

LANDSCAPES OF PEDNELISSOS:  
MAKING OF AN URBAN SETTLEMENT IMAGE IN ANCIENT PISIDIA

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### LANDSCAPES OF PEDNELISSOS: MAKING OF AN URBAN SETTLEMENT IMAGE IN ANCIENT PISIDIA

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This study investigates the interaction between people and between people and their environments embodied in the landscapes of Pednelissos, one of the smaller cities of antiquity in highland Pisidia, a region which is characterized by the variety of its morphological features and their dominance in the socio-economic life. *Landscape*, in this respect, is conceptualized as a cultural image, a way of representing, structuring and symbolizing surroundings born out of people's living and acting in space and through time. How people viewed, interpreted and understood their environments and how they shaped and transformed it to communicate a message, a discourse and an image of themselves are questioned. Urban and architectural space, the social production of space and tools of nonverbal communication between the residents and their physical environment are investigated in terms of setting the context for presenting a *landscape reading* and hence for discussing the urban identity of Pednelissos in a broader physical perspective. The perception, production

and use of *spaces* and *places* are discussed in relation to the *encounters* between the residents and the physical aspects of the city as well as the topographical features and natural resources. The potentials of utilising a *landscape reading* approach in the scope of settlement archaeology are illustrated by the case of Pednelissos. Accordingly, landscape reading helps to construct a framework for analyzing and reconstructing ancient physical environments and the social dimension involved in the articulation of this context. Landscape reading illustrates potentials of non-destructive archaeology and is informative about how urban spaces and the urban image were socially produced, experienced and consumed.

Keywords: Pednelissos, Pisidia, Landscape, Urban Imagery, Urban Experience

## ÖZ

PEDNELİSSOS PEYZAJLARI:  
ANTİK PİSİDYA'DA BİR KENTSEL YERLEŞİM İMGESİNİN YARATILMASI

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Bu çalışma morfolojik özelliklerinin çeşitliliği ve bunların sosyo-ekonomik hayattaki baskınlığı ile öne çıkan dağlık Pisidya bölgesinin antik dönemdeki görece küçük kentlerinden olan Pednelissos'un peyzajlarında cisimleşmiş olan, insanlar arasındaki ve insanlarla çevreleri arasındaki etkileşimi incelemektedir. Bu anlamda *peyzaj*, insanların yaşayışları ile mekan ve zaman içerisindeki eylemlerinden doğan bir kültürel imge, çevreyi temsil etme, yapılandırma ve simgelemenin bir yolu olarak kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. İnsanların çevrelerini nasıl görmüş, yorumlamış ve anlamış oldukları ile çevrelerini bir mesaj, bir söylem ve kendilerine dair bir imge iletmek üzere nasıl şekillendirip dönüştürmüş oldukları sorgulanmaktadır. Bir *peyzaj okuması* sunmak üzere bağlamı kurgulamak ve bu şekilde Pednelissos'un kent kimliğini daha geniş bir fiziksel perspektif içerisinde tartışmak amacıyla kentsel ve mimari mekan, mekanın sosyal olarak üretimi ve kent sakinleri ile fiziksel çevreleri arasındaki sözsüz iletişimin araçları incelenmektedir. *Mekanların ve yerlerin algılanması,*

retilmesi ve kullanımı, kent sakinleri ile kentin fiziksel geleri, topografik elemanlar ve doęal kaynaklar arasındaki *karşılaşmalara* referansla tartışılmaktadır. *Peyzaj okuması* yaklaşımının yerleşim arkeolojisi kapsamında kullanımının potansiyelleri Pednelissos modeli ile rneklenmektedir. Buna gre peyzaj okuması antik çağın fiziki evrelerinin ve bunların işlenişindeki sosyal boyutun zmlenmesi ve yeniden kurulması amacıyla bir ereve izilmesine yardımcı olmaktadır. Peyzaj okuması tahribatsız arkeolojinin potansiyelini rneklemekte ve kentsel mekanlar ve kent imgesinin nasıl sosyal olarak retilmiş, deneyimlenmiş ve tketilmiş olduęu konusunda bilgi vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pednelissos, Pisidya, Peyzaj, Kent İmgesi, Kent Deneyimi

to free-spirited heroes of the June 2013 resistance

*(Haziran 2013 direnişinin şarabi eşkıyalarına)*



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis took seven years and bottles of gin to finish. The world kept on changing at a blazing pace and mostly for the worse during those years. Money, as the only authority above all governments, religions and truths, led to the vicious exploitation of nature and human beings at all scales. While wars were broadcasted live on televisions, casualties were reduced to numbers. Bloodshed, oil spills, melting glaciers and global warming became usual occurrences. People, becoming *resources* for the running of the big machine called *order*, got more and more alienated to their nature. Free enterprise surpassed free speech while the most ruthless crimes were committed for so-called democracy and freedom. It was also during the course of this study that the world was shaken, both by the economic crisis and by the uprisings of the oppressed majority, including the Occupy Movement and the Arab Spring. The lands on which this study was carried out also took its share from the global developments. Worship to power and wealth descended upon the country like a nightmare. Even the remotest parts of Pisidia were invaded by money-hungry wolves in the guise of developers, tourist agents, treasure hunters, mine explorers and alike. Silent masses finally stood up to resist against these exploiters, political dictators and oppressors, at a time when everything seemed hopeless. It was a privilege to witness this major uprising, the biggest for decades, and breathe the air of solidarity.

While this humble thesis was written in this turbulent context, it does not and cannot offer a solution to the problems of the world and is far from making the world a better place to live. However the author takes some pride in staying away from the neoliberal world; this thesis has not been associated with any economic activity, has not generated any income, and has not exploited any labour other than that of the author himself and perhaps a couple of helpful colleagues. Neither it has

aimed making known and opening up a virgin mountainous area to the modern day plague, which is called *tourism*. Nothing has been removed, altered or restored during the works carried out on site for this thesis and everything has been left intact and in harmony with the natural processes as far as possible. This thesis, in sum, is a tribute to the dramatic landscapes of Pisidia and its inhabitants.

Many people contributed directly or indirectly to this naive endeavour of mine, without whom this thesis could never have existed. Among these people I am most grateful to my supervisor, Lale Özgenel, who not only contributed to each word in this manuscript but also took on the painful task of encouraging me at times when I almost gave up. Miraculously, she never gave up supporting me even when I disappeared for months without a word.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Pednelissos was one of the medium-sized settlements of antiquity in highland Pisidia, located on the southern fringes of the Taurus. This area is generally characterized by the variety of its natural physical elements including high mountains and deep valleys as well as flat plains; rivers and lakes as well as highland areas with bushy cover and few water sources; and rich and fertile plains as well as bare and denuded areas (Mitchell 1993, 1:70–71). This natural environment heavily influenced the inhabitants, the structure of their social organization, their economic activities and the built environment. To cope with this natural setting, people developed ways of adaptation, which involved cognitive, perceptual and conceptual frameworks in addition to physical means of subsistence. People, conceiving the world within these cognitive frameworks and acting within the framework of opportunities and restrictions presented by the natural setting shaped, transformed and re-shaped the physical setting. The physical setting, therefore, is indicative of the way people viewed, understood and acted in the world.

The Pisidian landscape was the scene of intense human presence and comprises many traces of human activity, such as agricultural terraces, buildings of various sorts, roads and water supply systems, many of which are well-preserved to establish a meaningful context and permit a reconstruction of ancient ways of living and organization. The archaeological record indicates that Pisidia had been organized by the Hellenistic period as a conglomeration of small states, each focused on a central city, which comprised an urban infrastructure, public buildings and military constructions comparable to those of the large metropoleis of the time (Mitchell 1991, 125). Cities remained the major unit of organization until the end

of late antiquity and into Byzantine times. Therefore cities are a major source of understanding ancient dwellers of Pisidia, their way of perceiving, understanding and engaging with the world during that time-frame.

Pednelissos, one such city of Pisidia, was inhabited continuously from at least the third century BC until the seventh century AD and probably onwards into the twelfth century AD (Vandeput et al. 2005, 241–242). The city conformed to Classical city planning norms and possessed many of the public facilities that the large contemporary metropoleis had (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 354). These included monumental public buildings and squares, public amenities and honorific monuments which were planned within a grid system. Grid planning indicates the existence of a premeditated urban plan, which differentiates Pednelissos from other comparable cities in terms of size. Pednelissos also differs from other sizeable settlements in its periphery, which generally show an *organic* development under the influence of topographic factors and lack many of the urban facilities Pednelissos had. This is an indication of the different status of Pednelissos as a *city*. Considering the difficulty of construction on the steep slopes where Pednelissos is located, it is obvious that people went beyond basic needs of subsistence and shaped their environment to have a meaning and a structure (Norberg-Schulz 1980, 166). On the other hand, the location of Pednelissos on the fringes of Pisidia neighbouring larger and more influential cities brings forth the questions of influence, interaction and struggle.

Therefore Pednelissos is a suitable case to investigate the dynamics that were influential in the shaping of a provincial, if not a marginal, environment. Neither Pisidia nor Pednelissos played a prominent role in antiquity; thus, ancient sources referring to Pednelissos are extremely scarce. The main source of information about the ancient inhabitants of Pednelissos, therefore, is the material record. A well-preserved archaeological record both in the city and its periphery yields a representative set of data, which have been recorded in detail by surface surveys.

Işın's survey in 1980s and the Pisidia Survey Project that focused on Pednelissos between 2001 and 2004 have provided the major recent publications (reviewed below) which document and present a discussion of main architectural and urban aspects of Pednelissos. Palaeoenvironmental studies in the region, moreover, present a general picture of the ancient environment. Archaeological data from comparable settlements, on the other hand, make a good context for comparisons. In sum, Pednelissos and its environment provide a meaningful context and enough data for a study of environmental, social and cognitive relationships embodied and traceable in landscape.

The concept of *landscape* is used here in the widest sense of the word to refer to both the physical and cognitive worlds that people have created for themselves to live in (Strang 1999, 106). Landscape is the holistic context that accommodates and links human body, movement, space and time to the physical setting (Tilley 1996, 161–62; 2004, 24–25). It is the product of interactions and relationships at all levels, scales and spheres, in between people and in between people and things (Tilley 2004, 24–25). Landscape is an expression, a record of human understanding and engagement with the world around them; a record that is constantly changing and in the process of being shaped and re-shaped (Bender 2002, 103). Landscapes are experienced and conceived during daily life through sensory perception, bodily action and movement in space and through time (Tilley 1994, 11–14). As a result of their experience, interpretation and giving a meaning to the environment they live in, people form a cultural *image*, a representation of their surroundings in their minds (Lynch 1960, 4–6). Landscape, in this respect, can be conceptualized as a cultural image, a way of representing, structuring and symbolizing surroundings born out of people's living and acting in space and through time (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988, 1). This image may be highly ideological, in that it may present a distorted view of the reality in a way to secure the reproduction of social relations of dominance. Therefore the power to shape the landscape, articulate and structure

access to and encounters with the landscape in order to influence the image created is an important resource of domination (Shanks and Tilley 1982, 133).

As an embodiment, a visible expression of the way people conceived and engaged with the world, landscapes can be viewed as configurations of symbols, signs and images to be interpreted. This leads to the metaphor of landscape as a *text*, a social document *to be read* (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 96–97). The study, in the broadest sense, aims to *read* the landscapes of Pednelissos. It aims to investigate the dynamics, both natural and cultural, that took part in shaping the landscapes of Pednelissos. It questions how people viewed, interpreted and understood their environments and how they shaped and transformed it to communicate a message, a discourse and an image of themselves. Urban and architectural space, the social production of space and tools of nonverbal communication between the residents and their physical environment are investigated in terms of setting the context for presenting a *landscape reading* and hence for discussing the urban identity of Pednelissos in a broader physical perspective. Landscapes of Pednelissos, in this sense, cover both the urban and non-urban context of the city. In this related, integrated and mutually influential context, the perception, production and use of spaces and places will be discussed in relation to the encounters between the residents and the physical aspects of the city as well as the topographical features and natural resources. The thesis builds on the data that have been provided by surveys and makes a different reading from the point of view of urban image, landscape experience and perception of the physical setting. It brings an integrated and contextual perspective to relations embodied in the physical environment by a landscape reading. Landscape reading provides a framework to investigate the relationships between people and various elements of the landscape and to figure out the structure of these relationships; however, it does not and cannot provide individual histories of these elements. Landscape reading is more useful to investigate relatively less well-known sites where archaeological data is limited to surface surveys and to put these settlements in context, while traditional methods



of excavation are certainly needed for a fuller picture of the past landscapes. Pednelissos, in this respect, is a potential case for landscape reading approach.

Utilizing landscape as an overarching framework for investigating the production of environment and space, this thesis seeks to answer a number of questions which can be grouped into four: The first group includes questions regarding the physical aspects of the landscape as an embodiment of human agency, processes through which it took its physical shape and processes through which the landscape gained a meaning, was inscribed onto the collective memory and was associated with symbolisms. These questions include: What forms did the social organization take in antiquity and what were the corresponding architectural and urban forms and spaces that housed and facilitated those social structures? What activities took place in those spaces and how did these experiences influence the meaning and symbolic associations of those spaces? What factors influenced the meaning/s attributed to the landscape and the elements within the landscape by inhabitants?

The second group of questions focuses on the perception of landscape, which influenced people's interpretation and conception of the landscape. The questions in this group include: How did people perceive, interpret and conceive the landscape? How were people's understanding and impression of the landscape, in other words, the image they created in their minds formed? How did this image function in the social structure and what was its role in the creation of the communal identity and self-presentation of the society? How and in which ways did the experience of and encounter with the landscape take place, what were the factors that influenced, changed and transformed this encounter?

The third group of questions includes those related to the passage of time, continuity and change through time and temporality of the landscape. In addition to investigating the transformation over time of the physical environment and cognitive frameworks that produced the physical environment, this group of

questions includes: How did the temporal sphere influence the perception and the mental image of the landscape? How was a collective history to be embraced by all the sections of the society *created* and narrated via the landscape? How was the past inscribed onto the collective memory and how did this memory operate in the creation and appropriation of the present? How did the collective memory influence the subsequent processes of transformation and change within the landscape?

The final group of questions addresses the power relations, tensions and contradictions within the social structure and ideological constructs that ensured the preservation and transmission of those relations to subsequent generations. Power struggles at a wider scale, including those between different cities, regions, religious systems and identities are also comprised in this group of questions which includes: At what scales did power relations occur and how did they change over time? How was the power structure of the society manifested in the landscape? What was the role of the landscape as an ideological tool?

In order to answer those questions, the study is constructed as a *reading* of the archaeological, historical and environmental evidence from the perspective of the framework provided by the concept of landscape.

One major advantage of using the concept of landscape is the human dimension it involves. As such landscape incorporates human beings and the physical data; it becomes possible through the use of the concept of landscape to refer to mnemonic, symbolic and semantic aspects of the human behaviour, which were influential and operational in the shaping of environment. In addition, human behaviours and reactions were reciprocally shaped, modified and reshaped by the environment. Another important advantage of landscape as a framing concept is that it provides a holistic perspective which ties different activity spheres and various scales of interpretation. For example, it becomes easier through the use of a unifying framework (i.e. landscape), to interrelate or move between different scales,

such as from the region to the city or to building and space, and between different spheres, such as from the social sphere to the economic or from the ideological to the architectural.

The landscapes of Pednelissos are discussed in four chapters. The next chapter introduces the concept of *landscape* and draws the theoretical framework of the content. The historical development of the concept of landscape, its structural components, the main themes of discussion and implications on settlements are discussed.

The third chapter looks at Pednelissos, both at the regional scale and at the city scale. General characteristics of the regional context including physical, geographic and environmental elements are outlined in addition to the archaeological record of the human-made elements, which is presented in a wider framework to include regional influences and socio-economic conditions.

The fourth chapter focuses on the *landscape reading* of Pednelissos. The archaeological record of the city and its environment is discussed from the perspective of the concept of landscape with references to and comparisons with other settlements of the Pisidian region as well as the wider context of Asia Minor. Themes like urban image, landscape experience, time and ideology are used to refer to different dynamics of the landscape. Perception and experience of the environment; the mental image formed as a result of the encounter with the landscape; and meaning, symbols and conception of the landscape are the major foci. The function of the landscape as a part of power structures, social hierarchy and ideological tools as well as the role of landscape in the creation of a past, communal identity and self-presentation of the society are also discussed.

The fifth chapter is a synthesis of the landscape reading as an attempt to reach a holistic perspective. Conclusions already pointed out in previous chapters are refined

and articulated to develop a wider understanding of the dynamics embodied in the physical environment.

The potentials of utilising a *landscape reading* approach in the scope of settlement archaeology are illustrated by the case of Pednelissos. As one of the ways of non-destructive archaeology, landscape reading offers a framework applicable to human environments where contextual data provide enough clues but archaeological data and ancient sources on specific features of the settlement are scarce. Also in the absence of archaeological excavations and surveys, landscape reading can illustrate how spaces were socially produced, experienced and consumed. Landscape reading is a comparative and contextual tool to investigate the urban structures of settlements and is informative about the urban image and identity. It helps to construct a framework for analyzing and reconstructing ancient physical environments and the social dimension involved in the articulation of this context.

## CHAPTER 2

### LANDSCAPE AS A CONCEPT: A FRAMEWORK FOR READING URBAN MORPHOLOGY AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

Pednelissos, having been the interface of people and a peculiar and dominant natural environment, is a fruitful case that can be interpreted within the framework of the concept of *landscape*. As human existence in this environment must have required intense human interaction with the physical setting, landscape, as a record of human thinking and acting upon the world, is potentially indicative of many aspects of human perception, thought and the ways of social production and consumption of space in this part of the world. This chapter investigates the emergence and development of the concept of landscape. The contents, implications and connotations of the concept are explicated and interpreted to draw the framework of studying the *landscapes of Pednelissos*.

#### **2.1. The Emergence and Development of the Concept of 'Landscape'**

The emergence of *landscape* as a term, an idea or a way of seeing the world dates back to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Cosgrove 1985, 46). The landscape idea was influenced from Renaissance sciences and related with the appropriation of space, surveying and map making, which also implies control and domination over space (Cosgrove 1985, 46–47). The Romantic Movement in the later eighteenth century gave rise to the appreciation of landscape as an aesthetic object and a spectacle whereas the nineteenth century geology, which demonstrated the often slow processes of change influential in the formation of the landscape, was significant in the development of the geological approach in

the landscape idea (Johnson 2004, 117).<sup>1</sup> The later part of the twentieth century also witnessed a revival of interest in the idea of landscape, which emphasized the holistic and subjective implications of the landscape concept and attempted to incorporate individual, imaginative and creative human experience into studies of the geographical environment (Cosgrove 1985, 45). According to this view, landscape is viewed as a social product produced, transformed and reproduced through human actions and is “not just something looked at or thought about, an object merely for contemplation, depiction, representation and aestheticization” (Tilley 1994, 25–26).

In archaeology, on the other hand, landscape has been considered in a number of different ways: First, it is seen as a set of economic resources to be exploited (Johnson 2004, 117–118). Site catchment analysis<sup>2</sup>, which is primarily concerned with the quantitative analysis of the resource potential of territory around a settlement site, is a consequence of this view (Shaw 1999, 351).

Another group of views interprets the landscape as a reflection of society and its place within the hierarchy of the formation of complex societies<sup>3</sup>. This approach categorizes sites into *settlement hierarchies* on the basis of certain aspects such as size, presence of monumental architecture or the complexity of the overall settlement system and links a large-scale transformation of landscape, through irrigation for instance, to a social transformation, such as the rise of chiefdoms

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1 See Hirsch (1995) for how people’s attitude towards *nature* changed in Europe during this period under the influence of social changes and industrial revolution and how this led to the emergence of the landscape painting and subsequently a *landscape concept*.

2 See Vita-Finzi and Higgs (1970) for the earliest formal definition and the practical application of the method.

3 *Complex societies* are usually defined with reference to particular aspects of social organization of a society including centralization, social differentiation, inequality, hierarchy, class structure and control. The more centralized, socially differentiated and hierarchical the society, the more complex it is (Tainter 1988, 37–38).

(Johnson 2004, 118). Central place theory<sup>4</sup> is also one of such theories, which analyzes the boundaries, site hierarchy, rank and size of settlements.

Further views emerged with the influence of theoretical approaches such as structuralism, post-structuralism and phenomenology, and as a criticism of functional and economic views of landscape. Accordingly, landscape is seen as a cultural phenomenon and expressive of a system of cultural meaning. It is an expression of people's thinking and acting upon the world (Johnson 2004, 118). This broader understanding of landscape as a cultural and conceptual entity defines it as a set of relationships between people and places and the impact these relationships had on the social, political, cultural and indeed the daily lives of people. It is this final view that is adopted for the purpose of this study.

## ***2.2. Image of Landscape: Context and Construction***

Scholars who view landscape as a cultural phenomenon have put forth various frameworks for the landscape concept, each stressing various aspects of human-physical environment interaction, human mind or social structure. As early as 1902, Vidal de la Blache (1902, 13–15) emphasized the intimate correlation between a geographical and a social fact. He put forth that the social system was reflected in geography (Vidal de la Blache 1902, 21).

Likewise, the concept of landscape, as adopted in contemporary studies, is closely related to various themes about the relationships between people, the realm of ideas and values and the physical and cognitive worlds that people have created for themselves to live in (Strang 1999, 106).

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4 See Christaller (1933) for the earliest use of the theoretical model.

Landscape is the wider holistic context that includes human-made spaces and links them to each other and to the natural physical setting, also introducing mnemonic and symbolic aspects as well as meaning. Landscape implies symbolic connotations more than any other geographical term, such as region or area. It is also valuable in that it preserves the sense of human creativity, action and agency in ways that other analogies like system, organism and structure do not (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 97). Rather than an aesthetic object to be looked at, to contemplate on, to picture or depict, or a set of resources to be exploited and to be made use of, landscape denotes the wider context and medium of human activity including all aspects of human memory, experience, perception, symbolism and ideology. From this point of view landscapes can be

... defined as perceived and embodied sets of relationships between places, a structure of human feelings, emotion, dwelling, movement and practical activity within a geographical region which may or may not possess precise topographic boundaries or limits. (Tilley 2004, 24–25)

Landscape comprises a set of features, including both natural and cultural, and their relations, which also give character and diversity to the world (B. K. Roberts 1987). These features are articulated through day-to-day practices of people and are inscribed in the landscape via the material culture produced as a result of those practices. Furthermore, landscapes are continuously shaped, modified and reshaped by and are the outcome of those practices (Tilley 1994, 23). Landscapes are an expression, a record of human understanding and engagement with the world around them; a record that is constantly changing and in the process of being shaped and re-shaped (Bender 2002, 103).

