

JON C. CUBAS DÍAZ

## Burying between *Lamos* and *Kalykadnos*

The Many Faces of the Late Antique Funerary Landscapes  
of Eastern Rough Cilicia

### Death and Burial in Late Antique *Asia Minor*: General Problems, Recent Developments and Research Perspectives

Funerary habits changed deeply in Late Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> These did not only include a shift in the custom of extramural burial, which doesn't seem to apply anymore to a similar extent, but also in the new connection between sacred and funerary spaces, which is closely related to the rise of Christianity. Churches became an integral part of many necropoleis, structuring these spaces and (in many cases) housing burials themselves. Although this phenomenon has traditionally been linked to the preference of burying *ad sanctos*, many of the churches housing burials did not include *martyria*.<sup>2</sup> These changes can also be observed in many landscapes and cities of *Asia Minor*, such as *Anemurion*, *Aphrodisias*, *Ephesos* and *Patara*.<sup>3</sup>

When we turn to *Asia Minor*, however, we should not forget that it is barely possible to sharply define the funerary landscapes of this large region in a brief and succinct manner. The historical region, encompassing a substantial part of modern-day Turkey, contains a wide variety of landscapes. While these all are understood as parts of '*Asia Minor*', essential differences clearly distinguish them

- 1 This publication originated in the Collaborative Research Centre 933 "Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies" (subproject A01 "Lettered and Inscribed. Inscriptions in Urban Space in the Greco-Roman Period and Middle Ages"). The CRC 933 is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). I am grateful to Raphael Hunsucker, Katharine Cubas Díaz and especially Philipp Pilhofer for their comments on an earlier version of the manuscript, although any remaining errors are my own and should not tarnish the reputations of these esteemed persons.
- 2 As, however, some of the examples treated below will show, burial *ad sanctos* (or close to a church in general) was not always a primary aim. On *ad sanctos* burials see e.g.: DUVAL 1988 and (with a special focus on the Western Mediterranean) DUVAL/PICARD 1986. In this context the approach of A. M. Yasin is also of special interest: YASIN 2009.
- 3 On *Anemurion*: RUSSELL 1989, 1632–1637. On *Aphrodisias*: DALGIÇ/SOKOLICEK 2017, 276–279; DALGIÇ 2012, 367–396. On *Ephesos*: STESKAL 2013, 243–257. On *Patara*: PESCHLOW 2017b, 282–283, 286–287; PESCHLOW 2015, 463–473; PESCHLOW 2011, 29–31. Eric Ivison recently offered a brief yet comprehensive account on the funerary archaeology of Late Antique and Byzantine Anatolia, including some of the examples and references mentioned here: IVISON 2017, 160–175. For a comparison of Late Antique epigraphical practice in selected regions/sites of *Asia Minor*, see the contribution DESTEPHEN in this volume.

amongst each other. Notwithstanding the influence of the above-mentioned trans-regional phenomena, there was certainly no standardized and homogenous funerary landscape, as the funerary habits of these different landscapes are deeply rooted in micro-regional and local traditions. These traditions are rooted in different historical and cultural backgrounds. Some cities and regions were founded in a context of Greek colonization; others were more or less deeply hellenized later. Furthermore, they were not integrated into the Roman Empire to the same extent and at the same period in time.<sup>4</sup>

Hence, generalizations are not particularly helpful to adequately depict the situation in the region. Rather, these landscapes present very different funerary characteristics, distinguished by the preference for certain types of funerary monuments, their spatial setting, the use or ‘absence’ of inscriptions and decoration, the selection of grave goods and the pattern of reuse of pre-existing funerary monuments. These differences become evident through the consideration of regional phenomena. The characteristic Lycian barrel-vaulted sarcophagus-lids with pointed arches, for example, stemming from a regional tradition originating in the 4th c. BC, strongly influenced the design of Late Antique sarcophagi in this landscape.<sup>5</sup> Other types of funerary monuments, such as hypogea, show regional differences also in building techniques. In *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia* they were often rock-cut, while those in *Nikaia* and *Sardis* were built with masonry or bricks.<sup>6</sup> Although these supra-regional differences have been addressed in scholarship, micro-regional diversity became a topic of interest only recently.

Furthermore, the state of scholarly research distorts the bigger picture. While some – mostly coastal – regions have been studied intensively since the early 20th century, other regions, most of them lying in the interior of Anatolia, came into focus only in the last decades. The same applies to rural vs. urban settlements: cities like *Ephesos*, *Pergamon*, *Miletos* or *Sardis* have been studied much more intensively, and for much longer. Even in many of those well-studied sites, however, Late Antique funerary archaeology was not a particularly active field until the end of the 20th c.<sup>7</sup>

4 While cities like *Ephesos* became an integral part of the Roman Empire as early as 133 BC, other regions such as *Commagene* and Rough Cilicia remained part of a Hellenistic (client) kingdom until the last decades of the 1st c. AD. See PILHOFER 2018, 28–31, including relevant bibliographic references as well as epigraphic and literary sources.

5 The characteristic Lycian barrel-vaulted sarcophagi, which often included inscriptions in Lycian language and script, were a ‘popular’ funerary monument type in Hellenistic *Lycia*. The characteristic barrel-vault design kept being used for lids of sarcophagi built in Late Antiquity. Moreover, many older sarcophagi were reused in Late Antiquity, and in some cases churches were added to the old necropoleis (e.g. Upper Western Necropolis, *Kyaneai*, see HÜLDEN 2010). Furthermore, the heterogeneity of sarcophagi in *Asia Minor* is clearly shown in the *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*: Rep. V, p. 109–117.

6 See also IVISON 2017, 164 f.

7 On *Ephesos* see: STESKAL 2013, 243–257. On *Miletos*: NIEWÖHNER 2018, 263–272; NIEWÖHNER 2007, 71–90. On *Pergamon* see: OTTEN 2017, 226–230 (with references). On *Sardis*

The last two decades also saw many studies on the mortuary archaeology of further urban settlements. The first comprehensive studies on rural settlements, such as Akören in *Cilicia Pedias*, have further facilitated a differentiated approach.<sup>8</sup> Until now, the asymmetric state of research also biases the overall picture of Late Antique funerary archaeology. While rich funerary monuments have been intensively analysed in comprehensive iconographic and epigraphic studies, non-elite burials have been poorly treated. The same is true for the spatial setting of both.<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, the consideration of anthropological studies has enriched our knowledge of funerary archaeology in general, and non-elite burials in particular, since the turn of the millennium, as several projects in *Ephesos* and Phrygian *Hierapolis* show.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the field of Late Antique mortuary archaeology is now offering exciting new perspectives on *Asia Minor*, using interdisciplinary and regionally differentiated approaches to acknowledge the full complexity of the region.

### Late Antique Rough Cilicia: Status Quaestionis

*Cilicia* is an ancient cultural landscape situated in the south of modern-day Turkey, bordering *Syria* in the east and *Pamphylia* in the west. The region is traditionally divided in *Cilicia Tracheia* to the west and *Cilicia Pedias* to the east. The geographical focus of this paper is the coastal part of eastern Rough Cilicia (*Cilicia Tracheia*) enclosed by the ‘olbian territory’ to the North, the river *Lamos* to the West and the *Kalykadnos* to the East. Just like many other landscapes of the eastern Mediterranean, *Cilicia* was the destination of several research expeditions in the 19th c.<sup>11</sup> In 1931, Josef Keil and Adolf Wilhelm published a companion of all visible inscriptions in most of the known settlements of the region, which they had recorded with impressive accuracy.<sup>12</sup> At about the same time, Ernst Herzfeld and Samuel Guyer analyzed the sacred architecture of Meriamlik and Korykos.<sup>13</sup> A first project on the mortuary archaeology of the coastal settlements between *Lamos* and *Kalykadnos*

see: ROUSSEAU 2010; ROUSSEAU 2014; ROUSSEAU 2019. Further examples include Assos (BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN 2013, 228–238; BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN 2016, 63–87) and *Nikaia* (PESCHLOW 2017a, 207–209).

8 On Akören see: WULF-RHEIDT 2011, 189–204.

9 This imbalance can also be observed in important corpora like the *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, which mostly focuses on elite tombs and do not include any references on their spatial setting. See the volume on *Constantinople, Asia Minor, Thracia, Syria, Palaestina and Arabia: Rep. V*.

10 On *Ephesos* see: STESKAL/BJØRNSTAD 2018, 123–134. On *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia* see: KIESEWETTER 2017, 384–413.

11 BEAUFORT 1817; DE LABORDE 1838, 132–134; BARKER 1853; ČIHAČEV 1854; LANGLOIS 1861; HEBERDEY/WILHELM 1896; BENT 1891; HICKS 1891; BELL 1906a–e; BELL 1907.

12 MAMA III.

13 HERZFELD/GUYER 1930.

in the 1960s was carried out by an architect, Alois Machatschek, who delivered outstanding work with an architectural-historical approach.<sup>14</sup> During the following decades, Semavi Eyice provided a first overview on the various rural settlements through several brief articles; apart from these publications, little substantial archaeological field research has been done.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, no archaeological sites were systematically surveyed through intensive fieldwork and no comprehensive comparative studies were published. In the late 20th c., H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, G. Dagron and D. Feissel also published noteworthy studies focusing on the epigraphic evidence of the region.<sup>16</sup>

This important work notwithstanding, researchers had to accomplish basic tasks in the last 20 years, as this region, replete with remarkably well-preserved artefacts and monuments, still constituted an enigma in many ways – albeit being recognized in scientific discourse for its enormous potential. In the last two decades, several field research projects with long-term goals started at central sites such as *Olba/Diokaisareia* and especially *Elaiussa Sebaste*, allowing a modern archaeological approach.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, rural settlements moved into the spotlight of several research projects, and the first comparative research projects addressed fields of study that had been neglected.<sup>18</sup> Also funerary archaeology gained new attention from scholars, and comprehensive comparative studies on several funerary monument types appeared.<sup>19</sup> The main focus of these works, however, was on typological aspects, in terms of method, and on the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, in terms of chronology. Accordingly, a new analysis of the earlier epochs that considers spatial and praxeological aspects is still lacking, as well as a comparative study on the Late Antique funerary landscapes of *Cilicia Tracheia* in general.

14 MACHATSCHEK 1967.

15 On the first mention and preliminary studies of the rural settlements see: EYICE 1981; EYICE 1986; EYICE 1988.

16 I.Cilicie; HELLENKEMPER/HILD 1986.

17 On Elaiussa Sebaste see: EQUINI SCHNEIDER 1999; EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2003 and EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2010, as well as the yearly excavation reports in *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, since 2010. A detailed study of *Diokaisareia*'s necropoleis was newly published by J. Linnemann: LINNEMANN 2013. Furthermore, the volume of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* published in 1990 is still key for the assessment of the status quaestionis concerning *Cilicia* and *Isauria*: HILD/HELLENKEMPER 1990.

18 The proceedings of a first – and much needed – conference with an explicit focus on rural settlements have recently been published: AYDINOĞLU/MÖREL 2017. Previously, GÜNDER VARINLIOĞLU studied the region's rural settlements in depth (VARINLIOĞLU 2008b), while INA EICHNER focused on their domestic architecture (EICHNER 2011). Both have also published several articles highlighting the main results: EICHNER 2004; EICHNER 2009; EICHNER 2018; VARINLIOĞLU 2008a; VARINLIOĞLU 2013.

19 Yasemin Er Scarborough compiled a typology of the rock-cut and monumental built tombs of Hellenistic to Roman Rough Cilicia. Her studies were recently published as SCARBOROUGH 2017, based on her PhD-thesis defended at Cornell University in 1991.

