



MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
MERSIN UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH CENTER OF CILICIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

KAAM  
YAYINLARI

OLBA  
XVII  
(Offprint)



**KAAM YAYINLARI**  
**OLBA**  
**XVII**

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ISSN 1301 7667

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(KAAM)-XVII

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## LAMOS IN ROUGH CILICIA: AN ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

Rhys F. TOWNSEND – Michael C. HOFF\*

### Abstract

This paper presents the findings of an initial architectural survey at the site of Lamos in western Rough Cilicia, undertaken as part of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP). The results include the first measured plan of the city, incorporating both buildings and topography. The city is divided into four main areas, each area centered around a small knoll or hillock. From east to west these include an agora, colonnaded street, cemetery, and acropolis. The architectural survey has documented several new structures, while the identity of others has been corrected from that of previous scholars. The majority of the architectural remains appear to date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> through 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D., the period of the city's greatest prosperity. Analysis of the architecture of Lamos within the context of world systems theory reveals a complex interaction between core and periphery. In this regard the finds at Lamos support the conclusions that RCSP has reached for the entire region: indigenous cultures were active in negotiating a complex relationship with the offshore power of Rome, managing to preserve both native traditions and social power.

**Keywords:** Lamos, Western Rough Cilicia, native traditions, agora, colonnaded street, cemetery, acropolis.

### Özet

#### Dağlık Kilikia'da Lamos: Bir Mimari YüzeY Araştırması

Bu makale, Batı Dağlık Kilikia'da bulunan Lamos yerleşiminin, Dağlık Kilikia YüzeY Araştırması Projesi (RCSP) tarafından yürütölen ilk arkeolojik yüzeY araştırmasının bulgularını ele almaktadır. Sonuçlara, yapıları ve topografyayı içerecek şekilde, kentin ilk ölçölmüş planı dahil edilmiştir. Herbiri bir küçük yükselti veya tepenin etrafında yoğunlaşmak kaydıyla şehir dört ana alana bölünmüştür. Doğudan batıya olmak üzere bu alanlara agora, sütunlu cadde, nekropol ve acropolis dahildir. Mimari açısından, yüzeY araştırması bazı yeni yapıların belgelenmesini sağlamıştır; diğere yandan da bazı diğere yapıların daha önceki araştırmalar tarafından

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yapılmış tanımlamaları da düzeltilmiştir. Mimari kalıntıların çoğu, kentin en zengin dönemi olan İ.S. 2. ve 3. yüzyıllara tarihlenmektedir. Dünya sistemleri teorisi kontekstinde Lamos mimarisinin analizi merkez ile çevre ilişkilerinin girift olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, Lamos buluntularının, RCSP'nin tüm bölge için elde ettiği sonuçları destekler nitelikte olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır: Yerel kültürler, yerel gelenekleri ve sosyal iktidarı birlikte yürütmeyi başaran bir tarzda denizaşırı güç olan Roma ile girift bir ilişkiyi yürütmekteydiler.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lamos, Batı Dağlık Cilicia, yerel gelenekler, agora, sütunlu yol, necropolis, acropolis.

Between 1996 and 2004, the authors conducted architectural survey as part of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP). Directed by Professor Nicholas K. Rauh,<sup>1</sup> RCSP is examining a little explored area of western Rough Cilicia extending approximately 60 kilometers along the southern coast of modern Turkey, from ancient Iotape to Charadros, and 10 kilometers or more inland.<sup>2</sup> Utilizing both extensive and intensive survey techniques, the project team has collected geomorphological, floral, ceramic, and architectural data in order to investigate the process of urbanization in this region, concentrating on the Greco-Roman period. RCSP has utilized the archaeological data together with historical and epigraphical testimonia to assess this development within the context of world systems theory with its tripartite arrangement of core, semi-periphery, and periphery. It has found that the relationship of these parts is not as unidirectional from dominant core to dominated periphery as standard world systems analysis would hold. Rather, the semi-peripheral and peripheral areas were active in negotiating social and economic associations that preserved indigenous traditions and benefited local elites.<sup>3</sup> This paper presents some of these findings as revealed by the architectural survey of Lamos, a major urban site in the survey region.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to Professor Rauh for his leadership in conceiving, organizing, and executing this project. We wish also to thank the National Science Foundation for support, as well as our home institutions, Clark University (Townsend) and the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (Hoff). We thank the Turkish Ministry of Culture with whose permission and under whose auspices RCSP has been carried out. A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the IV<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Cilician Archaeology, Mersin University, Mersin, Turkey, June 4-6, 2007. The authors would like to thank Professor Prof. Serra Durugönül for the kind invitation to participate in this conference. For seasonal reports, see Rauh 1999, Rauh 2001, Rauh 2002, Rauh 2006; Rauh - Wandsnider 2002, Rauh - Wandsnider 2003, Rauh - Wandsnider 2005. Additional material on the project is available at its web site: <http://pasture.ecn.purdue.edu/~rauhn/>.

<sup>2</sup> For a map showing the area of the survey, see Townsend - Hoff 2004, 252, fig.1.