Landscapes are not only created by day-to-day practices, they are also experienced, perceived, learnt and understood in practice, during life activities (Tilley 1994, 23). It is during and through everyday tasks that a person learns to notice and respond to the conspicuous aspects, signs and symbols of a particular landscape and perceive



in a manner appropriate to a culture (Ingold 2000, 166–67). Therefore landscapes also function as an instrument of enculturation, a way of creating and expressing a common identity, and a tool of creating a sense of community with shared values and a way of thinking and understanding the world. As such, landscapes are also a way and medium of communication, one that is nonverbal and at the community scale (Rapoport [1982] 1990).

As a consequence of the experience of the environment they live in, which repeatedly takes place during their daily lives under different circumstances, such as at different times of the day, under different climatic conditions or in various political circumstances, people create a representation, a cultural image of the environment in their minds (Lynch 1960, 4–6; Favro 1996, 9). This image is a product of people's knowledge, experience and perception of the environment they are living in and their way of symbolizing, giving a meaning and attaching a value to their surroundings. The image so developed limits and emphasizes what is seen and understood and establishes a framework within which to interpret, structure and understand subsequent encounters with the outside world (Lynch 1960, 4–6). Landscape, in this respect, can be conceptualized as a cultural image, a way of representing, structuring and symbolizing surroundings born out of people's living and acting in space and through time (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, 1).

However, landscapes are hardly equally experienced and shared by all (Tilley 1994, 26–27). On the one hand landscapes gain their meaning at present in interaction with sensual experiences and past memories and they are related to how and when the encounter of the person with the landscape took place. On the other hand, the experience of landscapes may be controlled, articulated and exploited through systems of domination. The knowledge and experience of particular places may be restricted and they may be hidden from particular people or groups of people (Tilley 1994, 26–27). Such mechanisms of spatial control directly influence the individual's

encounter with the landscape and shape its perception resulting in a multiplicity of landscapes.

It is not only the multiplicity of landscapes but also their intertwinement that is significant. An unlimited number of landscapes interpenetrate, overlap, and superimpose themselves upon one another like the intertwinement of different strata of the soil (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 86–87). The social scientist, moreover, introduces another layer of meaning while claiming to interpret the meanings of those layers (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 96–97).

Since landscape is shaped under the influence of personal backgrounds, there is no landscape but *landscapes*. “We should beware of attempts to define landscape, to resolve its contradictions; rather we should abide in its duplicity” (Daniels 1989, 218). The *appearance* of a landscape may be described in terms of topography, geology, direction of dominant winds, town layouts, shorelines and similar analytical and empirical terms. The spaces and places within the landscape may coincide with those natural or human-made features and their appearances as well may be described analytically and empirically (Tilley, 1994, pp. 25-26). However, the *symbolic* aspects of individual places and spaces, as well as the landscape they constitute, are not easily described and understood as those are heavily based on personal histories and ideologies may distort the real relations.

The concept of landscape, then, implies several aspects inherent to the human mind, body and perception, people’s social and cultural organization and natural processes of the earth as well as an interaction between these aspects. A most visible expression of these aspects and interactions in the archaeological record is the settlements. Buildings, those related to power, governance and ritual structures in particular, and the urban structure, in other words the way these buildings came together, comprise important clues about the way people perceived, shaped and organized their environments and the way they presented it. Identifying the

dominant elements that make up the urban structure and trying to figure out the relations between them could be a good way to understand ancient landscapes.

A number of models are at the disposal of the social scientist for this task. Lynch's (1960) model which views urban environments as presenting an image and identifies the urban elements that structure this image is one of the earliest of these and a useful method for this purpose. Lynch's (1960) concepts of "urban image" and "imageability" have opened up ways of interpreting social production of space, articulation of the urban structure and shaping of the physical setting and forms the basis of many recent methods of reconstructing urban experience and perception (see Chapter 4 for an overview of these). Lynch's (1960) model will be the basis of the landscape reading of Pednelissos in the following chapters.

### **2.2.1. Space versus Place: Symbol, Memory and Meaning**

Space is the basic meaningful unit of any human environment. Settlements are comprised of various spaces which are articulated, organized and coordinated in various ways to structure, control and bring an order to the landscape. Space, whether natural, like a forest or a lakeside, or human-made, like a room or an *agora*, is the medium where humans act, perform their daily activities, modify, shape, organize, appropriate and so on. In doing so the latter are in a constant interaction with the space. Sitting under the tree they love the most, hiding from the wind in a valley, restricting access to their garden, building a roof to shelter from the rain, feeling anxious in a graveyard, getting pleasure from climbing the hill with the best view, refraining from passing through a quiet street at night, knocking the door before entering a room, preferring to sleep in a warm corner, building a temple to face the sunset and alike indicate an interaction between people and the space that may include the mobilization of the elements within that space, create mnemonic associations and generate symbolic connections.

The interaction of people and space takes place under the influence of various factors, the most obvious of which is the somatic needs of humans. People interact with space to use the opportunities provided within that space to build a shelter. It is just a few steps ahead from this point that they interact with the space to shape this shelter to meet their social needs, to separate various activities for instance, to attribute symbolic meanings to special parts of the shelter and to exercise power on other people sharing the same shelter.

Thus, space is not just a backdrop against which people act but it is an integral aspect of action. Space determines the elements and the physical settings suitable for interaction. These elements and settings are then actively organized and used by participants for the “production” and “reproduction” of interaction (Duncan 1989, 243–244). The potential of space is that it enables various types of interactions and relationships; it is the spatial setting that provides the necessary elements for action and thus makes the interaction possible. Space, on the other hand, restricts the action to the possibilities provided within that very spatial setting. The ability to control and manipulate these settings moreover is related with social power (Duncan 1989, 243–244).

The interaction between people and spaces then is twofold. First, people act within spaces, both making use of the opportunities presented and also constrained by them, whereby the space gets associated with the action and cannot be separated from it. Second, spaces are shaped and reshaped as a result of the human activity. Each and every interaction of people with a space inscribes a trace of that interaction on that space. Each and every interaction with a space means a modification or a reproduction of the space, whether it is the physical setting itself or the symbolic associations of that setting. As such, space is not only the medium of human activity, but it is also the outcome of that activity (Tilley 2004, 10).

This is an important aspect as it acknowledges the agency of humans. According to Giddens (1984, 2), human social activities are recursive, that is, they are not created by an actor or by actors at once but continually recreated by people through their day-to-day practices. People possess agency as they can modify, reject all together or reproduce these practices. Similarly space, as the medium and outcome of social activities, is a recursive construct, reproduced through social practices. Space and spatial relations can be changed or reproduced by human agents through their activities. Lefebvre ([1974] 1991, 34) considers this recursive creation, recreation and appropriation of space as a “process”.

Since they are shaped through day-to-day practices of people and can be reproduced or changed through these day-to-day activities, spaces are social constructs (Tilley 2004, 10). Different social structures and different social practices are carried out in different spaces and changing social organizations are reflected in changing spaces.

... every society – and hence every mode of production ... – produces a space, its own space. The city of the ancient world cannot be understood as a collection of people and things in space ... [f]or the ancient city had its own spatial practice: it forged its own – *appropriated* – space. (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 31 [original emphasis])

Space, though socially produced through recursive practices, emphasizes physical aspects, rather than mental connotations associated with it. It is usually the physical appearance of a locality, of a land or of an area that is denoted by the word space. This makes space more easily quantifiable and it is the space that is referred to when, for instance, talking about the height of a house, area of a forest or temperature of a room. However, space also gains a meaning, a memory or a symbolism through cognitive processes of people. As Fox (2009, 20) puts it, “human cognition interacts with land as we ... take what we consider to be an empty space and turn it into *place* [original emphasis]” (see figure 1).

Places, on the other hand, are points or locations that are differentiated by the personal meanings and values attributed to them. Places do have a location, some form of physical existence, but at the same time they are the expressions of material, social, political and symbolic appropriation of space (Cosgrove and della Dora 2009, 6). Places are typical settings for interaction and may exist at various scales from a desk-corner to a nation-state (Duncan 1989, 245). Places may overlap with spaces or correspond to specific, definite features within a space and may or may not have definite boundaries (see figure 2 and 3). For example the top of rocks where a person was standing when he or she saw the fire in the nearby forest is no longer an ordinary rock but a place with a personal memory and symbolic associations. This place is not only replete with meaning depending on that particular situation but will also have an impact on that person's future encounters. Places may also be abstract entities, such as any point in a desert where a warm breeze reminds the homeland. Whatever the size, boundary or nature, the definitive feature of a place is the personal interaction with a locality which inscribes a record in personal memory, associates that locality with various emotions or attributes particular symbolic meaning to that specific setting.

The meaning of a place is grounded on the lived consciousness of it and shaped under the direct influence of social and personal memories and perceptions of that place (Tilley 1994, 15). The process of attributing a meaning to a place takes place in the present but under the influence of the past. Present perceptions of a place merge with past experiences selectively and create the meaning of that place (Tilley 2004, 26). Furthermore, this process repeats itself with the influence of new perceptions, new experiences and recent memories. Memories continually provide feedbacks and modifications to the meaning of the place and thus, a place cannot be the same place twice (Tilley 1994, 27–28).

The meaning of a space is connected with the meanings of different *places* related to that space, which are produced through cognitive processes based on personal

encounters, memories and perceptions experienced in relation to that space. As spatial control mechanisms may affect or restrict the experience of a space, different people experience the same space differently and this creates different personal meanings attributed to the same space. A prisoner and a guard, for instance, do not perceive a prison in the same way. Their perception of the space is strictly restricted and influenced by spatial control mechanisms and their statuses; hence, they develop symbolisms and attribute meanings to the same space that dramatically differ from each other. Moreover, different prisoners establish different sets of meanings associated with the same space depending on their own personal pasts, memories and perceptions. This is called 'perceptual relativism' and originates from people's differential perception due to their cognition of the same data of experience through alternative frameworks of belief or representational schemata (Ingold 2000, 15).<sup>5</sup>

### **2.2.2. Body and Perception: Movement, Vision and Encounter**

Social practice, so influential in the formation of landscape, is dependent on people's use of their body; use of hands, movement from one place to the other, seeing, hearing, smelling and alike during the day-to-day practices of people not only shape, transform and reshape the landscape but are also the ways through which humans experience, perceive and create in their minds an image of the landscape (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 40).

In order to take part in the social practice, people need to have an understanding, in other words a *grasp*, of the landscape they are living in. Having a grasp of the landscape means the ability to act within a spatial framework, to orientate one's self in relation to other features of the environment, which may be both physical and

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5 See Strang (1999) for an example of differential perception of landscape. Accordingly, the Aboriginal groups and white people at cattle farms at Cape York have widely differing perceptions of and interactions with the landscape.

cognitive, and direct a coordinated movement in relation to those features (Malpas 1999, 49–50). This is also a prerequisite for people to experience the environment as meaningful so that they can identify themselves with the environment they are living in and appropriate that very environment (Norberg-Schulz 1980, 5).

People orient themselves in relation to their bodies; what is in the front, behind, above, below, to the right or left is relative to the body and constitute the most intimate link between a person and the world (Tilley 2004, 9–10). The perception of the environment by a subject is also dependent on that person's body and its relation to the environment. With the changing relation of a person's body with respect to the world, his or her perception of the environment also changes, which in turn influences his or her understanding and cognition of as well as orientation towards the world. In Merleau-Ponty's ([1945] 2002, 77) words, "[a person can] see the next-door house from a certain angle, but it would be seen differently from the right bank of the Seine, or from the inside, or again from an aeroplane". It is through these relations of a person's body and of that person's environment that he or she forms a spatial framework through which he or she finds his or her way, experiences, understands and forms in his or her mind an image of the world (Tilley 2004, 9–10). It is this image, the cognitive world formed in a person's mind that he or she acts and performs the social practice in.

### ***2.2.3. Time and Temporality: Order and Rhythm***

Just like a person's body and its relation to the environment influence his or her perception of the world, the time frame in which a person acts and perceives also influences his or her perception. To further pursue Merleau-Ponty's ([1945] 2002, 77) next-door house example, the house will not be perceived in the same way in winter when it is under snow and appears like a ghost behind a curtain of mist and in summer when birds are singing, the sun is bright and the windows of the house are shining with brightness; nor three years later when cracks appear on its



facade. Moreover, the perception of the same house by a young person and an elder person will also differ. Such differential perceptions are all related to the time and the temporal sphere, which exemplify how time influences the human perception and therefore the landscape.

Time, like space and place, is an inseparable part of the landscape (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 175). People orient themselves in temporal terms, such as *before* and *after*, as much as they orient themselves in relation to spatial terms, such as *left*, *right*, *back* or *front* (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 2002, 476). Death comes after birth, sowing comes before the harvest, winter follows autumn and so on. Time, hence, has a direction or a *directionality* (Norberg-Schulz 1980, 56). The present succeeds the past and precedes the future. Moreover, the present is the *consequence* of the past and the future will be the *consequence* of the present (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 2002, 477). Yet, there is no past or future, there is only the *knowledge* of the past and future in the mind of people. Only the present is real, in existence. So the past and the future “*collapses*” to the present (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 2002, 477).

Time, on the other hand, implies change (Norberg-Schulz 1980, 165). People grow old, flowers bloom, river changes its course and so on. Or days turn into nights and into days again, seasons follow each other, sun rises, sets and rises again the next day, all of which involve a *rhythm*. “[R]hythms imply repetitions and can be defined as movements and differences within repetitions” (Lefebvre 2004, 90). A rhythm exists everywhere where an interaction between place, time and expenditure of energy exists (Lefebvre 2004, 15).<sup>6</sup> Therefore it can be argued that rhythms are indicative of human agency and their engagement with the physical world.

Lefebvre (2004) identifies two different rhythms; cyclical and linear (see fig. 4). Days, nights, seasons and tides of the sea are examples of cyclical rhythm. “Great cyclical

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6 Edgeworth (2012) argues that a rhythm can be felt even *at the trowel’s edge* when excavating and this has an impact on the interpretation of the archaeological evidence.

rhythms last for a period and restart: dawn, always new, often superb, inaugurates the return of everyday” (Lefebvre 2004, 8). Therefore he suggests that cyclical rhythm originates in nature (Lefebvre 2004, 8).

Linear rhythm, on the other hand, originates in social practice and hence, human activity (Lefebvre 2004, 8). Linear rhythm is differentiated by its consecution and reproduction of the same action at similar, if not identical, intervals (Lefebvre 2004, 90). A series of hammer blows, a repetitive series, into which harder and softer blows are introduced or the rhythm of a metronome are examples of linear rhythms (Lefebvre 2004, 90).<sup>7</sup>

People can and do adjust the timing of their actions in relation to other agents and rhythms. This process is called “resonance” (Ingold 1993, 160–61; 2000, 196–97). People resonate with climate, with changes in the weather or with the rhythms of plants. Their daily rhythm, for instance, changes with and is adjusted to the daylight, which gets longer in summer and shorter in winter following a cycle. People also resonate with plants and their growth cycles in adjusting their rhythms to sowing and harvesting seasons including all social institutions and rituals associated with farming. In this sense, “environmental rhythms are imposed from the outside, but become woven into the melody of social life” (Mlekuz 2010, 194).

Time, in sum, involves a movement, a directionality and a rhythm. It follows that different rhythms or different movements lead to different times; there is calendar time, there is time divided by factory sirens, there is ceremonial time in which passage of time is counted by festivals, nature’s time where time can be measured by seasons and so on. Therefore time is not objective. Different times co-exist, draw meaning from each other and nest within each other as well as within the landscape (Bender 2002, 104).

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<sup>7</sup> Bender (2002, 103–104), adopts a slightly different view. Accordingly, people, as well as seasons, follow a cyclical pattern during their routine daily activities, while *places* follow a linear pattern as they are continuously altered, reevaluated and reinterpreted.

It is the time aspect that makes the landscape temporal, rather than static. The formation, modification and reproduction of the landscape take place with reference to time, therefore landscape is a process; or rather, landscape *involves* some processes (Hirsch 1995, 5). Both cultural and natural processes are embodied in the landscape and moreover, processes of one period leave traces within the landscape, which in turn constrain and influence the processes related to the subsequent inhabitants of the same landscape (Benes and Zvelebil 1999, 76). Therefore, landscape can never be a finished *product*. It is rather an enduring record of the lives and interactions of past peoples that have been left and a continuous process of creation and recreation (Ingold 2000, 189).

#### **2.2.4. Social Action: Power and Ideology**

Landscape implies, contains and dissimulates the social action (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 82–83). It is the social action practiced in the day-to-day lives of people that gives the landscape its form, changes and reproduces it. So landscape, like the spaces contained by it, is socially produced. Like any other human product, landscape embodies an intention, a meaning and rationality (Oubina, Boado, and Estevez 1998, 159). The intention embodied in the landscape may be related with power and serve to control, regulate or restrict some or all members of society; moreover, might serve for the benefit of only a section of society. For Tilley (1994, 17), this is an intrinsic feature particularly of architectural spaces of the landscape with their deliberate attempt “to create and bound space, create an inside, an outside, a way around, a channel for movement”. Foucault (1992, 228), on the other hand, emphasizes the use of spatial control to structure and regulate the distribution of people in space with the intention of discipline. Similarly, for Lefebvre ([1974] 1991, 26) socially produced space serves as a tool of thought and action; it is a means of control, dominance and power.

Power can be defined as the intent or capacity to achieve the desired and intended outcomes (Giddens 1984, 15). Miller and Tilley (1984, 5) make a distinction between “power to” and “power over”, former of which refer to the capacity of individuals to realise their objectives and thus a positive and productive element in a social system; whereas, the latter relates to forms of social control and a negative and repressive element. The media through which power is exercised are called the resources (Giddens 1984, 16). In this sense, space is one of the resources through which power is exercised *over* people<sup>8</sup>. Landscapes, as the context of spaces, therefore, is indicative of relations of power, dominance and control.

It may be possible to influence what people understand of landscapes and what image they create in their minds through spatial control. Carefully choreographed encounters with specially articulated spaces of the landscape can influence the meaning and image of the landscape. This image can be manipulated to create an ideology.

Ideology is a practice or set of practices that serve to conceal the contradictions within the social system, distort or hide the real relations of power and domination in order to secure the reproduction of the existing relations of dominance between individuals and groups (Shanks and Tilley 1982, 130; Tilley 1984, 116). Ideological tools operate through the denial or mystification of contradictions within the social system and representing sectional interests as universal in order to maintain and reproduce, rather than transform, the existing order of domination, which *ipso facto* serves for the interests of a section of the society (Shanks and Tilley 1982, 130–32). Hodder (1992, 180), on the other hand, mentions the co-existence of several ideologies within a social structure, rather than the dominance of a single ideology representing the dominant group and duping all the other members of the society. As Giddens (1984, 16) emphasizes, in all forms of dominance, some resources

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8 For discussions on how space is used as a resource of power, discipline and punishment see Casella (2001), Foucault (1992) and Lefebvre ([1974] 1991).

exist which can be used by subordinates to influence the superiors. Accordingly, subordinate groups are able to resist and penetrate the dominant ideology (Hodder 1992, 180).

Therefore, control mechanisms and power negotiations play a role in the construction of an ideology and ideology can not be considered simply as the misrepresentation of the existing social relations; rather, it is a constituent of the existing social relations. Ideology represents a set of imagined relations between people and their worlds, which is not only a distorted view of the reality but also a part of that reality (Shanks and Tilley 1982, 130–132).

Since landscapes are images or representations of social relations as perceived and understood by people, they have the potential of representing both the real relations within a society and also a misrepresentation, distorted or made up images of those real social relations. Landscapes are ideological constructs in that they have the potential to obscure and articulate the reality, mask the social forces and relations of production, exploitation and domination (Tilley 1994, 24–25).

### **2.3. A Framework for 'Reading' Pednelissos**

Landscapes, as socio-cultural images and visible expressions of the way people conceived and engaged with the world, are full of signs and symbols to be interpreted and given a meaning. This leads to the metaphor of landscape as *a text, to be read* and interpreted as a social document (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 96–97). Landscape is "a cultural code for living, an anonymous *text* to be read and interpreted, a writing pad for inscription, a scape of and for human praxis, a mode of dwelling and a mode of experiencing" (Tilley 1994, 34).

A *reading* of the landscapes of Pednelissos, in the light of the above overview, is proposed as a reading of the relations and interactions that took place in and around

the city of Pednelissos during the classical antiquity between people as well as between people and things, as a result of which the environment that people lived in was created, modified and recreated. These relations fundamentally include the relations of power and dominance in addition to the social practice through which the human agency operates. Furthermore, such a study essentially involves an investigation of how people perceive their environment, conceive and understand it, implying an exploration of memory, symbols, communication and the processes through which the environment achieves its meaning. It also involves a temporal aspect, which implies change, adaptation and transformation as well as memory, which are influential in the creation of the present. Moreover, all of these aspects are to be viewed from a holistic perspective, which means that the landscape should be embraced as the wider context also referring to long term and long distance relations between people and between people and things, also preserving the multiplicity of landscapes and subjectivity of perception and meaning.

Landscape reading is proposed as a means of studying settlements, urban imagery and production of environments from a contextual perspective. It is a useful tool to reconstruct how the physical environment was shaped and transformed through time, how it was presented, experienced and understood. Particularly in smaller cities where ancient sources are scarce and archaeological data is limited, landscape reading is a convenient and beneficial method for settlement archaeology.

