

# New rock-cut tombs at Etenna and the rock-cut tomb tradition in southern Anatolia

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## Abstract

The 41 rock-cut tombs at Etenna provide a clear impression of this very early and widespread tradition for the region. They allow us to compare the Lycian, Pamphylian, Cilician and Pisidian rock-cut tomb architecture and understand connections and discontinuities between them. They also illustrate how features of such tombs are based on natural and technical factors, on local architectural traditions, or on the rock-cut architecture of neighbouring cultures. But basic similarities, such as the cutting of a tomb chamber in the rock, could occur without any influence from other cultural regions, for instance because of similar burial needs, similar natural materials or similar architectural knowledge. The influences between the rock-cut tombs of different regions and periods can be seen in the particular details, and their relation to local burial customs. Questions are asked, such as: if there were Lycian tombs in the Classical period, why were there no rock-cut tombs in Pamphylia in this period; why did the ‘dominant Lycian Classical culture’ not influence Pamphylia; and what were the tombs of the higher social classes of the societies of Classical Pamphylia?

## Özet

Etenna’daki 41 kaya mezarı, kendisi ve de bölge için bu erken ve de yaygın geleneğin çok özel bir resmini çizer. Etenna kaya mezarlığı, kentin kaya mezar mimarlığını ayrıntılı olarak yansıttığı gibi, aynı zamanda Likya, Pamfilya, Kilikya ve Pisidya kaya mezar mimarlığını karşılaştırma aralarındaki ilişkileri ve bağlantısızlıkları anlama olanağı sağlar. Etenna örnekleri, bu gibi mezarlarda, hangi özelliklerin doğal ve teknik nedenlerden ya da yerel mimarlıktan kaynaklandığını ve hangi özelliklerinin komşu kültürlerin kaya mimarlığından etkilendiğini de göstermektedir. Kayaya oda açmak gibi basit benzerliklerin, genellikle diğer kültürlerden etkilenmeden de ortaya çıkabildiği, sadece benzer gömme ihtiyaçları, benzer doğal malzeme ya da benzer mimari temel bilgilerden, çoğu zaman yerel şartlardan kaynaklandığı da anlaşılmaktadır. Farklı kültür bölgelerinin ve dönemlerin kaya mezarları arasındaki etkileşimin özel ayrıntılardaki benzerliklerde saptanması ve yerel gömme gelenekleri ile bağlantılı değerlendirilmesi gerekir. Bu makalede aşağıdakilere benzer önemli sorular gündeme getirilmektedir: Klasik Çağ Likyası’nın özgün kaya mezarlarının varlığına rağmen, aynı dönemde neden Pamfilya’da kaya mezarlığı yok? ‘Baskın’ Likya kültürü neden Pamfilya’yı etkilemedi? Pamfilya’nın Klasik Çağı’nda üst sınıfin mezarları nasıldı?

The small city of Etenna is situated about 109km east of Antalya and 35km north of Manavgat. It lies on a rocky hill above the Manavgat river (ancient Melas) near the village of Sirt. Hirschfeld (1875) was the first to locate the sites of Erymna, Kotenna and Etenna, but he wrongly identified Kotenna as Etenna and Etenna as Pednelissos. Radet (1895: 195) correctly placed Etenna at Sirt, and Ramsay (1904: 67) and Robert (1972: 489–97) also visited the city. Initially Etenna and Cotenna were thought to be located in the same place, although both cities were mentioned separately in the conciliar records, and discussion about the location of Etenna

continued until the researches of Bean (1970) and von Aulock (1977) between 1964 and 1968. An inscription published in 1984 supports the location of Etenna at Sirt (Nollé 1984: 147), and a new inscription, reading ‘The boule of Etenna erected the statue of the founder Seleukos’ has confirmed this (Şahin 1991: 135).

The Melas river valley provides the physical background for settlement in the region over thousands of years. Settlement in the region goes back to the second millennium BC as the evidence of the Kuyucak temple cave demonstrates (Çevik 1999b: 96), and the name Etenna derives from the Hitite ‘Watanna’ (Nollé

1992: 74, n. 108). Bean found pottery of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods at the site. Etenna, the most important of the ancient cities of the Melas valley, claimed Seleukos as its founder (Antiochos III) (Şahin 1991), and began to mint coins in the Hellenistic period (von Aulock 1977; Nollé 1992: 75). The importance of its economic and strategic situation is reflected in the city's Hellenistic and Roman monumental buildings, and its history has been further discussed by Mansel (1956), Özşait (1980) and Nollé (1992).

The city of Etenna lies at the junction of the regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia and Isauria, and because of this, there has been discussion of which region it belonged to. Ruge (1907: 706) called it a Pamphylian city to the north of Side and Aspendos, but Polybios (5.73.3) stated that it was Pisidians who lived in the mountainous region behind Side and Aspendos, and von Aulock (1977) rightly stated that Etenna was within Pisidia. Jones (1971: 126) called attention to the fact that Strabo and Polybios used the word 'Etenna' as an ethnic name for a group of people who were found around Etenna, Cotenna and Erymna, and that it was more than the name of a city. But this idea is inconsistent with the minting of coins using the name Etenna, which shows that it is a city name.

The traditional architecture of the Melas region uses a combination of wood and rubble. Numerous houses

built with this technique show its use during the Ottoman and early Turkish Republican periods, the best preserved of them being those which belonged to the Greeks (Rum) who left Anatolia early in the 20th century (1922–1930) (see also Çevik 2000b). However, there are also Roman structures showing the same combination of wood and rubble, which must stem from the region's natural conditions and local materials, which have changed little from the past to the present. It is therefore surprising that the rock-cut tombs to be discussed below do not show the imitations of wooden construction which we see in the rock-cut tomb façades of Lycia.

The settlement is located on the terraced edges of the acropolis, which can be reached by the ancient road from Sirt village. There are some Roman monumental tombs among the buildings within the city, and we investigated in detail a large number of graves of different types and periods. There is a single rock-cut tomb in the city centre, 40m south of the Temenos tomb. This is the only visible underground tomb of Etenna, and consists of a rock-cut chamber covered with a built vault. Its plan is partly concealed by the rubble from the fallen vault, but it is clear that a dromos leads into a chamber which measures 3m by 1.5m. There is a moulding at the junction between the wall and vault. The niche in the northern wall of the tomb is also noteworthy.

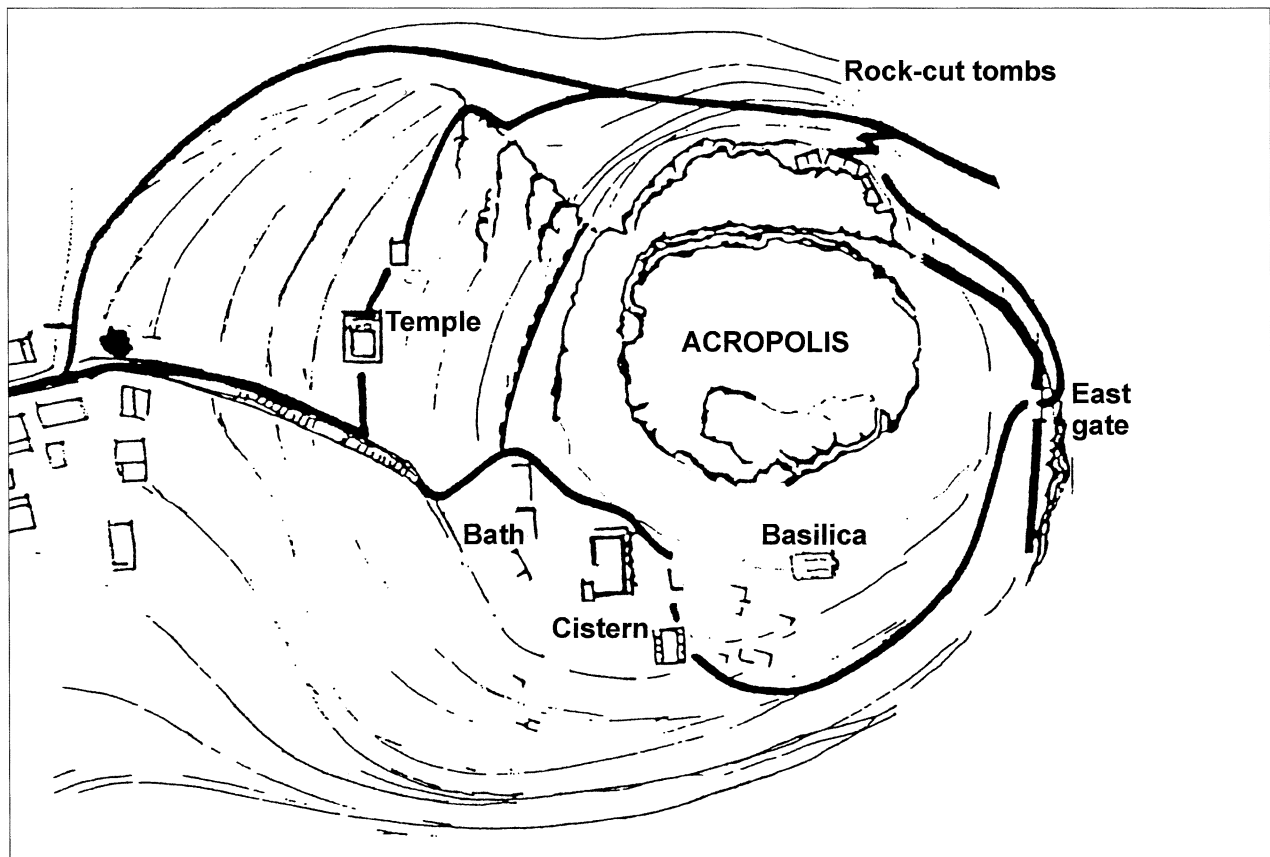


Fig. 1. Map of Etenna (after Korbel 1991: Abb. 124)

However, this study is only concerned with the rich rock-cut necropolis cut in the northeastern cliffs of the acropolis, which was first noted by von Luschan (Lanckoronski 1890: 185; see figs 1–3). This area lies outside the city, and the only other ancient structures are rock-cut cisterns, which could also be used for cold storage. After the presentation and discussion of these tombs, the paper will discuss the wide distribution of rock-cut tombs in southern Anatolia and the relationships between them.

### **The rock-cut tombs of the north necropolis at Etenna**

Forty one rock-cut tombs were discovered in three main rocky areas in the necropolis (Çevik 1999b: 102; see figs 2, 3). The lower tombs in the cemetery are buried under earth and rubble due to erosion. For this reason, we concluded that the original number of tombs must be more than we can see today. This article does not present all of the tombs, but aims to present only the most representative types from each group and to compare them with the rock-cut tomb traditions to the west and east.