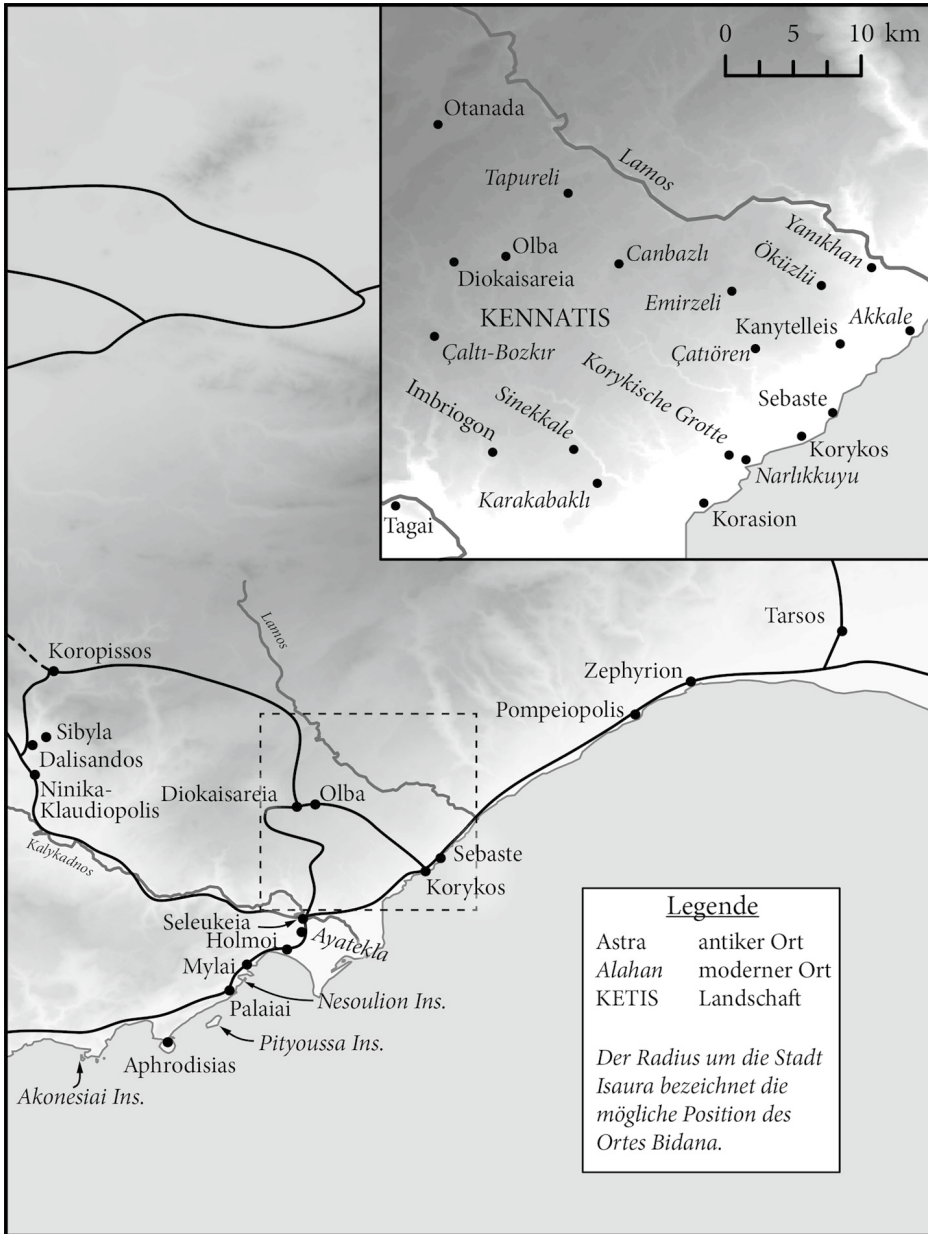


Fig. 1: Eastern Rough Cilicia.

This paper is a result of a project that aims to continue research from that point onwards, in order to acquire an overall and as complex as possible picture of Rough Cilicia's mortuary landscapes by studying funerary spaces in the region's settlements.<sup>20</sup> The main aim of this paper is to analyse the funerary spaces and habits

20 The complete results are presented in a monograph (CUBAS DÍAZ 2021).

in Late Antique Eastern Rough Cilicia. This includes funerary monuments in their own right, but also in relation to accompanying inscriptions and to their spatial location within settlements. The main goal is not, though, to present a typology of the funerary monuments with their archaeological attributes, nor to outline a presumed transition in *epigraphic habit*, but to develop an approach to mortuary landscapes which draws in archaeological and epigraphical findings and considers praxeological aspects.

For this purpose, it is crucial to focus on several case studies and to include settlements with presumedly different ‘characters’.<sup>21</sup> Needless to say, however, the selection of those case studies is clearly limited by the current state of research. This paper will focus on *Korykos*, *Korasion*, Karakabaklı and Işıkkale, but also refer to other archaeological sites within the region under consideration (Fig. 1). By addressing these settlements, both general regional developments and micro-regional as well as local differences are analysed and discussed. Was the way funerary monuments were decorated, inscribed and positioned in space a result of a given tradition, new emerging preferences, or functional needs? And how was the function of these monuments and spaces influenced by collective dynamics, social structures or representational needs?

## ***Korykos***

*Korykos*/Kızkalesi, a coastal, medium-sized city midway between the *Lamos* and *Kalykadnos* rivers, is a good case to start our investigation with. Although the settlement is frequently referred to in scholarship, we still lack insights into most of its facets, as only limited archaeological work has been conducted and published so far.<sup>22</sup> The city must have had a certain importance in early and middle Imperial times, for which several monumental public buildings, as well as its status as a naval port, provide evidence.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, the area *intra muros* has barely been studied and is in fact hard to deal with now, as agricultural and modern construction work have limited research possibilities in the last decades (Fig. 2).

21 It is certainly difficult to sharply define ‘character’ in this context. Many factors are considered, including differences in size, function, location and period of active inhabitation.

22 Although a field research project directed by Serra Durugönül was carried out in the beginning of this century, it lacks a final publication. However, besides the yearly reports, some results focusing on the discovery of the ‘Friedhofskirche’ were published by Gabriele Mietke (MIETKE 2009). Moreover, it is important to note that, since the works by Ernst Herzfeld and Samuel Guyer at the so-called cathedral and the so-called tomb church (HERZFELD/GUYER 1930), no further excavations have taken place.

23 On the archaeological record see: GUYER/HERZFELD 1930, 90–194 and CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 55–58. On the status as a naval port see: PILHOFER 2018, 21.

The first known funerary monuments go back at least to the 1st c. BC. During that time, the spatial setting of funerary monuments was topography-oriented and covered the slope surrounding the city from the west up to the north and enclosing a small valley there. In its first phase, the necropolis mainly consisted of rock-cut tombs, but this changed in the 2nd c. AD. From then on, sarcophagi and *chamosoria* became by far the most common funerary monument group. They showed a high diversity in terms of ambition, from rather straight-forward forms of *chamosoria* up to free standing sarcophagi with substructures.

A second shift changed *Korykos*' funerary landscape in Late Antiquity, as churches not only became part of the necropoleis but also articulated them spatially together with the streets.<sup>24</sup> Well over 500 funerary monuments are still *in situ*, enabling us to analyse spatial aspects. Unfortunately, many of these tombs have been robbed – with only few exceptions. Therefore, anthropological studies and grave goods analysis are not possible at all; a problem *Korykos* has in common with most eastern Cilician sites.<sup>25</sup> The Late Antique evidence, extremely rich and diverse in many ways, has one further downside: while the late Hellenistic burials do make intensive use of figurative decoration – especially in the case of ambitious funerary monuments –, its use in Late Antiquity is fairly limited. Decoration was mainly reduced to simple religion-related motifs primarily consisting of Christian crosses in diverse forms, but also including christograms, staurograms, as well as Jewish menoroth.<sup>26</sup> In contrast to that, over 500 inscriptions are carved on Late

24 This is especially obvious in the case of the 'monastery church'. However, none of the necropolis-churches provide evidence indicating their function as a funerary space. This might well be the result of the lack of excavations, which can surely bias the overall picture to a certain degree. The above mentioned 'Friedhofskirche' did nonetheless integrate a previous rock-cut tomb, which presumably was staged as a saint's or martyr's tomb (MIETKE 2009, 130f.). Although the name of the so-called tomb-church strongly suggests the presence of intra-basilical burials, the only evidence found to support the legitimacy of this denomination are remains of two structures that were possibly thought to have served as a foundation for sarcophagi. The excavation work at the 'tomb-church' was published by E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer: HERZFELD/GUYER 1930, 126–130.

25 A noteworthy exception are the anthropological studies conducted in *Elaiussa Sebaste*, a coastal city located 4 km further to the east. There, the burials under the floor of the so-called Agora-Church could be analysed, as well as some rock-cut tombs including grave goods. The anthropological results obtained in the Agora-Church, published by Rita Vargiu and Robert R. Paine (VARGIU/PAINE 2010, 259–284), are of special interest: they show several burials in privileged positions that each include just one inhumation, while those in adjacent rooms and the side aisles include evidence from up to 45 bodies within one tomb. This contrasts with the inscriptions decorating some of the intensively or repeatedly used tombs, which just commemorate one person, and reminds us of the importance of anthropological studies as part of an interdisciplinary approach, as well as of the need to always carefully evaluate epigraphic evidence in its context.

26 In some cases, menoroth are used in relation to the inscriptions: MAMA III 205, 237, 344, 448, 679. In at least 8 other cases, menoroth are used as decorative motifs without a connection to epigrams. In 586 cases, crosses are used as a decorative motif, mostly (491) in