A landscape reading of Pednelissos begins firstly by setting its context in the next chapter. The context includes both the natural setting, the ways it may have influenced the people's perception and the social practice as people's way of understanding, acting in and shaping the world. The ways through which people organized their society and environment will be investigated and continuities, changes and transformations of the environment over time will be traced.

## CHAPTER 3

### PEDNELISSOS: THE CITY AND ITS WIDER CONTEXT

Pednelissos is located at the fringes of the present day Lake District, in the southwestern part of the Anatolian peninsula. The Lake District, geographically speaking, roughly corresponds to the ancient region of Pisidia. Pisidia is distinguished with its peculiar landscape contrasting, particularly in its rugged morphology, with the landscapes in the regions surrounding Pisidia. In the past, as it does today, human interaction with this landscape must have played a dominant role in the structure of social organization, economic activities and the built environment.<sup>1</sup> To cope with the rough natural context of this landscape, the dwellers must have developed practical ways of adaptation, in both the material and cognitive senses. In order to gain a better understanding of these adaptations, this chapter presents the material evidence visible on the site today and outlines the wider context and the landscape in which Pednelissos is located.

#### **3.1. Regional Context**

The highland area around the present day Lake District in southwestern Asia Minor was known as Pisidia in Antiquity (see fig. 5). This is a wedge shaped highland area extending northwards from the Teke Peninsula in the west and from the Taşeli Plateau in the east towards an apex at the Sultan Mountains (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:70).

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1 As French (1992, 168) notes, "There is, ... in the area of southern Pisidia (at least), an interaction between terrain, communications and transport (on the one hand) and (on the other) social and economic requirements".

Though it is not possible to talk about the exact limits of ancient Pisidia<sup>2</sup>, it is practical to draw the boundaries of the region by the Sultan and Karakuş Mountains in the north; the Konya plain in the east; the southern slopes of the Taurus Mountains in the south and Lake Burdur in the west. Pisidia was bordered on the southwest by Lycia (the modern Teke Peninsula), on the south by Pamphylia (the modern Antalya Plain), on the east by Isauria (the rugged area around modern Bozkır) and on the north by Phrygia (west central Anatolia) (S. Mitchell 1998, 237).<sup>3</sup>

The highland region of Pisidia is separated from the Mediterranean Sea by the vast flatland called the Antalya Plain today and Pamphylia in Antiquity. The width of the Antalya plain reaches to more than 40 km at some places. To the north, west and east of Pisidia extends the vast Anatolian Plateau. This location makes Pisidia a naturally formed threshold that is visually and morphologically distinct from its surroundings. Pierced with several lakes and highland plains, the rough and mountainous terrain of Pisidia strongly contrasts with the surrounding vast flatlands extending all the way to the horizon; the Konya Plain to the east, the Antalya Plain to the south, the Uşak – Denizli Plain to the west and the Eskişehir Plain to the north (French 1992, 167).

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2 Although ancient writers talk about Pisidia and the Pisidians (For instance Xenophon [*Anab.* 1.1.11] writing in the fourth century BC, Polybius [21.36] writing in the second century BC and Strabo [12.7] writing in the early first century AD. See Mitchell (1991a, 122–25) and Vanhaverbeke et al. [2010, 122] for a wider overview of ancient literature about Pisidia and the Pisidians), Pisidia did not become an independent province until the reign of Diocletian in the late third century AD. Therefore Pisidia should be seen as a loosely-used geographical concept rather than a political or administrative unity with definite boundaries (Bracke 1993, 15).

3 The provincial boundaries in Asia Minor, especially during the Roman rule, were frequently altered and often did not coincide with cultural, geographical or other pre-existing boundaries (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:5). See Bracke (1993, 15) for a discussion of the boundaries and neighbours of Pisidia. See Mitchell (1993b, 2:151–163) for a chronological investigation of provincial boundaries in Asia Minor.



### **3.1.1. Physical Setting**

Pisidia is predominantly a highland region, where massive mountain ranges alternate with deep river valleys, plains and most notably a number of lakes of varying size (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:71) (see fig. 5). Two mountain ranges draw the northern limit of the region. The western range, called the Karakuş Mountains, extends in northeast – southwest direction and remains below the 2,000 m line; whereas the eastern one, the Sultan Mountains extend in northwest – southeast direction reaching up to 2,610 m at its highest point. Further south, there are two further mountainous areas to the west of both Lake Beyşehir and Lake Eğirdir (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:71). These are Barla Mountain standing to the west of Lake Eğirdir with its 2,799 m summit and the Dedegöl Mountains extending in north – south direction to the west of Lake Beyşehir and reaching to 2,450 m. To the south of Lake Eğirdir, on the other hand, stands Davras Mountain with its 2,637 m summit. Of the two other important mountain ranges, the Kuyucak Mountains extend in north – south direction between the Dedegöl Mountains and Lake Eğirdir reaching to 2,468 m at its summit, while Katrancık Mountain extends in the western part of the region with a northeast – southwest direction and 2,328 m summit. Finally, the southern boundary of the Lake District is drawn by the southern slopes of the West Taurus which slopes down to and terminates at the Antalya Plain. It is noteworthy that the terrain becomes considerably more rugged and impenetrable towards the south, southeast of the region in comparison to the upland valleys of western and northern Pisidia, such as Bozova, the area around Lake Burdur and the Isparta Plain (French 1992, 167).

The most remarkable feature of the Pisidian landscape however, is the presence of several lakes of different sizes, capacities and physical features. Lake Burdur is the westernmost large Pisidian lake situated at 845 m above sea level and identified as ancient Askania (Bracke 1993, 15). The small lakes of Yaraşlı and Karataş are to the south west of Lake Burdur. One of the largest lakes in Pisidia is Lake Eğirdir, which

is identified with ancient Limnai and situated at 924 m above sea level (Bracke 1993, 15). To the south of Lake Eğirdir is another fresh water lake of a much smaller size, the Lake Kovada, which is fed by the river running from the south end of Lake Eğirdir. Lake Beyşehir at 1100 m above sea level is the easternmost large lake of the region and identified as the ancient Karalis (Bracke 1993, 15).

The mountainous lands of Pisidia are furthermore pierced by a considerable number of rivers and streams fed by springs, rain and melting snow. Some of these rivers are perennial while many of the smaller ones are not. Large perennial rivers, having their sources high in the Taurus and joined by smaller branches periodically, flow in a north – south direction down the Taurus, through the Pamphylian plain to the Mediterranean Sea. The region includes three important river basins: Aksu (ancient Cestrus), Köprü Çayı (ancient Eurymedon) and Manavgatçayı (ancient Melas), from west to east respectively (Bracke 1993, 15). These rivers penetrate far into the highland region although their valleys do not offer easy communication with the interior (S. Mitchell 1991a, 119). About 60 *stadia* (approximately 11 km) of Cestrus and Eurymedon, from their mouths into the land, are known to have been navigable in antiquity, which is not the case today (Strabo 14.4.2). This is an indication of a climatic and geomorphologic change, which suggests that there might have been variations also in other aspects of climate and geomorphology of the region in the past. Pednelissos was well-supplied with water sources. One of the tributaries of the Aksu runs about three km to the east of Pednelissos. Moreover, plenty of water springs, which are fed with water coming from the mountains in the north, exist in and around the city today, which must have provided a reliable supply for the city also in antiquity.

In spite of its rugged terrain, there are also extensive plains in Pisidia, where the angle of vision recalls “the long vistas of the central plateau rather than the broken horizons of the Taurus” (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:71). The Yalvaç Plain to the south of Sultan Mountains, Isparta Plain to the south west of Lake Eğirdir and Bozova to the

west of Taurus range are the principal plains of the region. These and several other smaller plains of Pisidia are located at considerable altitudes, often above the 1000 m line.

The morphology of the present day Lake District as outlined above seems to have changed little since antiquity (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:5). As the region is far from the sea where alluvial depositions brought by rivers immensely alter the coast line,<sup>4</sup> the morphological change in the Lake District, or Pisida, is limited to those caused by earthquakes, landslides and erosion (McNeill 1992, 19). The main exception to this is the size of lakes, which contracted in terms of the area they cover especially in the near past.<sup>5</sup> Large scale modern interventions, such as dam and highway constructions, probably had an impact on the recent climate and vegetation changes in the region as well. However, it is reasonable to conclude that these impacts are rather limited and that the Pisidian morphology has changed little since antiquity.

### **3.1.2. Climate**

The Lake District is a transitional area that connects the Mediterranean coast to the interior plateau and its climate shows transitional features peculiar to both the Mediterranean climate and the continental climate (Çölaşan 1960, 41–42). While the coastland and the southern part of the Lake District, particularly the Taurus, are under the influence of the Mediterranean climate, towards the north into the Anatolian plateau, continental climate gradually begins to dominate (Çölaşan 1960,

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4 See, for instance, Brückner (2005) for the alluvial deposition, shoreline displacement and its consequences at Ephesos, Brückner et al. (2002) for those at Priene and Brückner et al. (2006) for the ecological and geographical changes, including the alluvial deposition and shoreline displacement, at Miletos.

5 For instance the water level in Lake Burdur has fallen by 11 m between 1970 and 2002 and the lake area has contracted dramatically (N. Roberts and Reed 2009, 276 and figure 9.15). See Magnin and Yarar (1997) for environmental changes in other Pisidian lakes including human induced changes, such as the introduction of alien fish species and N. Roberts and Reed (2009) for a general overview of the changes in the Mediterranean wetlands since the beginning of the Holocene.

222). Pednelissos, accordingly, falls into an area which is under the influence of the Mediterranean climate.

The Mediterranean climate is characterized by hot, dry summers and warm, wet winters (Harding, Palutikof, and Holt 2009, 69–72). Typically, 70-80% of the total rainfall is received between October and March and around 40% between December and February (Harding, Palutikof, and Holt 2009, 70). The data collected between 1970 and 2011 at the Antalya Meteorological Station, which is the nearest meteorological station to Pednelissos, indicate that the area around Pednelissos follows this typical climatic pattern. Accordingly, the area around Antalya has a mean summer temperature over 28° C in summer and around 10° C in winter (General Directorate of Meteorological Services n.d. a) (see fig. 6).<sup>6</sup> According to the same data, the period between November to February witnesses most of the precipitation in the area; whereas, the period between June to August and even to September is the driest (General Directorate of Meteorological Services n.d. b) (see fig. 7). Another significant fact is the fluctuations between the total amounts of annual precipitation from year to year (see fig. 8). Since Pednelissos is located to the north of Antalya and at a higher altitude, slightly different figures than those observed at Antalya could be expected.

Several studies have attempted a reconstruction of the ancient climatic conditions in the region and their long-term change over time. Although it is not possible, yet, to reconstruct the ancient climate in short time periods and in definite locations, there are indications of various climatic trends and changes over rather long time spans at a regional scale. It is generally accepted that there was a general transition in the Mediterranean from a more humid climate in early Holocene to a drier climate in late Holocene (N. Roberts, Brayshaw, et al. 2011, 3). This transition took place over a period of three millennia with oscillations from wetter to drier phases, which also

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6 The maximum temperature was measured on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July in 2000 as 45° C and the minimum temperature was measured on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February in 2004 as -4° C (General Directorate of Meteorological Services 2012).

comprised periods of droughts (N. Roberts, Eastwood, et al. 2011, 151).<sup>7</sup> However, by the end of the first quarter of the first millennium BC the climate around the eastern Mediterranean is thought to have reached a stable condition similar, at least in its main lines, to that of the present day.

At a more local and shorter time scale, there are other indications of climatic variations between today and the antiquity. Palaeoenvironmental studies carried out at Sagalassos, a large Pisidian city approximately 60 km to the northwest of Pednelissos, provide abundant evidence about this variation.<sup>8</sup> According to these studies, for instance, olive was cultivated in Sagalassos in antiquity, which is evidenced by pollen diagrams of the period and the archaeological finds such as olive presses and carbonized olive wood. The fact that olive is not presently cultivated in the area is interpreted as an indication of a milder climate in the past with winter and spring temperatures 2 – 3° C higher than today, which is favoured by olive trees (Vermoere et al. 2000, 588–589).<sup>9</sup>

To sum up, climatic conditions in the vicinity of the ancient city of Pednelissos are thought to have reached a stable level more or less similar to that of the present day by the end of the first quarter of the first millennium BC. There is evidence for slight climatic variations when compared to present day conditions, though this might have led to bigger economic consequences as in the case of olive cultivation at Sagalassos. However, it is concluded that Pednelissos would have been dominated

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7 See Kuzucuoğlu et al. (2011, 186–187 and especially figure 6) for a detailed analysis of cores from Tecer Lake (north central Asia Minor) showing the gradual transition from a more humid climate to a drier climate, wetter and drier phases of this transition and durations of these phases. Also see N. Roberts, Eastwood, et al. (2011, especially figure 3) for an investigation of the relation between cultural periods and dry and wet phases of the mid- to late-Holocene climate change in the eastern Mediterranean.

8 See Bottema and Woldring (1995); Vermoere et al. (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003); Vermoere (2004).

9 Also see Eastwood, N. Roberts, and Lamb (1998, 77–78) for a discussion of palynological data about olive cultivation in southwestern Asia Minor during the Beyşehir Occupation Phase and Mitchell (2005) for archaeological and historical data about olive cultivation in Asia Minor and a discussion of its extent and economic consequences.

by what could be considered a typical Mediterranean climate characterized by hot, dry summers and warm, wet winters.

Since social life and day-to-day activities must have been adapted to the climate, climatic conditions around Pednelissos, taken together with the physical environment of the area, could be indicative of ancient lifestyles, which may or may not be traced in the archaeological record. For instance, it could be expected that the laborious activities requiring bodily effort took place in early and late hours of summer days with long hours of mid-day breaks; whereas, they were done in mid-day hours in winters. Some of the residents may have been temporarily migrating to settlements at higher altitudes during hot summer months similar to the way that people spend their summers at highland plains (*yaylas*) today.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, political issues such as wars, especially with the northern neighbours where climate was much colder and terrain much more difficult to travel, must have taken place in warmer months and came to a halt in winter.<sup>11</sup>

The climatic conditions could, on the other hand, influence the architectural practices. For example, south facing orientations and buildings would have been favoured as they could provide maximum benefit from the sun in winters.<sup>12</sup> Buildings as such must have been planned to make maximum use of the sunlight in winter and had precautions against it in summer. Colonnaded porches and porticoes for instance could have been used in front of the southern facades of buildings as these architectural elements restrict the sunlight in summer when

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10 One of the highland plains, *Kıçalı Yaylası*, used for summer habitation today is situated approximately 12 km to the southeast of Pednelissos. Remains of some walls, which probably belonged to a watchpost, a church and some associated buildings indicate ancient habitation (Vandeput, Köse, and Jackson 2012, 274–75). It is possible that the area was also used for temporary summer habitation where people stayed in temporary wooden structures as they do today.

11 Polybius (5.72) states that the Selgians' besiege of Pednelissos had taken place in the summer. In addition, some of the Selgians had returned to their home during the siege as the harvest time approached, which indicates another climatic/ natural influence on socio-political life.

12 See Vitruvius (6.4.1-2) for the desirability of different exposures to sun for different spaces.

the sun is high but let it into the spaces behind them in winter when the sun is low.<sup>13</sup> Courtyards and open areas could have been compromised to strike a balance between summers and winters. Therefore, it should be considered in a discussion of landscapes of Pednelissos that Pednelissos must have been a settlement where climatic conditions had played a central role in both the structure of day-to-day life and the built environment that housed this life.

### **3.1.3. Vegetation**

Generally, the climatic zones in the Mediterranean broadly coincide with those of vegetation (N. Roberts, Brayshaw, et al. 2011, 6). The typical Mediterranean vegetation is thick, evergreen scrubs and sclerophyllous trees adapted to the distinctive Mediterranean climate with dry summers and wet winters (N. Roberts, Brayshaw, et al. 2011, 6–7) (see photo. 1). In the western Taurus where Pednelissos is located, lower altitudes up to 500-600 m are dominated by species more compatible with humankind, grazing animals and fire, such as junipers, pistachio and *Quercus calliprinos* (a subspecies of kermes oak), whereas forests gradually take over with increasing altitude (McNeill 1992, 21–22). Various species of pine is the prevailing tree species today in the southern slopes of Taurus; whereas, oak, juniper and fir are the other common tree species (*Orman Varlığımız*, 2006, 27) (see photo. 2).

Vegetation seems to have changed enormously since antiquity as evidenced by palynological studies on a number of cores in the vicinity of the Lake District.<sup>14</sup> Although there are slight variations between the cores, it is generally agreed that there was a well-established pine-dominated forest in Pisidia and its vicinity, including Pednelissos, until around the mid-second millennium BC (Eastwood

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13 See Vitruvius (6.1.1-2) for the importance of choosing the appropriate architectural form according to the climate.

14 See footnote 8 in this chapter, also Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb (1998); Eastwood et al. (1999); Kuzucuoğlu et al. (2011); N. Roberts, Brayshaw, et al. (2011) and N. Roberts, Eastwood, et al. (2011).

et al. 1999, 691; Vermoere et al. 2000, table 4). It is around this time that some anthropogenic activity (i.e. human impact) is discerned in pollen records from southwestern Turkey. This marks the beginning of a phase showing strong human impact on vegetation including forest clearance, crop cultivation and arboriculture (Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb 1998, 70). This period of intense human interaction with landscape is called the Beyşehir Occupation Phase after a pollen record from Beyşehir where it was clearly seen (Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb 1998, 70). Beyşehir Occupation Phase was widespread and covered most of southeastern Asia Minor, including Pisidia (Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb 1998, 70).<sup>15</sup> The first half of the Beyşehir Occupation Phase, lasting until around fifth century BC is characterized by forest clearance, while the second half lasting until around the seventh century AD is characterized by cultivation and arboriculture (Vermoere et al. 2000, table 4). After this period a forest recovery phase began, as a result of which the present pine forests emerged (Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb 1998, 78–79).

Therefore, the vegetative change around southwestern Asia Minor involved a full cycle beginning with woodlands, through phases of deforestation, cultivation and recovery ending with woodlands again (N. Roberts 1990, 55; Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb 1998, 78).<sup>16</sup>

The pine forests around Pednelissos today suggest that the area around Pednelissos conformed to this general vegetative pattern.<sup>17</sup> The periods during which the city flourished –from the third century BC to the seventh century AD– fall within the second half of the Beyşehir Occupation Phase characterized by cultivation and

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15 See Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb (1998, figure 1) for a map showing the extent of sites where the Beyşehir Occupation Phase is observed.

16 N. Roberts (1990, 63–64) also suggests that the settlement history in the same area during the same period was also cyclical with periods of intense agriculture alternating with phases in which the land was allowed to recover and was used primarily for semi-nomadic pastoralism.

17 Many of the pines around Pednelissos today are those that have been planted by the Ministry of Environment and Forest (personal communication with L. Vandepuit).



human influence on the landscape. This is hardly surprising as “in antiquity every piece of arable land was in cultivation” (Vandeput and Köse 2009, 46) around Pednelissos. Moreover, this pattern also broadly coincides with the archaeological evidence from Asia Minor (see fig. 9).

What is important for the purpose of this study is that the change in vegetation cover around Pednelissos indicates that the occupants of the city and its vicinity were actively involved with the landscape, making use of, interacting with, modifying and being influenced by it. This also shows that Pednelissians had adopted ways to cope with the landscape they were living in; they appropriated, disciplined and tamed the landscape in various ways. Forest clearance and terracing of steep slopes to make way for farmlands, bringing an order and harmony to the environment in the form of spatially coordinated buildings and bringing a structure to people’s experience of and confrontation with the landscape by streets, fortifications and gates were the major ways of human appropriation of the natural surroundings, traces of which are still visible today.

#### **3.1.4. People**

The ancient inhabitants of highland Pisidia are referred to as Pisidians in both modern and ancient literature (Bracke 1993, 16).<sup>18</sup> Pisidians are the descendents of Luwian Indo-European immigrants who settled in the southern and western Asia Minor in the late third or early second millennium BC (Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010, 122). Their language developed into several regional languages including the Pisidian language, which was spoken in the region into the Roman times but remains undeciphered as yet (Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010, 122; Bracke 1993, 24).

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18 Ancient sources are quite vague about the inhabitants of Pisidia. Solymi (for instance Homer *Iliad* 6.165-205) and Milyans (for instance Herodotus *Histories* 1.173) are also mentioned in addition to Pisidians who must have been different Pisidian groups. See Vanhaverbeke et al. (2010, 122) for further discussion.

Between about 1200 and 1000 BC, Greek immigrants from mainland Greece settled in the coastal plains of Pamphylia, which must have been thinly settled at the time (S. Mitchell 1991a, 119). Close relations between Pamphylia and Pisidia, including seasonal migration, transhumance and economic activities, also led to cultural interaction between the inhabitants of these regions. Native inhabitants of the highlands influenced Greek newcomers to a great degree for many centuries after the period of Greek migration; however, the process was reversed notably after the fourth century BC and the native population of the highland Pisidia was rapidly Hellenized (S. Mitchell 1991a, 121).

Evidence in connection with the prehistoric inhabitants of Pisidia on the other hand, is limited. However, prehistoric discoveries at Kuruçay Höyük (south of Lake Burdur) (Duru 1994, 1996), Hacılar (southwest of Lake Burdur) (Mellaart 1970, 1998), Höyücek (Duru and Umurtak 2005), Bademağacı Höyük (northwest of Antalya) (Duru 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004; Duru and Umurtak 2008) and Karain (northwest of Antalya) (Otte et al. 1995) evidence that habitation history around Pisidia went back as early as the Palaeolithic period.<sup>19</sup>

### **3.2. Settlement Context**

#### **3.2.1. Location and Layout**

Towards the southern fringes of the Pisidan region was located the ancient city of Pednelissos; on the southwestern slopes of a long and narrow, free-standing rocky mountain within the western Taurus system, the modern name of which is Bodrumkaya (see fig. 10). Though Bodrumkaya is not the highest peak in the

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<sup>19</sup> Also see Thissen (2010) for comparative datings of these sites; Vermeersch et al. (1997, 2000) for prehistoric sondage excavations in the territory of Sagalassos; Aydal et al. (1997) for prehistoric discoveries at Panemoteichos and Vandeput (2012) for prehistoric discoveries in the vicinity of Pednelissos.

vicinity, its rapid rise and steep slope give it a visual dominance in the skyline and a landmark character (see photo. 3–5). The summits of Bodrumkaya are prominent enough to capture attention even from a long a distance and its large mass gives the impression of a far pinnacle that is hard to reach while it unfolds amongst the lower hills with a dense vegetation cover as one gets closer to it. Once one gets on top of Bodrumkaya, the huge plains of Antalya, ancient Pamphylia, open up at the foothill as far out as the Mediterranean Sea on clear days. Pamphylian cities of Sillyon and Perge as well as many smaller ancient settlements are also within the view towards the south. The vista in the north dramatically contrasts with the vista in the south. A number of peaks, getting gradually higher towards the north, dominate the northern skyline (see photo. 6 and 7).