If we suppose that the rock-cut tombs belonged only to the middle and higher ranks of society, as in Lycia (Bryce 1979: 298; Zahle 1980: 38; Keen 1985: 221), there must have been a wealthy and prosperous population in Etenna in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, to whom the tombs probably belonged. In Lycia the distinction between the social classes changed after the Classical period, and in the Roman period all levels of society adopted all kinds of tombs (built or rock-cut). The function of the 'Minti' (funeral office) of Classical Lycia (Bryce 1980: 174) was continued in the Roman age by the 'Collegia Funeratica' (Saller, Shaw 1984: 124). The building of high quality tombs for the poor was funded by donations from wealthy citizens. During the Roman period, burial in sarcophagi or ostotheke, inside or outside a settlement, became a more widespread fashion because of their soundness, safety and economy (Koch, Sichtermann 1982: 540; Koch 1993; for Roman tomb buildings: von Hesberg 1992; for Roman funerary rites and cult of the dead: Toynbee 1971: 43). Maybe the heavy lids of the sarcophagi were considered to be safer than the doors of the chamber tombs. In rock-cut tombs of the Roman period, rock-cut cists generally take the place of burial couches, which suggests that in every burial type the sarcophagus form was preferred for the dead.

Within the north Necropolis at Etenna, different types of rock-cut tomb are grouped together in different areas of the rock face. The 41 rock-cut tombs belong to two main groups (fig. 2), of which group I can be divided into two sub-groups. Sub-group Ia, occupying the northernmost part of the necropolis, comprises 24 tombs (T1–T13, T15–T24, T26; fig. 2, see also figs 4–11), of which five are damaged and unclear (fig. 2).

Sub-group Ib, to the southeast of Ia, comprises 12 tombs (T27–T33; fig. 2, see also figs 12–15). Group II comprises five tombs on the upper part of same rock cliff (T36–T40; fig. 2, see also figs 16–18), connected to the group I tombs by a rock-cut pathway. Another five tombs (T14, T25, T34, T35, T41?) are situated at various different locations on the rock face. Although the tombs of sub-group Ia are in the east part of the rock outcrop and those of sub-group Ib in the west part, there is no clear border between the sub-groups. The grouping of the same types of tombs together in the same area may have implications for the social stratification of the community.

The finest tombs belong to sub-group Ia. Although their stonework is of a high quality, their façades are very plain, with no elaboration except the profiles on the doorframe (T1–T3; figs 6–8), and the carved ornaments at the upper corners of the doorways (figs 8, 9). This floral scroll is a symbol of life and refreshment after death (Toynbee 1971: 188–9; and in general Çevik 1999a). The tombs of sub-group Ib and group II are without this carved vegetal ornament. The tombs of sub-group Ib generally have plain door openings (T27–T32; figs 12–15), and have benches by the doors. The five tombs of group II (T36–T40; fig. 2) differ from the others in their façades as well as in their separate situation on the rock. The façade panel above the door of each tomb in this group has a roughly gabled upper edge, rather than a horizontal upper edge. The only Pamphylian parallel for this gabled panel of the group II tombs at Etenna is a single rock-cut tomb at Aspendos (figs 23, 24; Lanckoronski 1890: 95). The fact that T40, the only half-carved tomb in the entire Etenna necropolis, belongs to group II, suggests that this arch-like façade type is later than the tombs of group I. Tombs T36–T39 form two pairs (T36–T37 and T38–T39; figs 2, 16–18), with one tomb below the other. The fifth tomb (T40) stands alone. Being only half-worked, it was presumably the latest of the group. It is approached by a dromos forming an entrance area which is U-shaped in plan. The façades of all three groups are plain in character.

Each level in the Etenna necropolis was reached by a common, narrow rock-cut cemetery path, the most impressive being the partly rock-cut path between groups I and II. The location of the tombs was dependent on the rock's natural forms, but where the extent and nature of the rock face allowed it, several tombs were arranged side by side. Each tomb normally had its own porch area in front of the entrance, the shape depending on the natural resources of the rocks and the number of tombs planned within a given area. But where two or more tombs come together on the same level, they share the same porch area; perhaps these belonged to members of the same family group.



Fig. 2. Elevation of rock-cut necropolis (drawn by N. Çevik)

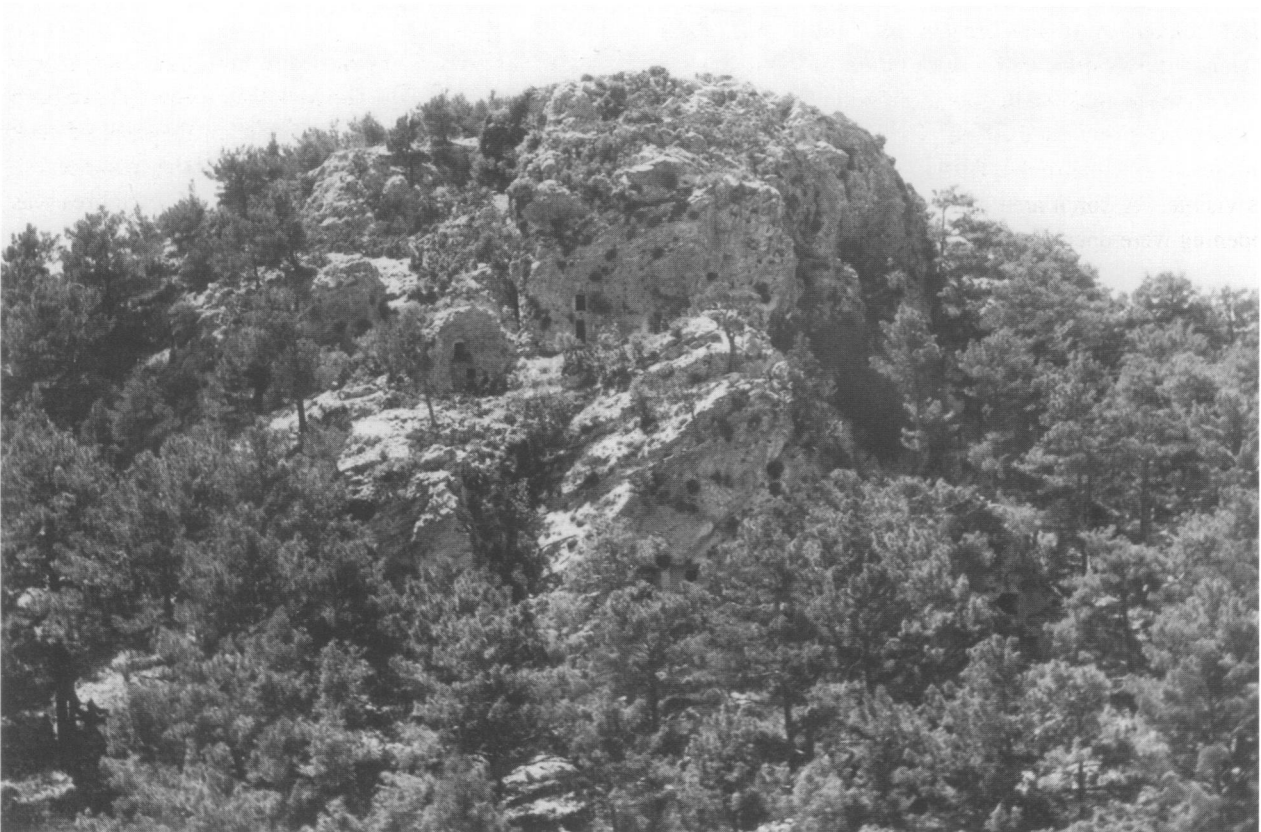


Fig. 3. The rock-cut necropolis at Etenna, viewed from the ancient road to Erymna (photo: Ş. Aktaş)

The procedure for carving the Etenna tombs into the rock is noteworthy. Each tomb or group of tombs was cut in a deeply recessed façade panel or frame. The aim of cutting this deep frame for the front of the tomb entrance was firstly to cut through the poor surface rock and thus obtain a smooth, flat surface for the tomb façade, and secondly to provide the porch area mentioned above. For the single tombs, a squarish recess was carved, and the door to the tomb chamber was opened in the middle of it (T27–T32; figs 13, 14). Where a second tomb was inserted above the first, this design was sometimes modified. The steps to the tomb above changed the architectural balance of the façade, and a wider area was left at the point where the steps end. Similar deeply recessed façade panels appear in Cilician tombs, as at Korykos (fig. 30), twice at Duruhan, 10km south of the Kelenderis (Bean, Mitford 1970: 166), and at Gargara, 7km northwest from Ermenek. Within sub-group Ib each tomb has a separate façade panel and porch area, while a few tombs in sub-group Ia share a common façade panel and porch area.

Tombs T1–T3 show us how the tombs normally relate to each other (figs 4, 5). First, the initial carving of the doorways leaves enough clear space between the tombs to keep each chamber separate from the next. Sometimes, when there is not enough rock for the second tomb, its tomb chamber is turned in a different direction. The stonemasons who created the tombs must have planned their work carefully and little was left to chance in cutting the rock, so that two tombs could be cut close to each other without damage. Tomb T31 is half-carved, but because of the rubble filling, only the top part of this is visible. A porch area and the upper part of the door opening were opened on the rock.



Fig. 4. Tombs 1–10 from group Ia (photo: N. Çevik)

The tombs rise up the rock face like multi-storey apartments (figs 4, 5). The rock face seems to have been organised from the start, because blank areas of rock were left where tombs seem to have been planned but never executed. In one case a rock-cut porch area was cut as if to serve three tombs, but was never used.