<sup>3</sup> For bibliography and further discussion of world systems analysis in the context of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project, Rauh et al. forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> The results of this architectural survey should not be considered definitive. The broad scope overall of RCSP limited the time that could be devoted to architecture, thereby restricting the amount and

Lamos lies about half way between the coastal cities of Selinus and Antiochia ad Cragum and approximately nine kilometers inland, along a ridge that separates the Hasdere River valley from that of the Inceagri River to the north (fig. 1). Thus situated, it lies among the lowermost foothills of the Tauros Mountains midway between the coastal cities and those settlements in the higher, steeper elevations of the hinterland that rise eventually to the ridgelines and peaks of the mountain range. From a world system perspective the areas of the coast and lower foothills immediately inland may be said to form a semi periphery, a buffer zone between the core represented by the offshore Greco-Roman maritime world and the periphery of the mountainous hinterland. This latter area was the homeland of the Luwians, an indigenous population of tribal elements that together were called Isaurians.<sup>5</sup> The geographical location of Lamos places it in a pivotal position to examine cultural interaction between core-oriented urban coast and peripheral mountain country. Both its large size and the prominence of its architecture—it is by far the largest of the cities of the foothills in the survey region and one of the larger overall—point to its economic and social importance in this context.

## Identification

R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli discovered the site in 1913 and originally suggested its identification as ancient Lamos, listed *inter alia* by Hierokles and the *Notitiae*. Although this attribution has not been proven subsequently by the finding of inscriptions at the site itself, it has received nearly universal support.<sup>6</sup> Several inscriptions establish the status of Lamos as a

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level of data acquired at any one site. The mapping of Lamos, for example, including topography, was accomplished in seven days of fieldwork. Other factors added to the constraints; for instance, the extremely dense overgrowth severely hampered access to remains. See Townsend-Hoff 2004, 251-253, for a more detailed summary of the methodology the architectural team employed; see also Rauh et al. 2000, 158-159. The authors would like to thank Edward M. Connor, the project surveyor, whose extraordinary skill, acumen, and good cheer increased the speed, accuracy, and output of work immeasurably.

<sup>5</sup> These elements are referred to by some pre Roman sources as “mountain Cilicians.” There are four recorded Isaurian tribes: Ceitae, Cennatae, Lalasseis, and Homonadenses (variously called [H] omanades by Pliny [*HN* 5.94], Homonadeis by Strabo [12.6.3], Homonadenses by Tacitus [*Ann.* 3.48]). For discussion, see Ramsay 1890, 363-367; Magie 1950, 494, 1354-1355; Jones 1971, 195-196, 210-211; Syme 1986, 159; Desideri - Jasink 1990; Mitchell 1993, 1, 70-79; Lenski 1999, especially the map, 414; Lenski 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Paribeni -Romanelli 1914, 172; Bean-Mitford 1962, 207-211; Bean-Mitford 1965, 31-33; Bean-Mitford 1970, 172-175; PECS 1976, 480 (G.E. Bean). See Bean-Mitford 1970, 172, with note 36, for a summary of the evidence establishing the identification of the site.

polis;<sup>7</sup> other references further identify it as a metropolis and make clear that it controlled surrounding territory as well. Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.7.6) identifies it as such; it also struck coins, naming it LAMOU METROPO.<sup>8</sup> The precise extent of its control is difficult to establish, but it is known to have included Charadros, which served as its port. For example, an honorific inscription of Septimius Severus found at Charadros refers to the town as the *epineion* of the Lamotis.<sup>9</sup> And during the Late Empire, if not before, Lamos also included Antiochia ad Cragum in its territory.<sup>10</sup> Inland Bean and Mitford surmised that Direvli lay within the territory of the city of Lamos, based on repeated references to the demos of Lamos in inscriptions found at Direvli.<sup>11</sup>

### Topography and General Description

At a maximum elevation of 869 m. above sea level, Lamos is not the highest point along the ridge on which it is located, but it may be said to be the highest that is well adapted for both defense and habitation.<sup>12</sup> It commands views of the lower lying areas to the north, west, and south, including the sites of Asar Tepe, Govan Asari, and Goçuk Asari (fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> From the acropolis of Lamos one can also see the more distant site of Kestros and Guda Tepe along the ridgeline immediately inland from and parallel to the coast. One can also see clearly into the river valleys below, both north and west.

The site extends more than a kilometer in length and today is approached from the east, as almost certainly it was also in antiquity. Here the creation of a modern firebreak has revealed scant evidence of a road running

<sup>7</sup> Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 12-16, nos. Ada 2, 6 (*polis*); nos. Ada 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16 (*boule kai demos*).

<sup>8</sup> Head 1911, 722-723.

<sup>9</sup> *IGRR* 3.838 (= Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 61, no. Char 2): *hoi katoikountes Charadron epineion Lamoton* (*hoi katoikountes* probably refers to non-citizen merchants residing at Charadros).

<sup>10</sup> In the episcopal list of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), there is a bishop Akakios from *Antiocheias tes Lamotidos* (Schwartz 1922- 2.1, 39; Ramsay 1890, 380; Jones 1971, 210-212). In the Epistle of Leo (458 A.D.), a bishop of “Latmi et Calendri” is recorded (Schwartz 1922-, 2.5, 49; Jones 1971, 211 n. 35).

<sup>11</sup> Bean-Mitford 1970, 175-184, nos. 192-202.

<sup>12</sup> Immediately west of the Lamian acropolis lies Bozkaya Mt. (fig. 1). At 1000 m. above sea level, it forms the last spur of the ridge. On its jagged peak the survey team found walls forming a fortified refuge, no doubt meant to serve as a shelter of last resort.