Bodrumkaya, therefore, provided strategic advantages on the one hand with its steep slopes and commanding position over the area, on the other hand, it constituted a difficult landscape to settle with obvious difficulties of construction, transportation and agriculture on such a difficult terrain.

The major concentration of the considerably well-preserved remains of Pednelissos is situated immediately below the steepest slopes of Bodrumkaya, at an altitude between 610 and 680 m, where the slope becomes relatively milder (see fig. 11 and 12). A large amount of remains, including individual buildings, *sarcophagi* and cisterns, in addition, are spread around this main concentration.

### **3.2.2. Re-Discovery and Identification of Pednelissos**

The earliest known ancient writer who mentions Pednelissos is Polybius. In his *Histories* (5.72-76) Polybius narrates the siege of Pednelissos by its neighbours, the Selgians, in 218 BC. According to him, Pednelissians asked Achaeus for help, who intervened with his army and forced Selgians to retreat and sign a peace treaty at the cost of 700 talents and freeing Pednelissian prisoners of war. Strabo, on the

other hand, gives some information about the location and ethnicity of Pednelissos in his *Geography*. Accordingly, Pednelissos was among the cities of the Pisidians (12.7.2) and located above Aspendos (14.4.2).

These ancient references to Pednelissos fuelled a debate among scholars over the location of Pednelissos in the mid-nineteenth century and several locations were proposed. The earliest suggestion was from Fellows (1852, 147–149), who associated Aspendos with Pednelissos. Hirschfeld (1875, 132 cited by Ramsay 1888, 272) located Pednelissos at the ruins at Sirt Köy, which is now known to have been Etenna. Objections to the identification of Sirt Köy as Pednelissos came from Ramsay (1888, 272), who instead suggested a more westerly location, and from Lanckoronski (1892, 2:192). Schönborn (cited by Işın 1998, 111), alternatively, suggested Karabavlu, which was later identified as Adada. Radet (1893, 193–194), on the other hand, associated the remains at modern Kızıllı with Pednelissos and was also supported by Ramsay (1902, fig. 5) and Kiepert (1894-1914, 10, fig. 7 & 8).

The earliest suggestion that the remains at Bodrumkaya could have been associated with Pednelissos came from the Dilettanti, a team of Italian researchers.<sup>20</sup> They made the earliest modern survey of the ruins at Bodrumkaya in 1914 and published a sketch plan (Paribeni 1921; Moretti 1921).<sup>21</sup>

The ruins at Bodrumkaya were little visited after this early survey; however, some research had focused on particular aspects of the ruins alongside the debate concerning the identification of Pednelissos. Imhoof-Blumer ([1902] 1991), Rage (1937) and von Aulock (1977) are among the earlier authors who mention Pednelissos. More recently, Özsait (1985) referred to the ruins at Bodrumkaya, which, according to him, had a high probability of having been associated with

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20 See Çelebi (2007) and Recke (2007) for the political motive of the Italian team.

21 Also see Comparetti (1921); Pace (1921) and SEG 2.710-734 for inscriptions found during this survey.

Pednelissos. Mitchell (1991a, 1992), and Bracke (1993) briefly referred to the ruins at Bodrumkaya while McNicoll (1997) investigated the fortifications and defensive structures at Bodrumkaya.

In the meantime, the long neglected region of Pisidia came into scholarly focus with the new publications of Bean (1959; 1960) and Levick (1967) as well as with the rescue excavation at Cremna (İnan 1970) and the survey of Selge (Machatschek and Schwarz 1981).

Stephen Mitchell initiated a long-term survey of Pisidia in 1982 to study the remains of urban settlements in order to understand the urbanization process in this inland region as opposed to better known coastal areas. An archaeological survey of the major cities of the region, including Pisidian Antioch, Cremna, Sagalassos, Ariassos, Sia and Kodrula<sup>22</sup>, as well as of smaller but significant sites, including Döşeme Boğazi, Panemoteichos and Ören Tepe, and a rural survey of the area between Korkuteli and Bucak had been completed by the end of the project in 1996 (S. Mitchell 1998).<sup>23</sup>

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22 Modern Kaynar Kale, northwest of Lake Kestel, has been tentatively associated with ancient Kodrula (S. Mitchell 1994, 144–48).

23 The results of the Pisidian Survey Project were published in two monographs (S. Mitchell 1995; S. Mitchell and Waelkens 1998) and various articles (S. Mitchell 1991a; 1992; 1998). Yearly reports were primarily published in *Anatolian Studies* (S. Mitchell 1983; 1984; 1986; 1987; 1991b; 1994; S. Mitchell and Waelkens 1988; S. Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989; Waelkens, Mitchell, and Owens 1990; Aydal et al. 1997).

Initiated in 1990 by Marc Waelkens, the large scale excavations at Sagalassos<sup>24</sup> and a regional survey in the vicinity of the city became a major source of archaeological data and contributed much to the knowledge about Pisidia.<sup>25</sup>

No new survey however was carried out in the vicinity of Bodrumkaya until Gül Işın's MA study (Işın 1990), which was later published as a journal article (Işın 1998). The site has been re-visited later within the scope of the Pisidia Survey Project and has become the subject of a detailed survey carried out in both the settlement centre and the territory.<sup>26</sup> This new initiative led to a renewed interest in the ruins of Bodrumkaya and new publications.<sup>27</sup> Survey reports of the Pisidia Survey Project, Vandeput and Köse (2003, 2004 and 2006) and Vandeput et al. (2005), as well as Işın (1998)'s article comprise the main sources of the documentation of the archaeological record at Pednelissos. This thesis takes the data that have been

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24 The multidisciplinary archaeological research in and around Sagalassos has provided a large body of publications covering many aspects of the ancient city as well as of Pisidia in general. The major volumes comprise the *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* series (M. Waelkens 1993a; M. Waelkens and Poblome 1993; 1995; 1997; M. Waelkens and Loots 2000; Degryse and Waelkens 2008), *Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology* series (Vandeput 1997a; Poblome 1999; Degeest 2000; De Cupere 2001; Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003; Vermoere 2004; Köse 2005a; Vanhaverbeke et al. 2008) and the *Jaarboeken* (M. Waelkens 2009; 2010; 2011).

25 Among the archaeologically known Pisidian cities, Sagalassos is one of the largest with its urban area covering about 40 ha and also one of the most well-known owing to the large scale excavations. Cremna and Selge are other larger Pisidian cities comparable to Sagalassos in terms of size and well-known through surveys. Among the better documented smaller cities are Ariassos (spreading over an area of 18 ha), 'Melli' (7 ha within its fortifications), Sia, Panemoteichos and Adada. Pednelissos, with its 10 ha within upper and lower city fortifications is comparable to the smaller Pisidian cities and can provide contextual information about urban morphology and spatial organization of a smaller Pisidian city with reference to these cities.

26 Pisidia Survey Project has been directed by Lutgarde Vandeput since 1998, who aims to study the rural territories as well as the urban centres (Pisidia Survey Project n.d.). A detailed survey in the scope of the Pisidia Survey Project took place at Bodrumkaya between 2001 and 2004 (Vandeput and Köse 2003; Vandeput and Köse 2004; Vandeput et al. 2005; Vandeput and Köse 2006) and in the territory of Bodrumkaya between 2007 and 2012 (Vandeput 2007a; Vandeput and Köse 2008; Vandeput, Köse, and Jackson 2009; Vandeput and Köse 2009; Vandeput and Köse 2010; Vandeput, Köse, and Jackson 2010; Vandeput, Köse, and Jackson 2011; Vandeput, Köse, and Jackson 2012).

27 Among the recent publications related to Bodrumkaya are Behrwald (2003), who presented a revised study of 21 previously published inscriptions and 5 newly found ones, Karas and Ristow (2003), who studied the churches in and around the city, and Köse (2005b), who investigated the market building and the *agora* and compared them with other examples from Pisidia. Vandeput (2007b; 2009), on the other hand, focused on the urban architecture within the context of Pisidia.

presented by these publications as the basis of the archaeological interpretation and makes a different reading from the point of view of urban image, landscape experience and perception of the physical setting.

The strongest evidence for the association of the ruins at Bodrumkaya with Pednelissos came from a coin dated to the third century AD (Işın 1998, 112).<sup>28</sup> The style of the depiction of Apollo on this coin is known only from the Apollo relief at Bodrumkaya. And the fact that no other plausible location has been suggested for Pednelissos as yet (S. Mitchell 1991a, 135) permits, with great certainty, the association of the ancient city on the slopes of Bodrumkaya with Pednelissos.

### ***3.2.3. The Defence System and the Fortifications***

Pednelissos spreads over two fortified areas (see plan 1). The larger of these, located at a slightly higher altitude and a relatively steeper terrain, is called the upper city. Steep, rocky slopes of Bodrumkaya form a wall-like barrier in the northeastern side of the upper city. Some stretches of the ancient fortifications reinforcing the protection on this side as well as the stairs reaching up to these walls are still visible over the ridges of Bodrumkaya, close to the summit (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 323) (see photo. 8). The remaining sides of the upper city are enclosed by fortifications. These form a roughly rectangular enclosure of 160x480 m oriented in northwest – southeast direction. This enclosure is pierced by three gates in the north, south and west, each protected with a tower (Vandeput and Köse 2009, 323) (see photo. 9–14).

The second fortified area, on the other hand, is called the lower city and situated immediately below and adjacent to the southwest of the upper city. The lower city spreads over a relatively more flat land and covers a smaller area than the upper city. The fortifications of the lower city can be traced in the southeast and southwest

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28 See Imhoof-Blumer ([1902] 1991, 2:388) for the coin.

and seem to have enclosed an area of roughly 150x150 meters. A connection of the lower city fortifications with those of the upper city, however, is not traceable (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353; Vandeput et al. 2005, 241).<sup>29</sup> An arched gate with a tower above provided access to the lower city and was also protected by a further tower to the southwest of the gate, where the fortifications make a turn (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353) (see photo. 15–19).

In addition to the city gates and towers, several stretches of the fortifications are preserved up to the walkway level and provide evidence about the city's defences and the construction date of the fortifications. In their original states, fortifications, gates and towers were built of cut stones in double skins, typically around 120 – 130 cm in width in total. The exterior faces of the walls are generally made of larger, well-cut, hammer-faced and often slightly pulvinated ashlar (Işın 1998, 113–14), while the interior faces are made of smaller and less regularly laid cut stones (see photo. 20).<sup>30</sup> Many repairs, often in an inferior quality in terms of material and workmanship, are visible within the fortifications, which indicate the continuous use of the defence system of Pednelissos (see photo. 21).

The parts of the fortifications around the northern gate are one of the best examples of the pulvination technique in the region and seem to have been the earliest surviving parts of the fortifications (Işın 1998, 114; Vandeput et al. 2005, 241) (see photo. 22 and 23).<sup>31</sup> This part of the fortifications is dated to the last quarter of the third century BC by Işın (1998, 114) and confirmed by Vandeput et al. (2005, 241).<sup>32</sup>

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29 This is also confirmed by geophysical survey, which indicates the demolition of the fortifications to the northeast of the lower city gate and a subsequent building activity (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353).

30 Also see McNicoll (1997, 132–134) for detailed descriptions of various sections of the fortifications, towers and gates.

31 For similar constructions see Işın (1998, 114 and footnotes 33–38) and Vandeput et al. (2005, 241 and footnote 14).

32 It is noted that this type of construction could be seen in the period from the fourth century BC to the end of the first century BC (Işın 1998, 114); however, a date in the third century BC fits better to



The southern gate and the well-preserved fortifications around it as well as the lower city gate, tower to the southwest of this gate and the fortifications between them are dated to a later phase than the northern section of the fortifications. Işın (1998, 113–14) suggests a date in the second century BC for the lower city defence system with the parts around the southern gate of the upper city being slightly earlier.<sup>33</sup>

McNicoll (1997, 149), conversely, thinks that the fortifications and the towers of Pednelissos are too slender to carry artillery engines and endure a strong attack by the armies with siege-trains; therefore, they were restricted to a capacity to resist inferior attackers, such as brigands and pirates. As such, he suggests that they must have been built during the Roman rule, that is after 133 BC, while he also admits that a late Hellenistic date would be more reasonable in terms of a historical, strategic and constructional analysis (McNicoll 1997, 156). He thinks that this could have been either because Rome forbade the construction of strong fortifications or else people had felt themselves secure against external threats (McNicoll 1997, 149).

Archaeological evidence, on the other hand, indicates that the Pisidian cities acquired their fortifications during the Hellenistic period (S. Mitchell 1998, 243).<sup>34</sup> It is reasonable in this context to conclude that Pednelissos, similar to other cities of the region, acquired its defences in the Hellenistic period, beginning from the third century BC.

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the historical context of Pednelissos and urban development of Pisidian cities in general.

33 Vandeput et al. (2005, 241) similarly compares the lower city fortifications with the second century BC fortifications at Oenoanda and the lower city gate with the second and first century BC examples from Sillyon, Güvercinlik and Cremna. Mitchell agrees that the southern fortifications are “clearly Hellenistic work” (1991a, 135), while compares the lower city gate with those at Sillyon (1991a, 136) and at Cremna (1995, 48).

34 For instance the fortifications of Termessos have been dated to the fourth, Ariassos and Sia to the second century BC (S. Mitchell 1998, 243).

### **3.2.4. Planning and Grid**

Pednelissos was laid out on terraces.<sup>35</sup> Short, straight stretches of terrace walls follow each other to form continuous terrace lines along the topographical contours. These lines extend more or less parallel to each other and roughly in northwest – southeast direction (see plan 2 and photo. 24).

The upper city is better preserved than the lower city in terms of yielding the street pattern. Here, streets either follow the terrace lines to run across the slope in roughly northwest – southeast direction or lie along the slope in roughly northeast – southwest direction. They are more or less parallel to each other and intersect at roughly perpendicular angles (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 321). The widths of the streets generally vary between 1.50 and 2.50 m, while the widths of several alleyways drop down to less than 1 m, particularly between buildings on steeper slopes. The streets running in northwest – southeast direction cutting the slope have milder gradients; whereas those running in northeast – southwest direction climbing the slope are quite steep and often compensate the slope with steps (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 321). Therefore, it could be concluded that the streets of Pednelissos were not intended for vehicular traffic.

It is not possible to trace the street pattern in the lower city except the principal streets. A street approaching the lower city gate from outside the fortifications can be traced on site (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353). When it reaches the lower city gate, it splits into two and one paved branch connects to the western gate of the upper city (see photo. 25) while another stretch can be traced going towards northwest. In addition to these, a third street, which is also paved, extends from the church in the lower city to the western gate of the upper city (see plan 2).

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35 This is reminiscent of Pergamon, where the aim was to achieve a unity of the built and the natural environment (Vandeput 1997a, 12).

A somewhat loose grid pattern seems to have been applied, particularly in the upper city (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 321). Long and narrow rectangular building blocks of the grid lie along the terraces with their longer sides across and cutting the slope. They are by no means uniform but most of the building blocks seem to conform to a pattern, which resembles a grid distorted to fit the topography. Many irregularities exist within the pattern; whether these were original constructions or later modifications to the grid is not easy to answer without an excavation. In any case, the building blocks were not laid arbitrarily and were certainly allocated with a concern for planning. This concern seems to have focused on adopting the *Hippodamian* grid; however, the irregular terrain of Pednelissos would have necessitated an adaptation of the grid principle to the peculiar landscape. Pednelissos indeed exemplifies the application of the *Hippodamian* grid in a *loose* way in order to fit into an irregular and steep terrain. This is the most peculiar feature of Pednelissos and differentiates it from other cities of Pisidia (Compare Pednelissos [plan 2] with Sagalassos [fig. 13], Ariassos [fig. 14] and 'Melli' [fig. 15]).

#### **3.2.4.1. The Hippodamian Grid and its Implications**

The systematic chessboard layout of the building blocks or the *grid-iron* urban plan is generally attributed to Hippodamos of Miletos, although he cannot be the inventor of it as it had been adopted in many other places, such as in the Greek colonies of southern Italy, in Asia Minor, Egypt, Middle East and the Indus Valley before him (Lagopoulos 2009, 197–198; Mazza 2009, 118). However, he was acknowledged as the one who perfected and idealized the system and applied it for the first time at a large scale in Miletos in the fifth century BC when Milesians returned to their destroyed city and had to rebuild it after the Persian retreat (Hoepfner 2009, 169; Owens 2009, 183–184). The Hippodamian grid remained a quick and convenient way of establishing new cities and was later adopted also by the Hellenistic kings and the Romans who adapted the idea and applied it according to their preferences

and indeed used it as a means of cultural promotion and self-aggrandizement in the territories they conquered (Owens 2009, 183).

Hippodamos' thoughts as a political philosopher are also important in this context. Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.1267b) relates spatial control with social control and cites Hippodamos as the one who proposed to structure the society on the basis of classes.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, the land was also divided; sacred land to supply the offerings for the gods, common land to provide food for the military class and private land to be owned by the farmers (*Aristot. Pol.* 2.1267b).<sup>37</sup> This is one of the earliest examples of *zoning*, where land was divided into three zones and different functions were allocated to each zone (Mazza 2009, 118). The division of land proposed by Hippodamos in addition, was not done in an arbitrary sense but was related to the division of society into classes. Therefore Hippodamos had "... establish[ed] and explicitly express[ed] the connection between plan and constitution, that is, between plan and various forms of citizenship" (Mazza 2009, 121).

According to Hippodamos, therefore, spatial planning was related to social division and was a way of structuring and consolidating the divisions in the society. Hippodamos must have used grid as a convenient way to divide the land and assign specific functions to specific plots in relation to the social divisions. Adoption of the Hippodamian grid at Pednelissos in this respect might indicate the existence of a class division and perhaps an attempt for social control in ways similar to those seen in the contemporary societies of the time.

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36 Hippodamos' ideal city, which was for a population of 10 thousand, was divided into three classes; artisans, farmers and the military. Hippodamos proposed that all these three classes would participate in the government and the people's assembly, who chose the governing officials, would consist of these three classes (*Aristot. Pol.* 2.1268a).

37 For Hippodamos the numbers 3 and 10 had symbolic ramifications, which originated from the Greek cosmology and had their roots in very early Indo-European cultures (Lagopoulos 2009, 197–198).

The Hippodamian grid is very well-documented in Asia Minor. Priene,<sup>38</sup> one of the middle-sized cities of the Maeander valley in western Asia Minor, provides one of the best examples of grid planning in the region. Despite its steep topography, a strict geometric layout has been adopted at Priene (Ferla 2005, 52). Oriented to the cardinal points of the compass, equally spaced and orthogonally intersecting streets divide the city into equal building plots (Ferla 2005, 50–54) (see fig. 16).

Pergamon, on the other hand, exemplifies the application of the grid-iron principle in an extremely steep topography. The city acquired its first grid layout during the third century BC when the city was re-founded by Philetairos (Radt 2001, 45).<sup>39</sup> This early grid consisted of a network of narrow streets with roughly equal distances in between; however, also with several deviations (Radt 2001, 45–47). When the city expanded in the second century BC, new quarters were laid out around the old city according to a new grid, which was very regular but differed in its orientation from the earlier grid (Radt 2001, 47). Pergamon acquired a third grid in the second century AD when the city expanded down the hill into the plain below. This final grid of the city was also different from the earlier ones, both in its orientation, size and shape<sup>40</sup> of the building blocks (Radt 2001, 49–51) (see fig. 17). Pergamon, in this respect, provides a number of parallels to Pednelissos and illustrates the general lines of the use of Hippodamian grid in cities of Asia Minor. First of all, Pergamon shows that the concept of grid planning remained in use in Asia Minor at least from the early Hellenistic period to the end of the early imperial period. Secondly, it testifies

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38 Priene, though located in an entirely different region, is comparable to Pednelissos in terms of its size and topography as well as the date of foundation.

39 Traces of small, rectangular houses which were laid out regularly and parallel to one another and dated to the fourth century BC have led to speculations about an earlier grid in Pergamon. The irregularities within the Philetaiorean grid may have been because of this earlier layout. However, no other evidence to support this has been found yet (Radt 2001, 45–47).

40 The earlier Philetaiorean urban blocks at Pergamon were rectangular, while the later Roman urban blocks were almost square (Radt 2001, fig. 2.6). This is also paralleled at Ephesus, where the earlier Hellenistic urban blocks were rectangular, while those of the later Augustan grid were square (Scherrer 2001, fig. 3.20). It is also interesting to note that the ratio of the longer edge of the building block to the shorter edge is similar in both cities, being around 1.4 at Ephesus and 1.6 at Pergamon.

to the use of grid even in steep and irregular terrains with necessary modifications in the grid to adapt to the topographical particularities, a fact closely paralleled at Pednelissos. Moreover, Pergamon exemplifies how the planning grid was developed with respect to the needs and specific conditions and grids of different sizes and orientations may be followed at different times. The Hippodamian grid thus was not utilized by ancient planners as a fixed urban planning system to follow regardless of the context but is open to modifications and adaptations where necessary.<sup>41</sup>

Although it has been taken by most modern scholars as the exclusive sign of a *planned* settlement, the Hippodamian grid or the orthogonal planning is only one of the many other ways of spatial planning. Smith (2007) asserts that planned settlements share two common characteristics; a degree of *coordination* exists among buildings and spaces and a level of *standardization* exists between different settlements. Accordingly, it can be argued that a coordination exists among buildings and spaces when these features of architecture have been arranged and constructed with reference to one another, for instance when buildings share a common orientation with reference to such features as plazas, avenues, city walls or monumental architecture, or when buildings and spaces have been arranged according to a geometric pattern, including orthogonal layouts such as a grid (Smith 2007, 8–25). Standardization, on the other hand, means the presence of similar buildings, layouts or other urban features in a group of related cities, which may be indicated by the presence of re-appearing public buildings and features, presence of common spatial patterns and similarities in the orientations of cities (for instance with reference to cardinal directions) (Smith 2007, 25–29). Pednelissos, in this respect, shows the characteristics of a planned settlement not only with its

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41 Similar developments can be traced in other cities of Asia Minor. Perge, located in the Pamphylian Plain to the south of Pednelissos, for instance, shows signs of a grid system in its acropolis, which was extended down into the plain below with the expansion of the city and was modified again in the imperial period (Abbasoğlu 2001). Here again, the grid was applied in a loose way and, where necessary, “abandoned for topographical reasons” (Abbasoğlu 2001, 180). Also see Scherrer (2001) how two different grids, one laid out in the Hellenistic period the other during the Augustan period, operated at Ephesos.

grid but also with the coordination of its buildings and its adherence to the urban standards of the time.