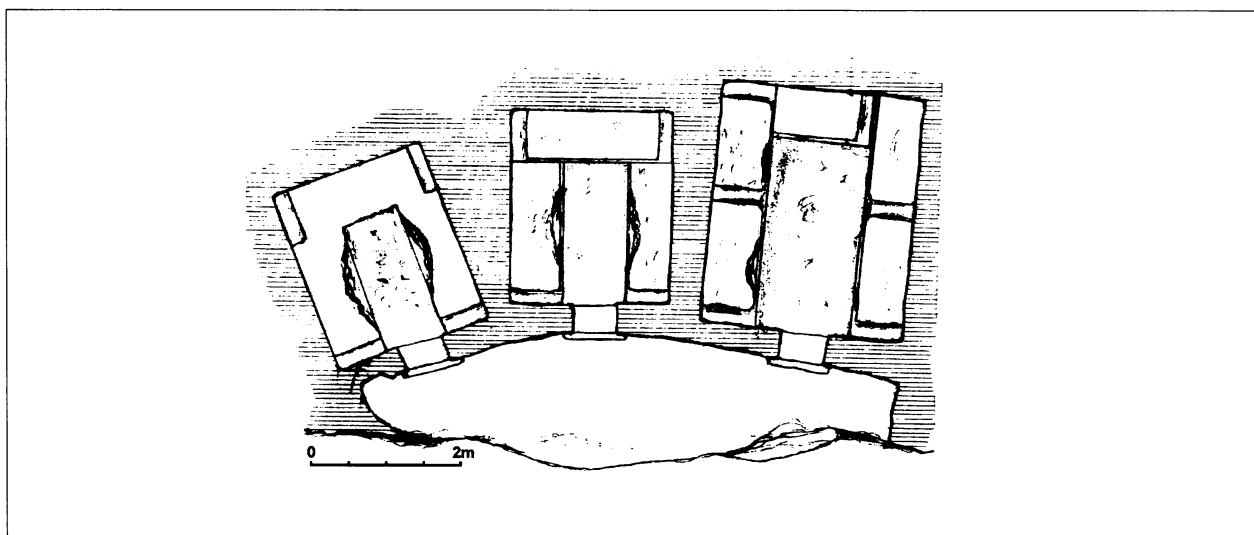


Fig. 5. Plan of tombs 1–3 (drawn by N. Çevik, Ş. Gümüş)



Fig. 6. Tombs 15–17 from group Ia (photo: N. Çevik)

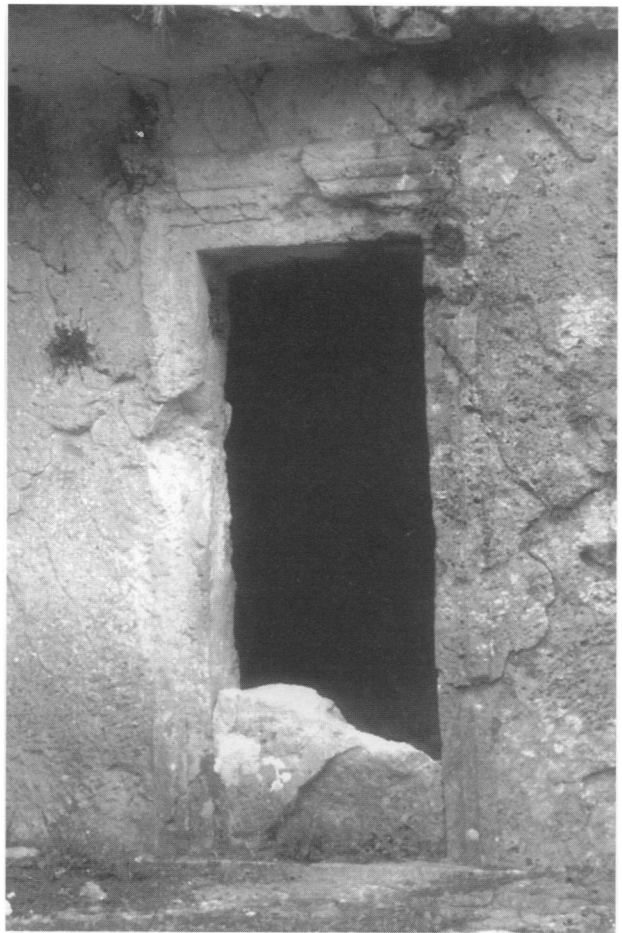


Fig. 7. Tomb 17 with stone slab covering the doorway (photo: N. Çevik)

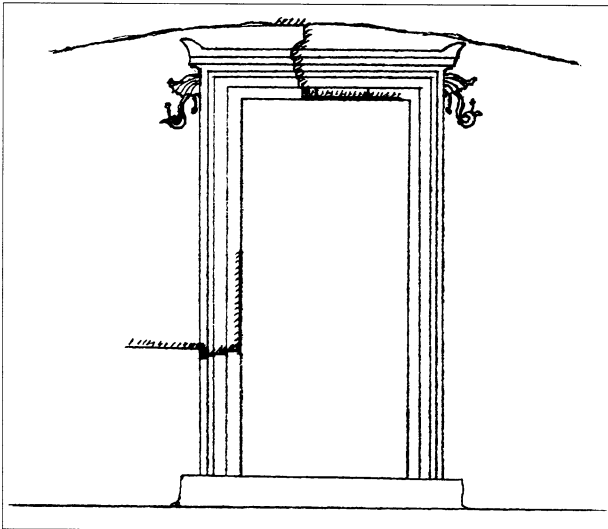


Fig. 8. Tomb 17 with slab stone covering the doorway (drawn by: N. Çevik)



Fig. 9. Floral scroll on door frame of tomb 17 (photo: N. Çevik)

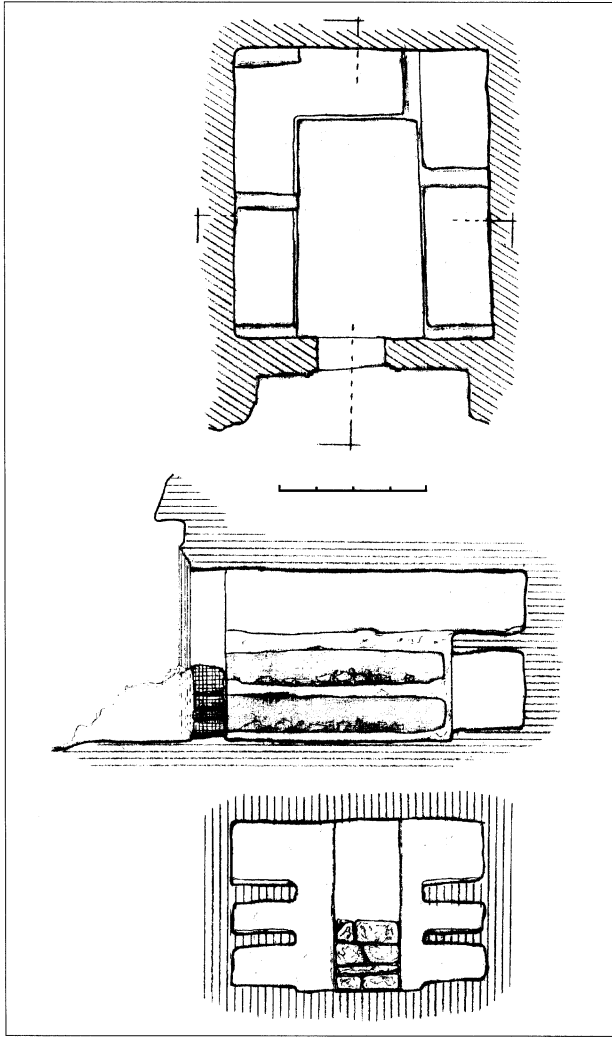


Fig. 10. Plan and sections of tomb 5 (drawn by N. Çevik, Ş. Gümüş)

The necropolis of Tlos provides similar examples where the tomb locations were prepared on the rock face before the tombs were carved (İşkan, Çevik 1999a: 423; 2001: 169). The close link between those tombs which open off a shared porch area shows that the distribution of the two or more tombs was planned before carving began. The existence of common areas and rock-cut cemetery pathways also demonstrate that the necropolis was planned. The people of Etenna lived in a beautiful setting, and, having organised a community life in their city, they provided for their final rest together in their 'city of the dead' nearby.

The tombs also share a door closure system. The original door closure of three tombs is well preserved. The door opening was closed by three or four courses of stone blocks, with the spaces between the stones carefully stuccoed (figs 7, 16, 17). They used a wall, therefore, in place of a conventional door, whereas the Lycian tombs have a stone slab which can be pushed to one side to open it. Although we discovered only three

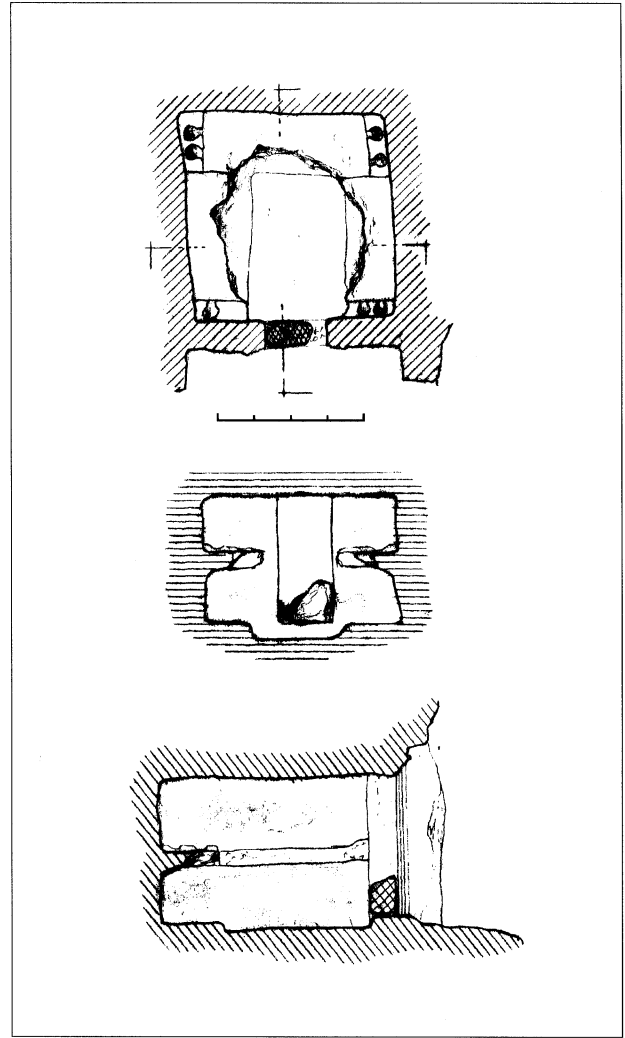


Fig. 11. Plan and sections of tomb 17 (drawn by N. Çevik, İ. Kızılgut)

tombs with *in situ* door blocking, it can be presumed that the doors to all the tombs at Etenna were closed in the same way. The Cilician tombs, which are in other ways similar to the Etenna tombs, also show no traces of a door around the doorframe, which suggests that they used a similar door closure system. However, the stone slab in front of tomb 5 at Kanytelleis (Machatschek 1967: pl. 11, fig. 29; fig. 35) shows that at Kanytelleis the doorway was closed by a single slab; the difference is explained by the smaller door opening there.

The door ways of two tombs in sub-group Ib (T31 and T32) show an interesting detail. The upper corners of the openings are recessed (figs 13–15), probably to hold a separately made lintel block. In one of these tombs (T31) cuttings on each side of the threshold show that there must originally have been separately made doorjambs as well. The original location of the lintel and jambs is visible, so that a reconstruction of the entrance is possible. But the other tomb must have had an added lintel only, because its door opening is too narrow for added jambs.