<sup>13</sup> On the relationship between Asar Tepe, Govan Asari, and Goçuk Asari, and the possible identification of one or more of them with Juliosebaste, Rauh et al. forthcoming.

along the crest of the ridge. The rest of the visible remains at the site can be divided into four areas, each of which is concentrated in the vicinity of small knoll or hillock (fig. 2).<sup>14</sup> The first of these, at an elevation of 847 m., preserves on its summit remains of a large terrace. In a saddle at the base an open area with architectural remains marks the likely agora of the city. Across the small saddle occupied by the agora the ridgeline rises sharply to a second saddle oriented northwest-southeast. At its western extent the saddle terminates in a small rise at an elevation of 869 m. The survey team found no remains on the rise, but the spur reveals traces of a colonnaded street and perhaps a temple at its eastern end. Continuing to the west, a third saddle, comparatively broad and shallow, leads to a hillock at an elevation of 861.06 m. At the southwest base of this hill a concentration of carved, lidded sarcophagi that have been badly looted marks the uppermost limit of the cemetery. Remains of tombs continue down slope in a southwest line towards a fourth saddle, at the eastern end of which lies a pi-shaped retaining wall, remains of two temple-tombs, together with later apsidal and related structures. At the west edge of the saddle rises the acropolis of Lamos, the peak of which lies at an elevation of 846.13 m. Two separate defensive fortification walls bound the acropolis on the east, with remains of several structures between them. A stretch of serpentine fortification wall runs along the north side of the acropolis but does not connect with either of the walls at the east. Along the north, west, and south sides, the acropolis slopes gently at first and then much more sharply. Approach here, although not impossible, would have been difficult, as it would have all along the southern and northern flanks of the ridgeline that the site occupies.

## Agora

Remains of a stepped stone crepis define the four sides of an open and level rectangular space measuring approximately 85 x 29 m. (fig. 3). Scattered blocks of a stone water channel, column drums, and in a few places around the perimeter sections of a back wall allow the reconstruction of a peristylar court. Bean and Mitford identified this space as a stadium,<sup>15</sup> but such remains are far more suitable for an agora, and neither

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<sup>14</sup> The road at the eastern extremity of the site, lying just beyond the limits of the site plan in this direction, was not included among the features surveyed.

<sup>15</sup> Bean-Mitford 1970, 172. They report having seen seats, but a thorough search of the area in 2001 turned up no evidence of them. It is possible they saw stone benches such as may be found in stoas.

the proportions nor the actual dimensions of the space are appropriate for a stadium. Moreover, the fact that here alone in the saddle, in such a sharply delineated area, no vegetation has grown would suggest that stone pavement lies close beneath the current ground level, hardly a proper surface for the running track of a stadium. The presence of paving was confirmed by extending metal probes into the ground; at every spot tested, and at a uniform depth, the probes met a hard impenetrable surface.<sup>16</sup> It seems clear therefore that the remains are those of a small agora of the Hellenistic sort, a court surrounded on four sides by colonnades.

At the summit of the conical hill adjacent to the agora on the east is a large ashlar retaining wall consisting a rough inner and finished outer face, with rubble and mortar filling the interstice between faces. Over a meter thick and as much as eight to 10 courses high on the side facing the agora, it defines a rectangular area measuring approximately 32 by 24 meters. In 2002 the survey team found on stone paving here an inscribed statue base dedicated to (and presumably bearing a statue of) a Roman emperor.<sup>17</sup> With no evidence for any roofing of the terrace, the most likely reconstruction calls for an open space used for public display. Facing the agora, it would have furnished an impressive sight for those looking up from below and would have provided itself a commanding view of the agora and other areas of the city in all directions.

At the northeast corner of the agora looting in recent years has exposed three adjoining vaulted chambers whose building materials and technique show that the structure is clearly later than the peristyle of the agora. Another building of later date is a simple Christian chapel consisting of a nave with apse that occupies a small portion of the hilltop.<sup>18</sup>

## Colonnaded Street

The remains of the colonnaded street west of the agora are slight (fig. 4). As was the case with the remains at the very eastern extremity of the site, these were brought to light by the creation of a firebreak along the line of the ridge at this point. Although this action stripped bare the veg-

<sup>16</sup> During a brief visit to the site in the summer of 2007, Hoff and Townsend discovered a small hole, recently dug, that actually exposed a patch of stone paving, thus confirming its presence.

<sup>17</sup> The name of the emperor is not preserved. For the base, see Rauh-Wandsnider 2005, 129.

<sup>18</sup> Neither appears on the plan, fig. 2.

etation here and thus exposed the remains that are to be seen, scraping the area clean will also have removed other material, particularly architectural *disiecta membra* like column drums. At present remains are visible on the southern side only. Here a few evenly spaced foundations for columns may be found, together with a retaining wall designed to help level the road surface. Unfortunately, no remains are visible on the north side, so the precise width of the street remains unknown; it will have been quite wide, however, given the overall width of the saddle (approximately 16 meters). At the eastern end of the street are remains of a large square structure, the foundations for which are preserved on the southern and eastern sides; no trace of the western and northern sides of the structure is visible on the surface. On the southern side, four orthostate blocks still stand in situ on the foundations; finished on their outer face, the inside is left rough with rubble and mortar packed against it. In the area within the building bedrock rises to a level higher than that of the orthostates; this fact, together with the evidence of the treatment of the faces, indicates that the area within was below floor level. If so, the remains in situ most likely represent a solid podium approached on axis from the street. Such a reconstruction is made all the more likely since the ground level falls off sharply on all sides of the structure except on that which faces the street. What type of monument the podium supported is unknown, but a coin of Severan date from Lamos displays a tetrastyle temple, and such a setting would certainly be appropriate for a dedication of this sort.<sup>19</sup>

## Cemetery

As already noted, the lidded sarcophagi mark only the upper limit of the cemetery (fig. 5); tombs extend to the bottom of the slope in one of the most densely overgrown areas encountered not only at Lamos but in the entire survey region (fig. 6).<sup>20</sup> Three types of burial have been discovered: freestanding stone sarcophagi, temple tombs, and rock-cut niches. Of the sarcophagi the most elaborate are those that lie at the top of the slope.<sup>21</sup> But the type occurs throughout the area; for instance, one sarcophagus is visible just behind one temple tomb, TT1; another lies directly in front of

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<sup>19</sup> *BMC*, Cilicia xxxix no. 1.