# KORYKOS

## GENERAL PLAN

### LEGEND

- HOUSE TOMB
- ▣ ROCK-CUT TOMB
- SARCOPHAGUS / CHAMOSORION

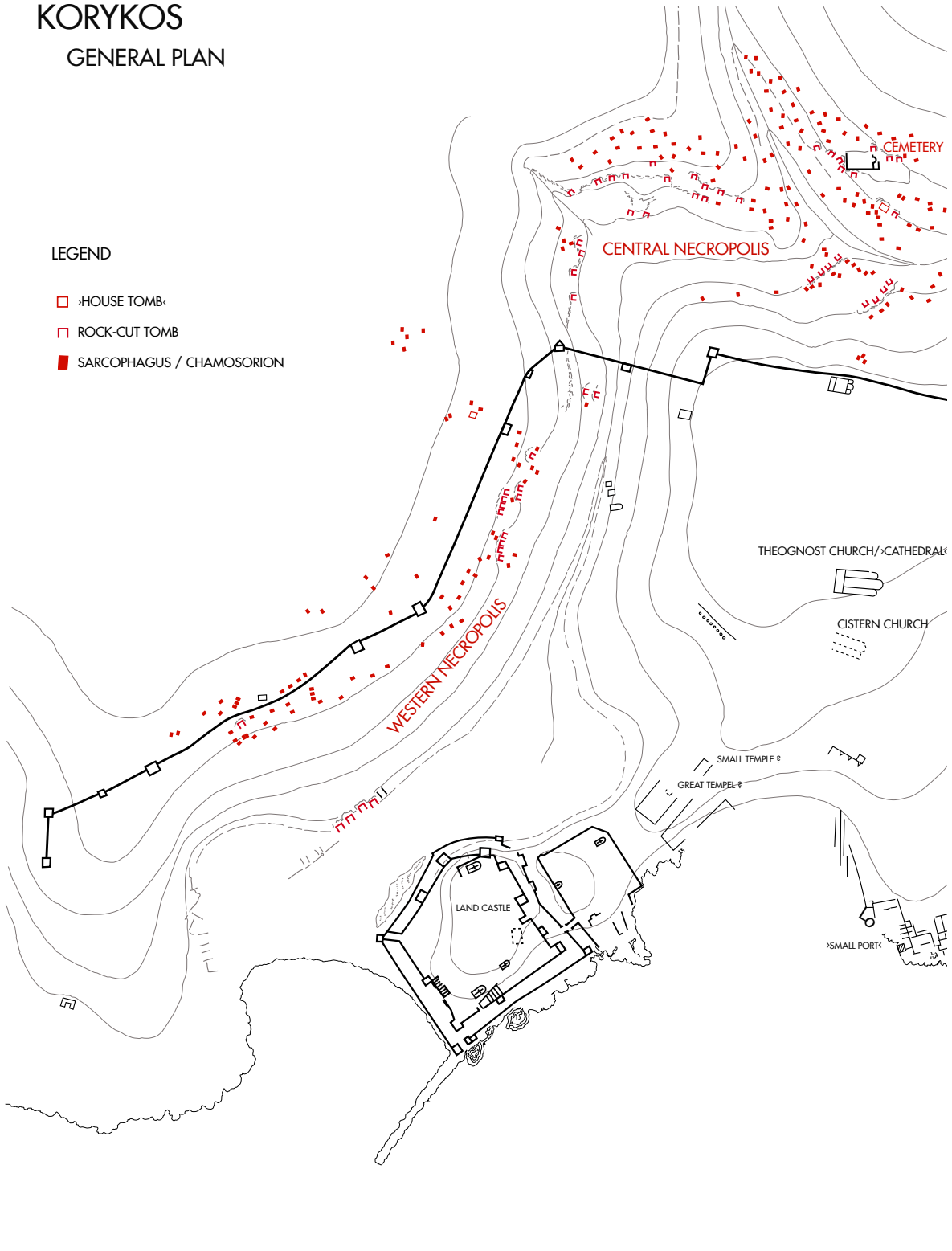
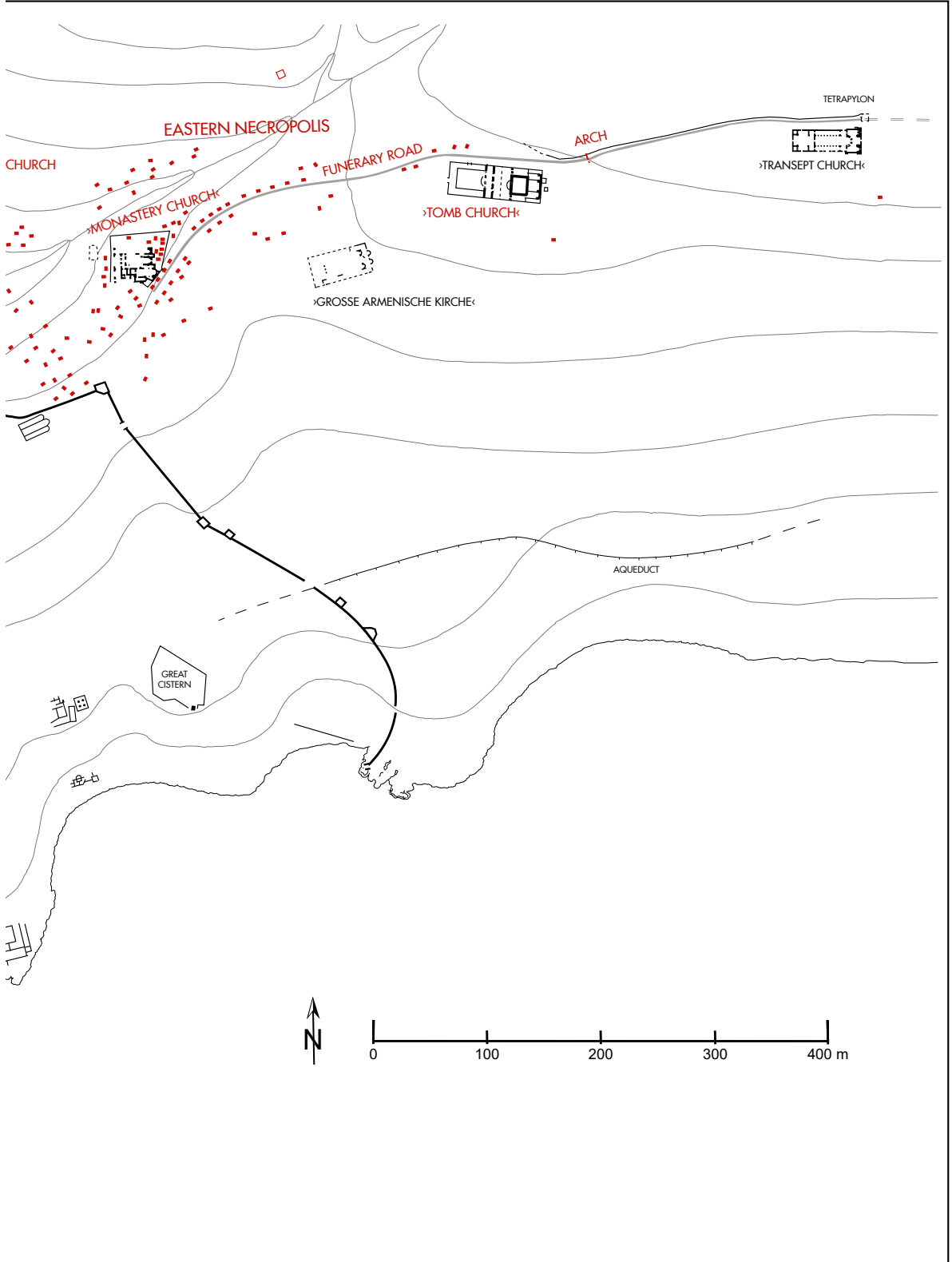


Fig. 2: Korykos, General Plan.





Antique funerary monuments, making epitaphs an integral part of the majority of the tombs;<sup>27</sup> even rather simple tombs were inscribed, which seems to show that epigraphy was used by a relatively diverse and broad social group.

Given the state of scholarship and the nature of the evidence, the approach to this site is based on the analysis of spatial and epigraphic aspects. The Late Antique epigraphic material lacks information suitable for dating it, as well as any reference to dates of death of the individuals honoured. Chronological indications in general are extremely rare: only three funerary inscriptions mention the indication.<sup>28</sup> As other necessary indications are missing, however, even these do not allow dating. Therefore, the dating possibilities are reduced to general linguistic and stylistic criteria, as well as indirect dating criteria such as the characteristics of the inscribed objects and monuments. Next to that, penalties and threats are also largely absent from the *epigraphic habit* of this city in Late Antiquity, with just four inscriptions including them.<sup>29</sup>

In Late Antiquity, the epitaphs show a consistent *formula* which rarely varies in its structure.<sup>30</sup> The text itself is – with very few exceptions – framed by crosses, which were mostly carved in the same size as the letters and positioned just before the start and/or end of the inscription, but sometimes also included at the end of

close connection with epigrams. Staurograms: [MAMA III 312, 331, 548, 556, 740, 747, 765, 778](#). Christograms: [MAMA III 698, 740](#). A combination of both christogram and staurogram is also noteworthy: [MAMA III 420](#). On the archaeological record of the funerary landscapes see CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 58–63; on the tombs and their decoration CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 105–126.

27 The number of older funerary inscriptions is substantially lower, with under 100 examples. Besides the aforementioned publication by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, Stefan Hagel and Kurt Tomaschitz published a Repertorium of the region's inscriptions (ETAM 22). The publication includes (nearly) all epigraphic texts published until the end of the 20th c. The analysis of the inscriptions in this paper mainly relates to J. Keil and A. Wilhelm's work, which includes contextualising information on key aspects for this paper's approach, such as the inscribed objects, their decoration and spatial context. The new epitaphs published by S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, however, are also considered, as well as further publications that have complemented and corrected the context and reading of many of these inscriptions ever since (e.g. WILLIAMS 1992; TOMASCHITZ 1998; PILHOFER 2017; PILHOFER 2019). For a detailed analysis of the funerary epigraphic record see CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 63–70, 73–103.

28 [MAMA III 442, 443, 660](#).

29 [MAMA III 347, 504, 530c, 577a](#). Penalties and threats were included more often before Late Antiquity and are also widely attested in some of the region's settlements, such as *Elaiussa Sebaste* and *Kanytelleis*, as well as in Mut and Sinabiç in western Rough Cilicia. On the latter see PILHOFER 2018, 74 fn. 85. These inscriptions can be found in: ETAM 22.

30 Two inscriptions may serve as representative examples of the described similarity: [MAMA III 344](#): Θήκη | Εύσαμβατίου | Ιουδέου | πρεσβυτέρου | μυρεψοῦ (accompanied by two menoroth). [MAMA III 495](#): + Σωματοθήκη | Ἰωάννου καπίλου | πιπτακαρίου και Μαμμᾶ | πασ | τιλλαρίου. In contrast to the Late Antique epigraphic evidence, earlier inscriptions offer a far more heterogenous picture.

previous lines.<sup>31</sup> Due to their position and size, they could be considered as punctuation marks and therefore as a part of the text. The text in a narrower sense begins with a term indicating the monument (e.g. *σωματοθήκη*; *θήκη*), followed by the information about the honoured person. The name of the deceased is mentioned first, in some cases followed by the filiation.<sup>32</sup> If two or more individuals were commemorated, this part of the inscription is repeated and refers to them one after the other. *Formulae* such as *μνήμης χάριν* and *ἐνθάδε κίτε/ἐνθάδε κείται* are only rarely used.<sup>33</sup>

An unusual characteristic of *Korykos* is that the profession of the deceased is regularly mentioned right after their name, i.e. in over 250 cases.<sup>34</sup> While the indication of the profession is present in at least a dozen other sites across the Eastern Mediterranean, most of them comprise 20 or fewer examples.<sup>35</sup>

- 31 In *Korykos*, crosses mark the beginning and/or the end in 491 inscriptions.
- 32 In some cases, an explicit, textual self-definition of the deceased as Jewish is included following the name: *Ἰουδέου* (MAMA III 295, 344); *Εἰουδέων* (MAMA III 679). The explicit self-definition as Jewish was already used in Imperial times, as two further inscriptions show: *Ἰουδαῖος* (MAMA III 222); *Ἰουδαῖοι* (MAMA III 440). However, it is noteworthy that this term can in principle also denote a provenance from Judea.
- 33 *μνήμης χάριν* is only used in 12 inscriptions, of which none is Late Antique. *ἐνθάδε κίτε/ἐνθάδε κείται* is used in *Elaiussa Sebaste* (EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2010, no. 21) and *Korykos*: (MAMA III 218a, 222, 262, 304, 440, 672) in Late Antique as well as older inscriptions. The early use of *ἐνθάδε κείται* is well known from other cities and regions, such as *Attica* (e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 3155), *Philippoi* in *Macedonia* (I.Chr. Macédoine 246) and *Odessos* in *Moesia* (I.Chr. Bulgarien 134). However, this formula is downright characteristic for Late Antique epitaphs in other regions like *Galatia* (e.g. MAMA I 371). In *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, the formula was used in both the Roman Imperial Era (TAM V,3 1902) and Late Antiquity (TAM V,3 1885), just like in *Korykos*.
- 34 Frank R. Trombley addressed the epigraphic evidence mentioning professional associations in a preliminary paper showing the evidence's potential: TROMBLEY 1987. Later, Hans-Joachim Drexhage provided an account on crafting professions and tradesmen in western Cilicia: DREXHAGE 2008; DREXHAGE 2012. Kai Ruffing's work on trading professions and craftsmen provided a rich material basis, including inscriptions and papyri from the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as a detailed analysis of their specialization level: RUFFING 2008. The numbers presented in the following paragraph do not include offices related to religion, mentioned in this footnote instead. All offices are Christian unless otherwise noted: 5 women and 26 men held the office of a deacon (*διάκονος*). Other clerical offices include: *ὑποδιάκονος* (5), *ἀρχιδιάκονος* (1), *πρεσβύτερος* (23; 2 of them Jewish), *πρωτοπρεσβύτερος* (3), *κληρικός* (1), *παραμονάριος* (2; 'caretaker'), *ψάλτης* (3; liturgical cantor), *πρωτοψάλτης* (1), *τροπόλογος* (1; reciter). For a more detailed account on professions and religious offices in *Korykos* see: CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 64f., 67f., 89–92, 94–98.
- 35 In the region studied in this paper, *Diokaisareia* and *Korasion* present comparable evidence, although it is considerably smaller in number. Just outside the geographical boundaries of this paper, *Seleukeia o.K.* also provides a considerable number of examples. In other regions of *Asia Minor* examples include *Aphrodisias* and *Hierapolis*. Aside from Anatolia, the evidence in *Tyros* is especially interesting, as it includes 54 inscriptions. On *Diokaisareia* see: MAMA III 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 91, 93, 95, 99; Hicks 1891 Nr. 60. On *Korasion* see the references in the corresponding chapter of this paper.