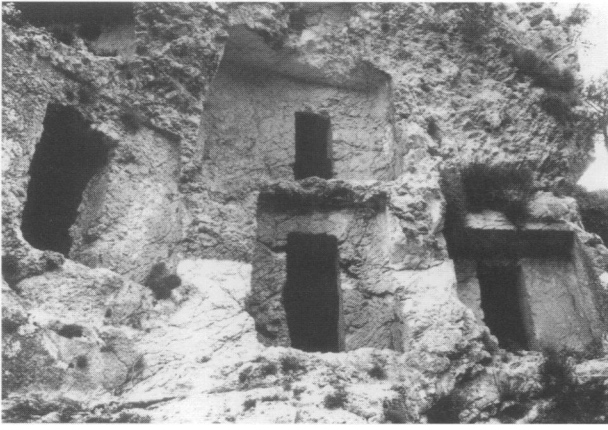


Fig. 12. Tombs 27–30 from group Ib (photo: N. Çevik)



Fig. 13. Tomb 31 (photo: N. Çevik)

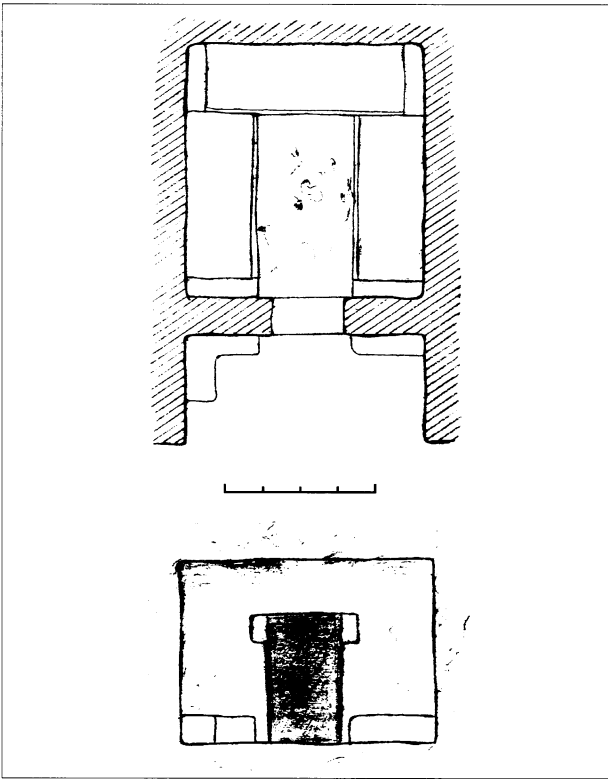


Fig. 14. Plan and elevation of tomb 31 (drawn by: N. Çevik, S. Bulut)

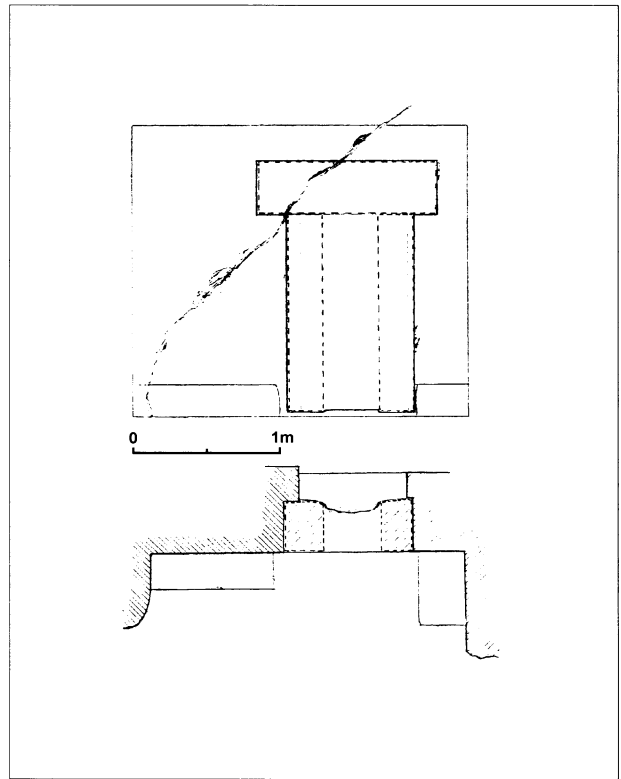


Fig. 15. Restituted elevation and section of tomb 31 (drawn by: N. Çevik)

Rock-cut tomb façades in Cilicia sometimes have a separately made lintel, for example, tomb 4 at Elaiussa Sebaste (fig. 36) and tomb 2 at Korykos (Machatschek 1967: pls 17–18). Such separately made lintels were presumably used where the native rock was not strong enough. Tombs T4 and T12, between the first groups, take this process further, for the whole façade was built up with separate blocks. The original appearance would have matched the rock-cut tombs with profiled doors, but today they look like caves, because their façades are totally destroyed. This technique was applied to many tomb façades in Lycia during the Classical, Hellenistic

and Roman periods, for instance at Xanthos (Demargne 1974: 29, pl. 4f) and Tlos. While the Classical tombs use separate blocks only for projecting parts, the later tombs have blocks inserted into the carved façade, not jutting out (İşkan, Çevik 1999a: 423; 2001: 169). The widespread use of separate blocks led to the creation of high quality tomb façades using this technique. The tombs of sub-group Ia share the same bedrock, but they are all carved into the rock without the use of separate blocks. Their deeply cut porch areas not only supplied an area for the traffic in front of the doorway, but also avoided the weak surface rock (figs 4–6).

As already mentioned, the tombs in sub-group Ib have benches in front of them (T27–T32; figs 12, 14), while those in sub-group Ia, with profiled doorframes, lack this element. These stone benches all have the same height. Where the sides of the porch area are wider, the bench is L-shaped; otherwise it is straight. The closest parallel for these seats is a rock-cut tomb at Trebenna (Çevik 2000c: 42, fig. 4). But here, in addition to the rock-cut benches outside the door, there is a long, narrow ledge-like opening cut into the rock between the tomb and benches. Here there is a row of six sockets, presumably for stelai (figs 28, 29). Other examples of this kind of cutting are known from Lycia, for instance at İslamlar (Çevik 1996: 64, figs 7–8) and Kincılar (Işık 1995b: 118, fig. 18). At Termessos there are related features, for instance, a rock-cut face with niches in front of a temple-tomb (Çevik 2000c: 37), or the funerary stelai on the back wall of an aedicula tomb, with eight small hollows open in front of them (Lanckoronski 1892: 75; Çevik 2000c: 42, fig. 2). All these features may have been intended for funerary stelai or related to the ancestor cult. The benches in Etenna, however, are outside the tomb in the porch area, and lack the additional cuttings. Such benches probably derive from the *exedrae* to be found in civic and sanctuary architecture, and similar benches are found in association with sarcophagi and temple-tombs. These benches are always made to fit a sitting human, whether they are by buildings for the living or the dead. It could be argued, however, that the seats near the tombs were for deceased ancestors, and served some function in relation to local burial rituals or funerary cult (Çevik 1997a).

The burial chambers inside these tombs provide important evidence for their use. They have flat ceilings, skilfully and exactly cut, and most were designed with three burial couches in a U-shape (*triclinia*), with enough space between the couches to allow free movement (figs 5, 10, 11, 14). This architectural organisation of the tomb chamber emphasised the resting places of the dead, while the central space made it easier to put the corpses in their places. The largest chambers are in the high quality tombs of group Ia, and this seems not to be a coincidence. In other respects the internal organisation of the tombs varies, with no one feature found in all tombs of any one group.

The burial couches at Etenna show significant differences from those of other regions. Some tombs have three levels of burial couches (T5; fig. 10), but usually two levels of burial couches were carved into the walls, the lower level being solid, and the upper one a shelf of stone (T17; figs 11, 19). In a few tombs there are shallow stone projections to support an upper level (for example, T24; fig. 20), while in other tombs small holes were

carved into the walls for the insertion of wooden beams. Rarely, long slots are opened on the narrow side of the couch supports to hold additional burial couches (T8; fig. 19). Although stone slabs might have been used for these couches, it would be easier to make a thin slab from wood rather than from stone for this tightly spaced lower couch. Wooden burial couches are known from Lycian tombs (İşkan, Çevik 1999a: 427, fig. 5). It is no surprise to find the wooden construction inside the Lycian tombs as their stone façades imitate wooden construction. It is interesting to find this feature in the tombs at Etenna, since they do not display any imitation of wooden construction on their façades.

Most tombs of group Ia have three couches in a U-shape, but in the largest tombs there are long burial couches along each side, divided into two parts by a headrest in the middle (T5, fig. 10). Generally the front sides of the couches were bordered by a thin projecting raised ledge. In the tombs of group II there is either one couch along each side or three couches forming a U-shape. But none of these tombs has two levels of couches. In tombs T36–T41 in the upper part of the necropolis the internal organisation is as different as their façades. T41 has no couches, T38 has consoles along the rock walls for wooden couches, while in T40, which (as we have seen) has an unusual *dromos* in front, the couches have no headrests. However, this may be a sign that its interior, like its exterior, was unfinished.

Apart from T40, most of the burial couches have headrests (figs 10, 11, 21). On the burial couches at the sides of the chamber, the headrests were placed next the entrance, while the burial couch at the back had the headrests at both ends (figs 11, 14). But the form of the headrests changed according to the quality of the tomb. Some headrests were plain (fig. 14), while others have twin hollows in them to support two heads and necks (figs 11, 21). This is a unique practice, which cannot be paralleled in either Pamphylian or Lycian burial architecture. It shows that the corpses were closely pressed together, and were placed foot to foot to maximise the use of the couches. The lower burial couches have the same arrangement.

In tombs T36 (fig. 17) and T39 there is a small rock-cut shelf located at the end of the side couches next the doorway. In one case (T36) the shelf is designed with two small steps. Such shelves are rare in the rock-cut tombs in Anatolia. The most important early example is in the underground tomb at Urartian Adilcevaz, where a shelf was carved into the wall to contain urns and burial gifts (Ögün 1973: 61; Çevik 2000a: 9, 76, pl. 84). The only Classical example of which I am aware is in the Bellerophon tomb at Tlos (fig. 34).