<sup>20</sup> For a photograph of this area, see Townsend - Hoff 2004, 255, fig.4.

<sup>21</sup> That which is best preserved today was first described by Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 165-167; see also Er 1991, 126-127; Er Scarborough 1998.

this tomb, between it and a second temple tomb, TT2. Three temple tombs of excellent ashlar construction have been located. TT1 and TT2 are well preserved and have been described in detail elsewhere. A third, located about halfway down the slope is poorly preserved, but its basic type is clear and its construction equally fine.<sup>22</sup> The slope of the cemetery hill sharpens steeply at the west, ending in a nearly vertical rock face, into which are carved a few undecorated funerary niches. Facing these across a flat open space is an L-shaped ashlar-faced retaining wall.<sup>23</sup> It helps to formalize the area and to create a terrace that extends the cemetery to the south and east for a distance of some 25 to 50 meters before a major cliff face marks the edge of the site as it plunges into a deep ravine.

Additional remains in this area include two sets of foundations, neither of which rises substantially above ground level. The first set, a single course of ashlar blocks placed around three sides of a flat open area, may perhaps define a small rectangular courtyard. Here, as in the agora, no vegetation has grown recently, but in this case it was not possible to confirm the presence of paving.<sup>24</sup> The second set belongs to one end of what may be a long rectangular structure (stoa?) bordering the site at the cliff edge. The material of these foundations (local limestone) and what little of their construction can be discerned (ashlar) are similar to the structures of the cemetery. But there is no way to know at present what relationship they may hold to the cemetery; they may be earlier, contemporary with, or later than the tombs.

Finally, the terrace contains traces of architecture that are clearly later and probably belong to the late antique to early medieval history of the site, to judge from their form and masonry style. These include two apsidal structures and adjacent walls that are indicated by dotted lines in the plan, figure 6. The walls are built of rubble stones set in mortar, the size of the stones varying from fist-sized to those almost too large for a man to carry; there is sporadic use of reused ashlar blocks, perhaps from the tombs in the area. The apsidal design of the two structures recalls that of churches. In this same vicinity, lying halfway between the eastern arm of the retaining

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<sup>22</sup> All three are described and illustrated by Townsend-Hoff 2004, 256-265, figs. 12-14. Bean-Mitford 1962, 208, had mistaken TT2 as a temple on the basis of an inscription that they erroneously associated with the building.

<sup>23</sup> It too has been described in detail by Townsend-Hoff 2004.

<sup>24</sup> Signs of burning in the area could explain the lack of vegetation.

wall and TT1, are remains of three intersecting walls made of mortared rubble (fig. 6). One stretch runs approximately parallel to the eastern arm of the terrace, while the other two extend at right angles from it in the direction of the terrace wall. They lie below the current ground level and are only revealed today as a result of looting activity. Amongst the debris thrown up by the looters in the process of exposing the walls are fragments of round terracotta tiles, *suspensurae*, used to create the hollow floor in the hypocaust system of Roman baths.<sup>25</sup>

## Acropolis

At the western extremity of the site lies the acropolis (figs. 7-8). Although not the highest point in the city (at 846.13 m. it is exceeded by the hill at the western end of the colonnaded street by about 23 meters), nevertheless it offers the best natural protection. Well guarded by sharp drop-offs on the north, west, and south, only the east side allows easy access from the saddle that connects to the rest of the site, and here strong fortification walls provide defense.

In all, stretches of three fortification walls remain, two located at the east, a third along the north face. That at the north runs in a serpentine line for at least 125 meters. Its construction is very light; presumably the steeper slope of the ground here precluded the need for a heavier wall. Much more substantial is the outer fortification wall at the east. Extending 132 meters along the edge of the acropolis, with short returning stretches at both north and south, this wall averages 1.36 m. thick; double-faced with rubble filling the interstice, in several places it reaches 10 to 12 meters in height. The faces are built with roughly cut rectangular blocks of local limestone, laid in irregular courses that make use of small filler stones and mortar. Reused blocks appear as spolia in a number of places; they include architectural blocks and, in the tower next to the entrance, two sculpted heads set in roundels and three inscribed stones.<sup>26</sup> In two locations against the inner face of the wall stone stairs give access to a narrow wall walk with a few slit windows preserved below.

<sup>25</sup> Other fragments of *suspensurae* may be found in the general area of the saddle in front of the acropolis walls. For terminology and use of *suspensurae*, see Nielsen 1991, 14; Ginouvès-Martin 1985, 53-54; Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 5.10.2.

<sup>26</sup> Originally four: Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 148, nos. 117-120 (= Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 14-15, nos. Ada 7-10); cf. Bean-Mitford 1962, 207-208 with notes 40 and 41.

