in the Imperial period.³⁹ In the south–eastern regions the combination of an Ionic cornice over a Doric entablature can be found in Doric buildings dating between the Flavian period and the 2nd century AD. In Lycia examples include the triumphal arch built by Sextus Marcius Priscus at Xanthos⁴⁰ and the arch of Mettius Modestus at Patara;⁴¹ or again the Forum–Basilica at Kremna in Pisidia.⁴²

In the funerary architecture of Rough Cilicia, the use of the Doric entablature can be found both in buildings of the late Hellenistic age and in those of the 1st century AD (**Table 2**). A dating of this tomb to the Imperial period is also supported by a comparison with the stylistic features of the Temple of Hermes at Çatiören (see below), whereas in light of the use of the mixed order a date to the late 1st century AD–mid–2nd century AD can be proposed.

Tombs with monumental column and Doric capital

Regarding funerary architecture, another context of extreme interest is a group of tombs from the Olba region, the so–called Tombs with monumental columns (**Figure 6**).⁴³ The characteristic element of this category of funerary monument is a smooth–stemmed monumental column (in either the Doric or Corinthian order) located at a short distance from the tomb. A T–shaped corbel, which could be either smooth or carved with relief busts, can also be found above the capital.

This type of funerary monument is apparently only attested in the Olba region, for which at least ten cases are known: six tombs with a monumental column and Doric capital and four tombs with a

³⁴ Frieze–architrave blocks: Evgen 2020: figs 7–8.

³⁵ On the frieze–architrave blocks at Çatiören: Mörel 2017: figs. 10 f–g.

³⁶ Arachne, *dorischer Friesblock (Sidyma)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1169883> (accessed 28 June 2022).

³⁷ See note 59.

³⁸ See note 62.

³⁹ This topic has recently been addressed by Fochetti 2020: 122–129. On the use of the mixed order during the Hellenistic age: Rumscheid 1994: 355–356.

⁴⁰ Dated to the Reign of Vespasian: Des Courtils and Cavalier 2001: 159 fig. 6.9.

⁴¹ Dated in principate of Trajan, c. AD 99–102, or during the principate of Hadrian: Barresi 2003: 505 with further discussion.

⁴² Epigraphically dated to the principate of Hadrian: Mitchell 1995: 56–69.

⁴³ This subject has been explored by: Söğüt 2005.

Table 2: *Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia, details of the architectural decorations*

| Building | Column | Capital carved on column shaft | Entablature | Antae pilaster |
|--|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Funerary tower tomb – Diokaisareia | absent | | Doric | X |
| Tomb West L4 – Diokaisareia | absent | | Doric | X |
| Tomb West L57 – Diokaisareia | absent | | Doric | X |
| Tomb West N9 – Diokaisareia | absent | | Doric | X |
| Tomb – Kümbet (district of Silifke) | unfluted | X | absent | |
| Tomb – Yukarı Hüseyinler (district of Silifke) | unfluted | X | absent | |
| Tomb – Cennet Cehennem (district of Silifke) | unfluted | X | absent | |
| Tomb – Sakızlıklı Harman (district of Silifke) | unfluted | X | absent | |
| Tomb – Sancıören (district of Hasanlıler) | unfluted | X | absent | |
| Tomb – Tülü/Kızıllısalı (district of Tülü) | unfluted | X | absent | |
| Temple tomb – Kanyelleis (N9) | unfluted with base | | Ionic/other | X |
| Tomb D2 – Imbriogon kome (Demircili) | unfluted with base | X | Ionic/other | (?) |
| Monumental tomb – Yeni yurt Kale (Mersin Province) | absent | | Doric with Ionic cornice | X |
| Temple – İsmaili (Mersin Province) | unfluted/rough shaft; capital with flutes | X | Doric | X |
| Temple of Hermes – Çatıören (Mersin Province) | unfluted | X | Doric | X |
| Doric building? – Korykion Antron (Cennet-Cehennem) | fluted on 2/3 of the shaft | (?) | (?) | (?) |
| Doric columns under the Church-Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla) | fluted | | (?) | (?) |
| Peristylhaus – Imbriogon kome (Demircili) | unfluted | X | Ionic/other | X |
| Peristylhaus – Emirzeli (Province of Mersin) | unfluted | | Ionic/other | (?) |