Fig. 16. Tombs 36 and 37 (photo: N. Çevik)

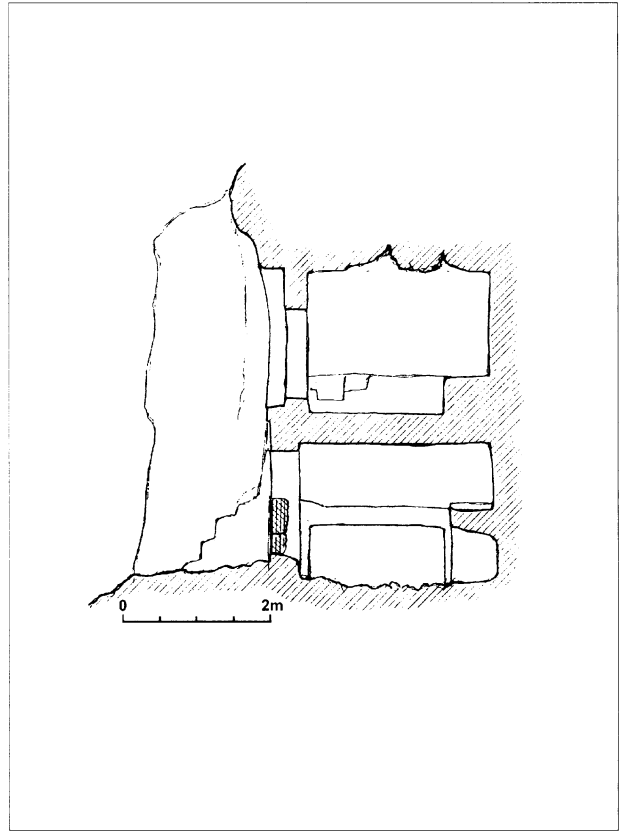


Fig. 17. Section of tombs 36 and 37 (drawn by N. Çevik, İ. Kızılgut)

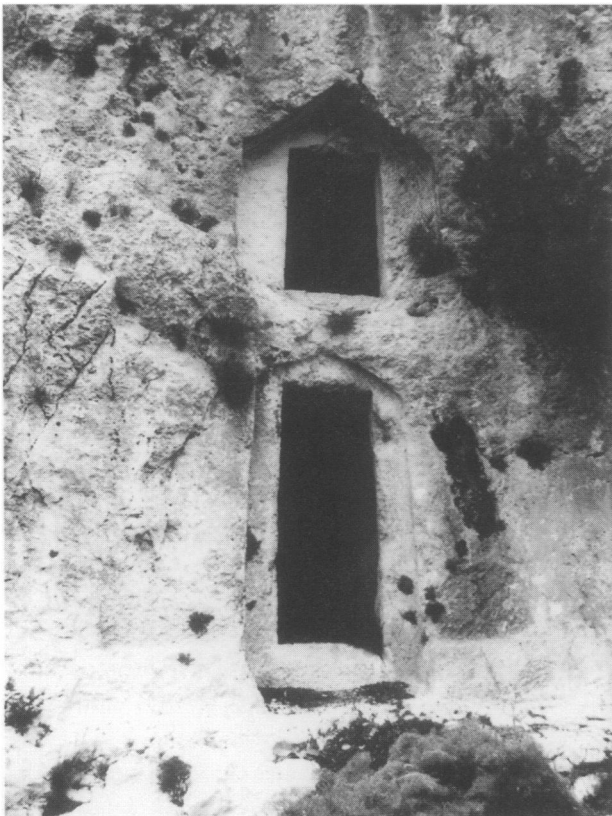


Fig. 18. Tombs 38 and 39 (photo: N. Çevik)



Fig. 19. Lower burial bench of tomb 8 showing long incisions on the side of the foot of the bench (photo: N. Çevik)

The size, form and location of these rock-cut shelves (above the couch) are very similar to those of Etenna. These shelves may have been used for burial gifts; Bean (1998: 70) calls a similar niche in the Bellerophon temple-tomb at Tlos 'a cult niche' (see also İşkan, Çevik 1999a: 428, fig. 17). But tombs at Patara provide better evidence. In the underground chamber of tomb 43, burial gifts such as terracotta statuettes and unguentaria were found *in situ*, arranged in a row around the skulls (İşkan, Çevik 1999b: 162, figs 14, 16). In the late Hellenistic underground chamber tomb 42, on the other hand, seven skulls were arranged in a row in the niche cut into the southern wall of the tomb (İşkan, Çevik 1999b: 162–5, figs 9, 11). A similar arrangement can be seen in the Cilicia-Hisarkale tomb which has five niches in its walls (Söğüt 2003: 251, fig. 16). These niches were used for burial gifts.

The lower level at the back of the tomb chamber differs from the couches above and at the sides, in that it is shorter and narrower, and has no headrests. This is because there is insufficient space for a normal couch or (obviously) for a normal corpse. The inner surfaces of this smaller recess were left rough. Perhaps they were used as repositories for the remains and grave goods of earlier burials. In family tombs used over a long period, the burial chambers would naturally fill up, and these smaller recesses might be used to make space for a newly deceased person; the bones from older corpses were never thrown out of the tombs. Therefore, the number of places for the dead in a tomb does not reflect the actual number of burials for which it was used. Similar features exist in rock-cut tombs of different regions with different forms, depending on cultural traditions and social status. For instance, in the Urartian rock-cut tombs there are shafts and small rooms for earlier burials, or the corpses and their goods were swept to one side, as at Adilcevaz (ninth to seventh centuries BC; Ögün 1973; Çevik 2000a). Bone repositories were found under the burial chambers in St Etienne, Jerusalem (seventh century BC; Barkay, Kloner 1986: fig. on 47). In the underground chamber tombs at Patara (late Hellenistic to early Roman), the bones and the goods were usually just swept to the back of the chamber (İşkan, Çevik 1995: 187, figs 1–18; 1996: 191, figs 1–8; 1999b: 162, figs 9–19). But in tomb 42, as already mentioned, the skulls of numerous dead bodies were placed neatly on a rock-cut shelf in the tomb wall, while the other bones were gathered at the back of the chamber (İşkan, Çevik 1999b: 162–6, figs 9–11).

Apart from the tombs at Etenna, a niche was carved on a single rocky outcrop of the necropolis near T34 (fig. 23). The location of this niche just inside the necropolis area suggests that its function must relate to a communal cult of the dead, for there are no civil or religious features



Fig. 20. Projection along the wall of tomb 24 used to support wooden burial benches (photo: N Çevik)



Fig. 21. Headrest with two horseshoe shaped indentations in tomb 17 (photo: N Çevik)

on this side of the acropolis. There are various parallels for this (Işık 1995b; Çevik 1997a: 419; 2000a: 50; 2000c: 37) including a trio of niches in a similar location between the tombs at Antalya-Karaçalı (Çevik 2000c: 45). The chambers of the tombs at Etenna are too narrow to allow for the cult practices, so they need a place outside in the necropolis area for the rituals associated with the funerary and memorial ceremonies (Toynbee 1971: 62).

#### The Delikli Ören necropolis near Etenna

About 8km south of the village of Sirt at Delikli Ören near the Kabağağ district, there is another necropolis which contains rock-cut tombs (Nollè 1984: fig. 3; Çevik 1999b). This necropolis would have belonged to Etenna, to which it was directly linked by the road which connected Etenna to Seleukeia (modern Salur) and the ancient market centre of Manavgat (Nollè 1984: 154). The Delikli Ören necropolis was first mentioned by Hirschfeld (1875), and Nollè (1984: 145) carried out more detailed epigraphic researches there.

There are four rock-cut tombs cut into the rocky slope facing the settlement (fig. 22). The door openings are cut into vertical rock panels at the end of rock-cut porch



Fig. 22. Rock-cut tombs at Delikli Ören (photo: N. Çevik)



Fig. 23. Rock-cut tomb at Aspendos (photo: Ş. Aktaş)

areas, much deeper than those at Etenna. These dromos-like porch areas result from the form of the natural rock, from which they were created by cutting the sloping natural rock face to produce a vertical façade panel for the doorway. The carving of some other types of burials, such as sarcophagi, show that such ‘dromoi’ are a natural solution to this requirement. Below the doorways of the finest tomb at Delikli Ören are steps as wide as its façade. The façades of the tombs are plain, like those at Etenna. Their doorways differ from each other in small details. While the first tomb from the right has a flat-topped square façade, the second one, whose upper part is broken, has a small niche, and the third tomb has a triangular recess above the door opening. Only the first one has a profiled door frame. In the tomb chambers, there are grooves for wooden couches as noted above in the tombs at Etenna. The deeply cut porch area, the façade design and type of carving of the first tomb are similar to those of the St Charalambos tomb on the slope of mount Sipylos (Fedak 1989: 52).

### Rock-cut tombs in southern Anatolia

The rock-cut tombs at Etenna are important for our understanding of the tradition of rock-cut tombs within the region, and their relation to other tombs along the Mediterranean coast. Here, I intend to present the main problems and some of the main data and their implications. There are no rock-cut tombs at important Pamphylian cities such as Side, Perge, Selge and Sillyon, although the theatres at Selge and Sillyon are carved into the rock. There is a single rock-cut tomb at Aspendos (Lanckoronski 1890: 95, fig. 73; figs 23–4), but its plan is not completely known because of the rubble in the chamber. According to Bean (1968: 77, fig. 27) its chamber formerly contained a sarcophagus.

The only necropolis in the Pamphylian plain with a significant number of rock-cut tombs is at Karaçalı on the eastern edge of the city of Antalya (figs 25–6), where

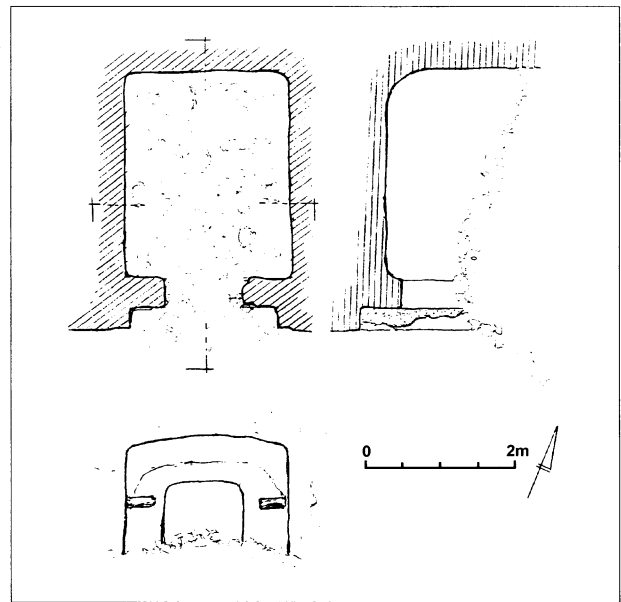


Fig. 24. Plan and sections of rock-cut tomb at Aspendos (drawn by N. Çevik, Ş. Aktaş, S. Bulut)

there are six rock-cut tombs in a necropolis which also contained chamosoria and underground chamber tombs. The different types of tomb were placed in different areas of the necropolis: the rock-cut tombs to the west and the underground chamber tombs to the east. These tombs were excavated by Tibet, and are being studied by Çokay. The Karaçalı necropolis and its vicinity were used in Roman times as a quarry for Perge, and since many blocks were cut next to the tombs, where blocks were more easily obtainable, this Roman quarry gives us a *terminus post quem* for the rock-cut tombs. The only external feature of the Karaçalı tombs is a door opening, cut in the flat rock surface. Inside, trenches like chamosoria are cut in the rock, in place of burial couches. Similar trenches, or chamosoria, are carved in the rock above the tombs. The only difference between them is that the latter, instead of being inside a room, are in the open air.