Square towers are placed at points north and south where the level ground of the saddle meets the outer wall. That at the south, measuring 5.00 x 3.84 m. internally, is not well preserved. The tower at the north, to the left of the entrance as one faces it, is almost square, 7.5 x 7.05 m. as measured on the inside; in places it reaches as high as 12 meters. The wall courses of the tower abut the wall at the bottom but bond with it higher up. Within the tower traces of vaulting, beam and floor cuttings indicate that there were at least two storeys. No evidence of an entrance exists, but it may be that access was directly from the inside of the wall itself onto the upper portion of the tower.<sup>27</sup>

There is only one small gateway through the fortification wall, immediately north of the northern tower. It is a mere 1.84 m. wide, with monolithic limestone jambs 2.75 m. high and a single lintel block and relieving arch above. The entrance leads into a small vaulted chamber, just 2.82 m. x 6.75 m., from which an even smaller opening a bare 0.75 m. across allows access to the interior of the fortifications. Clearly traffic flow was not a priority; rather the small opening is defensive in purpose, meant to form a bottleneck or chokepoint. The lintel block of the outer opening (fig. 9) provides a firm date for this phase of the fortification system. An inscription in Greek honoring the emperor Gallienus (r. A.D. 253-268) flanks an eagle, its wings outstretched, holding a victory wreath in its beak; the eagle stands on a cornucopia (?) set over a bull's head facing left.<sup>28</sup>

A small, barrel-vaulted bath complex is built against the inside face of the fortification wall; it consists of a suite of rooms that abuts the south wall of the entrance chamber, but there is no apparent connection between the two. The first room of the suite at the south is very badly damaged

<sup>27</sup> Immediately south of the smaller southern tower is a short stretch of wall, one end of which turns at an angle of about 45 degrees to abut the outer fortification wall. The wall, very slight in construction and poorly preserved, is of uncertain function; it is most likely a late addition. One more tower is preserved at the southeast corner of the outer wall at the start of its return along the south face of the acropolis. This tower seems to display two periods of construction. In the first, roughly cut ashlar blocks of limestone are laid with minimal use of mortar; in the second phase, construction with smaller rubble and much mortar overlies the earlier. The treatment of the surface of the blocks also differs in each phase, and in neither phase is the treatment similar to that in the main north-south stretch of wall. It may be therefore that this tower was not part of the original fortification system.

<sup>28</sup> Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 148, no. 116 (= Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 14, no. Ada 6). Paribeni-Romanelli considered the inscription to be reused in its present location, but there is no reason to suspect this. Its placement is integral to the construction of the entrance; Bean-Mitford 1962, 207, n. 40, come to the same conclusion, on the grounds of it being placed in the only gateway through the wall.

and full of fallen wall material so that no doorway is currently visible; nevertheless, it is most likely that this chamber served as the entry or apodyterium to the bath. The second room is in better condition and preserves in the northeast corner what is almost certainly a cold plunge pool lined with water-proof cement. The next two chambers were warm rooms (tepidarium, caldarium?) as evidenced by vertical heating vents set into their walls. The first of these two rooms had a window facing west, the second a small door also facing west; a narrow vaulted space on the east side of the second room may have been for the emplacement of a hot plunge bath.

A large, carefully built cistern is constructed at the northern end of the fortification wall, against the inside face in the corner where the wall makes its return to the west. Two barrel-vaulted chambers separated by an archway create a large, cavernous space, the volume of which cannot be determined at present because the original floor lies deeply buried below rubble that chokes much of the interior. Nevertheless, the distance from the surface of the rubble to the top of the barrel vault is currently 5.75 m., and the length and width of the two chambers measure 8.03 x 3.97 m. and 4.34 x 4.00 m. The minimum volume therefore is approximately 283 cubic meters, and originally it will have been much greater.

An inner fortification wall runs parallel to the outer line of wall on a north-south line and extends nearly the entire length of the east side of the acropolis. At 2.70 m. thick it is even more substantial than the outer line of defense. The two faces of the wall make use of a combination of large ashlar blocks and roughly cut stones, with smaller stones and mortar filling the interstices. No mortar appears to have been used in conjunction with the laying of the large blocks as is understandable with such heavy stones. The inner face of the wall displays some reused architectural material, e.g., column drums incorporated as spolia. The core of the wall consists of smaller stones set in heavy mortar.

Between the inner and outer line of fortification on the eastern side of the acropolis is a structure that may be amongst the earliest remains at Lamos (fig. 10). Originally a rectangular building (tower?) measuring 10.13 x 7.25 m., its walls are preserved along three sides. Large ashlar blocks with rusticated faces are laid in precise coursing with no trace of mortar other than that which very likely is to be associated with repair or at the most used to seal the face of joints between blocks. The rustication in

particular is found nowhere else at Lamos. At some date subsequent to the original construction, the north wall was largely removed and an extension of the structure was built. Of this there remains only a series of stepped walls running north-south with traces of returns to the west. The masonry of this extension is the roughly dressed ashlar found in various locations throughout the site.