monumental column and Corinthian capital (**Table 3**). In terms of topographical distribution, most of the examples with Doric capitals are found in the district of Silifke (Kümbet, Yukarı Hüseyinler, Cennet-Cehennem, Sakızlıklı Harman), one case comes from the district of Hasanlıler (Sancıören) and one from the district of Tülü (Tülü/Kızıllısalı).⁴⁴ It should also be noted that these buildings are only found in suburban contexts, usually near a farm settlement. This supports the hypothesis that these tombs belonged to the owners of the farm.⁴⁵ Another possible instance of this typology of funerary monument – if one accepts Mert’s identification – may be a figured capital from the Museum of Iconium (Konya) in

⁴⁴ The funerary monuments with Corinthian capitals are situated in the administrative district of Silifke, at Imbriogon kome, Kümbet Beleni, Beyören; and at the Direktaş district, near the village of İmamlı: Söğüt 2005: 115–120 and table 1.

⁴⁵ See also Er Scarborough 2017: 157.

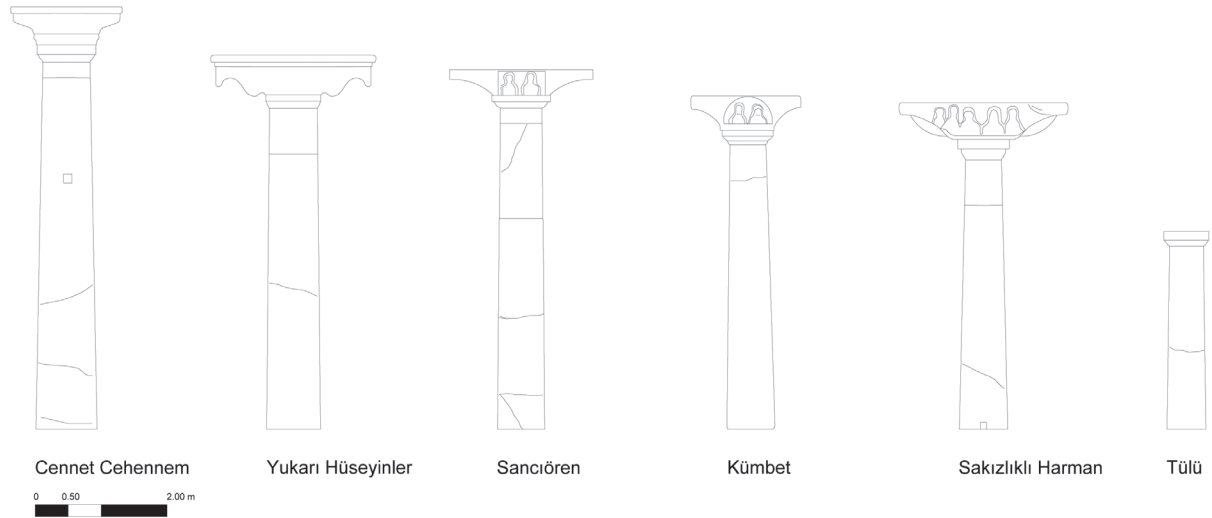


Figure 6: Olba region, tombs with monumental column and Doric capital (reworked from Söğüt 2005, table 1)

Galatia, stylistically datable to the Julio–Claudian period.⁴⁶ With caution, the presence of this tomb typology has been hypothesised for the East Necropolis at Diokaisareia, where fragments of a monumental unfluted column in limestone were found, albeit unfortunately without a capital.⁴⁷

The majority of tombs with columns and Doric capitals belong to the U–plan *aedicula* tombs, both vaulted and barrel–vaulted types. The burial type associated with this funerary monument is sometimes a sarcophagus, but more often a *chamosorium*. The material used is local limestone, for both architectural