Obviously, the widespread rock-cut tombs in the surrounding areas were replaced in Pamphylia by a different type, presumably underground chamber tombs, since numerous underground chamber tombs are known, as at Lyrboton Kome (also known as Elaibaris, now Varsak near Antalya; Çevik 2000b), Doğugarajı (on the eastern side of the city centre of Antalya), Düden (the waterfall area near Antalya) and Karaçalı. At Doğugarajı archaeologists from Antalya Museum excavated more than 30 underground chamber tombs in 1998–1999 (lectures at Antalya Museum by Büyükyörük and Yener), and the important material from these tombs has recently been published (Büyükyörük, Tibet: 2000). These excavations provide important evidence for the early beginnings of this type of tomb.

When we turn from the Pamphylian plain to the mountains, rock-cut tombs begin. The Lycian tradition of rock-cut tombs is perhaps the best known one. The easternmost rock-cut tomb of Lycian type is at Topalgavur (Işın 1994: 8; Borchhardt 2000: 7). This tomb, which is near Olympos, 84km from Antalya, is dated to 340–320 BC by Işın and 350–330 BC by Borchhardt. But the easternmost city with a necropolis of rock-cut tombs of Lycian type is Rhodiapolis (Borchhardt 2000: 8; Çevik 2002: 119–23). To the north of Rhodiapolis, Akalissos also has a necropolis of rock-cut tombs (Çevik 2002: 125), but their plain architectural character is different from the wood-imitating façades of Lycian type. East of the Alakır valley there are some rock-cut tombs near Kumluca (ancient Korydalla) on the coast, but these are all single tombs, not a group (one at Gödene, one at Baldıran and one at Eretepe/Asarpinar). These last isolated tombs mark a clear cultural border between Lycia and Pamphylia, for there are no rock-cut tombs between the Kumluca region and the eastern end of Pamphylia. For the tombs of strictly Lycian type the cultural border of Pamphylia lies between Rhodiapolis and Olympos. The important cities of eastern Lycia, such as Olympos and Phaselis, have no rock-cut tombs. To the north, a few tombs of Lycian type are found in the vicinity of Elmalı, as for instance at Armutlu, İslamlar and Kızılcı (Çevik 1996; Borchhardt 2000; Çevik, 2002: 136–43), although this area of northern Lycia also had cultural and historical relations with Phrygians and Greeks (Mellink 1976).

Pisidian Termessos, the most important city in the mountainous region northeast of Elmalı, has only five rock-cut tombs (Lanckoronski 1892: 70; Pekrido 1986: 112; Çelgin 1990), a strikingly small number in comparison to the numbers of other tomb types. Each of the five tombs at Termessos has a different façade (Çelgin 1990), and all are very different from the classic Lycian tombs.



Fig. 25. Rock-cut tomb at Antalya-Karaçalı (Photo: Ş. Aktaş)

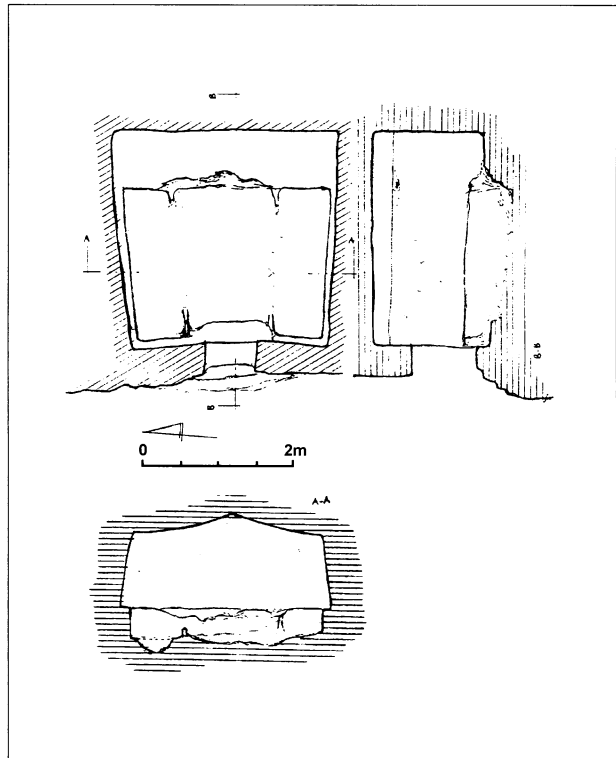


Fig. 26. Plan and sections of rock-cut tomb at Antalya-Karaçalı (drawn by N. Çevik, S. Bulut)

However, other tomb types at Termessos were carved into the rock. For instance, the arcosolium tombs characteristic of the Roman period have rock-cut sarcophagi under an arch, rather than burial couches in a chamber. Neapolis and Kelbessos, two important settlements in the territory of Termessos, have no rock-cut tombs in their rich necropolis (Çevik et al. 1999). Generally, sarcophagi were preferred.

On the other hand, Trebenna in the northeastern corner of Lycia, and nearby Typallia (Asardağı/Çitdibi) both have rock-cut tombs (fig. 27). In the necropolis at Trebenna there are ten certain examples, many of them with built façades. One important tomb, situated at the rocky entrance to the acropolis, has already been mentioned for its cult elements, and it is also important as the only inscribed rock-cut tomb (figs 28–9), dated by its epigraphic style to the first to second centuries AD (Paribeni, Romanelli 1914: 213). A shield of Pisidian type is carved above the tomb of Trokondas (Çevik 2000b). In some tombs the couches were completed in wood, while others have no elements imitating wooden construction. However, another tomb has two square ostothekai and a chomosorion carved in the floor. This is the only tomb in the region to have rock-cut ostothekai inside. Three rock-cut tombs at Typallia have plain façades quite different in character from the façades of the Lycian type imitating wooden construction, and there are some other elements which are not identified in Lycia. First, a place for gifts to the dead is carved between the funerary couches; and second, the rock-cut interior of the chamber is carved to represent a gabled ceiling with a timber ridge beam (figs 31–2). In Lycia, the imitations of wooden construction are all on the façades; the interiors of the

tombs are always bare. Two newly identified rock-cut tombs at Geyikbayırı, 2km north of Trebenna, are totally similar in the form, stone work and measurements to the tombs at Typallia.



Fig. 27. One of the rock-cut tombs at Trebenna (Photo: N. Çevik)

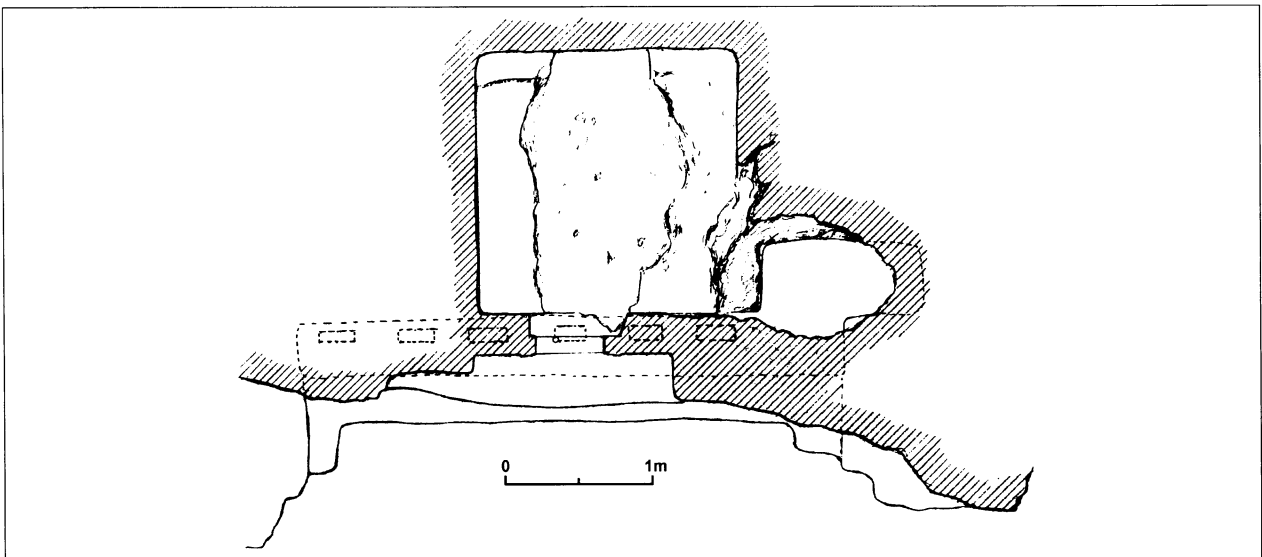
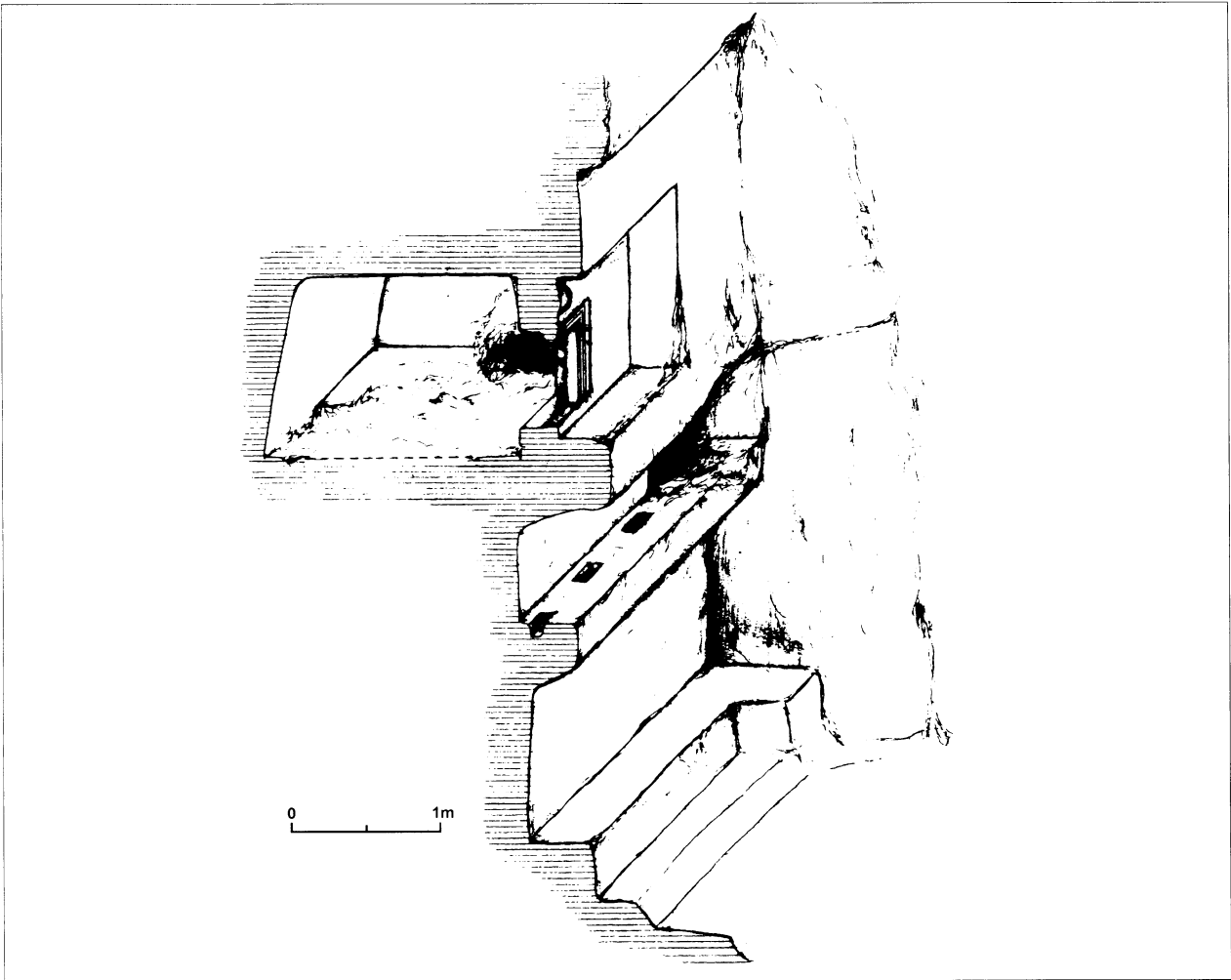