## Chronology

Evidence pertaining to the history of Lamos derives from three sources: written literary/historical testimony, epigraphical material, and archaeological finds recovered on site: ceramics, sculpture, architecture. There is little in the way of written testimony relating to the history of Lamos, and what exists is relatively late. As already mentioned, Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.7.6) identifies Lamos as a metropolis. The city is also listed in the *Notitiae* and by Hierokles; and in the Epistle of Leo (A.D. 458), a bishop of “Latmi et Calendri” is recorded.<sup>29</sup> None of these sources sheds much light on the historical development of Lamos, but some chronological benchmarks possibly may be gleaned from epigraphical and archaeological evidence found at the site. The earliest firmly dated inscription was found by Bean and Mitford. Belonging to the reign of Vespasian, it is one of the very few from the entire region that is written in Latin rather than Greek.<sup>30</sup> Honoring Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and dating to the year A.D. 77, it records a dedication by the imperial legate, Octavius Memor. Bean and Mitford state that it was an *aedicula* that Octavius Memor dedicated and associate it with a structure located close by the find spot of the inscription. The inscription does not specify what is being dedicated, however, and the association of the stone with the nearby building is spurious.<sup>31</sup> A second inscription that also may be imperial is the statue base recently discovered on the paved terrace above the agora at Lamos;<sup>32</sup> its letter forms suggest a second century date. Definitely second century is the imperial dedication to Antoninus Pius (r. A.D. 138-161) that was found reused in the tower next to the entryway in the outer fortification wall of the acropolis.<sup>33</sup> Of the two other

<sup>29</sup> See Schwartz 1922-, 2.5, 49; Jones 1971, 211, n. 35.

<sup>30</sup> Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 15, Ada 11; Bean-Mitford, 1962, 208-209.

<sup>31</sup> Townsend-Hoff 2004, 256-257.

<sup>32</sup> See above, note 17.

<sup>33</sup> Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 14, no. Ada 7; Bean-Mitford 1970, 173, n. 38; Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 169, no. 117.

imperial dedications that also appear as *spolia* in the tower, one honors Caracalla (r. A.D. 211-217), the other Geta (r. A.D. 209-211).<sup>34</sup>

There are 13 other inscriptions currently known from the site of Lamos: seven funerary, three honorary, one agonistic, and one uncertain.<sup>35</sup> None may be dated with any degree of certainty. Two, however, belonging to carved tombs, have been studied in conjunction with the sculptural adornment of these monuments. Unfortunately, one tomb is now wholly destroyed, although Paribeni and Romanelli described and photographed it in some detail, and its inscription has been studied closely (Paribeni and Romanelli no. 113).<sup>36</sup> It is interesting for its mention of stonemasons from Selge in Pamphylia, apparently as having made the tomb. The second (Paribeni and Romanelli no. 114)<sup>37</sup> is still well preserved and bears a number of similarities to the first; it includes a name (Dmoutos) that is also inscribed on no. 113, and Y. Er (Scarborough) considers the style and workmanship of the two comparable. She further regards them as belonging to the same workshop as a number of funerary monuments from Direvli and compares the entire group to similar tombs from Selge.<sup>38</sup> The connection with Selge appears certain because two of the rock-cut tombs at Direvli also include the names of masons from Selge as having made them.<sup>39</sup> In discussing the sculpture of these tombs, Er Scarborough believes them belong to the period of prosperity of Lamos, from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Bean and Mitford dated Paribeni and Romanelli no. 114 to “hardly earlier than the second century A.D.”<sup>40</sup> Hagel and Tomaschitz concur. Elsewhere, however, Bean and Mitford suggested that both Paribeni and Romanelli Nos. 113 and 114 belonged to the period before Rome took direct control of the region during the reign of Vespasian; they based this suggestion on the fact that both inscriptions

<sup>34</sup> Caracalla: Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 15, no. Ada 8; Bean-Mitford 1962, 208, n. 40; Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 169-170, no. 118. Geta: Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 15, no. Ada 9; Bean-Mitford 1962, 208, n. 41; Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 170, no. 119.

<sup>35</sup> Funerary: Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 12-17, nos. Ada 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 14, 15; honorary: Ada nos. 6, 13, 16; agonistic: no. Ada 10; uncertain: no. Ada 17. See Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998 for earlier bibliography pertaining to these inscriptions.

<sup>36</sup> Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 155-164, no. 113; Bean-Mitford 1962, 211, no. 35; Bean-Mitford 1965, 31-33, no. 34; Bean-Mitford 1970, 172 n. 38; Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, 12-13, Ada 3a-b.

<sup>37</sup> Paribeni-Romanelli 1914, 165-167.

<sup>38</sup> Er 1991, 126-127; see also Er Scarborough 1998.

<sup>39</sup> Bean-Mitford 1965, 32.

<sup>40</sup> Bean-Mitford 1962, 209.

make reference to Greek coinage (drachmas) rather than Roman (denarii).<sup>41</sup> As attractive as this suggestion may be, it is probably best at this point not to commit to a specific date.

Overall, the combined evidence of epigraphy and sculpture shows activity at Lamos from the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. well into the third. The ceramic material collected by the pedestrian team of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project coincides with this chronology. Three periods are represented: “Pre-Roman (ca. 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C.), “Early Roman” (ca. 1-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D.), and Late Roman (ca. 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.) in the following proportions: Pre-Roman, 8.4%; Early Roman, 71.6%; Late Roman 20%.<sup>42</sup> Architecture of the region is very difficult to date on the basis of internal indications alone, i.e., construction materials and technique and stylistic assessment. To the degree possible, however, analysis using these criteria indicates division of most structures into the same three general periods. The majority of the architecture at the site appears to be of the Early Roman era (ca. 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D.). Monuments of this period include the temple tombs, together with the retaining wall at the base of the cemetery hill; the agora and paved terrace at the top of the hill above it; and less certain, because less well preserved, the colonnaded street and the structure at its eastern end.<sup>43</sup> To the latter part of the Early Roman period belongs the fortification system of the acropolis; here of course the Gallienus inscription provides confirmatory evidence. The Late Roman period is witnessed in the form of the newly exposed vaulted chambers at the northeast corner of the agora, the small chapel on the summit of the hill above the agora, and the likely churches in the area of the cemetery terrace.