The high amount of inscriptions mentioning a profession allows for a unique insight in the economic structures of this Late Antique city. Out of the more than 250 epitaphs including the profession of the deceased, 157 mention crafting professions. Their fields of work cover textiles (46), ceramics (24), food production (21), metalworking (18), leather production (13), stone processing (10), construction work (7), parfum production (5), purple snail fishing (4), glass production (2), timber production (2) and shipbuilding (2). 66 other epitaphs mention tradesmen. While 22 of these dealt with a wide range of products at a local or transregional level, the others specialized in food products (34), textiles (10) and metal (1). 22 further inscriptions commemorate service providers, working in the financial (11) and maritime sector (5), healthcare (3), arts (2) and surveying (1).<sup>36</sup>

While the amount of different crafting and trading professions may well reflect local needs, others can arguably be related to regional and transregional trading activities. 15 wine merchants, for example, suggest such an activity,<sup>37</sup> as do the textile-related professions. The high amount of crafting occupations related to textiles and the great amount of highly specialized jobs amongst them is particularly striking;<sup>38</sup> it is noteworthy that this significance seems to correlate with the reputation Cilician textiles allegedly had.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, the crafting of ceramics was also wide-

On *Seleukeia o.K.* see: MAMA III 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24(?), 25, 26, 27, 30, 38, 40, 41, 46, 48. On *Aphrodisias* see: SEG XLIV 1753 (alternative reading in SEG XLIII 700). On *Hierapolis* see: SEG XLVI 1656; SEG XLVI 1671 adn; SEG XXXIII 1139; SEG XXXIV 1139; I.Hierapolis Judeich 133, 222. On *Tyros* see: I.Tyr nécropole 7, 8, 8bis, 11bis, 17B, 22, 24B, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33B, 39A, 39C, 43, 65A, 67, 68, 71, 72, 77A, 77B, 78, 80, 92, 95, 98, 103, 107B, 111, 118A, 118B, 122, 123, 124, 133, 137, 141, 143, 147, 152, 158, 166, 171, 178, 179, 182, 182bis, 186, 188, 197, 201, 202, 205. See also RUFFING 2008, 220–230; 256–278.

36 For a detailed analysis and list see: CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 89–92. 202–214.

37 Two different terms were used for this profession: οἰνέμπορος (MAMA III 207, 282, 357, 363, 444, 467, 471, 552, 574, 652, 680) and οἰνηγός (MAMA III 271, 599, 682, 709).

38 The production of textiles was highly specialized, as is shown by the surprising amount of professions mentioned: woolworkers, wool- and cloth-carders, embroiderers, brocade-makers, breeches-makers, sailmakers, net-makers and various specialized menders. However, the textile-dealers' denomination does not attest a specialization. Woolworker: λαναριός (MAMA III 322, 392, 644); ἐριουργός (MAMA III 275a, 286, 323a, 334, 435). Linen-worker: λινοξός (MAMA III 457, 463, 701, 765). Wool-/cloth-carder: κτενῶς (MAMA III 327, 739); γναφεύς (MAMA III 361); ἀγναφάριος, ἀκναφάριος (MAMA III 252, 622, 767a). Embroiderer: πλουμάριος (MAMA III 285, 364b, 391, 403, 429, 441a, 496, 523, 665, 685). Breeches-maker: βρακάριος (MAMA III 406a, 597). Brocade-maker: Βαρβαρικαριός (MAMA III 266). Sailmaker: ἄρμενοράφος (MAMA III 293, 303, 537, 582, 604, 633, 656); ὀθονιακός (MAMA III 340, 368, 473, 558). Net-maker: σαγηνεύς (MAMA III 411a). Sack-maker: σακκῶς, σακκοποιός (MAMA III 470). Clothes-mender: ράπτης (MAMA III 554). Fishing net-mender: ράπτης, (ράπτου ρόβον; MAMA III 581). Contrast the linen-dealer: λινοπώλης (MAMA III 208, 400, 451a, 458, 563, 706, 720, 763, 770) and clothes-seller: ἱματισπράτης (MAMA III 619). A specialization degree similar to that of textiles can be observed in the leatherworking production, within which boots-making seems to have had a substantial importance.

39 Cilician goat hair products (κιλικιον/cilicium) were known across the Mediterranean. On κιλικιον see: LSJ, 951, s.v. Κιλίκιον. In contrast, and although *Korykos* is sometimes related

spread, but is consistently referred to with the term *kerameus*.<sup>40</sup> It is difficult, if at all possible, to decide whether this uniform denomination was due to the high variety of products the potters manufactured, or to a self-understanding as a collective. Statistical analysis and economic structures left aside, such a high amount of occurrences also shows the importance of the profession for self-depiction in Rough Cilicia.

As we have seen, two factors seem to play a central role in the decoration and inscription of the city's funerary monuments: religious and professional affiliation. That the vast majority of burials was decorated with either crosses or menoroth, visualizing the religious affiliation of the deceased, is not so surprising, especially regarding the Christian symbols. Conversely, frequent mentions of profession are quite a striking phenomenon emerging in Late Antique *Korykos*. Finding a suitable and cogent explanation proves to be challenging; although this phenomenon can arguably be related to the importance of trading activities, it is uncertain why it emerged precisely here. Many other important cities of the Eastern Mediterranean where the mention of the professional affiliation was not part of funerary inscriptions at all were presumably far deeper involved trading activities.

We will now discuss the Late Antique spatial contexts of the tombs, systematically studied here for the first time, in order to analyze whether these are consonant with our earlier results. More precisely put, it has to be established whether – and to what degree – an individual's religious affiliation or profession could lead to the clustering of burials.

Religious affiliation is often shown either through motifs or through self-definition, but was not an important spatial factor; Jewish funerary monuments were erected among those of the Christian majority.<sup>41</sup> This is not particularly surprising,

to as the 'saffron capital of the ancient world', no inscription mentions a trading profession directly related to it, although five inscriptions mentioning perfumers may well be indirectly related (MAMA III 289a, 344, 448, 699, 712). On the importance of saffron see Williams 1994, 274, with n. 1; see also PILHOFER 2018, 57.

40 *κεραμεύς*: MAMA III 220b, 276, 283, 284, 326, 337, 346, 411a, 412, 470, 491, 492b, 512, 519, 627, 635, 640, 702, 705, 708, 726, 737. If we choose to read *λακανιορ(γοῦ)* or *λακανιορ(γῶν)* in MAMA III 367b, one example of a specialized ceramist could be given (*λακανιοργός*). The term *ὠστρακα(ρίου)* (MAMA III 718) is used in one inscription, but it is uncertain whether it refers to a maker of earthenware vessels, as – to my knowledge – no other published inscription elsewhere seems to mention this term. In evidence from other regions, several specializations within ceramic production are attested (e.g. RUFFING 2008, 170).

41 Most Late Antique Jewish tombs are in the area dominated and articulated by Christian churches. These include several sarcophagi solely decorated with menoroth, as well as seven inscribed sarcophagi (MAMA III 205, 237, 295, 344, 448, 607, 679). A clustering of Jewish burials can definitely not be observed. Before Late Antiquity, 2–3 sarcophagi were inscribed in the western – and oldest – part of *Korykos*' necropoleis (MAMA III 222, 262, 440). The dating of one of them, which may date from the 4th c. AD, has often been discussed (MAMA III 262).





Fig. 4: *Korykos*, Eastern Necropolis. Funerary Road, eastern part of the mapped Section (Fig. 4) including [MAMA III 350](#) (far left), [725](#) (2nd f.r.), [717](#) (far right), view to the North.

as there are no known examples of exclusively Jewish necropoleis in ancient *Asia Minor*.<sup>42</sup> In *Korykos*, the habit of placing Jewish funerary monuments alongside those of Christians implicitly meant that churches also accentuated the space Jews were buried in. Logically, it is quite unlikely that the Christian sacred buildings themselves were key to this decision – this just seems to represent the ‘place to be’ at that time. A burial in this part of the necropolis, as close as possible to the ‘monastery church’ and the street leading there, was therefore regarded as privileged by the local – and maybe even the regional – population (Fig. 3–4).<sup>43</sup>

The importance of professional affiliation is attested in many script-bearing tombs of the Late Antique necropoleis of *Korykos*. A closer analysis shows that this was a factor in positioning funerary monuments. Although not in each and every case, professional affiliation correlates with a burial in a certain zone of the necropolis. Most retail-dealers (κάπηλος; 15 out of 19) were buried in an area of the central necropolis enclosing the valley, as were most bootmakers (καλιγάριος; 8-9/11), while house builders (οικοδόμος) and sail- and linen-makers defined as ὀθονιακοί were buried in the Eastern Necropolis.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, the clustering of their funerary monuments spatially reinforces the epigraphical identification. The fact that two professional associations (σύστημα) even owned funerary monuments does not only underpin the social importance of displaying profession for *Korykos*’ inhabitants,

42 REBILLARD 2009, 20; TREBILCO 1991 is a comprehensive study of the Jewish communities in *Asia Minor*. This phenomenon holds also true for most parts of the Western Mediterranean (with noteworthy exceptions, such as some catacombs in Rome).

43 Most Late Antique epitaphs indicating a provenance other than *Korykos* (including settlements in Rough Cilicia, as well as others from across the Eastern Mediterranean) were inscribed in this area – especially in the Eastern Necropolis and the part of the Central Necropolis adjacent to the ‘monastery church’: e.g. [MAMA III 369, 388, 404, 432, 436, 442, 455, 457, 477, 490, 500, 511, 563, 610, 641, 650, 696, 706, 733, 735b, 742](#).

44 Inscriptions mentioning a κάπηλος: [MAMA III 209, 234, 240, 279, 296, 307b, 396, 439, 456, 474, 490, 495, 509, 560, 599, 603, 653, 677, 738](#). καλιγάριος: [MAMA III 235, 382, 399, 482, 550, 616, 625, 639, 661, 662, 671, 682](#). οικοδόμος: [MAMA III 486, 548, 724](#). ὀθονιακός: [MAMA III 340, 368, 473, 558](#).

but it also emphasizes its relevance for mortuary practices.<sup>45</sup> But why did the professional groups prefer different areas of the necropoleis for burial? The Western Necropolis seems not to have been particularly favored by any of the professional groups. No new tombs were positioned in this necropolis, where only older monuments were reused. This corroborates the impression that the Western Necropolis was the least popular one, and the decision to bury there therefore seems to be rather pragmatic, perhaps connected to a lack of other options. Within the Central and Eastern necropoleis the interpretation of the evidence is far more complex. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence discussed in this paper strongly suggests that the Eastern Necropolis was the highest regarded funerary space. To associate a profession with a certain wealth is not possible with certainty, but some examples seem to suggest that the choice of a certain area of the necropolis by a professional group is not generally related to the wealth presumably associated with it. There are several other explanatory models, two of which seem particularly suitable for this evidence. The first would involve a close connection with the sacred topography of the necropoleis; if the professional associations were linked to a certain church and ‘patron saint’, a burial in an area related to the church or in its vicinity could have been preferred. The second explanatory model is far more pragmatic: the choice of a certain area depended on the needs and expectations regarding self-representation of the professional association. Withal, this question still remains open.

### ***Korasion***

*Korasion/Susanoğlu*, a coastal settlement only few kilometers to the southwest, presents evidence comparable to *Korykos* (Fig. 5).<sup>46</sup> *Korasion* is a medium sized walled town (12 ha), which was (re?)founded in the second half of the 4th c. AD.<sup>47</sup> Although the settlement has been largely overbuilt during the last decades, some of its monumental buildings, as well as the epigraphic evidence, are known through early scholarship.<sup>48</sup> The fact that the city was (newly?) founded in Late Antiquity, as the epigraphic record suggests and the known datable evidence seems to confirm,

45 Two professional associations are mentioned in the funerary inscriptions. *MAMA III* 770: + Θήκη διαφέρουσα | τῷ συστήματι τῶν λημενητῶν | λινοπωλῶν τῆς Κωρυκαιοτῶν +. *MAMA III* 771: + Τοῦ συσστήματος | τὸν εὐγενεστάτον | + τραπεζιτῶν +.

46 The evidence of this settlement was discussed in greater detail in a recently published paper: CUBAS DÍAZ 2020.

47 Luckily, an inscription provides evidence for a relatively precise dating between 367–375 AD (Hicks 1891 Nr. 31). See also BEAUFORT 1817, 239; KEIL/WILHELM 1915, 21f. fig. 7; *MAMA III*, p. 102, with n. 1.

48 The most complete early report on the evidence is again provided by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm (*MAMA III*, p. 102–117). Other reports and references in early scholarship include: BEAUFORT 1817; BENT 1891; KEIL/WILHELM 1915.