Table 3: Olba region, tombs with monumental column and Doric capital (from Söğüt 2005)

| Settlement | Grave type | Burial type | T-shaped corbel* | Statue** |
|---|--|--|---|------------------------|
| Kümbet (district of Silifke) | vaulted <i>aedicula</i> tomb | <i>chamosorium</i> | concave profile, decorated by two relief busts in a semi-circular niche | unknown |
| Yukarı Hüseyinler (district of Silifke) | <i>aedicula</i> tomb with altar | three <i>chamosoria</i> | cyma recta profile, undecorated | unknown |
| Cennet Cehennem (district of Silifke) | barrel–vaulted <i>aedicula</i> tomb with columns between antae | <i>sarcophagus</i> or <i>chamosorium</i> | cyma reversa profile, undecorated | a seated male figure |
| Sakızlıklı Harman (district of Silifke) | <i>chamosorium</i> tomb with a gabled roof | <i>chamosorium</i> | concave profile, decorated by five relief busts | unknown |
| Sancıören (district of Hasanlıler) | unknown | <i>chamosorium</i> (?) | concave profile, decorated by two relief busts in a rectangular niche | a seated female figure |
| Tülü/Kızılısalı (district of Tülü) | unknown | <i>chamosorium</i> (?) | none | a seated female figure |

* Corbel associated with an unfluted column without base and Doric capital carved in the upper part of the column shaft.
** Seated statues found at the ruins of the cited monuments (Söğüt 2005: 126–128 and figs. 15, 16, 26, 29).

⁴⁶ Mert 2016.

⁴⁷ This hypothesis is, however, difficult to prove as the identity of the building to which it belonged is uncertain. Alternatively, it could in fact be a column erected in front of a temple façade monument such as the ‘Tempelfaçade’ Ost H12: Linnemann 2013: 118 pls. 63.4–6. On the ‘Tempelfaçade’ Ost H12: Linnemann 2013: 99 pl. 56.1.



Figure 7: *Tumulus of Karakuş, column with relief (courtesy of Carole Raddato)*

elements and statues. From a stylistic point of view, there are some recurring elements. Firstly, the column is always unfluted, without a base and worked either as a monolith or in two blocks. The Doric capital is generally short in height, with a geometrically profiled *echinus* and a smooth *abacus*. As a characterising element, the capital is worked into the shaft of the column. With the exception of the funerary monument in Tülü/Kızılısalı, in all cases a T-shaped corbel is placed above the Doric capital. Note that the corbels with a *cyma recta* profile are undecorated, while those with a concave profile are carved with relief busts of figures. These figures are probably to be identified with the deceased and his family members. In some cases, a seated statue found next to the monument's ruins testifies to the presence of a statue likely placed atop the column (Table 3).⁴⁸

In the search for the architectural model behind the development of this small group of tombs, a comparison with the funerary architecture of

Commagene and northern Syria is once again necessary.⁴⁹ In this sense, of particular interest is the funerary monument at Tülü/Kızılısalı, the only example in which a statue was likely placed, without a corbel, directly on top of the Doric capital.⁵⁰ This same solution is attested in Commagene, in the *Hierothesion* of Mithridates I Kallinikos (100–70 BC) at Arsameia on the Nymphaios (1st century BC). The comparison is more evident with the so-called Tumulus of Karakuş, where there are free-standing columns with smooth shafts and Doric capitals, which supported reliefs (Figure 7) or statues of animals.⁵¹ In Commagene, a similar monument is also found at the Tumulus of Sensönk (Dikilitaş), located about 60 km south west of the Euphrates.⁵² The tumulus, however, is of uncertain date (1st century BC – 1st century AD). Architecturally the monument has two smooth shaft columns with bases and Doric capitals. The columns in this case supported an architrave on which statues of human figures were placed, so

⁴⁸ As proposed by Söğüt 2005: 126–131. A seated male statue was found at the ruins of Cennet Cehennem (Söğüt 2005: figs. 15–17), while a seated female statue was found at those of Tülü (Söğüt 2005: figs. 29–31) and Sancıören (Söğüt 2005: figs. 26–28), where the presence of four dowel holes on the corbel's top surface suggest the presence of a statue atop the column. Nevertheless, given the constant presence of the top corbel, it is possible that a statue was present in all of the known examples as an integral part of the architectural model.

⁴⁹ Söğüt 2005: 125–126.

⁵⁰ Söğüt 2005: figs. 29–30.