The one structure that sets itself apart from these groupings is the rusticated ashlar construction between the inner and outer fortification walls. As already noted, its rustication is not found elsewhere at Lamos. Mortar, usually considered a hallmark of Roman construction,<sup>44</sup> is found in patches among the remaining wall courses, but not to the extent one would expect in original construction. It may belong to the second period of the building’s history when it was extended. Hellenistic architecture has proved

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<sup>41</sup> Bean-Mitford 1970, 178.

<sup>42</sup> See Townsend -Hoff 2004, 261 for mention of these figures. Rauh is preparing this ceramic material for final publication together with that of the rest of the survey.

<sup>43</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the dates of the temple tombs and retaining wall, see Townsend -Hoff 2004, 262-265.

<sup>44</sup> McNicoll 1997, 11.

elusive in western Rough Cilicia.<sup>45</sup> Only two other sites preserve possible traces of Hellenistic construction, Selinus and Korakesion (Alanya). Both cities are attested in the Hellenistic period, but the remains are relatively slight, and the question of mortar—whether original or dating to a reuse—renders these examples equally challenging to decipher.<sup>46</sup>

Given such broad chronological parameters, it is difficult to associate any of the architectural remains at Lamos with specific historical events, but two connections at least appear likely. Bean and Mitford suggested that the inscription marking a dedication to Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian should be associated with the transfer of power in the region from the client king Antiochus IV to direct Roman rule, as this might well explain the unusual use of Latin rather than Greek.<sup>47</sup> Although it is no longer certain just what the dedication itself was, the choice of Latin could well have served as a deliberate symbol of the power of Rome in this relatively remote territory. Bean and Mitford also associated the Gallienus inscription with the historical tradition that an Isaurian warlord named Trebellianus mounted a rebellion from his bastion in the mountains, eventually gaining control of “Cilicia.” This uprising prompted Gallienus to send in a general who ultimately suppressed the rebellion and then enclosed the highlands of Isauria within a defensive ring of fortified places (*loci*).<sup>48</sup> The Rough Cilicia Survey Project has identified a string of such fortifications extending from the hills inland from Korakesion (Alanya) as far as Lamos, with its massive double cross walls. In fact, the existence of this line of defense appears to confirm the veracity of Trebellianus and his rebellion, which some historians have questioned.

## Conclusion

The Roman era from the later first to later third centuries A.D. thus represents the apogee of architectural development at Lamos, just as it does in western Rough Cilicia more generally. Although Lamos makes use of

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<sup>45</sup> Rauh et al. 2000, 165-168.

<sup>46</sup> In the case of Selinus, no mortar is found at all, but only the outer face of the few remaining courses is visible, and it is possible that any mortar may have washed out from the interstices between joints.

<sup>47</sup> Bean-Mitford 1970, 178.

<sup>48</sup> S.H.A. *Tyr. Trig.* 26: “etenim in medio Romani nominis solo regio eorum novo genere custodiarum quasi limes includitur, locis defensa non hominibus.”

mainstream offshore Greco-Roman architectural forms during this period, such use was not simply “Romanization” in the conventional sense of the word. The evidence of Lamos, like that of the region as a whole, demonstrates a complex relationship to Roman rule, one of give-and-take that created a distinctive urban environment, different from that of its neighbors either in Cilicia Pedias to the east or in Pamphylia to the west.

The relative lack of Hellenistic period architecture at Lamos contrasts with the urbanization of the city in the following Roman era. An important component of this process is the nucleation of settlements that establish Lamos as a metropolis dominating broader territorial units in order to maximize Rome’s exploitation of this regional resource base. A Roman “stamp” in the architecture at Lamos is thus attested in motifs like the colonnaded street. At the same time, local elites recognized the value of architecture to promote themselves. This is seen in the temple tombs whose conscious emulation of Hellenistic style and techniques appealed to the indigenous Luvian upper classes; Hellenistic motifs are also found in the local tomb sculpture.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, such tombs were erected within city limits in order to stress the social status of the owner over any religious association; in the process of course they conflicted directly with Roman law prohibiting burial *intra muros*. Of Hellenistic type, too, is the agora. It is also significant to note building types that do not appear. Neither at Lamos nor at any site within the survey zone of RCSP do remains of large theatres or odeia, gymnasia or stadia appear. The absence of these structures, traditionally associated more with the masses than with the privileged, seems to confirm the inordinate influence exerted by indigenous Luvian nobles. Through such means, their social status and symbolic power survived largely intact, however Romanized their city may have appeared at first glance.

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<sup>49</sup> See Townsend-Hoff 2004, 275-280 for distinction between the Hellenistic style temple tombs in the interior areas of western Rough Cilicia as opposed to the Roman *Grabtempel* type found more frequently along the coast. Er 1991, 127, recognizes the Hellenistic elements in tomb sculpture of the interior but interprets such presence quite differently, as an indication of Romanization in the more traditional, unidirectional mode, from core to periphery.