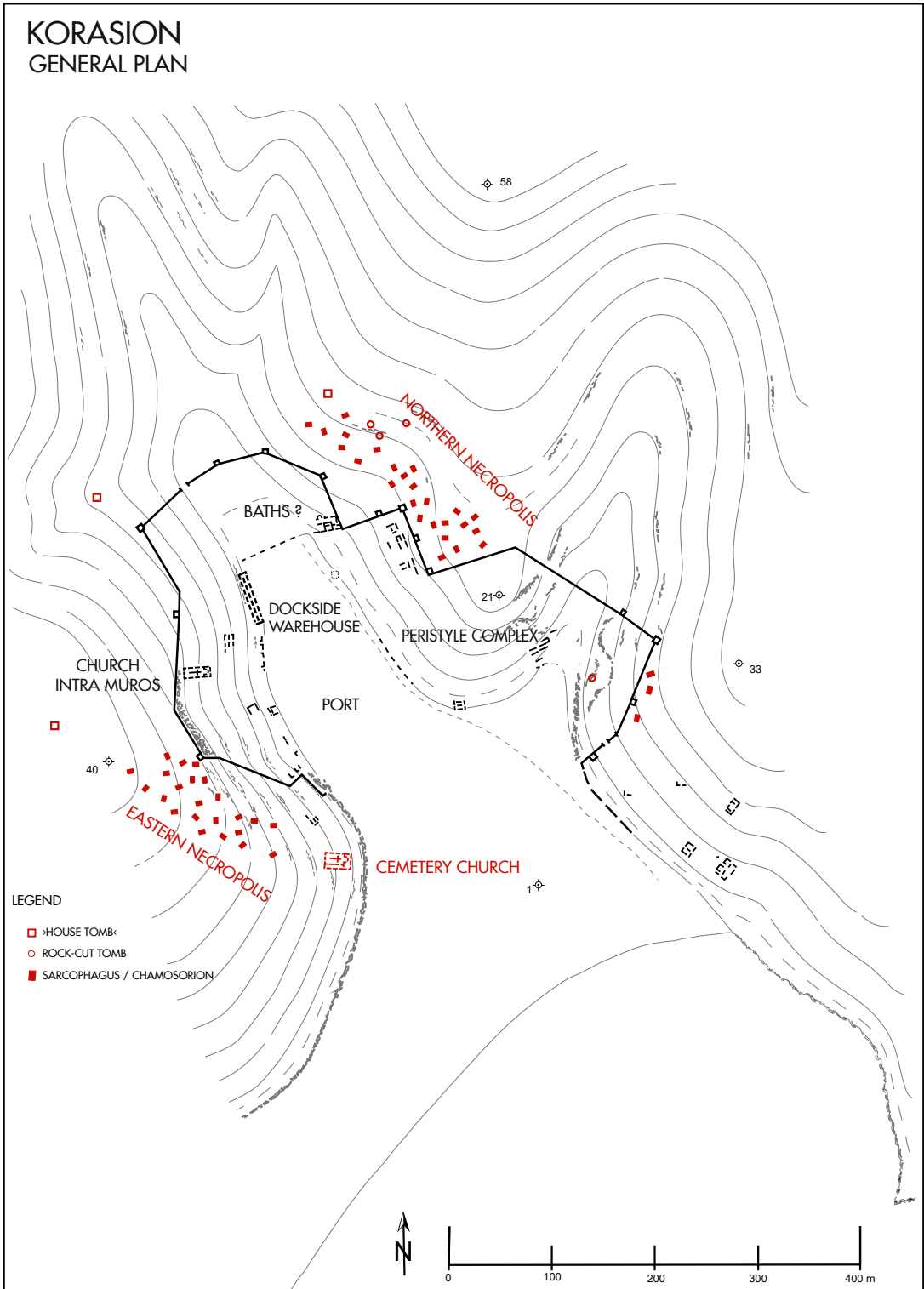


Fig. 5: *Korasion*, General Plan.

underlines the city's importance for our purpose. Presumably, *Korasion* provides evidence of a genuine Late Antique settlement, which may serve as intraregional comparative material in a territory mostly lacking datable evidence.<sup>49</sup>

*Korasion* shows a very similar use of inscriptions, including the identical *formula*, the decoration and the importance of the professional affiliation.<sup>50</sup> Its Late Antique funerary landscape, mainly composed of a Western and Northern necropolis, primarily consist of sarcophagi with a spatial distribution comparable to *Korykos*.<sup>51</sup> including a favored funerary space: the Western Necropolis and the 'cemetery church'.<sup>52</sup> Also here the profession seems to be of some relevance, as the position of the tombs of the oil-merchants in the Western Necropolis suggests.<sup>53</sup> *Korasion* and *Korykos* obviously did not only share comparable economic and social structures, but also common funerary customs and depiction strategies, proving that the results from *Korykos* describe not just a local phenomenon.

## Karakabaklı

Karakabaklı, a small settlement (4 ha) in the interior situated at the ancient road linking *Korasion* and *Diokaisareia*, might offer an interesting contrast.<sup>54</sup> The small settlement, composed of roughly 50 structures, acquired an urban character in Late Antiquity through several public buildings; two *tetrapyla* mark the southern and northern ends of the road section leading through the settlement. A church com-

49 On the significance of the (new?) foundation of the city in Late Antiquity see: CUBAS DÍAZ 2020, 352–355, 364 f. Single aspects were previously noted by G. Varinlioğlu and I. Eichner: VARINLIOĞLU 2008a, 294 f.; EICHNER 2011, 285 f.

50 Two inscriptions may serve as representative examples of the described similarity: MAMA III 136: + Σωματο|θή[κη] Θεωδό|ρου νομικοῦ. MAMA III 140: + Θήκη Θεωμᾶ | + Ίουλιανοῦ | + ἐλεωπόλου. A comprehensive analysis of the inscriptions can be found in: CUBAS DÍAZ 2020, 360–364. Two further inscriptions included in ETAM 22 should be considered in this paper: CIG 9201 and CIG 9203.

51 CUBAS DÍAZ 2020, 357–360.

52 The Western necropolis includes more ambitious funerary monuments (free-standing sarcophagi) and the tombs in it were re-inscribed more often than those in the Northern Necropolis. They also housed most individuals practising professions arguably associated with wealth, as well as the burials of 'foreigners'. For a detailed presentation of this evidence see: CUBAS DÍAZ 2020, 357–364.

53 All but one inscription mentioning oil-merchants were found there. ἐλαιωπώλης: MAMA III 139, 140, 162, 164a, 172. The other inscription (MAMA III 114) was documented in the Northern Necropolis.

54 On Karakabaklı and Işıkkale see especially: EICHNER 2011, 186–284; VARINLIOĞLU 2008a; VARINLIOĞLU 2008b, 53–74; VARINLIOĞLU 2013. See also CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 44–48. A first schematic plan and preliminary description were provided by S. Eyice: EYICE 1981, 207 pl. 85.2. Furthermore, G. Dagron and O. Callot conducted substantial research in the area: DAGRON/CALLOT 1998.

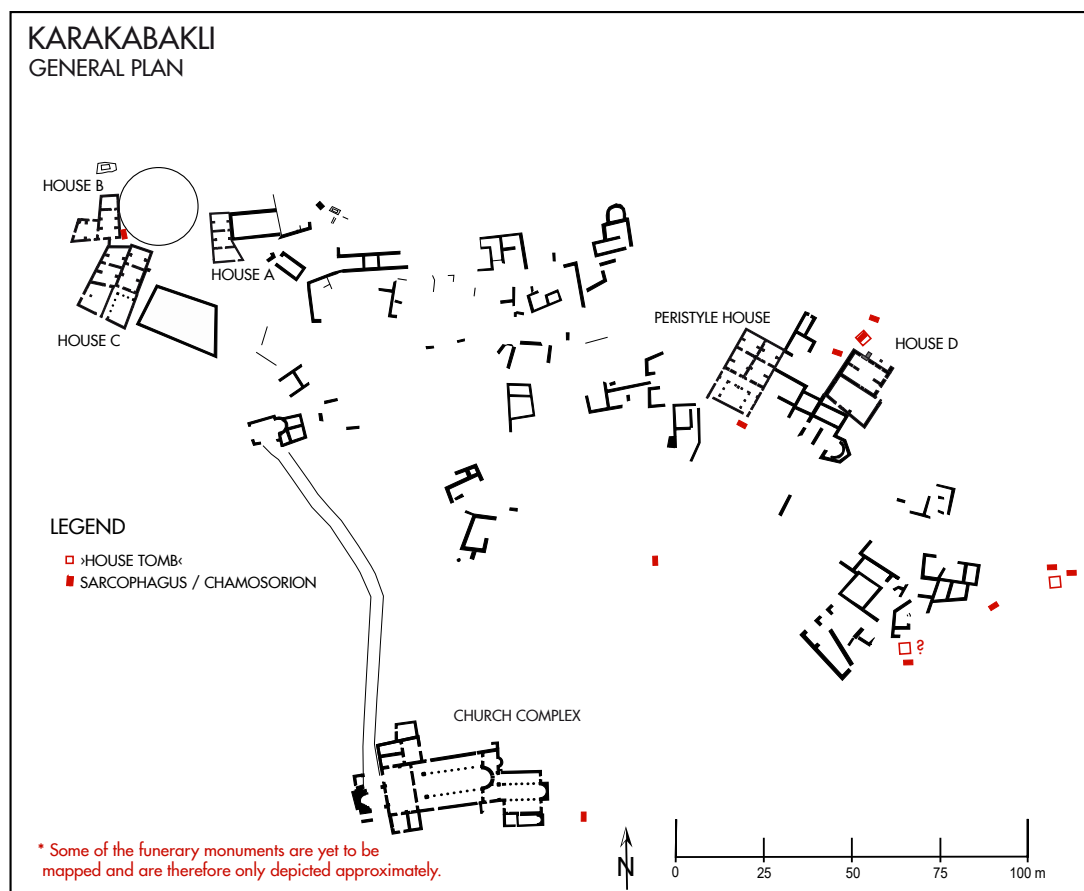


Fig. 6: Karakabaklı, General Plan.

plex is located in the east, next to the southern Tetrapylon.<sup>55</sup> Several early Byzantine houses in an astonishing state of conservation clearly attest the wealth of Karakabaklı's population through the ambitious building techniques applied.<sup>56</sup> Although a few scattered wall-fragments seem to date back to Imperial times, the settlement can be considered a predominantly, almost genuinely, Late Antique site (Fig. 6).<sup>57</sup>

55 Stephan Westphalen analysed this complex thoroughly: WESTPHALEN 2008, 109–115. As only one single *chamosorion* was found in a radius of approx. 50m around the church, the evidence does not suggest a funerary function, proposed by several scholars (DAGRON/CALLOT 1998; WESTPHALEN 2008, 115). Several recent illegal digging activities within the church seem to confirm the lack of intra-basilical burials.

56 On the five residential complexes studied by I. Eichner see: EICHNER 2011, 186–257.

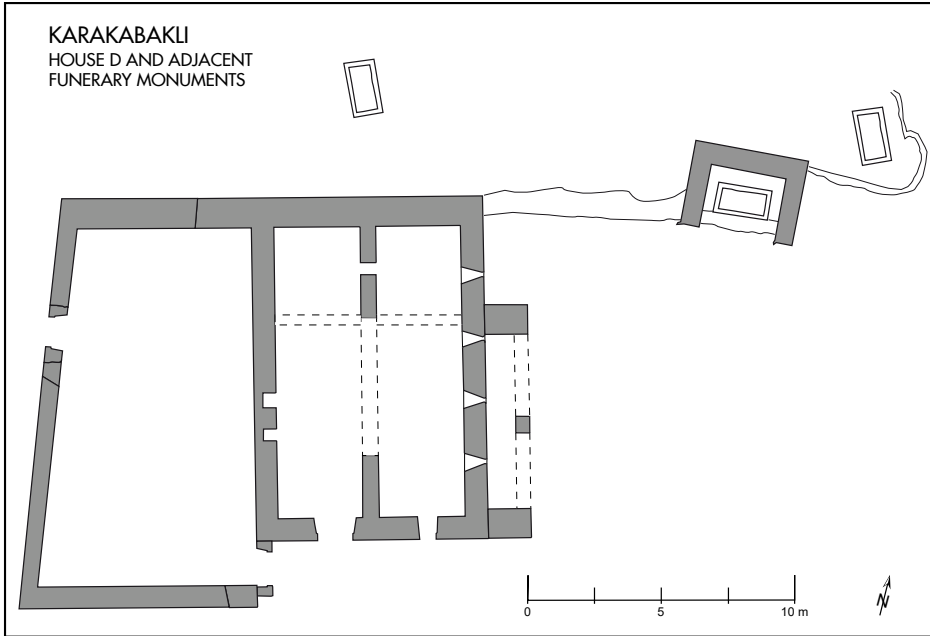
57 The scattered walls presumably formed a small group of earlier structures which cannot be reconstructed. Comprehensive studies on the building techniques and architectural decoration have provided broad evidence for the predominantly Late Antique dating. For a brief exemplified overview see: EICHNER 2018, 267–290. See also the detailed descriptions, explanations, and drawings in: EICHNER 2011, 191–257. VARINLIOĞLU 2008B, 38–69; VARINLIOĞLU 2013, 199–208. See also In contrast, Ü. Aydınoglu and Ü. Çakmak



Fig. 7: Karakabaklı, Sarcophagus lid in front of the Peristyle House.