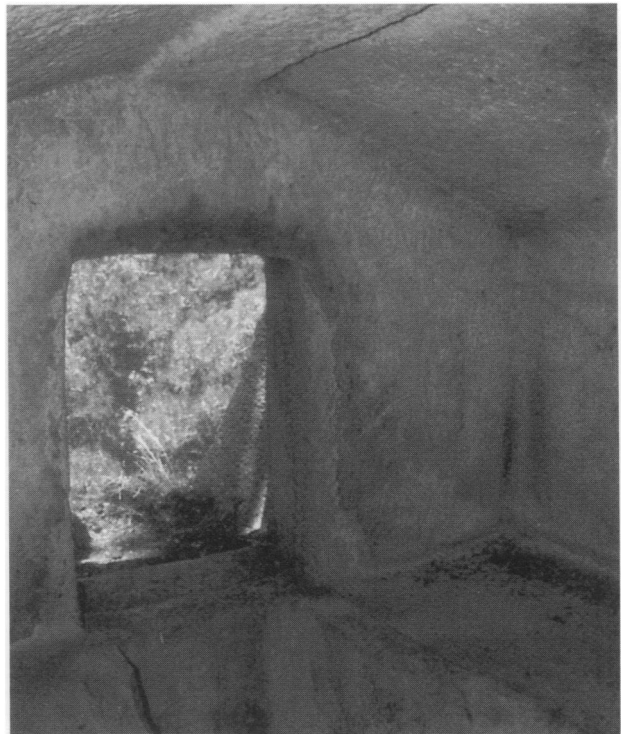
Fig. 28. Plan of the tomb of Trokondas at Trebenna (drawn by N. Çevik)



*Fig. 29. Isometric perspective of the tomb of Trokondas at Trebenna (drawn by N. Çevik)*



*Fig. 30. Rock-cut tomb at Cilicia-Korykos (Photo: N. Çevik)*



*Fig. 31. Interior of the rock-cut tomb at Lycia-Typallia (Photo: N. Çevik)*

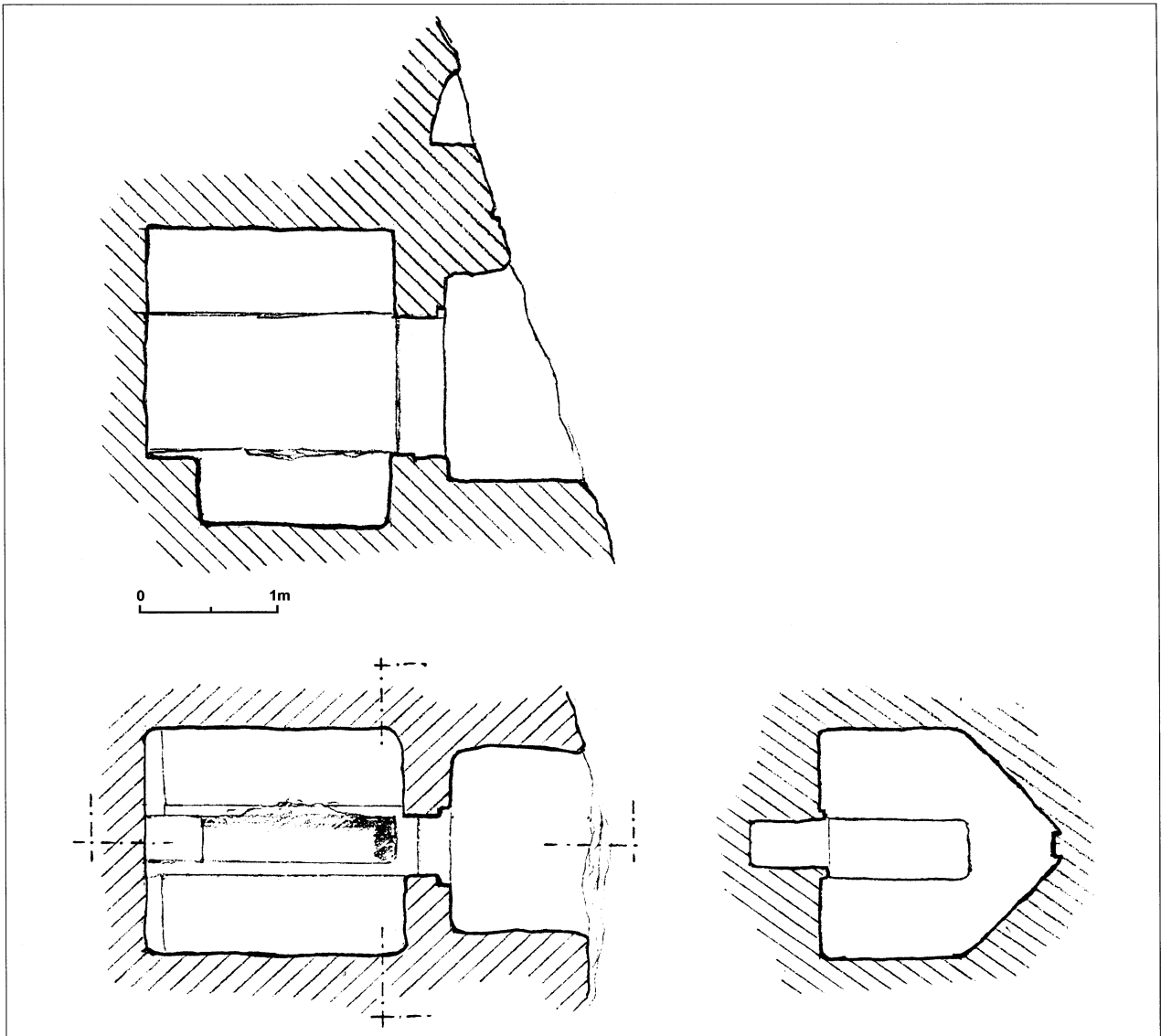


Fig. 32. Plan and sections of the rock-cut tomb at Typallia (drawn by N. Çevik, İ. Kızıgut)

Although there are some difficulties in dating them, all these tombs appear to belong to the late Hellenistic or Roman periods. This raises a number of important questions. Why are there no earlier rock-cut tombs in the Termessos-Trebenna region? If there were Lycian tombs in the Classical period, why were there no rock-cut tombs in Pamphylia in this period? Why did the dominant Lycian Classical culture not influence Pamphylia? And what were the tombs of the middle and high classes of the societies of Classical Pamphylia? It is not easy to answer these questions. The earliest monumental tomb types in Lycia were built tombs (Kolb discovered Classical monumental tombs at Zagaba – Avşar Tepesi), tumuli (Zahle 1980) and pillar tombs (Deltour-Levy 1982), but there is no evidence for these types along the Mediterranean coast east of Lycia. The answers must await further research.

It is important that the extensive necropolis of Etenna shows us the local rock-cut tomb tradition on the eastern border of a region which has only a few Hellenistic and Roman rock-cut tombs. Although the date of the Etenna tombs is uncertain, they do not appear to date to the same period as the Lycian tombs, and they certainly do not resemble the Lycian tombs in form. There is no trace of imitation wooden construction on the façades of the Etenna rock-cut tombs, in contrast to that typical of Lycia (see Kjeldsen, Zahle 1975). Although there are also some Lycian tombs with plain façades, as at Xanthos (Demargne 1974), Pınara (Bendorf, Niemann 1884) and Limyra (Mühlbauer, Schulz 1997), most of these do not have the front porch area which we find in Etenna. There is just a door opening in the rock. The only necropolis in Lycia containing numerous rock-cut tombs with plain façades

and porch areas is near Köybaşı/Ekizce (Tuminehi) (Borchhardt et al. 2003: fig. 33), but these differ from the tombs at Etenna in that the porch areas are deeper and more enclosed.

The tombs at Etenna relate more closely to Pisidian and Cilician tombs than to Lycian ones. For instance, the Pisidian rock-cut tombs discovered by Özşait at Tynada (Aksu-Terziler) and Burdur-Alan (Özşait 1997: 125, fig. 4; 2001: 181, figs 4–5) are very similar to the tombs at Etenna. They are dated by Özşait to the Roman period (Özşait 2001: 181), and this date should apply also to most of the tombs at Etenna. Cilician rock-cut tombs at Diocaesarea, dated to the first to second centuries AD by Durukan (2003: 227, fig. 6), are the most similar examples to tombs 1, 2 and 3 at Etenna. In addition, there are also possible influences from further east (for eastward relations in the Roman period see Durugönül 1989: 137).