⁵¹ On the *Hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaios: Brijder 2014: 238–298; Hoepfner 1983; Waldmann and Vermaseren 1973: 80–122 pl. II, 1–4; III.3; IV.3; Dörner and Goell 1963. On the Tumulus of Karakuş see also: Blömer and Winter 2011: 96–99; Waldmann and Vermaseren 1973: 38 pl. II.3, III.1–4; Arachne, *Karakus Tepe (Adlerhügel)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/5987442>; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/5913626> (accessed 28 June 2022).

⁵² On the Tumulus of Sensönk: Blömer and Winter 2011: 173–176; Waldmann and Vermaseren 1973: pl. IV.1.3.

that the architecture of this monument is reminiscent of the Aemilius Reginus monument at Qatura in northern Syria, which dates to AD 195.⁵³

The use of the so-called tombs with monumental columns covers a very broad time frame, from the early 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD. According to Söğüt, the type was introduced in the Olba region at Imbriogon kome, in the early years of the reign of Antiochus IV of Commagene, around AD 38–72 or shortly earlier.⁵⁴ Later, during the 2nd century AD, the monument type with a Corinthian capital spread to sites around Imbriogon kome (Beyören, Kümbet Beleni, Direktaş). Funerary monuments with Doric capitals were built later, during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. However, regarding the Doric type, the similarities between the funerary monument of Tülü/Kızılısalı and the Tumulus of Karakuş in Commagene suggest that the presence of the architectural model in the Olba region can be dated back earlier than the 1st century AD. It can also be assumed that later, through local schools influenced by the architecture of Commagene,⁵⁵ the model was probably revised to create a style of its own, with the introduction of the corbel as a characterising element.

A date between the 2nd–3rd centuries AD for the Doric type is also supported by the architecture of these tombs. As mentioned above, in most of the cases known to us, the grave is of the *aedicula* tomb type, with a *chamosorium* or a sarcophagus as the burial type.⁵⁶ *Aedicula* tombs are widespread mainly in the Olba region and in the eastern part of Rough Cilicia during the Roman period, with a period of use dating between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD.⁵⁷ For these reasons, a date between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD, as suggested by Durukan, is likely for the Doric funerary monument of Yukarı Hüseyinler in the district of Silifke.⁵⁸

Doric temple tomb at Kanytelleis

In the Olba region the influence of northern Syrian architecture on the Doric style can also be seen in the N9 Necropolis of Kanytelleis/Kanytella/Kanytelideis,⁵⁹ a context mostly characterised by sarcophagus burials dating to the late 2nd–3rd century AD. Here we can find a small temple tomb ('Grabtempel') in *opus quadratum* with three prostyle columns on its façade (**Figure 8**).⁶⁰

The building has an extremely provincial character. The architectural decoration also differs from all the examples described so far. The funerary monument has columns with a smooth shaft and base, which latter element is not part of the canonical Doric order. The same kind of bases are also present in the corner pillars. They consist of a plinth and a torus with a listel at the top, which are, however, extremely low in height.⁶¹ Similarly, both columns and pilaster *antae* have a totally unstructured capital, with a low

⁵³ As a main reference see: Tchalenko 1953: 189–192 pls. 61; 62.6. Arachne, *Grab des Aemilius Regines (Qatura)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/6069837> (accessed 28 June 2022).

⁵⁴ The grave type associated to Imbriogon kome tomb (no. 2.1) is unknown. The Corinthian capital is dated by the author in the first half of the 1st century AD: Söğüt 2005: 116; 130–131.

⁵⁵ As suggested by Söğüt 2005: 130.

⁵⁶ With reference to the use of sarcophagi and *chamosoria* in Rough Cilicia: Er Scarborough 2017: 22–25.

⁵⁷ On the barrel-vaulted *aedicula* tombs: Er Scarborough 2017: 154–155; Durukan 2005: 119–122.

⁵⁸ Durukan 2005: 120–122 figs. 23–24.

⁵⁹ On Kanytelleis/Kanytella, a settlement placed around 5 Km north of Elaiussa–Sebaste: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 285–286.

⁶⁰ Machatschek 1967: 29 no. N 9; 116–117 pl. 56 fig. 71. Arachne, *Grabbau mit drei prostylen Säulen (Kanytelis/Kanytella)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8146> (accessed 28 June 2022).

⁶¹ This type of column bases, not common in the region, finds a comparison in the *temenos* of the Sanctuary of Jabal Shaykh Barakat, in north Syria: Berns 2003: 87–89 nt. 224; tab. 3 no. 12 fig. 11c; pl. 30.1.