Naturally, wealth was also demonstrated by the site's funerary monuments. Besides the common sarcophagi and *chamosoria*, the inhabitants also built *aedicula*-tombs. Regardless of typological classification, these funerary monuments bear witness to a certain prosperity of Karakabaklı's population. It is important to note that none of these monuments can be dated to the Imperial age or before. This chronological classification is strongly corroborated by their decoration, as most tombs were decorated with finely carved crosses showing the religious affiliation of the deceased as Christian (Fig. 7). None of the tombs, however, is inscribed, and neither has any other inscription been documented in the settlement. It is certain that the absence of inscriptions was not caused by a lack of means on the part of the inhabitants, as evidenced by the high quality of the houses, public buildings and the funerary monuments themselves. Implicitly, this means that the absence of inscriptions was a deliberate decision: whoever commissioned the funerary monuments in Karakabaklı renounced the use of writing. In this decision, the setting and position of the tombs may have been of considerable relevance. The funerary monuments were neither placed as close as possible to the church complex, nor along the monumental road, but next to the houses. Therefore, a clear relationship between houses and tombs – and therefore commissioners/users – is suggested by their extreme proximity to each other (Fig. 8a–b).

assume that an early farmstead, including the so-called peristyle-house and the surrounding buildings, developed into a village: AYDINOĞLU/ÇAKMAK 2011, 71–84.



**Fig. 8:** a. Karakabaklı, House D and adjacent funerary monuments, Sketch. b. Karakabaklı, House D and adjacent funerary monuments, view to the North.

Possibly, this way of positioning the tombs had a direct influence on the potential functionality of inscriptions. First of all, the spatial arrangement seems to have shown to whom a funerary monument belonged, which might have made any mention of the name superfluous. Those living in the small settlement must have known to which family the house and the adjacent burial site belonged. Those traveling between *Korasion* and *Diokaisareia* will unlikely have left the road's course. Secondly, positioning the burials right next to the houses surely made any grave robbery quite improbable. Accordingly, the spatial setting of the funerary monuments may to some extent have deprived inscribed text of its pragmatic functions. Nevertheless, it is well known that inscriptions are not necessarily used pragmatically; the presence or absence of epitaphs, as well as their contents, is mainly linked to the different perceptions and the personal and collective vision of funerary customs. Yet, the functionality of inscriptions may also have been a factor.<sup>58</sup>

Although Karakabaklı has some monumental elements, it may still well be characterized as a rural settlement. This could misleadingly favour the premature conclusion that funerary habits in *Korykos* and Karakabaklı differed largely because of the settlements' sizes, reducing this difference to a rural-urban dichotomy. Another rural settlement will prove this assumption to be far too generalizing and, therefore, mistaken.<sup>59</sup>

## Işıkkale

Işıkkale was a medium sized village covering an area slightly larger than Karakabaklı's (5 ha). The village consists of two very dissimilar cores, set at a distance of 200m but connected through a paved road that was monumentalized to some extent. While the western core of the settlement is formed by smaller structures, mostly built with rather simple techniques, the eastern part consists of ambitiously built, considerably bigger (housing) units (Fig. 9).<sup>60</sup> Threshing floors and presses provide information about the economic activities of the settlement. While it is certain that this site was previously inhabited, for which several structures provide evidence, agricultural production and building activities were clearly intensified in

58 For a more detailed interpretation see CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 135–138.

59 In addition, it has to be noted that the funerary landscapes of some of the biggest cities in the studied region clearly differ, as the comparison of *Korykos* with *Elaiussa Sebaste* and *Diokaisareia* proves. On *Diokaisareia* see: LINNEMANN 2013. On *Elaiussa Sebaste*'s North-Eastern Necropolis see: EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2003. On the 'Agora-Church' see: EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2010. On the church in the Great Baths see: EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2013; EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2014; EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2015.

60 VARINLIOĞLU 2008a, 300–302; VARINLIOĞLU 2008b, 57–60; VARINLIOĞLU 2013, 206.

Late Antiquity, as a church complex in the eastern neighborhood, a tetrapylon and several threshing floors and press systems indicate.<sup>61</sup>

At first glance, the Late Antique funerary monuments of Işıkkale do not seem to follow the concept observed in Karakabaklı and may be (artificially) divided into three main groups. The first group consists of *chamosoria* and sarcophagi oriented alongside the main road leading to the church complex. A second group mainly consists of *chamosoria* in the eastern neighborhood, some of them with finely carved crosses, while the last and largest cluster is also formed by *chamosoria* and may be regarded as the Western Necropolis.<sup>62</sup> Despite the lack of inscriptions, this funerary landscape is multilayered in many ways. A first and central differentiation regards the chronology. Some of the sarcophagi and *chamosoria* certainly date back to middle Imperial times, as their characteristics and decoration prove. These funerary monuments, which are part of the first group, were placed at the paved road, as they were in countless settlements throughout the Mediterranean in this era, as well as in some of this region's settlements, such as *Elaiussa Sebaste*.<sup>63</sup>

Some of these were reused for burial purposes and bear witness to a Late Antique phase of this funerary space. Furthermore, some funerary monuments were clearly added in Late Antiquity, such as a freestanding sarcophagus with a lid decorated by a cross finely carved in relief (Fig. 10).<sup>64</sup> The custom to place funerary monuments at this road was not only relevant in Imperial times, but remained important in Late Antiquity. The evidence in Işıkkale thus includes an important element seemingly lacking in Karakabaklı: an earlier funerary tradition that was kept alive – possibly by the old-established population – in Late Antiquity.

In order to understand the spatial setting of the roadside tombs, one aspect is of central importance: the group of tombs in the church's proximity, positioned along the paved road a few meters to the north of the church, is not Late Antique, but part

61 The works of G. Varinlioğlu have developed a much more detailed picture of the settlement, its structures and chronology (VARINLIOĞLU 2008a, 303 fig. 6; VARINLIOĞLU 2008b, 212 fig. 20 f.; VARINLIOĞLU 2013, 205 fig. 16.7), also amending the plan by S. Eyice significantly (EYICE 1981, Taf. 84.2). For this paper the location of the *chamosoria* in the west is of particular importance. On the individual chronology of several buildings, key to understand the settlement's development, see the respective remarks in EICHNER 2011. On the church complex see: WESTPHALEN 2015, 535–552.

62 A brief description of these funerary spaces was presented in EICHNER 2011, 261. On the different building techniques used see: VARINLIOĞLU 2008b, 93–99.

63 On *Elaiussa Sebaste*'s North-Eastern Necropolis see: EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2003, 383–522.

64 The extremely flat pressed Egg-and-Dart motif on this sarcophagus strongly resembles the one decorating the entrance from the narthex to the main aisle of Karakabaklı's church complex. That provides evidence for a dating of this sarcophagus box – and not just the lid – in Late Antiquity. On this phenomenon see EICHNER 2011, 282–283. It is noteworthy that these funerary monuments were not positioned in the church's vicinity, but in the central section of the road.

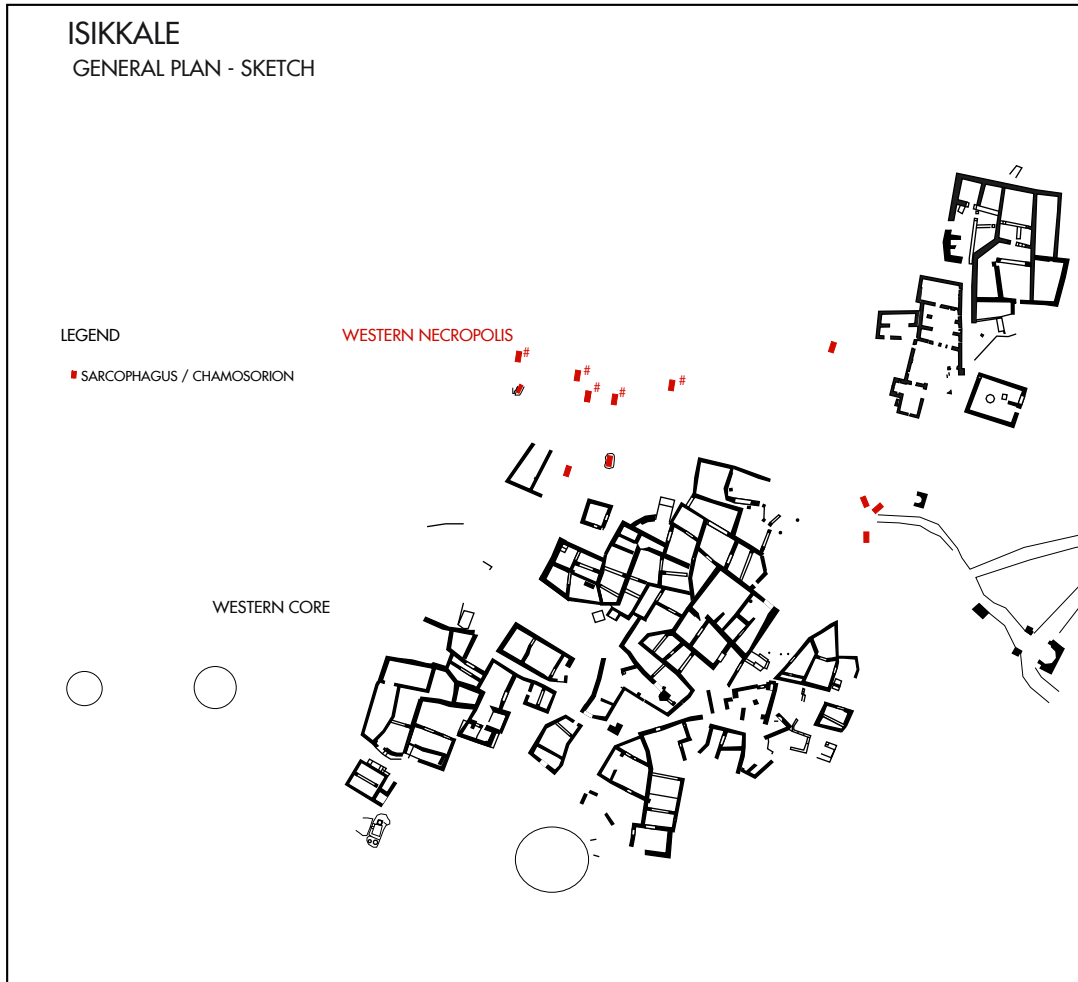
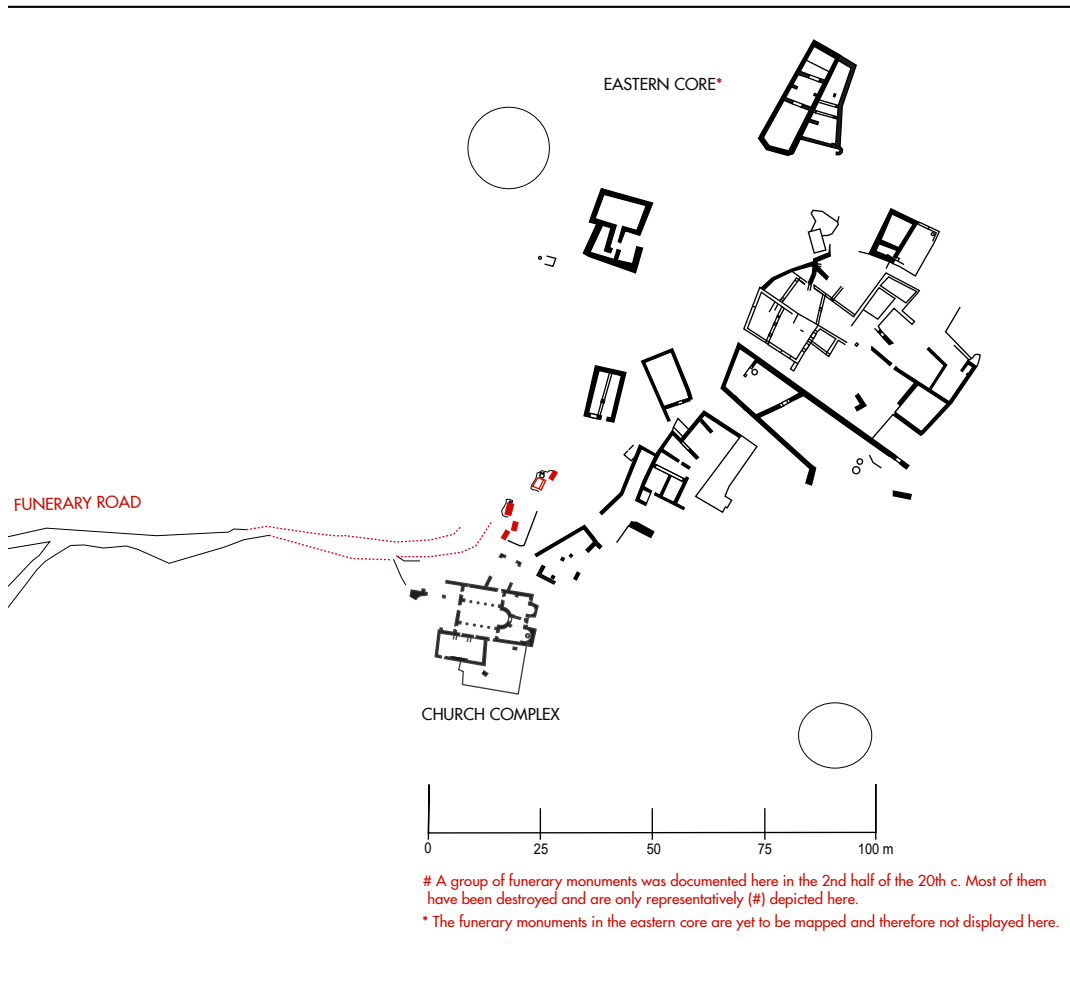