Features at Etenna which are absent from the Lycian tombs, such as the private porch areas, the plain façades, the horseshoe-shaped headrests and the ledges for wooden upper couches, can be observed in the Silwan necropolis at Jerusalem (Ussishkin 1993: fig. 3). The recesses cut at the upper corners of the doorway of Etenna T31 and T32 for the insertion in the lintel block can be compared with the ‘Tomb of Pharaoh’s daughter’ at Silwan near Jerusalem (Ussishkin 1993: 41). We find many similar examples in Cilicia, but none in Lycia.

Wooden construction was not reflected in the rock-cut tomb architecture of Etenna, although stone and wooden architecture was widespread there (Gül, Yıldız 1998: 56). Simplicity was reflected in every detail. Apart from the floral scrolls at the corners of the doors of some group Ib tombs, there is no significant ornament, and no visible inscriptions on the façades (although there may have been painted inscriptions). All the façade details find their equivalents in the monumental stone architecture of the region. For example, the door forms, profiles and acroteria of group Ib tombs match those of buildings on the acropolis of Sillyon (Lanckoronski 1890: 78, fig. 60), and rock-cut tombs at Termessos have similar ornaments. This kind of ornament can be paralleled in the Hellenistic period (Rumscheid 1994: 274, Type H2).

In every region and throughout time the structural characteristics of the local architecture were reflected in the rock-cut tombs. Generally, there is no special architectural form for rock-cut monumental tombs. The forms from daily life were simply copied onto the rock face and adapted to the status of the dead. The local techniques and materials, and the architectural fashion of each period have important parts to play in causing the differences between rock-cut tombs. On the other hand, the basic factors controlling the internal design of the tombs are the

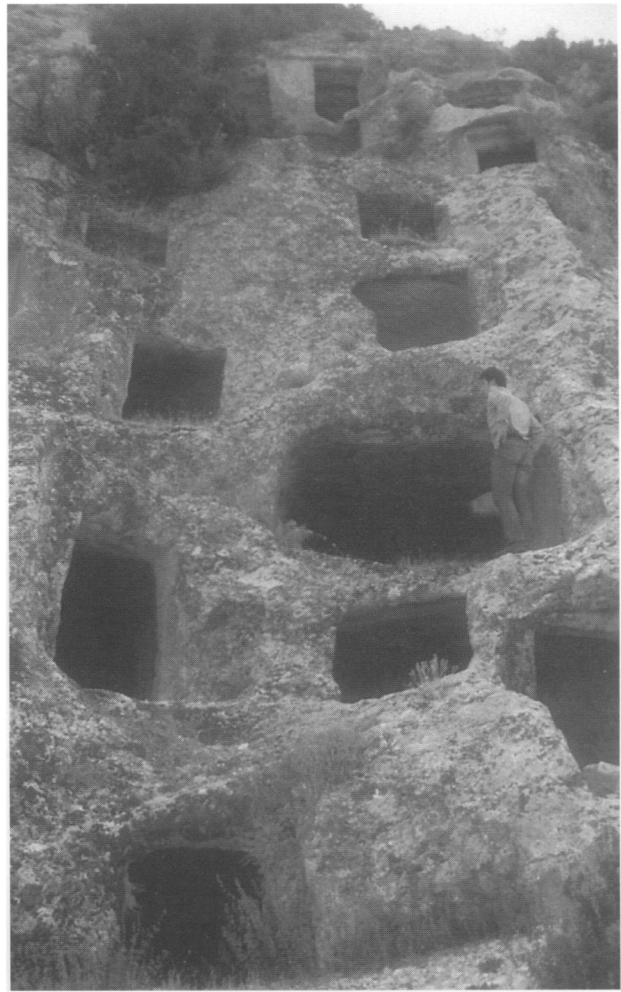


Fig. 33. Necropolis at Lycia-Tuminehi Köybaşı/Ekizce (Photo: N. Çevik)



Fig. 34. Rock-cut shelf for burial gifts in the Bellerophon tomb at Tlos (Photo: N. Çevik)

measurements of the deceased and the number of occupants expected in each tomb. Therefore, there are not significant variations in the tomb chamber itself. This is the reason why the differences between the rock-cut tombs of different regions are primarily observable on their façades, while the similarities are mostly internal.

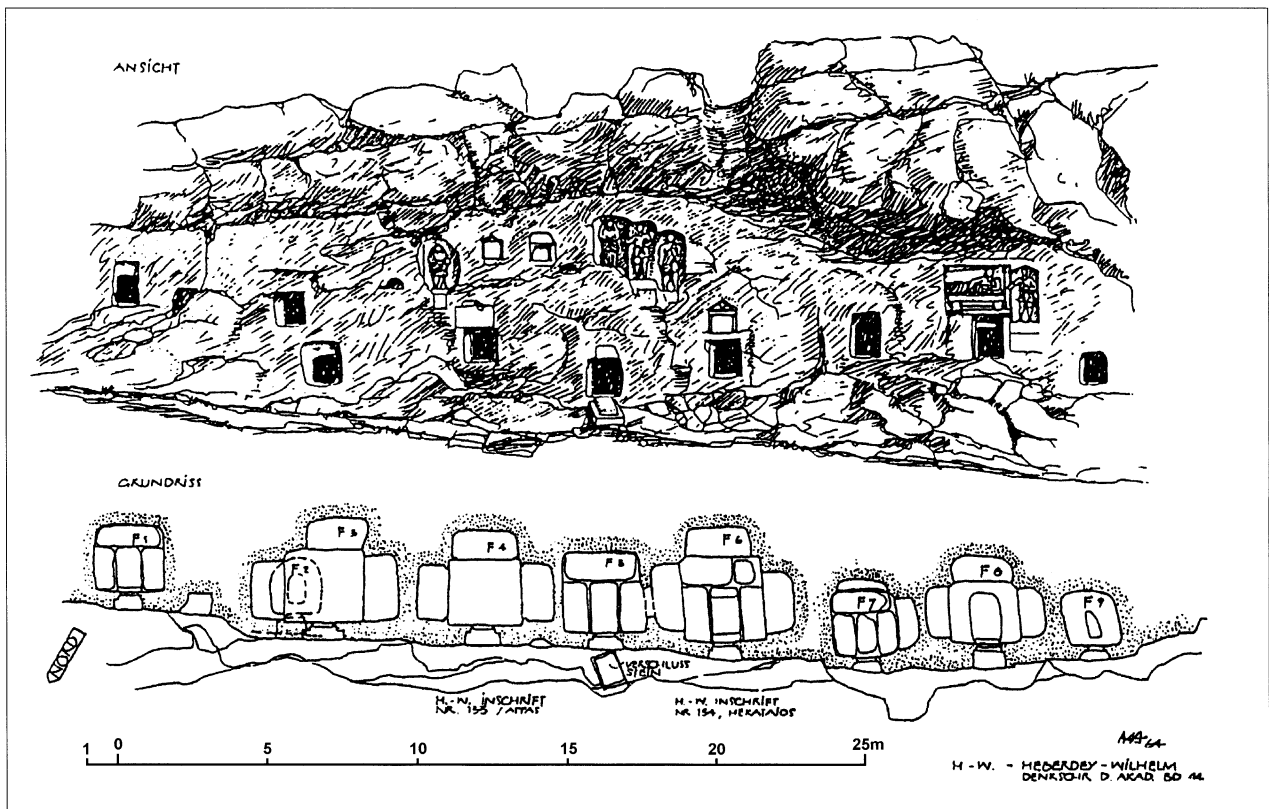


Fig. 35. Necropolis 8 at Kanytelleis (after Machatschek 1967: Taf. 11)

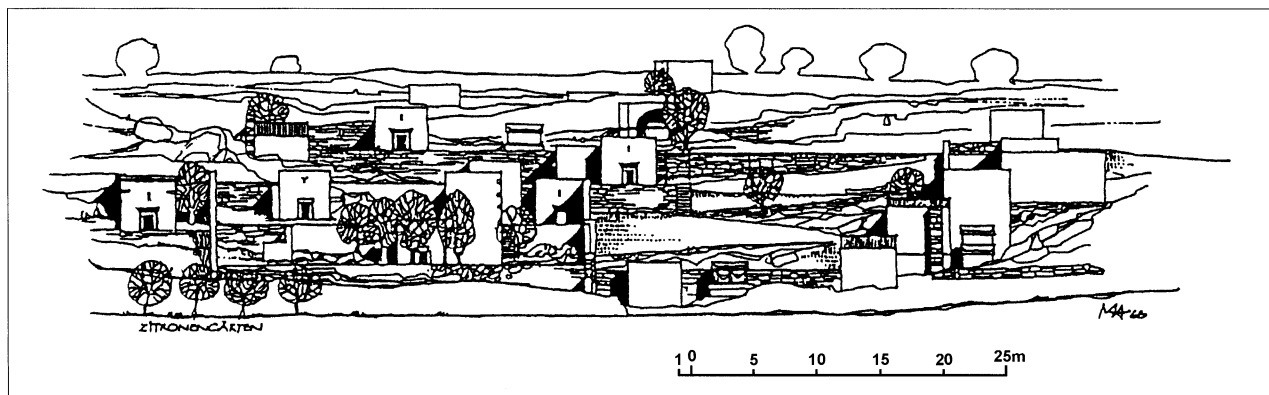


Fig. 36. Necropolis 4 at Elaiussa Sebaste (after Machatschek 1967: Taf. 5)

The rock-cut tombs at Etenna give us a special picture for the region of this very early and widespread tradition. They allow us to compare the Lycian, Cilician and Pisidian rock-cut tomb architecture and understand the connections and discontinuities between them. They also illustrate how features of such tombs are based on natural and technical factors, on local architectural traditions, or on the rock-cut architecture of neighbouring cultures. But basic similarities, such as the cutting of a tomb chamber in the rock, could occur without any influence from other cultural regions, for instance because of similar burial

needs, similar natural materials or similar architectural knowledge. The influences between the rock-cut tombs of different regions and periods must be seen in the particular details, and their relation to local burial customs (for eastern Anatolia see Çevik 2000a). These subjects, including relationships and divisions between various traditions of rock-cut architecture in Anatolia and in related areas and regions, are explored in Çevik 2003a, while Çevik 2003 (in press) discusses independent local cultural developments and interactions between the cultures in the context of cultural origins.

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