#### **3.2.4.2. Spatial Coordination and the Urban Grid**

It is possible to consider the coordination of buildings and spaces at Pednelissos at two scales. At a local scale it is seen that buildings and open spaces were laid out with reference to each other, particularly to monumental public buildings and spaces. The civic centre exemplifies this, where an almost perfectly orthogonal open space –the *agora*– was bounded and defined by buildings that surrounded it (see fig. 18). The market building and the *bouleuterion* (later a church) that surrounded the *agora* oriented themselves with reference to the orientation of the *agora* and got their access from it, creating a coordinated spatial arrangement as well as a coordinated and structured sequence of passage from space to space. In this sequence, one is directed from a street firstly into the *agora*, a semi-enclosed unroofed space, and then into one of the buildings opening onto the *agora*, for instance into the *bouleuterion*, an enclosed and roofed space. Therefore the geometric coordination of spaces and buildings is supplemented by a structural passage from open to enclosed and from unroofed to roofed. Moreover, the buildings around the civic centre also oriented themselves with reference to the *agora*, creating almost perfectly straight streets around the almost perfectly orthogonal civic centre, with the exception of the area around the southern corner of the market building where the terrain is extremely steep. Therefore it can be concluded that there was an organized coordination between the buildings and urban spaces of Pednelissos at a local scale.

At the city scale, on the other hand, it can be observed that buildings and open spaces were arranged in long and narrow rectangular blocks laid out along the topographical contours. A common orientation, for instance to cardinal points of the compass, is not traceable among buildings, apparently due to topographical reasons. It rather appears that the shape and orientation of the building blocks

were dictated by the topography. Especially in the upper city, the building blocks form more or less parallel stacks going up the slope; however, going at the same level across the slope the stacks *bend* or *distort* to fit into the terrain. It implies that the building blocks were *meant* to be orthogonally juxtaposed, but due to the irregularities of the terrain they compromised their orientations. This is indicative of the coordination of building plots with reference to a geometric pattern, which resembles the Hippodamian grid but was applied in a *distorted* or *loose* way.

The building blocks of Pednelissos generally vary in size between 20 and 35 m in length along northwest – southeast streets and between 5 and 15 m in width along northeast – southwest streets. Their orientations also vary with reference to the topography. In addition, there are larger blocks which seem to have been formed by combining adjacent blocks and blocking the streets in between (see fig. 19). Blocks with irregular shapes which do not fit into the grid also exist.

Two major axes could be identified within this loose grid of rectangular blocks (see plan 2). One of them ran roughly in the northwest – southeast direction, from the northern gate of the upper city to the *agora*, which then can be traced for a long while towards further southeast (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 321). It must have continued further and probably was connected to the southern gate of the upper city. The other axis run roughly in the northeast – southwest direction and connected the gate of the lower city to the *agora*, where it intersected with the first major axis. The resemblance of these two axes to the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* of a typical Roman city is noteworthy (see fig. 20 for a typical example of Roman urban planning with *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*).<sup>42</sup>

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42 Roman urban planning is characterized with monumental public buildings and squares, such as bath-houses, amphitheatres and *fora*, spread within the walled settlement and connected with wide, uninterrupted main streets along which the important spots are further emphasized by secondary monumental structures, such as fountains and triumphal arches (MacDonald 1986). On a formal basis, on the other hand, regular building blocks arranged within an orthogonal grid with a major north-south street (*cardo maximus*) and a major east-west street (*decumanus maximus*) is viewed as the ideal spatial manifestation of Roman urban planning (Grimal 1983, 10–11).



Vandeput (personal communication) suggests that the northeast – southwest axis connecting the lower city gate and the *agora* was a later Roman modification which aimed to bring the city in line with the typical planning layout favoured by the Romans.<sup>43</sup>

The evidence from Perge, southwestern neighbour of Pednelissos in the Pamphylian plain, exemplifies this model of development. Accordingly, the main north – south street of Perge took its final course and character of a typical *cardo maximus* as well as its embellishment with colonnades, water canal and landmarks, such as the triumphal arch at the south end and the nymphaeum at the north end, over a long time span during the Roman imperial period by the remodelling of an earlier Hellenistic street (Abbasoğlu 2001, 179–180).<sup>44</sup>

Cremna, a highland Pisidian settlement re-founded as a colony in Augustan times and located 35 km to the southeast of modern Isparta, provides close parallels to Pednelissos regarding the urban grid. The residential area in the west of the settlement was laid out on a regular grid pattern that was not rigidly imposed but adapted to the terrain, which resulted in irregular blocks of different sizes and shapes with changing orientations (S. Mitchell 1995, 160) (see fig. 21). A colonnaded street was later incorporated into the southern end of this residential district during the second century AD (S. Mitchell 1995, 123–138). Yegül thinks that this colonnaded street functioned as a “strong urban organizer” and suggests that the “loosely-applied” grid “might have been an early colonial attempt to regularize an already-existing Hellenistic neighbourhood” (2000, 144–146).

Similarly, the grid planning at Pednelissos may be interpreted as an attempt to regularize and bring an order to a difficult terrain. However, it is notable that the

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43 See footnote 42 above.

44 The chronological development of the main east – west street (*decumanus maximus*) of Perge, on the other hand, remains unknown for the moment as it is not yet excavated (Abbasoğlu 2001, 180).

loosely-applied grid at Cremna was imposed after the Roman colonizers settled (S. Mitchell 1995); whereas, the grid at Pednelissos was laid out as early as when the city was founded (personal communication with L. Vandeput). Each of the succeeding periods transformed and added something to the contents of the grid; however, the idea of the grid planning, in general, was not altered. Even though the terrain was not ideal and would have been problematic for a regular grid-iron layout, the grid was adapted to operate in a loose way to fit the topography and remained in use throughout the entire occupation period of the city, which lasted at least between the third century BC and the seventh century AD. This indicates the aspirations of the Pednelissians to follow the general planning ideals of the era, which were practised, excelled and idealized in large and influential metropoleis of the time and also became known to the modern scholars through the study of these cities. It also indicates that the grid was seen as a useful way of planning, structuring and bringing an order to the built environment and probably also to the society. In addition to being a useful tool to regulate the built environment, ease addressing and orientation, structure the society and provide a means of social control, the grid itself must also have had symbolic associations. It manifests a *civilized* city and may have indicated the Pednelissians' claims or desires for establishing references to a *civilized* world. It was also seen as an indication of a tamed land appropriated and disciplined for habitation.<sup>45</sup>

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45 "Culture is ... the extra-somatic means of adaptation for the human organism" (Binford 1962, 218) is one of the well-known affirmations of the processual archaeologists in the 1960s. In this respect, planning of the built environment can also be viewed as a part of culture and having served for the Pednelissians as a mechanism of adaptation to their natural environment. However, it will be argued in this study that, rather than merely *adapting to* the environment, people *interacted with* the environment; making use of, shaping, giving a meaning to and being influenced by it. For this purpose it is more reasonable to define culture as "the medium through which people transform the mundane phenomena of the material world into a world of significant symbols to which they give meaning and attach value" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 99). Accordingly culture is *active*, as it is constantly subject to change, symbolic and intertwined with relations of power (D. Mitchell 1995, 103).

### **3.2.4.3. Standardization of the Urban Environment**

The Hellenistic and Roman periods, during which Pednelissos flourished, are differentiated by an emphasis on *urban culture*. The term *urban culture* is used here to indicate a social and administrative structure organized around urban centres. The city was the basic unit of social and political organization in both the Hellenistic and succeeding Roman cultures, which dominated most of the Mediterranean, including Pisidia, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Ratte and De Staebler 2011, 123). Civilization and culture were heavily concentrated in cities and cities were emphasized not only as an administrative unit but also as the centre of culture, art, science, education, wealth and civilization (S. Mitchell 1995, 19).

The built environment was also manipulated to reflect the *urban* character and culture of a settlement and differentiate it from non-urbanized, in other words, *barbarous* settlements (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:80–81). Buildings, particularly monumental public buildings such as temples, bath-houses and theatres, as well as urban elements such as colonnaded streets and monumental gateways were distinctive for the Greco-Roman society and played a significant role in this civilised urban culture (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:80). Consequently, a high proportion of a community's resources were spent for building, decorating and repairing public buildings (S. Mitchell 1995, 19). Even small cities invested a large part of their income in public buildings, so that such buildings tended to become an important criterion of status for a city, in addition to its economic and military power (Pounds 1969). This resulted in a common form of spatial planning, a recurring repertoire of architectural forms, elements and buildings as well as a number of public facilities shared by many of the settlements acknowledged as cities. Architectural and spatial elaboration, in addition to other political and social issues, came to symbolize *civilization* in the context of antiquity.

The Romans transformed orthogonally planned Hellenistic cities with public buildings and urban spaces according to their own needs and preferences. A Roman city came to be differentiated by an extended repertoire of buildings with the addition of bath-houses, *amphitheatres*, *stadia*, public squares and amenities such as fountains and latrines laid out in an orthogonal pattern and connected with colonnaded streets (Ward-Perkins 1974, 33–36). The architectural manifestation of the Greco-Roman urban culture in this sense was standardized in the form a particular repertoire of buildings coordinated in orthogonal layouts. The citizens of the cities of the period chose among this repertoire of buildings, in proportion to their economic means, to create the form, appearance and the *image* of their cities (Zanker 1988, 313–15; Kaiser 2011, 16).

Pednelissos obviously shared many of the architectural standards of the Greco-Roman urban culture. Its monumental public buildings such as the *agora*, bath-house, *bouleuterion*, temple and later churches as well as urban squares planned within a loosely-applied grid and connected with paved streets indicate that Pednelissos was a *city* that adhered to the standards of the Greco-Roman urban ideals.

Buildings and urban spaces were spatially coordinated in Pednelissos and adhered to the urban standards of the time, thus exhibited the two characteristics of planned settlements. It can be concluded that a concern for urban planning existed at Pednelissos, a fact indicating, among other things, the Pednelissians' cultural claim to be a part of the Greco-Roman urban civilization.

### **3.2.5. Public Buildings, Squares and Facilities**

#### **3.2.5.1. The Upper City: The Civic Centre and the Hellenization of Pednelissos**

A central location within the urban grid of Pednelissos was occupied by what could be considered as the civic centre of the city. An *agora* (no.1 in plan 1, see photo. 26), covering an area of approximately 28 x 20 m, which was paved in its entirety with large lime stone blocks formed the focus of this centre (Işın 1998, 115; Vandeput and Köse 2003, 321). The well-preserved southeastern terrace wall of the *agora* shows a very elaborate workmanship with pseudo-isodomic, hammer-faced and slightly pulvinated ashlar blocks (see photo. 27) (Işın 1998, 115). This elaborate construction, as well as a number of inscription blocks and bases of honorific monuments<sup>46</sup> (see photo 28) found in the *agora*, indicates the significance of this space.

Attached to the southwestern side of the *agora* are the well-preserved remains of a market building (no. 2 in plan 1, see photo. 29 and 30). The building had three stories as indicated by the beam holes in the unusually well-preserved northern corner of the building (Işın 1998, 115). Consisting of eight commercial units, the ground floor was arranged in a row along the southwestern side of the *agora* (Köse 2005b, 144). Each room opened onto the street to the southwest of the building and probably also had a window (Köse 2005b, 144). The middle storey would have been a storage hall like those in similar market buildings of the time, whereas the top floor would have been a *stoa*<sup>47</sup> opening onto the *agora* and surrounded by walls

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46 See Vandeput (1993a) for a general analysis and typology of honorific monuments of Pisidia and the use of free standing honorific monuments in the upper and lower *agorae* of Sagalassos.

47 A *stoa*, in its simplest form, was a long rectangular roofed building consisting of a long back wall with a row of columns in front and short end walls connecting them. The history of the *stoa* covers almost the whole span of Greek architecture from early archaic to the end of the Hellenistic period, with its heydays during the fourth to second centuries BC. *Stoa* became a hallmark of Greek architecture and a distinctive space of the Greek social and public life (Coulton 1976, 1–7). In this respect, existence of a *stoa* at Pednelissos can be viewed as indicating the fact that the Hellenistic culture had been adopted by the society of Pednelissos.

on the remaining three sides (Köse 2005b, 144).<sup>48</sup> The market building originally had units in the northern side as well, forming an L shape, which were demolished at some point (Köse 2005b, 144). Other alterations, such as the blocking of at least one of the doors of the ground floor units, as well as a large amount of reused materials in the walls indicating repairs, evidence the continuous use of the building (Işın 1998, 115).

The *agora* shares its southwestern terrace wall with the market building, which has a solid construction like that of the southeastern terrace wall of the *agora*, but is less appealing to eye as it is made of large, irregular rubble (see photo. 31). This was obviously due to the fact that this wall was not exposed to the street and hence was not intended to be seen by the passers-by. In contrast, the street-facing facades of the market building have visually comparable walls to the southeastern terrace wall of the *agora*. These are also of hammer-faced ashlar blocks (Işın 1998, 115), but smaller in size and irregularly laid than those of the *agora*. The northwestern and southeastern walls of the *agora* continue in an uninterrupted way towards southwest where they form the walls of the market building (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 322). This indicates that both the *agora* and the market building belong to the same building phase, which are dated to the late Hellenistic period on the basis of wall construction technique, location within the city, proximity and relation to each other and internal spatial arrangement of the market building (Işın 1998, 115; Vandeput and Köse 2003, 322).

A large basilical church (no. 14 in plan 1) measuring approximately 30 x 16 m stands to the east of the *agora*.<sup>49</sup> It has three aisles and an apse, which now mostly remains

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48 The earliest examples of this type of multi-storey market buildings are seen at Pergamon in the second century BC and thought to have spread by the influence of the Attalids (Köse 2005b, 140–141). A similar three storey market building is found in Selge (Köse 2005b, 143–144). Market buildings at Alinda, Assos, Aigai and Lyrbe also provide comparable evidence (Işın 1998, 115). Other Pisidian market buildings include those at Kapılıtaş or Kapıkaya (Köse 2005b, 148) and at Melli (Vandeput and Köse 2001, 133; Köse 2005b, 148–152).

49 See Karas and Ristow (2003, fig. 3) for a plan of this church.

under the recently built dirt road (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 322–323). Many reused architectural fragments from earlier buildings and honorific monuments are identifiable especially around the southwestern façade of the building, which opens onto the *agora* (Işın 1998, 116; Vandeput and Köse 2003, 322–23). In addition to the use of *spolia*, more elaborately treated southwestern and southeastern walls, in comparison to those of the northwestern and northeastern walls suggest that it was converted from an earlier building (Vandeput and Köse 2003, 322–323). The suggestion that a space for public assembly, possibly a *bouleuterion*, existed here prior to the church (personal communication with L. Vandeput) fits well into the historical context (see below) and is totally in line with a common occurrence in cities of Pisida, that is the positioning of Christian monuments in the heart of the older, pagan civic centres (Vandeput and Köse 2002, 150).<sup>50</sup>

Therefore, it is understood that a fully fledged civic centre consisting of an *agora*, which was surrounded by a *bouleuterion* and a *stoa* with a market building below was established in Pednelissos by the late Hellenistic period. This is indicative of other implications when considered within a wider historical framework. As Mitchell (1991a, 142) points out, the most important public buildings in the Classical and Hellenistic periods were those that were related to the political and economic independence as well as self governance of cities. Accordingly, the *agora*, with its associated spaces such as the *stoa*, was the public arena and “the essence of Greek civic life” (S. Mitchell 1991a, 141), the *bouleuterion* embodied the autonomy and self-governance of the city by the public assembly of its citizens while the market buildings provided a storage space for food supplies to survive during a siege or a bad harvest and indicated the running of a market economy that was so central to the life of a city (M. Waelkens 2002a, 63). Mitchell (1995, 33–34) also asserts that

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50 A similar development is observed at Selge, where the *odeion* or *bouleuterion* by the upper *agora* was converted into a church (Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, 107–108). In Cremna, on the other hand, the central basilica which was initially a secular building, was transformed into a church (S. Mitchell 1995, 230). Further examples include the conversion of the *bouleuterion* courtyard into a basilical church at Sagalassos (Waelkens, Poblome, et al. 2000, 246–68) and incorporation of two later basilical churches to the southeast of the *agora* at Melli (Vandeput and Köse 2002, 148).

none of these buildings existed in a vacuum on its own but were seen as co-existing in all well-preserved Hellenistic cities. They were the architectural embodiment of the Hellenized community, which was characterized as living independently in self-governed cities and operating a market economy (S. Mitchell 1995, 6).

Archaeological evidence indicate that cities organized along these lines emerged in Pisidia between the third and first centuries BC (S. Mitchell 1998, 243–244). Sagalassos provides a monumental example for this, where the upper *agora*, dated to the third century BC, and the *bouleuterion* to the west of the upper *agora*, dated to late second/ early first century BC, formed the political centre of the city; whereas, the lower *agora*, which was established by the first century BC at the latest, would have served as the commercial centre (Waelkens, Pauwels, and Van Den Bergh 1995, 23–27).

Selge, the eastern neighbour of Pednelissos, similarly had a civic centre comprising an *agora*, a three-storey market building to the north of the *agora* and a rectangular building to the east of the *agora*, the function of which is not clear but might have been a *bouleuterion* (S. Mitchell 1991a, 126–28).<sup>51</sup>

The ancient site at modern Melli, whose ancient name is not known, provides another example at a scale comparable to that of Pednelissos. Here, an *agora* and a market building occupying the southwestern corner of the *agora* similarly formed the civic centre (Vandeput and Köse 2001, 133–136).

Similar developments are traceable in other cities.<sup>52</sup> These examples make it obvious that Pednelissos followed the general line of development of Pisidia and was established as an independent Hellenized city by the late Hellenistic period.

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51 Also see Machatschek and Schwarz (1981, 49–59 and plate 4) for a description and a plan of the civic centre at Selge.

52 Further Pisidian examples, for instance, include Termessos (S. Mitchell 1995, 128) and Ariassos (S. Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989, 65–66, especially fig.1; S. Mitchell 1991b, 160–161).



Public buildings, however, were not limited to those in the civic centre. A small church (no. 15 in plan 1) of 12 x 7 m was situated approximately 20 m to the north of the *agora* and along the northwest – southeast main street.<sup>53</sup> A large amount of *spolia*, which originally belonged to an earlier temple that had probably existed around the same location, were used in the construction of this church (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 352). Işın (1998, 116–17) dates this temple to the end of the Antonine period, towards the end of the second century AD, on the basis of a stylistic analysis of the architectural decorations and the inscription found on an architrave block. Vandeput and Köse (2004, 352) suggest a slightly later date for the temple and put it in the Severan period, late second/ early third century AD. They also assert that the temple had originally been built at some other place and was rebuilt at its current location when an orthogonal building at this point was converted to a chapel (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 352).

A further basilical church of large dimensions is situated in the southern part of the settlement, approximately 100 m to the southeast of the *agora* and close to the southwestern fortifications of the upper city (no. 16 in plan 1).<sup>54</sup> The building is severely damaged by the modern dirt road passing through the city but it is understood that the church measured approximately 35 x 15 m, had an *apsis* on the southeastern end and three aisles. Fragments of architectural decoration are also preserved, which provide clues for dating. While parallels for these decorations from the region date to the fifth and sixth centuries AD, the church at Pednelissos is dated to the sixth century on the basis of its architectural decoration and comparison with similar structures of the period (Karas and Ristow 2003, 146–48).

There is another small church immediately to the north of the western gate of the upper city and along the northeast – southwest main axis (no.17 in plan 1).<sup>55</sup> This is

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53 See Karas and Ristow (2003, fig. 4) for the plan of the church.

54 See Karas and Ristow (2003, fig. 6) for the plan of the church.

55 See Karas and Ristow (2003, fig. 5) for the plan of the church.

a poorly preserved building with few remains except its apse on the southeastern side. This building occupied an area of 15 x 7 m and is dated to the fourth and fifth centuries AD (Karas and Ristow 2003, 142–43).

A distinct building immediately to the south of the civic centre stands out with its large size of approximately 20 x 14 m and massive, hammer-faced cut stone building blocks (no. 8 in plan 1, see photo. 32). Though its function has not been identified yet, its central location within the city as well as its size and quality of construction indicates that this was a monumental public building. A temple would perfectly suit this location in a Hellenistic period city of Pisidia; however, this cannot be proven without an excavation.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, for the upper city, a 14 x 8 m rectangular building in the southeast of the city close to the southern gate is distinguished from other buildings by its large size and workmanship of its cut stones (no. 9 in plan 1). The size of the building dismisses the possibility of a dwelling. However, its resemblance to the customs building of Selge, in terms of its location within the city as well as its construction, is noted (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353). It is reasonable to suggest that what can be considered as the customs building of Pednelissos was established during the Hellenistic period when the city was independent and had the right to collect its own taxes. It is not possible to comment with the current level of data whether this building remained as a customs building in succeeding periods or its function was changed (personal communication with L. Vandeput).