Fig. 9: Işıkkale, General Plan.

of the older funerary monuments that already flanked the road in Imperial times. Their position was in no way related to the church, built centuries later. Although a later reuse of older burials can not be ruled out in some cases, new tombs were not added here, which strongly suggests that burial in the church's vicinity was not an active goal. This is strongly underlined by the fact that some of these sarcophagi were partially destroyed to be reused as part of agricultural press-systems during this period.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The Late Antique reuse of sarcophagi dating back to middle Imperial times as part of agricultural press-systems, possibly used for oil or wine production, was well documented at the main street in the church's vicinity: VARINLIOĞLU 2013, 309; VARINLIOĞLU 2008b, 54; fig. 15.





In contrast to the funerary road, the other two groups of funerary monuments seem to be genuinely Late Antique (Fig. 11).<sup>66</sup> Despite their synchrony and the preferred use of *chamosoria*, these funerary spaces present significant differences. While the Western Necropolis shows a spatial pattern comparable to *Korasion's* necropoleis, the burials in the Eastern core of *Işikkale* seem to be adjacent to the buildings.<sup>67</sup> It is noteworthy that recently recorded structures are thought to be two *aedicula*.<sup>68</sup>

66 Their decoration provides evidence for this; while many of them show carved crosses, none of them show decoration or other characteristics that dates back to Imperial times.

67 The Western Necropolis borders the occidental core in the north and west and was partially destroyed when a modern road crossing it in the north was built.

68 AYDINOĞLU 2017, 67f. One of them, in the south-western end of the settlement, lacks the characteristic profiled arch impostes of the other *aedicula*-tombs and might well be a



Fig. 10: Işıkkale, Funerary Road (at the crossroads), Sarcophagus lid decorated with a cross.

Although we still lack a detailed plan of the funerary monuments of Işıkkale, we can plausibly argue that the Late Antique funerary concept of the eastern neighborhood resembles that of Karakabaklı.<sup>69</sup> This result correlates with their similarity in terms of architectural features and spatial setting.

Hence, Işıkkale does not only provide evidence for one group following the local tradition dating back to Imperial times and another one pursuing new Late Antique habits, but also shows how different conventions were developed concurrently. The question inevitably arises why different concepts were used simultaneously. Is this difference caused by a deliberate decision based on disparate burying or representation strategies? Or should it be interpreted as an expression of hierarchy or social stratification? This question is certainly worth being elaborated on in more detail. The substantial above-mentioned differences between the two cores might provide some hints about the creation and co-existence of these funerary spaces; as previously stated, the eastern core of Işıkkale shows a far more ambitious architecture, with houses consisting of substantially larger rooms. This suggests that the population of the eastern core was significantly wealthier. If we assume that

vaulted room instead. Unfortunately, the position of the remains of the other two examples cannot be defined due to the lack of a general plan. One of them is described as “at the northern end of the settlement”.

<sup>69</sup> As a detailed plan of Işıkkale’s tombs in the eastern core is still lacking, the connection between the buildings and the tombs should be reevaluated once suitable documentation is available.



Fig. 11: Işıkkale, Western Necropolis, Chamosorion (including lid decorated with a cross).

the two cores of the settlement were home to two distinct communities or social groups, it seems plausible that a certain funerary space belonged to each of them. However, it remains uncertain whether these two groups decided to follow different spatial funerary concepts just because of wealth disparities.

According to a traditional approach, positioning the burials in a church's proximity is believed to be (most often) decisive. The lack of a church in the western settlement core would deprive its population from this option and make an alternative funerary concept necessary. We can certainly rule out such an argumentation. If a burial close to the basilica would have been so highly regarded, there would have been a larger number of tombs in or around the church. Moreover, if this way of positioning tombs was for the goal, why were some of the pre-existing sarcophagi from Imperial times in closest proximity to the church partially destroyed, and reused in agricultural production as part of press systems?<sup>70</sup> Be that as it may, the similarity between the eastern core of Işıkkale and Karakabaklı strongly suggests that their inhabitants shared a common vision, not only regarding house architecture and urbanism, but also – to a certain degree – regarding burial and commemoration.

Above all, Işıkkale provides evidence for conceptual differences of funerary spaces not only at a micro-regional, but also at a local level. Nevertheless, Işıkkale

70 On the coexistence of different funerary habits in Cilician settlements see CUBAS DÍAZ 2021, 134f.

and Karakabaklı also share two important characteristics. First of all, neither settlement seem to strive for a separation of the space of the living from that of the dead. On the contrary, the evidence – also in Karakabaklı – strongly suggests that the opposite was pursued, connecting these two spaces, so clearly separated in previous tradition. Apparently, the dead were still perceived in a very direct way as part of their families and communities. Secondly, positioning burials in a church's proximity was seemingly not so important.

## Conclusions

The discussed settlements allow an insight into the multifaceted funerary landscapes of Late Antique Rough Cilicia, which present a far more nuanced diversity than might be anticipated.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, they clearly show the potential of combined archaeological and epigraphic approaches when analysing evidence of mortuary practices. The Jewish and Christian communities of *Korykos* obviously shared similar ideas regarding the conception, use and function of funerary monuments. This is clearly attested by the choice of the type of monument, as well as the inscriptions' *formulae*, the use of decorative motifs and the spatial setting of the tombs. A relatively large social group of both religious communities took the use of inscriptions and the display of the professional affiliation as a central aspect in this context. The decision of some members of the Jewish community to place their burials in a manifestly Christian-influenced spatial setting might seem surprising at first. However, at a second glance, it reveals a lot about what was arguably the main function of Late Antique funerary monuments in *Korykos*, i.e. to visualize the status of the deceased/commissioners in a prestigious space, such as the funerary road and the vicinity of the 'monastery church', hoping for a strong interaction with viewers.

The funerary preferences and concepts followed in *Korykos* were also applied in *Korasion*, to a great extent, as the archaeological and epigraphic evidence of this settlement (founded in Late Antiquity) proves. However, this was not the case in other settlements of the region. In *Elaiussa Sebaste* the epigraphic evidence is scarce compared to the two above-mentioned settlements and does not include the mention of professions. However, it does comprise intensively used intra-basilical burials. In Karakabaklı, tombs were mostly placed adjacent to the houses and do not strive for proximity to a church at all, while the funerary spaces in *Işıkkale* even manifest differences at a local level, combining new Late Antique customs with traditional, long-established elements dating back to Imperial times (i.e. roadside burials). As the comparison of these settlements shows, concepts can clearly differ at a microregional – and even local – level, depending both on the character of the

71 Settlements such as *Diokaisareia* and *Elaiussa Sebaste* could also have been elaborately treated in this paper, but were referred to only in passing for the sake of brevity.

settlement and the needs and expectations of communities and individuals. While burials in *Korykos* aimed at an intensive as possible visibility and interaction, and highlighted professional affiliations, those in Karakabaklı link the traditionally separated spaces of the dead and the living and keep the deceased present in the community's daily life, underpinning family bonds.

Accordingly, the funerary landscapes of Rough Cilicia offer a heterogenous picture, with some sites developing regional trends, several settlements adopting them, and others ignoring them and strictly following local traditions, or developing new customs.

## Corresponding Address

Dr. Jon C. Cubas Díaz  
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte der Spätantiken und Byzantinischen Welt  
Nikolausberger Weg 15  
37073 Göttingen  
jon.cubas.diaz@gmail.com

## Bibliography

- Aydinoğlu, Ümit (2015), *Kanytellis (Kanlıdivane): Dağlık Kilikya'da bir kırsal yerleşimin arkeolojisi* (Kilikia arkeolojisini araştırma merkezi yayınları 4), İstanbul.
- Aydinoğlu, Ümit (2017), "Dağlık Kilikia'da Kırsal Yerleşimlerde Kentsel Mimari: Işıkkale ve Karakabaklı Örnekleri", in: AYDINOĞLU/MÖREL 2017, 61–77.
- Aydinoğlu, Ümit/Çakmak, Ümit (2011), A Rural Settlement in the Rough Cilicia-Isaurian Region: Karakabaklı, in: *Adalya* 14, 71–102.
- Aydinoğlu, Ümit/Mörel, Ahmet (eds.) (2017), *Antik Dönemde Akdeniz'de Kırsal ve Kent, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Mersin.
- Barker, William B. (1853), *Lares and Penates or Cilicia and its Governors*, London.
- Beaufort, Francis (1817), *Karamania, or, A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity: With Plans, Views, & c. Collected During a Survey of that Coast, under the Orders of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the Years 1811–1812*, London.
- Bell, Gertrude M.L. (1906a), "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia", in: *Revue Archéologique* 7, 1–29.
- Bell, Gertrude M.L. (1906b), "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia", in: *Revue Archéologique* 7, 385–414.
- Bell, Gertrude M.L. (1906c), "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia", in: *Revue Archéologique* 8, 1–30.
- Bell, Gertrude M.L. (1906d), "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia", in: *Revue Archéologique* 8, 225–252.