Figure 8: Tomb at Kanytelleis/Kanytella/Kanytelideis (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R539. Autor A. Peschlow, 1967. arachne.dainst.org/entity/110920)

abacus and a torus-like underdeveloped *echinus*. The type is comparable to Doric capitals from northern Syria that date to the late 2nd century AD–3rd century AD, a fact that supports its stylistic dating.⁶² Otherwise, as regards the architectural style of this tomb, in the Olba region comparison can be made with the so-called Tomb D2 at Imbriogon kome, a prostyle temple tomb in *opus quadratum* dating to the 3rd century AD.⁶³

The above examples show a marked tendency towards regionalism, which is supported by the existence of local workshops and characterises the Doric funerary architecture of Rough Cilicia. This phenomenon of regionalism is also attested in other instances in the region. As already pointed out by Spanu, the geographical isolation of the territory, the presence of local limestone, and the peculiar political formation of the Roman province led to the creation of local schools and/or tendencies.⁶⁴ These tendencies are manifested at various levels in the architectural production of Rough Cilicia, insofar as the existence of regional trends in Doric architecture is not limited to a funerary context.

⁶² Compare with Berns 2003: 95. For the Syrian capitals: Strube 2002: 15–16, tav. 6c. A dating in the late 3rd century AD is instead proposed with caution by Machatschek 1967: 116–117.

⁶³ The tomb, notable for a strong Ionic character, is dated to the 3rd century AD due to the stylistic comparison with the Ionic tomb D1: Durukan 2006: 127–130 figs. 13–16.

⁶⁴ Spanu 2013: 99–100.

Doric temples in Cilicia

Similar trends can also be found in religious architecture. Two small Doric temples from the Roman period, one in Çatiören and the other in İsmaili, which are distinguished by the combination of the Doric order with traditional building techniques, merit discussion.

Doric temple at İsmaili

An early Imperial date can be suggested for the temple of İsmaili/Kurşunlu Kalesi (Asar) that is located between Kalykadnos and Lamos, some 4km to the south of the aqueduct of Olba. Built with local limestone, it was a small tetrastyle temple realised in *opus quadratum* and polygonal masonry.⁶⁵ The formal style of the Doric temple of İsmaili shows some similarities both with the funerary tower of Diokaisareia and the Roman temple tombs in Rough Cilicia.⁶⁶ The building also preserves the complete canonical sequence of Doric architectural decoration: capitals with smoothed *abacus* and *echinus* in a curvilinear profile; architrave with low profile *regulae* decorated with six well carved *guttae*; friezes with metopes and triglyphs that end in horizontal terminations; canonical Doric *geison* and *sima*. An aspect of interest is that the column drums have a rough surface, whereas flutes characterised by semi-circular terminations are carved only in the *hypotrachelion* of the capital. Şahin dates the temple to the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, but various other possible chronologies have been proposed in the literature.⁶⁷

Temple of Hermes at Çatiören

The Temple of Hermes at Çatiören, a site in the hinterland of Elaioussa–Sebaste, should also be dated to the Roman period.⁶⁸ Here, an undated Greek inscription reports that Pomponios Nigeros, priest of Hermes, financed the construction of the *naos*. The text not only identifies the building as a temple dedicated to Hermes, but also gives a hint for its dating in the Roman period as the dedicant bears a Latin name.⁶⁹

The Temple of Hermes is a Doric temple *in antis* built in polygonal masonry (**Figure 9**). As for the temple at İsmaili, the building material used here is a local limestone. Stylistically, however, some Hellenistic Doric elements observed at İsmaili are abandoned here in favour of local solutions. In particular, the column, with a smooth shaft, is associated with Doric capitals with a geometric profile that have been worked in the same piece as the upper shaft. This solution has already been observed in other Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia, for example in the tombs with a monumental column and Doric capital in the Olba region dating to the 2nd–3rd century AD.

The Doric architrave–frieze is surprising. The architrave is characterized by the elimination of the *regulae*, with six *guttae* carved under the *taenia*. As mentioned above, in Cilicia, a parallel for this solution occurs

⁶⁵ On this building see principally: Şahin 2014: 85–121 figs. 2–28. On the settlement: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 277, s.v. ‘İsmaili’.