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56 Hellenistic style temples were typical features of many of the Pisidian cities and are viewed as an indication of a Hellenized society (S. Mitchell 1995, 33–34). Temples were often located close to civic centres in connection with other typical Hellenistic buildings such as *agorae*, *bouleuteria* or market buildings. The Doric temple overlooking the upper agora at Sagalassos (M. Waelkens 1993b, 9–12) and the small temple across the *bouleuterion* at Ariassos (S. Mitchell 1991b, 160 and fig. 2) are two of the examples that fit into this pattern.

### 3.2.5.2. The Lower City: The Roman Impact

It is not easy to comment whether the grid was also applied in the lower city or not, since most of the buildings other than the monumental ones are not preserved. A bath-house (no. 10 in plan 1, see photo. 33), situated to the northeast of the lower city gate suggests with its long and narrow rectangular shape and orientation resembling the building blocks of the upper city that a grid similar to that of the upper city existed also in the lower city. The bath-house covered an area of 20 x 12 m, had two stories and two of the arched windows of the upper storey are well preserved (Işın 1998, 118–19; Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353, fig. 10–12). The building has a good workmanship and is made of reused cut stone blocks on the outer face and mortared rubble on the inner (see photo. 34). The fact that several blocks of the fortifications of the lower city are missing suggests the possibility that the reused stone blocks of the bath-house came from these fortifications (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353). The flat area adjacent to the bath-house on the southeast, which is 15 x 12 m and which includes traces of a pavement, must have been a *palaestra* (Işın 1998, 118–19) (no. 11 in plan 1, see photo. 35). In addition to this spatial arrangement, terra-cotta plates and tubular fragments, which would have belonged to the hypocaust system of the bath, indicate that this building was a bath-house and should be dated to the Roman period (Işın 1998, 118–19).

To the west – northwest of the bath-house, a line of cut stone blocks extending in the northwest – southeast direction is visible on the surface (no. 12 in plan 1). The geo-physical survey carried out in 2002 showed that this was part of a long and narrow rectangular building, possibly a *stoa*/ portico with a series of rooms behind (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353; personal communication with L. Vandeput). This long and narrow building also parallels the loosely-laid grid blocks of the upper city.

In contrast to the orientation of the bath-house, *palaestra* and the *stoa*/ portico, a temple podium in the westernmost part of the city and a church to the northeast

of the temple podium stand out with their irregular orientations irrespective of the grid of the upper city (no. 13 in plan 1). The podium is made of huge, rectangular cut stones, particularly well preserved on its northwestern side (see photo. 36 and 37). It covers an area of 31 x 18 m. It must have belonged to a temple; however, nothing is preserved from the superstructure of the podium, neither in the vicinity of the podium nor in any other building in the city as *spolia* (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 352–353).

The church to the northeast of the temple podium, on the other hand, is a three-aisled basilical building covering an area of 33 x 15 m with an apse on its eastern side (no. 18 in plan 1, see photo. 38).<sup>57</sup> Though there is not enough evidence for a secure dating of this church, a date in the fifth or sixth centuries AD seems the most reasonable (Karas and Ristow 2003, 149).

In addition to these more or less well-preserved public buildings and spaces, there are indications of unpreserved or buried public buildings in the lower city. Among these, a large but very poorly preserved building to the southeast of the imperial temple seems to have been a church (no. 19 in plan 1) (personal communication with L. Vandeput). In addition, geophysical survey indicates an anomaly to the east – northeast of the lower city gate (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353), where the fortifications were apparently demolished and used in other constructions (no. 22 in plan 1) (Vandeput et al. 2005, 241). This geophysical anomaly is interpreted as an indication of a large scale building activity (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 353). A reasonable suggestion is that some part of the eastern fortifications of the lower city was demolished some time during the imperial period and a public square extending beyond the original boundaries of the city was built (personal communication with L. Vandeput). Construction of a new public square may have been a benefaction as well as a power display, a manifestation of a new order by the new ruler of the area.

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57 See Karas and Ristow (2003, 149–51 and fig. 10) for a plan and detailed description of this church.

However, the orientation of the square resembles the orientations of the building blocks of the upper city, which may be an indication of respect to the existing order.

Considering this brief outline of the lower city within the context of the historical development of Pisidia, it is reasonable to suggest that the establishment of the lower city belonged to an expansion phase of Pednelissos some time in the later part of the Hellenistic period. A date in the second century BC may be suggested for this expansion phase on the basis of dating of the lower city fortifications (see fig. 22).<sup>58</sup> The lower city underwent a major building operation in the imperial period beginning from the second half of the second century AD (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 354). Since the fortification system of the lower city was established prior to this date, it is concluded that the Roman period building activity was imposed on an existing built environment and probably included remodelling it. The demolishing of the fortifications and reuse of reclaimed blocks in new constructions support this view. In the absence of excavations, it is not possible to find out the earlier layout of the lower city, to understand what extent of the area was built or whether the grid was also applied here. However, some of the imperial additions bear resemblance to the grid of the upper city, while some do not. What is obvious is the continuous development of this area beginning at least with the construction of the fortifications in probably the second century BC, going through a substantial building activity in the Roman imperial period and finally acquiring two churches in the fifth or sixth centuries AD before being abandoned probably in the seventh century AD.

Another notable point is the concentration of the Roman period public buildings in this area of the city. The Roman imperial period public building activity in the lower city far exceeds that of the upper city. This also contrasts with the later building activity in the late antique period, during which a number of churches spread more

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58 Işın (1998, 113–14) dates the lower city fortifications to the second century BC, see above in section 3.2.3.

or less homogeneously throughout the city rather than concentrating at a certain location.

The transformation of Hellenistic cities during the Roman hegemony is well documented in Asia Minor and provides many parallels to the transformations at Pednelissos. In many of the provincial cities, the Roman period is manifested by a wide range of building activity and material prosperity particularly from the middle of the second century AD onwards (S. Mitchell 1995, 79). The imperial period construction boost at Sagalassos exemplifies this at a monumental scale. During this period the city was adorned with many monumental public buildings and amenities, among which a bath-house,<sup>59</sup> a stadium, religious buildings,<sup>60</sup> a theatre,<sup>61</sup> an *odeion*<sup>62</sup>, a library<sup>63</sup> and monumental fountains<sup>64</sup> are the most conspicuous ones.<sup>65</sup>

A similar development was also observed at Ephesos, where particularly the establishment of the upper (state) *agora* closely resembles the remodelling of

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59 See Waelkens et al. (2000, 336–62) for the excavations at the bath-house.

60 These include the Temple of Apollo Klarios (S. Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989, 70–73; Waelkens, Mitchell, and Owens 1990, 185–90) and the Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (Waelkens, Mitchell, and Owens 1990, 190–93) as well as the *heroa* to the northwest (Waelkens, Vandeput, et al. 2000) and northeast (Kosmetatou, Vandeput, and Waelkens 1997) of the upper *agora*.

61 See Vandeput (1992) for an extensive discussion of the stage building and a reconstruction of its façade.

62 See S. Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens (1989, 70 and fig. 3) for a description and plan of the *odeion*.

63 See Waelkens and Owens (1994, 172–177, fig.1) for a detailed description and a plan of the Neon Library and its immediate surrounding; Waelkens, Kökten Ersoy, et al. (2000) for the Neon Library mosaic and its restoration.

64 These include from north to south the Antonine *nymphaeum* (Vandeput 1993b; 1997b; also Waelkens et al. 1997, fig. 43, 56 for a plan and section of the *nymphaeum*) in the upper *agora*, late Hadrianic *nymphaeum* (S. Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989, 73–74) in front of the *odeion*, the Trajanic *nymphaeum* in the lower *agora* and the Severan *nymphaum* which later replaced the Trajanic *nymphaeum*.

65 Other buildings and constructions of this period include a *macellum* (Waelkens 2002b, 353), aqueducts, water and sewage establishments (Waelkens and Owens 1994, 182–186; Owens 1995) and arched gateways in the upper *agora* (Waelkens 1993a, 46).

the lower city at Pednelissos. Beginning from the Augustan period a new quarter was built in Ephesos, which included the incorporation and remodelling of some already existing structures and construction of new buildings including a temple, a *stoa-basilica*, a *prytaneion*, a *bouleuterion* and a bath-house (Scherrer 1995, 4–6; 2001, 69–71).<sup>66</sup> This was a major building operation which took a couple of decades to finish and which created a new civic centre in the city where the “[i]mperial propaganda [was] the dominating element” (Scherrer 1995, 5).<sup>67</sup>

These developments were not limited to large metropoleis of the time but were also followed by smaller cities. A Pisidian example is Ariassos, where the settlement spread from the fortified mountain slope down to the valley in the third century AD (see fig. 14). This new district was embellished with new buildings and amenities including a triumphal arch marking the beginning of a street, which was also built during this period and extended all the way across the city<sup>68</sup>, a theatre, a bath-gymnasium complex, an *agora* with possibly two small podium temples and a fountain (S. Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989, 63–67; S. Mitchell 1991b; S. Mitchell 1998, 244).<sup>69</sup>

To sum up, the Roman imperial period was marked in Pednelissos, as in many other contemporary cities, with increased building activity involving the construction of monumental public buildings, squares and other urban amenities, which still dominate the archaeological record today. The building types of this period, such

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66 See Scherrer (2001, fig. 3.10) for a plan of this new civic centre.

67 The cults of Artemis and Augustus were celebrated in the new sanctuary built in this new state *agora* (Scherrer 1995, 5). The combination of the patron goddess of the city and the imperial cult, together with the fact that statues of the imperial family were placed in the *stoa-basilica*, is interpreted as symbolizing the existence of Ephesos as a part of the Roman Empire and propagating the new world order created by the Romans (Scherrer 1995, 5). See Aurenhammer and Sokolicek (2011) for sculptures and statue bases found in the upper *agora* and the locations of these finds.

68 This resembles the northeast – southwest axis of Pednelissos extending from the lower city gate to the *agora*, see above in section 3.2.4.2.

69 See Cormack (1996, fig. 1) for a plan of Ariassos.

as bath-houses, podium temples and ceremonial arches, indicate a fundamental departure from the earlier Hellenistic buildings, such as *bouleuteria* and market buildings (S. Mitchell 1991a, 142). This can be interpreted as a shift in the civic priorities, according to which the earlier Hellenistic civic pride in the independent city organization was eventually replaced with the benefits of being a part of an *empire*, manifested in the splendour and extravaganza of public monuments. The pre-Roman struggles and wars between independent city-states left its place to a competition of urban embellishment and monumental building (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:210).

The peaceful atmosphere established by the Roman Empire rendered strong fortifications and defensible locations unnecessary. Consequently, many cities spread beyond their initial boundaries within the fortifications and left their highland, steep locations to spread down to flat plains and valleys.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the modifications and reorganizations of the existing built environment, extensive building operations were undertaken in new quarters of cities, embellishing them with fashionable building types and public spaces of the time in proportion to the city's resources. As demonstrated in a number of cities,<sup>71</sup> the Hippodamian grid remained a useful tool for urban planning.

Pednelissos followed this general line of transformation. Demolition of some parts of its fortifications, reuse of the reclaimed material in new buildings and particularly the reorganization of the lower city and construction of Roman style public buildings and spaces are the characteristics of the Roman imperial period urban changes.

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70 See, for instance, Pergamon (Radt 2001), Panemoteichos (Aydal et al. 1997) and Ariassos (S. Mitchell 1991b).

71 See, for instance, Pergamon (Radt 2001) and Perge (Abbasoğlu 2001).



### 3.2.5.3. Outside of the Fortifications

There were several architectural monuments outside the city walls of Pednelissos. One of the most important of these is an open-air sanctuary located 45 m to the south of the southern gate of the upper city (no. 23 in plan 1). The most distinctive feature of this sanctuary is a relief, carved on the face of a monolithic block of bedrock and depicting a figure placed within an *aedicula* (Işın 1998, 117–18) (see photo. 39–40). The figure is identified as Apollo after the laurel branch in its left hand and dated to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period (Işın 2009).<sup>72</sup> The relief is related to the Apollo Sideton iconography and viewed as a blend of Classical influence and local culture (Işın 2009).<sup>73</sup> A *temenos* wall enclosed the sanctuary, covering an area of approximately 35 x 25 m. This wall is made of hammer faced and slightly pulvinated ashlar blocks on the outer face and mortared rubble on the inner (see photo. 41–42). A door in the northwestern corner of the *temenos* enclosure led onto a large open area where the Apollo relief was situated together with some partly exposed nicely cut stone blocks, which must have been related to cult practices (Işın 1998, 117).

A paved street connects the southern gate of the upper city to the Apollo Sanctuary and continues further towards the church (no. 20 in plan 1) to the southeast of the sanctuary.<sup>74</sup> This is a three aisled basilical church covering an area of 29 x 12 m

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72 An earlier interpretation dated this relief to the second half of the fourth century BC (Işın 1998, 118); however, in the light of recent evidence a late Hellenistic or early Roman date has been suggested (Işın 2009).

73 A similar representation of Apollo presented within an *aedicula* is found at Melli (Vandeput and Köse 2001, 143 and fig. 16). Other parallel representations came from Arpalıktepesi, *nymphaeum* F4 at Perge and various coins from Side (Işın 2009, 2010).

74 This is reminiscent of extra-mural sanctuaries in many of the larger cities of Asia Minor, which were connected to the city via monumental streets and were often paved and embellished with colonnades and sculptures. An early example is Yazılıkaya at Hattusha (Seeher 2006, 134–66). Classical period examples include the Artemision at Ephesus (Knibbe 1995), the Asklepieion at Pergamon (Radt 2001, 51 and especially fig. 2.12 for the colonnaded street connecting the Asklepieion to the city) and the sanctuary of Mên Askaênos at Pisidian Antioch (S. Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 37–90). The Apollo Sanctuary at Pednelissos, however, is at a smaller scale and much closer to the city than these examples.

with an apse on its southeastern end (Işın 1998, 116).<sup>75</sup> A terrace wall stands to the north of the church. Adjacent to this wall, nicely cut and well-dressed stone blocks of a fountain are partly exposed (no. 27 in plan 1, see photo. 43) (Işın 1998, 118). The building to the southwest of the church, on the other hand, was a *heroon* as indicated by the architectural remains scattered around (no. 24 in plan 1) (Işın 1998, 118). Dateable to the second century AD, the *heroon* was of Ionic order and raised on a podium (Işın 1998, 118).

Tombs concentrated in two extra-mural areas, one to the north and the other to the south of the city (no. 25 and 26 respectively in plan 1) (Vandeput et al. 2005, 240). The roads leading to the northern and the lower city gates in particular were lined with tombs and honorific monuments. Such roads have many parallels in Pisidian cities as well as other cities of Asia Minor;<sup>76</sup> they are described as an eastern adaptation of “the street of tombs”<sup>77</sup> seen in the Roman west (Cormack 1997, 140).<sup>78</sup> *Osthotecs*, *sarcophagi* and monumental tombs in temple form are the major tomb types in addition to a few *tumuli* (Vandeput et al. 2005, 240) (see photo. 44 – 46).<sup>79</sup> The fact that *osthotecs*, characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and *sarcophagi*, characteristic of Roman imperial period, existed in both the northern and the southern *necropoleis* indicates that both *necropoleis* were put in use during the Hellenistic period and remained in use continuously (Köse 2004, 461).

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75 See Karas and Ristow (2003, fig. 11) for the plan of the church.

76 See, for instance, Hierapolis of Phrygia (Equini-Schneider 1972; Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2002; Ronchetta and Mighetto 2007), Arycanda in Lycia (Bayburtluoğlu 2005, 162–76) and the Pisidian Ariassos (Cormack 1989; Cormack 1996).

77 See Zanker (2000, 30–31) for an overview of why and how this phenomenon appeared.

78 Köse (2004, 461–62), in contrast, thinks that this was an *organically* developed arrangement under topographical factors, rather than a formal street of tombs common to *necropoleis* of many Greek and Roman cities.

79 Also see Cormack (1997, 2004) for a general overview of mortuary practices in Asia Minor and Yılmaz (2007) for Roman period *necropoleis* and funerary monuments in Pisidia.

Moreover, a large church (no. 21 in plan 1) was built in the southern *necropolis* in late antiquity (personal communication with L. Vandeput). It was located to the southeast of the city, roughly 150 m from the fortifications. This was an apsidal church with three aisles and measured approximately 22 x 16 m.<sup>80</sup>

The number and variety of religious buildings and tombs in Pednelissos are notable. Especially the number of churches dating to the later stages of occupation presents comparable evidence with other cities of the region. The eight churches at Cremna (S. Mitchell 1995, 230–231), seven churches at Selge (Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, 104–117), four churches at each of Ariassos and Sagalassos (S. Mitchell 1995, 230–231), two churches at Pisidian Antioch (S. Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 206–217) and four churches at ‘Melli’ (Vandeput and Köse 2002, 148–150) illustrate that Pednelissos, with its eight churches of various sizes, had well-established Christian facilities competing with many of the larger cities of Pisidia.

There were also a number of cisterns, most of which are still functioning, scattered both inside and outside the city walls. Two of the largest cisterns are located to the north of the northern gate with many smaller ones scattered along the road leading to this gate. Another very large cistern is located to the west of the bath-house with a further smaller one located immediately next to it, which must have served the bath-house (see photo. 47). In addition, a well preserved large chamber in the basement of a house is indicative of how water was stored and supplied to houses (see photo. 48). This chamber is situated beneath one of the houses in the southern section of the city and was accessible via a door on its northwestern side. It is rectangular in plan and made of large and roughly squared stone blocks laid out with corbelling technique and capped with huge cut stone lintel blocks. Traces of plaster preserved in the lower courses of the walls, a channel and a fragment of a terra-cotta pipe, all of which are preserved *in situ*, indicate that this chamber

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80 Construction of churches in *necropoleis* during late antiquity is a common occurrence in Pisidia as exemplified in Cremna (S. Mitchell 1995, 222–24), Selge (Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, 114–17) and ‘Melli’ (Vandeput and Köse 2002, 149–50).

was related to a water supply system. It is not possible to find out whether such facilities were common in houses or not without excavation but it seems that the households tackled issues of water supply and storage individually, even if not all had such large chambers in their houses. The fact that many of the cisterns are located outside the city walls supports the functionality of domestic water storage, especially in times of siege. Similarly, the fact that underground cisterns to collect and store rainwater for domestic purposes were frequent occurrences at houses at Cremna (S. Mitchell 1995, 141, 174) and Ariassos (S. Mitchell 1991b, 165, 170) shows that this was a common solution for water supply in Pisidia.

This brief overview of the urban features and built environment of Pednelissos has shown that the city conformed to the Hellenistic norms of urbanization from the earliest stages of its foundation, which indicates that the Pednelissians were integrated into the political and social network of the Hellenistic age. During the following periods Pednelissos continued to flourish following the general line of developments within the wider context. Both the Roman and late antique periods left their marks on the built environment of Pednelissos as much as they did in the other cities of the region. Thus, Pednelissos exemplifies a typical provincial city of the Classical age in terms of its built environment and the socio-cultural context of this environment.

### **3.2.6. Domestic Architecture**

Dwellings comprised the majority of the buildings traceable in Pednelissos. Lower courses of walls of many of the dwellings are preserved in-situ especially in the upper city and provide comparable ground floor plans.

In general, most of the houses stay within the limits of the grid blocks, which have been arranged as a series of terraces up the slope and bounded by streets on four sides. Long and narrow grid blocks occupied by one or more houses constitute

the general pattern. As a consequence of their long and narrow layouts, a linear arrangement of spaces is observable in these blocks. In many of the houses, rectangular spaces, whether open like a courtyard or a garden or covered like a room, are arranged side by side in a row along the longer side of the building block (see fig. 19, no. 1). This plan type will be named, for convenience, as *row houses* (see fig 23). The rooms in this plan type are arranged in a sequential order, which meant that one had to pass through each room to reach the furthest from the door, unless the rooms had individual direct access from the street.

In a number of other houses, however, a linear arrangement of spaces in two and rarely three rows are seen. In this type of arrangement, which will be called *multi-row houses*, covered or uncovered rectangular spaces are arranged side by side forming two or more parallel and adjacent rows (see fig. 19, no. 2 and fig. 24). This type had a more complex hierarchy of spaces where one space might open into more than one room.

A small number of building blocks, in contrast, do not adhere to this general pattern of long and narrow rectangular shape. Some seem to have appeared as a result of joining two, in rare instances up to four, adjacent building blocks along the slope. These mostly preserve their linear arrangements but each row of rooms resides on a separate terrace at a different level (see fig. 19, no. 3). Whether each row of rooms at a different level belonged to an individual household and had a separate access from side streets or the whole of the combined building block belonged to a single household is questionable. If the latter was the case, a means of movement between different levels must have existed, which requires an excavation to find out. Very few irregular building blocks, however, seem to have *organically* developed rather than having been planned according to a formal pattern, such as a grid (see fig. 19, no. 4). Whether they were originally built according to the grid and modified later or else were built irrespective of the grid can only be understood by excavation. Taking into consideration that most of these irregular blocks are located in very

steep slopes it can also be argued that the terrain had necessitated such an irregular arrangement.<sup>81</sup>

A comparison of the plan types observed at Pednelissos with other contemporary examples in the region features two recurring spaces. The first is the courtyard which has a long history in Asia Minor.<sup>82</sup> Though it is not possible at the moment to differentiate precisely the roofed and unroofed spaces within houses without excavation, it is obvious that not all spaces were roofed over. Spaces with wells and some disproportionately large spaces could have been unroofed and functioned as gardens or courtyards. At present paving is not traceable in such spaces but it is likely that some were paved, a fact which may be exposed by an excavation. The long and narrow shape of the building blocks, however, must have prevented a spatial arrangement *around* central courtyards but rather dictated a *linear* arrangement and a sequence from the street to and through the courtyard to the rooms, especially in row houses.

The second space is the peristyle, an open courtyard surrounded by roofed colonnades or porticos on some or all of its four sides, which was common in the houses of the wealthy especially during the Roman and late antique period (S. Mitchell 1999, 201).<sup>83</sup> No peristyles however have been identified at Pednelissos

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81 It should also be considered that Pednelissos is currently mostly covered by dense vegetation. This, together with the steep terrain of the city might have affected the interpretation and documentation of the archaeological record by the surveyors.