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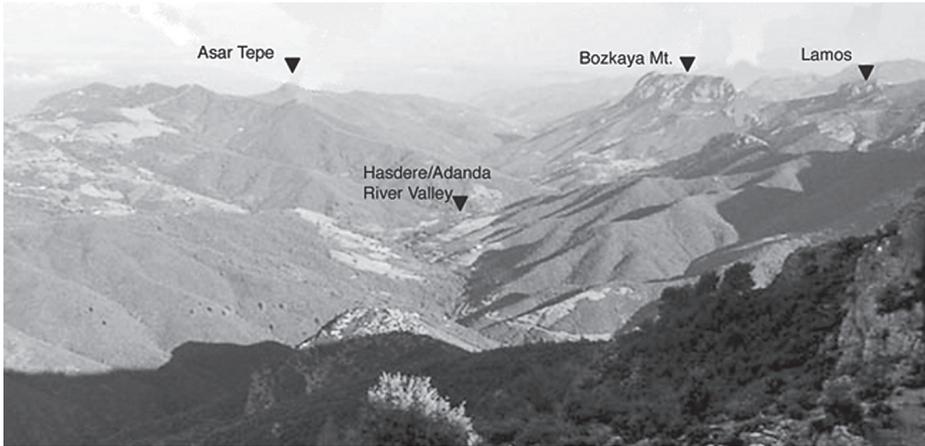


Fig. 1. View of Hasdere River Valley, looking northwest (photo by N.K. Rauh)

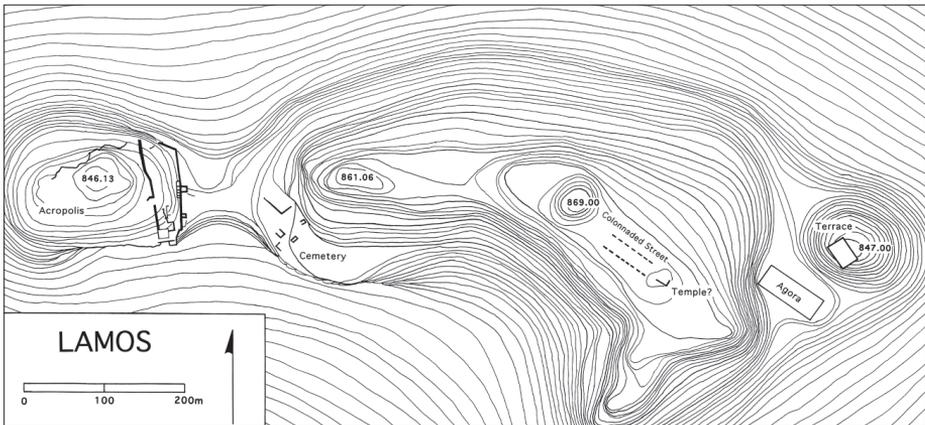


Fig. 2  
Lamos,  
site plan



Fig. 3  
Lamos, agora,  
from east



Fig. 4  
Lamos, colonnaded  
street, from west



Fig. 5  
Lamos, carved  
sarcophagus, from east

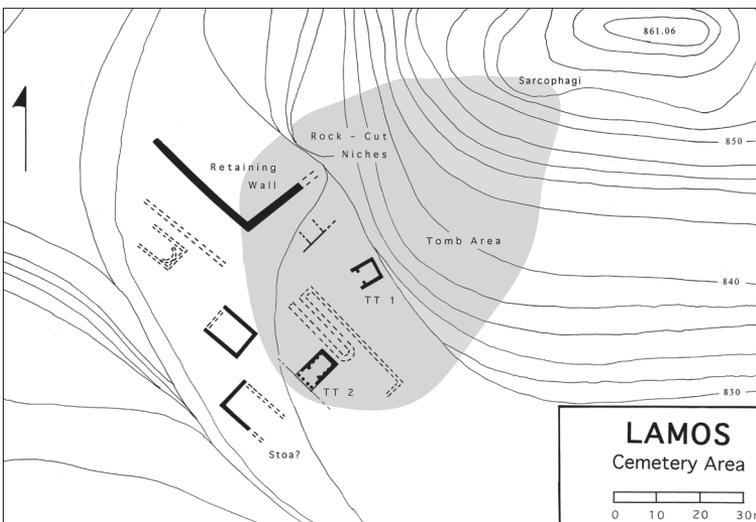


Fig. 6  
Lamos, plan of  
cemetery area



Fig. 7. Lamos, acropolis fortifications, from east

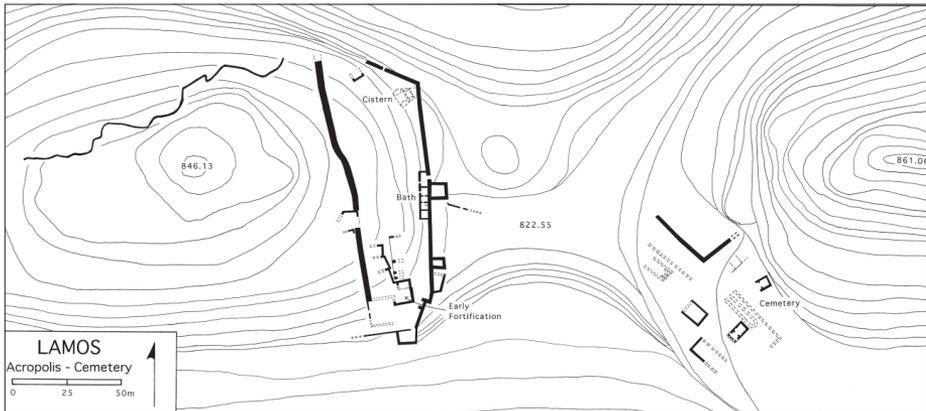


Fig. 8. Lamos, plan of acropolis-cemetery area



Fig. 9  
Lamos,  
inscribed lintel,  
outer fortification  
wall



Fig. 10  
Lamos,  
earlier fortifications