⁶⁶ As previously proposed by Durugönül 2001: 158–159 pls. 36.1–2.

⁶⁷ Şahin 2014: 85–121. A date in the Flavian age is cautiously supported by Gider Büyüközer 2020: table 1; Durukan 2003: 231–234. Previously Durugönül 2001: 158–159 proposed a date in the early Empire. By contrast Tempesta 2016: 233–234 proposed a date in the late Hellenistic period, due to stylistic parallels with the funerary tower of Diokaisareia and the Doric elements at Korykion Antron.

⁶⁸ On the Temple of Hermes at Çatiören see: Mörel 2017: 381–420 figs. 10 a–g; Tempesta 2016: 234 figs. 30–31. See also: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 224–225, s.v. ‘Çatiören’. Arachne, *Tempel des Hermes (Nimet Mahallesi)*: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8823> (accessed 28 June 2022).

⁶⁹ For the inscription: Hicks 1891: 232–233 no. 13.



Figure 9: Temple at Çatiören (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R2727. Autor O. Feld, 1969. arachne.dainst.org/entity/455768)

only in the monumental tomb of Yeniyurt Kalesi.⁷⁰ Furthermore, in the frieze a fragmentary metope is embellished by the relief of an animal that resembles a bird, according to the author.⁷¹ To my knowledge in Asia Minor there are no direct parallels to this solution. Decorated metopes are generally uncommon in the Doric architectural decoration of Asia Minor and, where used, floral motifs were preferred.⁷² Occasionally a decorative apparatus depending on the context could be adopted: in Lycia the Ptolemaion at Limyra (3rd century BC) has a Doric frieze with metopes decorated with a centauromachy.⁷³ Likewise, the triumphal arch built at Xanthos by the governor of Lycia Sextus Marcus Priscus (AD 68–70) in honour of Vespasian had metopes adorned with busts of the major divinities of the city (Leto, Apollo, and Artemis).⁷⁴

As regards the subject of cultural interaction in Cilicia, it is also interesting to observe that metopes with animal figures were widespread in Doric funerary monuments of central Italy during the 1st century BC.⁷⁵ In this respect an interesting parallel is provided by a frieze–architrave (50–30 BC) from the

⁷⁰ See note 32.

⁷¹ Unfortunately the element is fragmentary: Mörel 2017: figs. 10 f–g.

⁷² On this topic: Ismaelli 2009: 370; Rumscheid 1994: 313.

⁷³ Borchhardt 1991: 309–322 fig. 4.

⁷⁴ The Leto's head is still *in situ*: Des Courtils and Cavalier 2001: 159 fig. 6.9. On the dedicatory inscription: TAM II, 270.

⁷⁵ Maschek 2012: 180.



Figure 10: Doric frieze-architrave from the Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo – L'Aquila, Italy (copyright of the Ministero della Cultura – Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo – L'Aquila)

Archaeological Museum at L'Aquila (*Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo*), which has metopes decorated with birds alternated with *bucrania* (Figure 10⁷⁶).⁷⁷ At Çatiören the adoption of iconographic schemes inspired from Italic architecture can only be supposed, although it should be stressed that Pomponios Nigeros, who financed this work, may have had Italic origins and was in fact a Roman citizen.⁷⁸ In this regard it must also be considered that, in the wake of the province's re-organization by Vespasian, building activities and evergetism practices increase in the region.⁷⁹ For all these reasons, a date subsequent to the reign of Vespasian (i.e. some moment between the late 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century AD) can be proposed.

Korykion Antron

Finally, evidence from the late Hellenistic period seems instead to come from the sanctuary of Korykion Antron (Cennet Cehennem) near Korykos. Here, fragments of a Doric building reused in the Byzantine basilica are known. On the basis of these one can assume the existence of a Doric prostyle temple *in antis* (like that of Çatiören) and with a *temenos* in polygonal masonry. The building is probably to be dated to the late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st century BC).⁸⁰ The use of fluted columns for only two-thirds of the shaft should be noted. This typical Hellenistic Doric element, however, is rarely attested in Cilicia: an example can be found in the six Doric columns under the Church-Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla) south of Silifke, which probably belonged to a Hellenistic building (Table 2).⁸¹

⁷⁶ Reproduction, copying, modification, downloading or distribution of this image, whole or in part, is forbidden by law.