82 See, for instance, Wulf-Rheidt (1998, 300–306 and fig. 5, 6, 8-10) for third to first century BC courtyard houses at Pergamon.

83 Peristyles, which became a standard feature of upper-class housing in Italy from the first century BC onwards, seem to have appeared in Asia Minor in the second century AD. They became widespread towards the end of the Roman period and by the fourth and fifth centuries they had become the norm for the houses of richer inhabitants of major cities (S. Mitchell 1999, 201). Peristyle houses are well attested in Pisidia and the neighbouring Pamphylia as well as in other parts of Asia Minor. For instance at Cremna (S. Mitchell 1995, 162–71 and fig. 42, 44, 46, 47) and Ariassos (S. Mitchell 1991b, 170 and fig. 8, 9) in Pisidia, at Perge (Abbasoğlu 2001, 183 and fig. 7.8-7.10) in Pamphylia in addition to those at Pergamon (Wulf-Rheidt 1998, fig. 3, 7, 14–17) and the well-known terrace houses at Ephesos (Lang-Auinger 1996, 2003; Krinzing 2002, 2010; Thür 2005; Czurda-Ruth 2007) in western Asia Minor.

as yet. Nevertheless, it is possible to differentiate some houses in terms of having more elaborately worked stone blocks, column bases, capitals and drums as well as decorative architectural blocks with nice mouldings (see photo. 49–52). The presence of such relatively refined architectural elements indicates that some level of social differentiation existed between the owners of houses, a fact also known from other contemporary cities.

Further differentiation can be observed between the facades of buildings. It is observed that the entrances were often located along the northwest – southeast streets across the slope, giving the impression that the facades facing these streets were treated as the *front*; whereas, those facing the northeast – southwest streets along the slope as *side*. This is also supported by the more elaborate construction of the facades facing the northwest – southeast streets. Walls made of nicely cut, dressed and sometimes pulvinated blocks –like the terrace walls of the *agora*– are mostly located along these streets (see photo. 53).

Little is known about the superstructures of the dwellings at Pednelissos. Presence of staircases is not archaeologically proven yet; however, it is very likely that most houses had upper storeys. Window sills, door thresholds and jambs as well as some decorative blocks are abundantly scattered in the site (see photo. 54). Roof tiles on the other hand are rare, suggesting a different roofing material, such as wood and/or earth.

This concise overview of the domestic context at Pednelissos is significant in terms of pointing out a differentiation between houses and thus a hierarchy within the society. This implies that social, cultural and class differences were also influential in the production of the domestic space in Pednelissos.

### **3.2.7. Materials and Construction**

All the buildings summarized so far are made of stone and stone is the only building material preserved except a few fragments of roof tiles, water pipes and very few traces of mortar and plaster.

The stone used in construction is limestone, which is abundant in and which originates from the area. Stone blocks used in constructions presented a wide variety in their sizes and shapes; they were also articulated in different ways and by using several different techniques, surface dressings, compositions and workmanships.

The major variation is between cut and rubble stone. Walls made of cut stone range from very nicely built, carefully hewn, dressed, coursed and tightly packed ashlar to roughly cut, loosely packed, not very good-looking ones. Not surprisingly, the most refined walls are seen at places where visual look and impression were desired, such as public buildings and fortifications. *Emplekton* walls, ashlar facing blocks with earth and rubble fill in between, are very common in public buildings and fortifications as well as in some dwellings (see photo. 55), while the buildings in the civic centre demonstrate excellent examples of the header-and-stretcher technique (see photo. 56). The quality of stone workmanship was low at places which were considered less important. For example exterior faces of some fortification walls were made of very nice ashlar blocks whereas the interior faces were of a lesser quality, roughly cut and smaller blocks (see photo. 15 and 16). This may indicate the importance attributed to the appearance of the city to the outsiders. Other combinations were also possible, such as the nicely cut ashlar outer face and mortared rubble inner face of both the *temenos* wall of the Apollo Sanctuary and the bath-house (see photo. 33, 34, 41 and 42).



Rubble, on the other hand, was generally rough or minimally shaped (see photo. 57).<sup>84</sup> However, factors such as the packing quality of rubble clearly communicated the degree of the importance of the wall.

Walls could be made of exclusively cut stone blocks as in many of the public buildings and fortifications or of exclusively rubble as in many of the dwellings. However, the most common type of wall, especially in dwellings, is made of rubble of various sizes with large rubble or cut stones in corners (see photo. 58). The typical wall thickness is 70-75 cm for buildings and 120-130 cm for fortifications. It is noteworthy that the Hellenistic construction techniques prevailed in Pednelissos where the use of Roman concrete<sup>85</sup> and brick<sup>86</sup> was virtually nonexistent. Material reuse is common as well as modifications to the buildings (see photo. 59–61). Though only few traces of mortar or plaster have been preserved, it is reasonable to assume that mud-mortar was commonly used, for rubble walls in particular, as in the vernacular architecture of the region today (see Appendix D).

Construction techniques, especially of rubble, similar to the ones observed in Pednelissos have been in use at least from the antiquity until the recent decades, when modern building materials such as brick and concrete became readily available and transportable owing to the developments in production and transportation facilities in the area. Therefore a dating on the basis of construction materials and techniques, unless there are distinctive diagnostic clues, is not secure.<sup>87</sup> On the other

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84 These fall into the “dry rubble masonry” category of Scranton’s wall typology (Scranton 1941, 16). Scranton (1941, 145) thinks that, though some examples of this type of walls are impressively well built and substantial structures, it is extremely insecure to use them for dating purposes.

85 Ashlar construction was the hallmark of the Hellenistic public architecture, while cemented walls, identified as Roman concrete, with or without facing was a characteristic of the Roman architecture (Waelkens 1987, 94). Use of Roman construction techniques was generally limited in Asia Minor. See Waelkens (1987) for an overview of the use of Roman building techniques in Asia Minor.

86 See Dodge (1987) for an overview of brick construction in Asia Minor.

87 Also see Vandeput (1997a) for possibilities and limits of dating on the basis of architectural decoration in Pisidia.

hand, the modern buildings of the same materials and construction techniques may contribute to our understanding of ancient construction methods (see Appendix D).

Timber and mudbrick constructions, probably on stone foundations, for which we are unable to comment with our current level of evidence due to their unpreserved state, must have been practised as well.

Fig. 25 shows the distribution of cut stone and rubble walls within the city. Cut stone walls are marked with red and rubble walls blue where possible and the walls that are not sufficiently preserved to comment on are not coloured. It is seen that the fortifications, towers and gates are made of exclusively cut stone blocks with limited rubble use in later repairs; whereas a mixture of both rubble and cut stone was used for the buildings. Large public buildings and squares, such as the temple, bath-house and the *agora*, especially in earlier periods, were made of mostly cut stone, while a significant increase is observed in the use of rubble for later public buildings, such as the churches. Use of cut stone was not restricted to certain buildings or parts of the city; on the contrary, a more or less uniform distribution throughout the city is traceable. However, it should be noted that the use of cut stone blocks on facades facing the northwest – southeast streets are more frequent than that on other walls. Walls that were meant to be less visible and especially the interior walls are made of rubble.

### ***3.3. Continuity and Change: Settlement Layout and Urban Identity***

Pednelissos is located towards the fringes of the ancient Pisidian region, at a location where the rugged terrain of Pisidia eventually leaves its place to the flat plains of Pamphylia towards south. This landscape contrasts with other regions around, particularly in its rough morphology, and implies an intense interaction between its inhabitants and the natural environment.

Our current amount of knowledge about Pednelissos permits us to conclude with little doubt that the settlement had been established by the end of the third century BC as indicated by the dating of the earliest stretch of its fortifications (İşin 1998, 114; Vandeput et al. 2005, 241) and was continuously inhabited at least until the seventh century AD and probably continued to be occupied, though at a much smaller density, until the twelfth century AD as indicated by the pottery finds (Vandeput et al. 2005, 241–242). The city shared many of the urban characteristics of a typical Hellenistic city from the very beginning of its establishment, including many of the political, economic, military and religious institutions as well as buildings related to these institutions (Vandeput and Köse 2004, 354). Both the buildings and their spatial design indicate the influence of Hellenistic culture. Many alterations in the built environment throughout the long occupation period of the settlement evidence that life was far from static and showed a continuous change to adapt to the changing dynamics under the influence of the wider context. The urban and architectural transformation of the city could be investigated in three phases, which parallels the historical periods of the Mediterranean area. These are Hellenistic, Roman imperial and late antique periods, in each of which different social and corresponding architectural dynamics dominated. While the transition from one period to the other was gradual and took place over a long time and therefore, precise start and end dates of each period slightly vary from scholar to scholar, it could be accepted for convenience that the Hellenistic age lasted from 300 BC to 1 BC, the Roman imperial period lasted from AD 1 to AD 300 and late antiquity lasted from AD 300 to AD 600 (S. Mitchell 1999, 194).

The Hellenistic period is characterized as a time during which the Greeks established their dominance over the former territory of the Persian Empire and the Greek culture penetrated deep into western Asia up to the borders of India.<sup>88</sup> The Hellenistic culture

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88 It was also during this period that the Greeks came into contact with various other cultures including the Romans, who would later dominate the Greeks, in addition to Celts, Jews and the Egyptians, with which the Greeks had been in little contact before (Momigliano 1971, 2). The interaction between these cultures made way for a new culture, now called the Hellenistic culture,

particularly emphasized and adopted urbanism as a way of social organization and enculturation of various peoples living in a huge territory. Alexander the Great himself founded many cities and his successors followed his policy of founding new cities and reorganizing the existing ones (Owens 2009, 183). Cities did not only serve as an instrument for the promotion of the Hellenistic culture, but also served as an arena where Hellenistic dynasts promoted and aggrandized their powers (Owens 2009, 183). Cities planned within grid systems and around public squares featuring monumental buildings, such as theatres and gymnasia, and public amenities, such as fountains, spread all over the Mediterranean landscape.

It was also in the Hellenistic period that cities became a symbol for civilization. Strabo, for example, equates civilization with cities and emphasizes the acculturating aspect of cities when he talks about the city of Marseilles as becoming "... a school for the barbarians, and ... [communicating] to the Galatæ such a taste for Greek literature" (4.1.5). Hellenistic period, in this respect, also set the standards of urban culture for the succeeding Roman period. Tacitus, towards the end of the first century AD, accuses Germans as being a barbaric people for they did not have cities (*Ger.* 16) and praises Britons for leaving barbarism to deal with civilized affairs such as city building and embellishing it with buildings (*Ag.* 21).

Pednelissos generally seems to have followed a parallel line to other cities of the Hellenistic world in terms of its urbanisation and the built environment during the Hellenistic period. It was during this time that Pednelissos gained the appearance of a typical Hellenistic city with its monumental public buildings and squares, public amenities and honorific monuments planned within a grid system (see plan 3). The city manifested its urban culture in the built environment as having buildings and layouts in line with the urban standards of the period and claimed the status of a city. This was an attempt for *civilization* and a claim to be a part of the contemporary

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which was essentially Greek but adopted a lot from cultures dominated by the Greeks (Momigliano 1971, 7).

civilized world of the time. This idea would have been appealing for people who inhabited an area that was considered uncivilized and associated with hostility by peoples of other regions.<sup>89</sup>

The importance of cities and urbanization was even more pronounced in the succeeding Roman imperial period. Cities were the preferred form of social, political and administrative organization and occupied a highly privileged position also in the Roman world (Lomas 1998, 64). Romans rigorously pursued a program of urbanization over the territories under their hegemony, as a result of which cities of all sizes spread over the Roman Empire. Aristides writing in the second century AD evidences this saying “When were there ever so many cities ...? Did ever a man ... travel across country as we do, counting the cities by days, and sometimes riding on the same day through two or even three cities?” (*Orat.* 13 93-94).

Romans not only promoted cities but also brought a standard in their layouts, building repertoire and public amenities. By the second century AD a city was expected to be equipped with a series of monumental buildings and structures including defensive structures such as fortifications, towers and gates, religious structures such as temples, sanctuaries and altars, civic and political meeting places such as *bouleuteria* and basilicas, entertainment buildings such as theatres, *odeia*, amphitheatres, circuses and *stadia*, civic amenities such as *gymnasia*, bath-houses and fountains as well as public squares such as *agorae* and *fora* and honorific and decorative monuments of a great variety such as statues, ceremonial arches and

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89 Pisidians are usually described in ancient literature as warlike, semi-barbarian people living primitive lives isolated from surrounding civilized peoples and continuously posing menace to them; see for instance Strabo (12.7.3). Pisidians were renowned for their independence and resistance against attempts at direct control from outside, as such, were readily classified by ancient writers as an unruly, undisciplined and marginal people (1995, 6; 1998, 237). This view is also accepted in early modern literature; see for instance Levick (1967, 16–20). Mitchell, emphasizing the sophisticated cities Pisidians established and their governance structure organized along Hellenistic lines, criticizes this view and thinks that this is only a part of the truth at best (1993a, 1:71–72; 1995, 6, 211; 1998, 237).

*heroa* (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:80). The second century AD writer Pausanias describes what was expected of a city when he wrote about Panopeus,

... a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine (10.4.1).

During the Roman period Pednelissos witnessed a massive construction movement which conforms to the general standards of a *Roman* city. It was during this period that the city was adorned with typical buildings from the Roman building repertoire, such as the bath-house and the imperial temple (see plan 4). A previously occupied quarter of the city was re-arranged in the Roman fashion with monumental buildings and squares characteristic of the Roman cities, which not only displayed the might of the conquerors but also promoted the benefits of being a member of the Roman Empire.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the Roman period focused on legitimizing and praising the new conquerors of the region. The city was brought in line with the Roman ideals of city planning<sup>91</sup> and the Roman urban culture was manifested in the built environment throughout the settlement.

The upper city, during this period, seems to have preserved its character with a loosely-applied grid. Although new buildings must have been introduced as evidenced by the *spolia* used in the church to the north of the *agora*, these seem to have conformed to the existing grid. The lower city, on the other hand, is known to have been settled before the Roman period but the clarification of the former layout of this part of the city requires further research and it is not possible to say whether the new buildings introduced during the Roman period respected the existing layout or not.

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90 See Gates (2011, 394–395) for an interpretation of how the same idea worked at Athens during Hadrian's reign.

91 See footnote 39 in this chapter.

The late antique period, on the other hand, witnessed dramatic changes in the social and cultural structure of the Mediterranean area. The rise of Christianity at the expense of pagan beliefs marked the transformation of social and power structures of the society as well as the cognitive frameworks through which people interpreted their environments. One of the most controversial discussions about this period has been on the role of cities, questioning whether the urban culture continued or the cities were in decline.<sup>92</sup> At least in Asia Minor, cities seem to have prospered in late antiquity until the Arab attacks in the seventh century AD with extensive rebuilding and new constructions taking place and public services being maintained (Foss 1977, 485).<sup>93</sup> However, in Pisidia at least, pottery finds on the surface belonging to the periods subsequent to late antiquity are extremely rare, indicating a sharp decline in city populations (S. Mitchell 1998, 245).

In architectural terms, the late antique period was marked by the decline and eventual abandonment of temples in favour of churches. While no new temples or sanctuaries were founded in Asia Minor after the end of the third century AD, the existing buildings of pagan worship fell into disrepair and began to be converted into churches from the end of the fourth century AD (S. Mitchell 2007, 335–336). The key development for the fifth and sixth centuries, moreover, for particularly smaller cities, was “the systematic devaluation of a city’s public buildings, apart from churches and related religious structures” (S. Mitchell 1993b, 2:120). In general, while churches became the main form of expressing architectural grandeur, public squares lost their role as centre of assembly, commerce and display in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Main streets became the new hub of the city assuming the role of public squares, especially as markets (T. W. Potter 1995, 88). Cities gradually ceased to operate as the arena of civic life. In parallel to the decline of the central

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92 For discussions on the subject see especially Foss (1977), T. W. Potter (1995), Lavan (2001a), Liebeschuetz (2001) and D. Potter (2011); for a bibliography Lavan (2001b).

93 Scherrer (1995, 25) supports this view in the context of Ephesos and asserts that this process was “the restoration of Ephesos from a Hellenistic-Roman metropolis to a Byzantine-Christian centre” rather than an urban decline.

authority, the power shifted initially to the church and from the seventh century AD on, to the landowning aristocracy (S. Mitchell 1993b, 2:120–121).

Pednelissos is no exception to this general picture as evidenced by the large number of churches, some of which are of quite large dimensions, built during this period (see plan 5). Thus, the spread of Christianity changed the urban layout of Pednelissos dramatically. Churches of various size spread all over the settlement, both inside and outside of the fortifications, and eventually led to the abandonment of the buildings in connection with the pagan beliefs. It is noteworthy that these new churches were mostly constructed close to the locations and buildings related to the previous belief systems, as in the case of the church in the lower city, which was built next to the imperial temple, and the church by the Apollo Sanctuary. Churches even replaced the pagan temples as in the case of the church north of the *agora*. This could be interpreted as an indication of a continuity in the significance of locations of symbolic importance. Therefore the Christian period witnessed the disappearance of buildings related to the pagan beliefs while Christian buildings replaced them, which also implied transformations, similar to those observed within the general context, in the social and political structure of the local community of Pednelissos.

This overview indicates that the urban structure and the built environment of Pednelissos followed the development observed in the contemporary cities of the time. This also indicates that the social and cultural processes similar to those observed in contemporary settlements also played an active role in the social and cultural structure of Pednelissos. However, the peculiar physical environment in which the city was situated was also a major impact influencing this structure. The next chapter will focus on an analysis of the interaction between the socio-cultural aspects of the Pednelissian people and the physical environment, in the making of the built environment and the landscapes of Pednelissos in the wider framework.



## CHAPTER 4

### LANDSCAPES OF PEDNELISSOS

The previous chapter presented the physical and the socio-cultural context in which Pednelissos was located. This chapter focuses on the structure and perception of the landscapes of Pednelissos. Landscape has been defined as a cultural image and a visible expression of people's perceiving, understanding and acting in the world. It has also been suggested that landscapes can be interpreted or read like a social text. A number of studies offer frameworks to read the social text and interpret the image of landscapes. Some of these studies focus on the image, representations and meanings of landscapes, while some others focus on the communicative aspects: discourses, messages and social narratives conveyed by the landscape. Additional studies attempt to understand how landscapes were experienced and perceived and try to make a visual and multi-sensory reconstruction of ancient landscapes. These studies and the frameworks they offer will be outlined and a model applicable to Pednelissos will be developed. Then a detailed reading of the landscapes of Pednelissos will be presented on the basis of this model.

Lynch's (1960) concept of "image" and "imageability," as one of the earliest and most influential frameworks for investigating urban experience and imagery, has been the basis of many modern studies on urban environments. Lynch asserts that every individual holds a mental picture, that is, the *image* of the exterior physical environment. This image is the product of senses and perceptions of the exterior world and of the memory of past experience. The image is used in the interpretation of information and guides the actions of the individual (Lynch 1960, 4). Lynch also provides insight into the process through which the image is developed, emphasizing the influence of the context and subjective experiences of the person who mentally creates that image.

Environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer -with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes- selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and emphasizes what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process. Thus the image of a given reality may vary significantly between different observers. (Lynch 1960, 6)

Lynch (1960) also puts forth a framework that identifies the characteristics of elements that take part in the formation of the *image*. Accordingly, five types of elements stand out as having strong influence on the formation of the mental image of the city. These are *paths*, which are channels along which the observer moves; *edges*, which define boundaries between two different phases; *districts*, which are sections of a settlement recognized as having some common, identifying character; *nodes*, which are the points differentiated as breaks in transportation or a convergence of different paths; and *landmarks*, which differentiate from their surroundings by their prominent aspects, such as size, colour and texture (Lynch 1960, 46–48). These elements are the results of people's attempt to structure and meaningfully shape the environments they live in. Therefore paths, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks are not contingent; they originate from deliberate human actions and are an embodiment of the human agency. As such, these elements are indicative of the way people perceive the landscape, structure and give a meaning to it.

Lynch's (1960) model, despite its influence, has been subject to serious criticism as well. It has been criticized as being based on subjective experience, being restricted to movement and disregarding much of the social context such as social stratification (Malmberg 2009, 39). Yet, when urban experience becomes the focus of research, it is inevitable that a degree of subjectivity based on factors like personal views, identity and social standing comes into play. Despite these criticisms, Lynch's (1960) model

is still a useful framework for studying how environments are conceived. Particularly in archaeological contexts where material remains are limited and mostly restricted to large scale urban monuments and facilities, this model is an important starting point. For this reason Lynch's (1960) model, though initially focused on modern cities,<sup>1</sup> found its reflection in archaeology and was widely used for ancient contexts to develop an understanding of how ancient people experienced and perceived their environments and how they understood and gave meaning to the settings they lived in. These studies produced a large body of literature (viewed below) which focused on urban experience, movement and perception and aimed to "contextualize urban monuments and study ancient cities as lived, dynamic and experienced places" (Bayliss 1999, 60).

Rapoport,<sup>2</sup> in a similar way to Lynch but from a different perspective, focuses on the *meaning* of the built environment and explores how people experience, conceive and shape their environments. He stresses the importance of images, cognitive schemata and mental maps in people's orienting themselves and acting within their environments (Rapoport 1977, 108–77). Accordingly, mental or cognitive maps are spatial images of the environment in people's minds and they influence spatial behaviour (Rapoport 1977, 118–20).<sup>3</sup> He also points out cultural as well as subjective factors, including social stratification, ethnicity and group identities in the cognition of urban environments (Rapoport 1977, 248–89).

Rapoport ([1982] 1990), furthermore, views urban environments as having a meaning and as a medium of *nonverbal communication*. According to him,

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1 Lynch's (1960) study is based on field surveys and interviews at Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles in the USA. Therefore, a full record of the urban environment and first-hand experiences of inhabitants were at Lynch's disposal, which is not possible at archaeological contexts.