- Bell, Gertrude M.L. (1906e), "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia", in: *Revue Archéologique* 8, 390–401.
- Bell, Gertrude M.L. (1907), "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia", in: *Revue Archéologique* 9, 18–30.
- Bent, James T. (1891), "A Journey in Cilicia Tracheia", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12, 206–224.
- Borgia, Emanuela (2014), "Elaiussa Sebaste: note su un'iscrizione funeraria dalla basilica bizantina delle grandi terme", in: *Scienze dell'Antichità* 20 (1), 59–69.
- Brandt, J. Rasmus/Hagelberg, Erika/Bjørnstad., Gro/Ahrens, Sven (eds.) (2017), *Life and Death in Asia Minor in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Times: Studies in Archaeology and Bioarchaeology*, Havertown/Oxford.
- Böhlendorf-Arslan, Beate (2013), "Forschungen zum spätantiken und byzantinischen Assos", in: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2013 (1), 228–238.
- Böhlendorf-Arslan, Beate (2016), "Die Ayazmakirche in Assos: lokales Pilgerheiligtum und Grabkirche", in: Nurettin Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr and Klaus Rheidt (eds.), *Assos. Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur Baugeschichte und Archäologie der südlichen Troas (Asia Minor Studien 78)*, Bonn, 63–87.
- Čičhačev, Petr A. (1854), "Lettre sur les antiquités de l'Asie Mineure", *Journal Asiatique* 4, 49–143.
- Cubas Díaz, Jon C. (2020), "Korasion: Eine unsichtbar gewordene kilikische Kleinstadt", in: *Olba* 28, 351–376.
- Cubas Díaz, Jon C. (2021), *Das Sepulkralwesen im Rauhen Kilikien am Ende der Antike. Funerärarchäologie und Grabepigraphik einer spätantiken Landschaft (Asia Minor Studien 98)*, Bonn.
- Dalgıç, Örgü (2012), "Early Christian and Byzantine Churches", in Christopher Ratté and Peter D. de Staebler (eds.), *Aphrodisias 5: the Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, Mainz, 367–396.
- Dalgıç, Örgü/Sokolicek, Alexander (2017), "Aphrodisias", in: NIEWÖHNER 2017, 268–279.
- Dagron, Gilbert/Callot, Olivier (1998), "Les bâtisseurs isauriens chez eux. Notes sur trois sites des environs de Silifke", in: Irmgard Hutter and Ihor Sevcenko (eds.), *Aetos (Studies in honour of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14, 1998)*, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 55–70.
- De Laborde, Léon (1838), *Voyage de l'Asie mineure*, Paris.
- Drexhage, Hans-Joachim (2008), Wirtschaft und Handel Westkilikiens in römischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit (1.–6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.), Teil I: Land und Forstwirtschaft, in: *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 26, 1–48.
- Drexhage, Hans-Joachim (2012), "Wirtschaft und Handel Westkilikiens in römischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit (1.–6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.), Teil II: Handwerk und Gewerbe sowie Handel", in: *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 30, 139–174.
- Duval, Yvette (1988), *Auprès des saints, corps et âme. L'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du III<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris.
- Duval, Yvette/Picard, Jean-Charles (eds.) (1986), *L'inhumation privilégiée du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> s. en Occident (Colloque Créteil 16–18 mars 1984)*, Paris.
- Eichner, Ina (2004), "Survey of Early Byzantine Houses in Rough Cilicia 2003", in: *Anadolu Akdenizi. Arkeoloji Haberleri* 2, 2004, 74–78.
- Eichner, Ina (2009), "Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Bautechnik im südlichen Kleinasien", in: Martin Bachmann (ed.), *Bautechnik im antiken und vorantiken Kleinasien (Internationales Symposium des DAI Istanbul 13.–16. Juni 2007) (Byzas 9)*, Istanbul, 551–569.
- Eichner, Ina (2011), *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zu den Wohnformen in der Region um Seleukeia am Kalykadnos (Istanbuler Forschungen 52)*, Tübingen.
- Eichner, Ina (2018), "The Late Antique/Byzantine Churches and Houses of the Region around Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Rough Cilicia", in: Marietta Horster, Doria Nicolaou and Sabine Rogge (eds.), *Church Building in Cyprus (Fourth to Seventh Centuries). A Mirror of Intercultural Contacts in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Münster, 267–292.
- Equini Schneider, Eugenia (1999), *Campagne di scavo 1995–1997 (Elaiussa Sebaste 1)*, Rome.
- Equini Schneider, Eugenia (2003), *Un porto tra Oriente e Occidente (Elaiussa Sebaste 2)*, Rome.

- Equini Schneider, Eugenia (2010), *L'agora romana* (Elaiussa Sebaste 3), Istanbul.
- Equini Schneider, Eugenia (2013), "Elaiussa Sebaste: 2011–2012 Excavation and Conservation Work", in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 35, 415–427.
- Equini Schneider, Eugenia (2014), "Elaiussa Sebaste: 2013 Excavation and Conservation Work", in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 36, 561–574.
- Equini Schneider, Eugenia (2015), "Elaiussa Sebaste: 2014 Excavation and Conservation Work", in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 37, 479–492.
- Eyice, Semavi (1981), "Einige byzantinische Kleinstädte im Rauhen Kilikien", in: DAI (ed.), *150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 1829–1979* (Festveranstaltung und internationales Kolloquium 17.–22. April 1979 in Berlin), Mainz, 204–209.
- Eyice, Semavi (1986), "Quelques observations sur l'habitat byzantin en Turquie", in: *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 10, 513–529.
- Eyice, Semavi (1988), "Ricerche e scoperte nella regione di Silifke nella Turchia meridionale", in: Claudia Barsanti (ed.), *Milion. Studi e ricerche d'arte bizantina* (Atti della giornata di studio, 4. Dicembre 1986), Rome, 15–58.
- Heberdey, Rudolf/Wilhelm, Adolf (1896), *Reisen in Kilikien. Ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 im Auftrage der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Mit einer Karte von Heinrich Kiepert (Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 44, 6), Vienna 1896.
- Hellenkemper, Hansgerd/Hild, Friedrich (1986), *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 186), Vienna.
- Herzfeld, Ernst/Guyer, Samuel (1930), *Meriamlik und Korykos. Zwei christliche Ruinenstädte des Rauhen Kilikiens* (Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua II), Manchester.
- Hicks, Edward L. (1891), "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12, 225–273.
- Hild, Friedrich/Hellenkemper, Hansgerd (1990), *Kilikien und Isaurien* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5), Vienna.
- Hill, Stephen (1996), *The Early Byzantine Churches of Cilicia and Isauria*, Birmingham.
- Hülden, Oliver (2010), *Die Nekropolen von Kyaneai* (Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien II, Lykische Studien 9, 2, Tübinger Althistorische Studien 5,2), Bonn.
- Iverson, Eric (2017), "Funerary Archaeology", in: NIEWÖHNER 2017, 160–175.
- Kaplan, Deniz (2013), *Kilikia Bölgesi Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Mimari Süslemeleri*, PhD Thesis, Mersin Üniversitesi.
- Kaplan, Deniz (2015), "Kanytellis'in roma dönemi mimari süslemeleri", in: AYDINOĞLU 2015, 89–99.
- Keil, Josef/Wilhelm, Adolf (1915), "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien", in: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 18, 19–34.
- Linnemann, Johannes (2013), *Die Nekropolen von Diokaisareia* (Diokaisareia in Kilikien – Ergebnisse des Surveys 2001–2006, 3), Berlin.
- Kiesewetter, Henrike (2017), "Toothache, Back Pain, and Fatal Injuries: What Skeletons reveal about Life and Death at Roman and Byzantine Hierapolis", in: BRANDT et al. 2017, 384–413.
- Machatschek, Alois (1967), *Die Nekropolen und Grabmäler im Gebiet von Elaiussa Sebaste und Korykos im Rauhen Kilikien*, Vienna.
- Mietke, Gabriele (2009), "Monumentalisierung christlicher Heiliger in Kilikien in frühbyzantinischer Zeit", in: *Olba* 17, 2009, 117–140.
- Niewöhner, Philipp (2007), "Die große Friedhofskirche von Milet. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabung einer neu entdeckten Transeptbasilika", in: *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 13, 71–90.
- Niewöhner, Philipp (ed.) (2017), *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia: from the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*, New York.
- Niewöhner, Philipp (2018), "The Late Antique 'Area' of Miletus and Other Christian Cemeteries in the Aegean", in: Manoles Korres, Stavros Mamaloukos, Kostas Zampas and Phani Malouchou-Tufano (eds.), *Ἡρώς κτίστης. Μνήμη Χαράλαμπου Μπούρα*. Vol. 2, Athens, 263–272.
- Otten, Thomas (2017), "Pergamon", in: NIEWÖHNER 2017, 226–230.

- Peschlow, Urs (2011), "Friedhofskirche [von Patara]", in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 33, 29–31.
- Peschlow, Urs (2015), "The Cemetery Church at the Tepecik Necropolis of Patara. A Preliminary Report", in: Havva İşkan, and Fahri Işık (eds.), *From Sand into a City. 25 Years of Patara Excavations*, Istanbul, 463–474.
- Peschlow, Urs (2017a), "Nicaea", in: NIEWÖHNER 2017, 204–216.
- Peschlow, Urs (2017b), "Patara", in: NIEWÖHNER 2017, 280–290.
- Pilhofer, Philipp (2017), "Adnotationes epigraphicae VIII 63.-73", in: *Tyche* 32, 271–281.
- Pilhofer, Philipp (2018), *Das frühe Christentum im kilikisch-isaurischen Bergland. Die Christen der Kalykadnos-Region in den ersten fünf Jahrhunderten*, Berlin.
- Pilhofer, Philipp (2019), "Adnotationes epigraphicae X 89.-115.", in: *Tyche* 34, 278–285.
- Rebillard, Éric (2009), *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca.
- Rousseau, Vanessa (2010), *Late Roman Wall Painting at Sardis*, PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin.
- Rousseau, Vanessa (2014), "Paradisiacal Tombs and Architectural Rooms In Late Roman Sardis: Period Styles and Regional Variants", in: Norbert Zimmermann (ed.), *Actes du XI<sup>e</sup> Colloque de l'Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique* (Ephesos, 13–17 September 2010), Vienna, 193–198.
- Rousseau, Vanessa (2019), "Reflection, Ritual, and Memory in the Late Roman Painted Hypogea at Sardis", in: *Arts* 103 (8), 1–36.
- Ruffing, Kai (2008), *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk*, Rahden.
- Russell, James R. (1989), "Christianity at Anemurium (Cilicia). Recent Discoveries", in: *Actes du 11<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne. Vol. 2*, Rome, 1621–1637.
- Scarborough, Yasmin Er (2017), *The Funerary Monuments of Rough Cilicia and Isauria*, Oxford.
- Steskal, Martin (2013), "Wandering Cemeteries. Roman and Late Roman Burials in the Capital of the Province of Asia", in: Olivier Henry (ed.), *Le mort dans la ville. Pratiques, contextes et impacts des inhumations intra-muros en Anatolie, du début de l'Âge du Bronze à l'époque romaine* (2<sup>èmes</sup> rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFÉA), Istanbul, 243–257.
- Steskal, Martin/Bjørnstad, Gro (2018), "Ephesos, the Metropolis of Roman Asia – a City at the Crossroads of East and West", in: Gabriela Krist and Liangren Zhang (eds.), *Archaeology and Conservation along the Silk Road, Second International Conference on Archaeology and Conservation along the Silk Road* (Konservierungswissenschaft, Restaurierung, Technologie 16), Vienna, 123–134.
- Trebilco, Paul R. (1991), *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series 69), Cambridge 1991.
- Trombley, Frank R. (1987), "Korykos in Cilicia Trachis. The Economy of a Small Coastal City in Late Antiquity (saec. V–VI) – A Précis", in: *The Ancient History Bulletin* 1 (1), 16–23.
- Vargiu, Rita/Paine, Robert R. (2010), "Anthropological Studies. Reconstructing the health pattern for the agora church burials", in: EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2010, 259–284.
- Varinlioğlu, Günder (2008a), "Living in a Marginal Environment: Rural Habitat and Landscape in Southeastern Isauria", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 61, 287–317.
- Varinlioğlu, Günder (2008b), *Rural Landscape and Built Environment at the End of Antiquity: Limestone Villages of Southeastern Isauria*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Varinlioğlu, Günder (2013), "Rural Habitat in the Hinterland of Seleucia ad Calycadnum During Late Antiquity", in: Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend, *Rough Cilicia. New Historical and Archaeological Approaches* (Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007), Oxford, 199–209.
- Westphalen, Stephan (2008), *Liturgie oder Gestaltung? Form und Funktion von Apsisnebenräumen im kilikischen Kirchenbau des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts*, Habilitation, Universität Göttingen.
- Westphalen, Stephan (2015), "Die Kirche von İşıkkale", in: *Olba* 23, 2015, 535–552.
- Williams, Margaret H. (1994), "The Jewish Community of Corycus: Two More Inscriptions", in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 92, 248–252.
- Wulf-Rheidt, Ulrike (2011), "Akören. Two Late Antique Villages in Cilicia", in: Ortwin Dally and Christopher Ratté (eds.), *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor, 189–203.



## Figure Credits

- Fig. 1** PILHOFER 2018, 5 Abb. 1.2.
- Fig. 2** Jon C. Cubas Díaz after drawings from MAMA III.
- Fig. 3** Jon C. Cubas Díaz.
- Fig. 4** Jon C. Cubas Díaz.
- Fig. 5** Jon C. Cubas Díaz after diverse drawings (esp. MAMA III).
- Fig. 6** Jon C. Cubas Díaz after diverse drawings (esp. EICHNER 2011, VARINLIOĞLU 2008a and WESTPHALEN 2008).
- Fig. 7** Jon C. Cubas Díaz.
- Fig. 8** a. Jon C. Cubas Díaz after EICHNER 2011, 241 Fig. 240. b. Jon C. Cubas Díaz.
- Fig. 9** Jon C. Cubas Díaz after diverse drawings (esp. EICHNER 2011a, VARINLIOĞLU 2008a and WESTPHALEN 2005).
- Fig. 10** Jon C. Cubas Díaz.
- Fig. 11** Jon C. Cubas Díaz.