⁷⁷ Maschek 2012: DF 105 pl. 25.6. The original provenience of this frieze is unknown. At Çatiören a *bucranium* is carved on the *antae* wall: Mörel 2017: fig. 10e. Other examples in Italy are found at Benevento (Maschek 2012: DF 21, DF 145), Amiternum (Maschek 2012: DF 23), and Amelia (Maschek 2012: DF 159). See also the tomb at Benevento (35–10 BC), which has metopes decorated by an eagle: Maschek 2012: DF 12, pl. 2.3.

⁷⁸ The influence of the Italic architecture in Asia Minor during the Imperial time has been recently addressed by Ismaelli 2020. Also worthy of note is Spanu 1996, where emphasis is placed on the role of the armies in the introduction of Roman building techniques in eastern provinces.

⁷⁹ On this subject, see Borgia 2010: 27–38.

⁸⁰ Tempesta 2016: 232–233 fig. 26. Arachne, *Tempel-Kirche (Cennet-Cehennem)*, arachne.dainst.org/entity/1967870 (accessed 28 June 2022).

⁸¹ Tempesta 2016: 232 nt. 80 and fig. 21.

The most distinctive characteristic of the temples discussed here is the use of the Doric order in conjunction with Hellenistic building techniques well established in the region, e.g. polygonal masonry and *opus quadratum*. This shows the preference of Cilician workshops for local traditions.⁸² Furthermore, a Roman date for the temples of İsmaili and Çatiören proves a continuity of use of the Doric order associated with Hellenistic techniques into the Roman period, thereby highlighting the regional character of this architecture.

Conclusions

This analysis of Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia illuminates the existence of regional trends, which give the Doric style a unique character.

In spite of the lack of data from the Hellenistic period, it has been possible to highlight how the advent of the Roman period led to the progressive abandonment of canonical elements of the Doric order and favoured a minimalistic or totally revised architecture. The canonical Doric entablature, for example, is for the most part used in buildings from the late Hellenistic or early Imperial periods, e.g. the funerary tower tomb at Diokaisareia and the Doric rock-cut tombs at Diokaisareia's west necropolis or the temple of İsmaili. Alongside this, the exclusive use of local limestone, which was readily available thanks to the territory's geomorphology, is noted.⁸³ The use of local stone is accompanied by stylistic implements characteristic of the regional style. One of these is the predominant use of the unfluted column in the Imperial period in place of the canonical fluted column of Hellenistic tradition. This solution was also accompanied by another formal detail typical of Rough Cilicia: the capital carved in the same block of the upper part of the column drums. The same tendency towards regionalism can also be seen in the widespread and protracted use of Doric pilaster *antae*, which are used alone⁸⁴ or in association with a Doric entablature. In the case of the tombs with monumental column and Doric capital in the Olba region, it has been observed that the canonical Doric entablature was abandoned, and the use of the order limited to the column-capital. This re-elaboration produced a unique style with no direct parallels in Asia Minor. The widespread use of stylistic solutions distinctive of the region attests to the existence of well-established local workshops that were still active in the Roman period. This is also evident in the use of Hellenistic building techniques used in the Doric temples of İsmaili and Çatiören.

Finally, the study of Doric buildings has facilitated discussion of influences coming from neighbouring regions. Our analysis highlights a combination of regional tendencies and external influences from Lycia, Commagene and Northern Syria, which demonstrate a mixture of local identities and cultural interactions in the Doric architectural decoration of Rough Cilicia. The combination of these aspects gives the style and architectural forms of the Doric order of Rough Cilicia a character that is distinctive from those found in the other provinces of Asia Minor.

⁸² With reference to the building techniques in Cilicia during the Roman age: Spanu 2010: 397–409.

⁸³ On the geological morphology of Cilicia: Spanu 2003: fig. 4.

⁸⁴ Compare with the s.c. 'Kubische Grabhaus mit Gesims G19' at Elaiussa Sebaste necropolis N4: Machatschek 1967: 26 pl. 32.

Abbreviations

TAM = Kalinka, E. (ed.). *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (Wien 1901–1941).

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