2 See especially Rapoport (1969, 1977, [1982] 1990, 1990, 2005).

3 Golledge (2003, 30) similarly defines cognitive maps as "one's internal representation of the external world." He emphasizes that cognitive maps are hypothetical constructs and used metaphorically to indicate the process of recalling stored spatial information and re-creating it in the working memory.

nonverbal communication functions to organise social relations and acts as a mnemonic device reminding people of the behaviour expected of them (Rapoport [1982] 1990). Nonverbal communication mechanism operates via cues in the physical setting, which establishes a context and defines a situation. The subjects read the cues, identify the situation and the context and understand the message communicated via the physical setting to determine their actions accordingly (Rapoport [1982] 1990, 56; 1990, 12–13).

An important aspect emerging from Rapoport's works is contextuality. That is, the meaning communicated via the environment is dependent on the context in which that physical environment exists. Both the sender and the receiver of the message of the nonverbal communication need to have an understanding of the context; otherwise, the nonverbal communication mechanism fails to operate. Context is not something objective and cross-cultural but is culturally defined and learned (Rapoport [1982] 1990, 39). This is why many people feel uncomfortable in different cultures. Since they are not familiar with the context, they cannot understand the cues in the environment to determine the expected or proper behaviour. Behaving improperly in reaction to or to protest a situation, on the other hand, shows that a person acknowledges and understands the context. So, the physical environment in its context provides the cues but people's behaviours are influenced by social situations (Rapoport [1982] 1990, 57).

Two significant messages that can be communicated via nonverbal communication mechanisms are those concerning *identity* and *status*, which are influential and necessary in terms of self presentation, establishing group identity and enculturation of children (Rapoport [1982] 1990, 82).

Mechanisms of nonverbal communication operated at various scales also in contexts belonging to Classical Antiquity<sup>4</sup>, about which exists a large body of research and literature.<sup>5</sup> These studies make it clear that a system of nonverbal communication via the built environment existed in Classical society at many levels, from the city scale to the small scale prestige items, and in many contexts including both the public and the private. Nonverbal communication played an important part in the transmission of ideas, aspirations and power claims in all these contexts. Such communication helped in the creation of a common identity and a sense of belonging to a group, which eventually served for the consolidation of the social structure and power relations. Myths and rituals, in addition, helped in the reproduction and internalization of symbolic associations and inscribing them onto the collective memory. Symbols, myths and collective memory interacted simultaneously during day-to-day activities as well as rituals of people, during when a cognitive process distinguished spaces as places and attributed meanings to the built environment through nonverbal communication.

MacDonald (1986) refers, in his influential study of Roman cities, to many of the concepts put forth by Lynch (1960) and shows how the urban environment was

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4 Also see Locock (1994) for examples of nonverbal communication through the built environment in various cultures.

5 Pollini (1993) for example, shows how a small scale prestige item, *gemma Augustea*, narrated a story through the creation of an imagery and its symbolic associations in the Roman context. He also emphasizes how the elements used by Romans and their symbolic associations were based on Hellenistic forms; however, their arrangements and the story they narrated differed from the Hellenistic norms emphasizing the “new rhetoric” and the “new world order” imposed by the Romans (Pollini 1993, 267). Zanker (2000) investigates the role of imagery and self-display, which was mediated through the built environment, in the social structure. He also suggests that monumental public buildings, such as theatres, amphitheatres and bathhouses, symbolized a particular way of life and functioned in the reproduction of the social structure. Scott (1997), on the other hand, exemplifies how nonverbal communication operated through the creation of an imagery in the domestic context. Bergman (1994) similarly exemplifies how the ancient domestic context was architecturally and socially structured and how this structure was coded on wall and floor decorations. Social patterns of behaviour were spatially manifested by colour, wall paintings and floor mosaics. She emphasizes the role of nonverbal communication in receiving and retaining information, especially in a society in which the majority of the population was illiterate. She also emphasizes the importance of collective memory, which is triggered by cues in the physical setting, as a means of transmission of information from one generation to the other.

articulated in the Roman context to create a particular image and a sense of identity. MacDonald (1986, 3) asserts that the ancient cities in the Roman world were formed around a network of thoroughfares and plazas which provided uninterrupted movement throughout the city and gave access to principal public buildings. He calls this structural network an “armature”. Accordingly, an armature had three main components: The first is “a connective architecture”, meaning that all important public buildings and squares of a Roman city were connected by thoroughfares that directed movement between these spaces and also provided some extra space, spatial ventilation and urban cohesion (MacDonald 1986, 32–73). The second is “an architecture of passage”, through which important spots, nodes and junctions were emphasized by secondary structures, such as arches and fountains (MacDonald 1986, 74–110). The third component is the public buildings which functioned to create a shared identity, a sense of belonging and to promote a particular way of life. They constituted the dominant images through their monumentality and splendour forming a reference point both within the city fabric and in the collective memory (MacDonald 1986, 111–142). Armatures are argued to have created an imagery of an empire, an identity for the citizens and a sense of belonging, also establishing mnemonic associations as they alluded to the familiar architectural forms of the past such as colonnades used along thoroughfares and temple fronts used on the facades of public buildings (MacDonald 1986, 219). This common structural network and imagery helped to disseminate imperial ideals and consolidate relations of dominance in the Roman context. Accordingly, the built environment, through establishing mnemonic associations and an imagery of power relations, operated as a symbol of the claims and ways of social living of the sovereign. And this functioned as a means of creating identity and a sense of belonging, which in the final analysis served to preserve the existing power relations in the society.

Favro (1993, 1996), building on Lynch's (1960) image and imageability concepts, applied these to the Roman context, in particular to the city of Rome.<sup>6</sup> Favro views the urban layout and the built environment as a text, narrating the aspirations and the discourse of the ruler. According to her, monuments, buildings and other structures convey a message about their patrons. She stresses the importance of the urban experience in the formation of cognitive maps and the imagery of the urban environment. Favro (1993), in this respect, attempts to read the urban text inscribed by Augustus onto the urban fabric of Rome, especially in the Campus Martius and interprets the urban environment here as a personal statement of Augustus, a manifestation of his aspirations and imperial program. Favro (1996) further elaborates her work and investigates the changing image of the city of Rome in the Augustan times. She attempts to visualize the urban experience from the eyes of fictitious characters at definite times in the past.<sup>7</sup> Her recent study, in which she not only focuses on the context and the historical significance of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the *Forum Romanum* in Rome but also investigates the construction stages, construction traffic and the disruptions this may have caused in the daily life (Favro 2011), is important in demonstrating the latest achievements in attempts at reconstruction of cities as *dynamic* and *experienced* places.

Yegül (1994) reconstructs the urban experience along the main streets at Ephesos. Also referring to the historical context and cities from Asia Minor, he uses MacDonald's (1986) concept of urban armature. Yegül (2000), moreover, emphasizes the role of the collective memory of a mythical past, created and promoted by urban processions and rituals, and its use as a metaphor for the present day. Accordingly, myth, ritual and memory were interwoven and human action was tied to physical reality via

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6 Also see Favro (1988) for an interpretation of the transformation of the image and memory of Forum Romanum in response to the changing power structure of the Roman state and Favro (1994) for a study of Roman military/ triumphal parades, their impact on urban experience and their role in the consolidation of communal identities and power structures.

7 See Haselberger (2000) for a criticism of Favro (1996).

ritual processions and urban experience, to create and re-create the meaning as well as the social structure, order and authority.

Most of these studies, however, focus on public monuments and main thoroughfares only and avoid residential areas and humbler structures, such as shops, bars and brothels. Laurence (1994), in this respect, took Lynch's (1960) theory and urban experience studies to incorporate statistical techniques to the entire street network of Pompeii.<sup>8</sup> He is able to incorporate a wider amount of data using statistical techniques and reconstruct a more lively experience of what it may have felt like traversing the streets of Pompeii.

Among other recent works,<sup>9</sup> Kaiser (2011) considers urban environments as an embodiment of cultural relations and power structures within the society and emphasizes the role of movement within and experience of the urban environment in imposing elite ideals on the public. According to him, "[e]ach trip to a shop at the edge of a city or a temple at its center reinforces cultural ideals and power relationships between the creators and users of urban space" (Kaiser 2011, 1).

Developing digital technologies have dramatically changed the studies on image and experience of landscapes. Virtual reconstructions of ancient urban environments have made it possible to move through ancient environments and experience them

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8 Also see Butterworth and Laurence (2005) and Laurence (2009) for a *social* history of the ancient world where cities and buildings are not studied as devoid of people but depicted as lively as possible with people who drank, ate, indulged in pleasure, deviated, got old and alike.

9 For instance, Bayliss (1999) focuses on cognition of the built environment in late antique cities of the Near East, including Palmyra, Ephesos, Diocaesarea, Baalbek and especially Gerasa and Aphrodisias, and compares the impact of Christianity on the image of the city. He emphasizes the role of processions in the formation of the mental image of the city, collective memory, and transmission of these to younger generations. Esmonde Cleary (2005) focuses on urban rituals and processions and attempts at a reconstruction of processional routes at the Roman cities of Silchester, Colchester and Verulamium in Britain on the basis of Lynch's (1960) concepts. Malmberg (2009) discusses how one navigated in the streets of the Subura district in Rome. In addition to the theoretical perspective provided by Lynch (1960), Malmberg tries to incorporate what one hears and smells into the street experience.



in real time.<sup>10</sup> However, these technologies are at an initial stage of development and their use has been limited as they require a huge amount of resources and are devalued by scholars as too fanciful and entertaining (Favro and Johanson 2010, 15–16).

Another widely applied technique for investigating how past people experienced their environments is Geographical Information Systems (GIS).<sup>11</sup> These too, however, have been criticized as putting too much emphasis on vision and movement while disregarding other senses (Frieman and Gillings 2007).

Phenomenological approaches to landscape experience, in contrast, stress the importance of *synaesthetic* perception, an experience including all of the senses. Mlekuz (2004), for instance, investigates how church bells influence the perception of the landscape and create a peculiar *soundscape* in Polhograjsko Hribovje, Slovenia.

Of these various approaches developed to investigate how past landscapes were experienced and perceived, Lynch's (1960) model provides a particularly useful framework applicable to ancient contexts. It offers a starting point for identifying the elements of an environment which influence the urban experience and consequently the conception and meaning of a landscape. Therefore Lynch's (1960) model will be the main framework of the landscape reading of Pednelissos. Other approaches, including Favro's and Yegül's reconstruction of urban experience, will be utilized to enhance and complement the discussion. In this respect, the process through which people experience their environment and create a mental image of it is discussed in the following section.

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10 See for example Rome Reborn (Rome Reborn n.d.) and Digital Roman Forum (Digital Roman Forum n.d.) for urban scale virtual reality reconstructions and Digital Pompeii (Digital Pompeii n.d.) for those at domestic scale.

11 See for instance Fitzjohn (2007) for an investigation of GIS applications in studies of perception and experience of landscapes and Llobera (2007) for a study of visibility patterns of round barrows in Yorkshire, England.

#### **4.1. From Space to Place: Experience of and Encounter with the Landscape**

The landscape experience takes place as an *encounter* between the external world and a person. While people repeatedly come across, encounter and confront the elements of their environment during their daily lives and under different circumstances, such as at different times of the day, under different climatic conditions or in various political circumstances, they create a mental image of the environment (Favro 1996, 9). This mental image is connected to time and place as well as to personal factors, including the person's social standing, personal history, memory of past events, identity and political views (Bender 2002, 107).<sup>12</sup> Encounters also constitute the medium of nonverbal communication, whereby a message is communicated (Rapoport [1982] 1990). It is through encounters that various spaces of a landscape gain their meanings and become places bearing a memory, symbolising an idea and possessing an agency. Hence the image of the landscape is produced, modified and reproduced through repeated encounters.

Encounters could take various forms in the urban context of antiquity. They could take passive forms and involve simply viewing an element of the landscape and decoding the message communicated by that element. Such encounters involved an *observer*, who viewed the particular element of the landscape, and an *observed*, which was the landscape element viewed, interpreted and attributed a meaning by the observer. For instance, when a person encountered and viewed an honorific monument in antiquity he or she would understand that the person to whom the monument was dedicated had been an influential and powerful individual in the society and that his heirs claimed that they followed him and possessed the power and might he once had. A display of many such monuments would have conveyed a vivid picture of the city's influential citizenry, its leading families, prosperity and

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12 People from different cultural backgrounds perceive, interpret and understand reality in different ways since they process the same data of experience through different frameworks of world-view, belief or representational schemata. This is called *perceptual relativism* in anthropology (Ingold 2000, 15).

status as well as the social dynamism of the city (Zanker 2000, 30–31). A person who encountered these monuments would reflexively create in his or her mind an image of that city and its citizens. This image would inevitably be influenced from the observer's past, recorded memories and his or her relation to that city. Moreover, this image would influence the observer's future attitude and position towards the city and its citizens whose honorific monuments were observed. The passive encounter of viewing, in this respect, had an important impact on the landscape experience and the mental image formed as a result of that experience since viewing is

... one activity in which people confront the world. They themselves may change under the influence of what they see, or what they see may cease to be a neutral object and become something interpreted by them according to the prejudices and associations present on their minds. Viewing is always a dual process of interpretation in which what is seen becomes fitted into the already existent framework of the viewer's knowledge and thereby, very subtly, changes both the content of what the viewer knows (because something new has been added) and the meaning of what is seen (because it is now framed by the viewer's knowledge. (Elsner 1995, 4)

An encounter could also take active forms and engage the subject person to participate in the activities facilitated by the landscape elements. In such encounters, the observer goes beyond the passive act of observing and becomes a participant of the activity related to that place. In this way, while the person lives his or her own individual experience, he or she also becomes a part of the landscape experiences of other people and acts as a medium of communication facilitated by the encounter with that place. A common form of active encounters in the classical context was to utilize a public building, which, in addition to its function, also meant participation in and promotion of a certain way of life. For example a person taking part in the discussions in the *agora* in the ancient Greek context would have indicated that, in addition to sharing his thoughts on the subject of discussion, he acknowledged the values of the society and claimed being a respectful component of that society. By doing what was seen as a necessary, respectful and responsible activity as well

as a duty, he also took part in the preservation of values, socially embraced rituals and transmission of these to younger generations. As similar encounters took place repeatedly through time, the location where these encounters took place, in this case the *agora*, would have gained meanings and symbols associated with the encounters it housed. It can well be stated, therefore, that the *agora* in the Hellenistic society had become a symbol of social life and civic values. Similarly, a person bathing in a bath-house in the Roman context, in addition to cleansing and indulging in pleasure, indicated that he or she acknowledged and took an active part in the culturally set social life. In this way, he or she also promoted and participated in the dissemination of that particular way of life. The bath-houses respectively would have become associated not only with bathing but also with the Roman way of socialization and recreation. Amphitheatres represented another conspicuous example of active encounters. Spectators reproduced the social structure, internalized a particular way of social rituals and thus also promoted it, while they socialized, took part in the social life and enjoyed the pleasures of urban life (Zanker 2000, 37–39). As a result, amphitheatres served to manifest the social order and were the *places* for producing and reproducing the culturally significant social habits of *pleasure*. As similar encounters took place repeatedly during the day-to-day activities of people, amphitheatres came to symbolize a particular social structure and gained meaning within this structure, which became inscribed onto the collective memory of citizens and which eventually created a sense of collective identity, shared values and a way of life.

To put it briefly, as a result of people's repeated experience of the landscape and encounters between people and the elements within the landscape, the landscape gains its meaning and becomes an agent which influences future actions that will re-shape the landscape. This process involves active and passive forms of action, perception and interpretation taking place under the influence of inputs as stated. The urban elements identified by Lynch (1960) are important factors structuring a

landscape experience, which is discussed in the context of Pednelissos in the next chapter.

#### **4.2. Structure of the Urban Image in Pednelissos**

Landmarks, paths, nodes, edges and districts, identified by Lynch (1960) as the main elements that structure the urban experience, also facilitate the major encounters that shape the mental image of a landscape. They influence the perception of the environment and consequently become the major inputs of the cognitive process through which a space becomes a place and the environment gains a meaning through this transformation.

##### **4.2.1. Landmarks**

Lynch (1960, 48) describes landmarks simply as physical objects which are singled out from the surrounding objects with their prominent features, such as size, shape, colour and texture. As such, he puts the emphasis on physical and visual dominance and conspicuousness and differentiation of these elements from their surroundings. MacDonald (1986, 132), in contrast, while agreeing with the physical differentiation of landmarks, emphasizes their symbolic associations and roles as conspicuous points of reference in memory and cognition. He focuses on such urban elements as ceremonial arches, fountains and porticos in addition to public buildings as conspicuous elements of visual and mnemonic reference, in other words, as landmarks. Both Lynch (1960) and MacDonald (1986) stress human-made elements as landmarks. In several ancient contexts including Pednelissos, however, the natural elements of the landscape also have a strong prominence and could act as reference points for people to orient themselves. In this respect both human-made and natural elements will be taken as landmarks in the context of Hellenistic, Roman and late antique Pednelissos and their physical and symbolic aspects will be

embraced. In short, landmarks will be regarded as conspicuous human-made and natural points of reference in the visual and mental record.

The most conspicuous natural landmark in Pednelissos is obviously Bodrumkaya (see photo. 3–5). The two ridges flanking Bodrumkaya and the relatively plainer land between the ridges, were the other main natural landmarks around Pednelissos (see fig. 26 and photo. 7). These landmarks, especially Bodrumkaya with its huge mass and visibility from almost anywhere within the city, are so dominant that it is almost impossible to get disoriented in and around the city. Even at nights, the dark mass of Bodrumkaya stands in such apparent contrast to the rest of the sky that one can get a feel of his or her orientation with respect to Bodrumkaya. The plains of Pamphylia, seashore and finally the Mediterranean Sea to the south, which are visible among the two ridges flanking Bodrumkaya, stand in a strong contrast to the mountainous area in which Pednelissos was situated and which gets rougher and more impenetrable northwards. Even when weather conditions restrict visibility or even at nights, the contrast between the flat lands and the sea in the south and highlands in the north is strongly pronounced. Therefore, the contrast between Bodrumkaya and its two flanking ridges on the one hand and the plains and the sea to the south on the other hand generated pronounced visual references and structured the physical layout of the settlement. As this physical setting remained unchanged over the entire period of occupation at Pednelissos, a mental image of this physical setting must have been inscribed on the collective memory of the inhabitants which continued to be so in the coming generations. Furthermore, the sea, the plains or the south direction may have gained symbolic associations related to *openness, infinity or outside*; whereas mountains and the north direction may have been associated with *restriction, inclusion and inside*. However, the feeling of restriction would not necessarily be a negative one; on the contrary, it might have symbolized boundary, safety, peace and a haven for inhabitants, especially at times of war and conflict (see fig. 27).

Many of the large scale human-made landmarks are traceable in the archaeological record today. These include monumental public buildings, military structures and public amenities of the city, which can be singled out with their sizes, construction techniques, building materials and workmanships as well as their dominant roles in the daily life. Even today the remains of these buildings are differentiated from other buildings with their better preserved and standing parts and still function as urban landmarks within the landscape.

Landmarks of Pednelissos can be grouped with reference to their functions. The first group is the civic landmarks which accommodated the civic, administrative or economic functions and the public amenities including the market building, *bouleuterion*, bath-house/ *palaestra*, *stoa*/ portico in the lower city and the customs building. The second refers to the military/ defensive landmarks functioning as security structures, such as the city gates and towers. The final group of landmarks is religious landmarks, which were connected to religious, ritualistic or honorific elements of the built environment and included the temples, churches, Apollo Sanctuary, *heroa* and *necropolei*. The fountain in the Apollo Sanctuary can also be included in this group; since, being very close to the church, it would have been associated with the rituals performed (see fig. 28 for the Hellenistic period landmarks, fig. 29 for the Roman imperial period landmarks and fig. 30 for the late antique period landmarks).

The civic centre was continuously a focus for civic landmarks and a place dominated by civic encounters from the establishment of the city in the late Hellenistic period until its abandonment at the end of the late antiquity. Comprised of the market building (see photo. 29 and 30) with its *stoa* on the upper floor at the *agora* level and the *bouleuterion* arranged around the *agora* (see photo. 26), and probably other related but no longer traceable buildings and monuments around them, the civic centre symbolized the Hellenistic way of generating and housing social life and public space. The *bouleuterion*, as the symbol of autonomy and independence of

the community, market building as the economic centre, and the *agora*, as the arena and meeting point of all publicly associated happenings, would have symbolized and manifested the free will and the identity of the community. The honorific monuments in the *agora* illustrate that the civic centre also represented how the community as well as the individuals within the community presented themselves publicly; therefore, the civic centre was also the place of self-presentation. As such, the civic centre constituted an important reference point with not only the visual conspicuousness of buildings it included and the functions it housed but also with its central role in creation of a self-identity and self-presentation. The experience of and encounters with the civic centre would have taken the active form of participation in the civic life and hence the promotion and dissemination of that particular way of life. The honorific monuments in the *agora* would have established passive encounters based on viewing, that is by visual capturing and confrontation. Though the civic centre and associated buildings preserved their landmark and symbolic character throughout the life of the city, modifications to the layout and to some of the buildings, such as changes done to the market building and conversion of the *bouleuterion* into a church in later periods, indicate changes in terms of the symbolic associations and encounters that took place in the civic centre as a public place. Especially the conversion of the *bouleuterion* probably some time in the late antique period and absence of civic assembly buildings in the following periods are indicative of transformations that took place in the administrative structure of the society. Independent decision-making processes of equal citizens gradually ceased during the Roman imperial period (Mitchell 1993a, 2:75–77), which rendered *bouleuterion* buildings obsolete. Consequently active encounters in the form of taking part in the discussions in the *bouleuterion*, which symbolized and promoted commonly shared public/civic values and civic pride, also ceased. The civic emphasis, therefore, shifted to the new establishments in the lower city and introduced new forms of encounters and symbolisms. The customs building, on the other hand, assumed its landmark character from the dominant role it played in the economic life and trade with other cities, rather than its physical



appearance and location within the city; it symbolized the authority of the law maker. Thus encounters with this building signalled the acknowledgement of and submission to the authority.

Not only the civic landmarks, their proximity to each other and arrangements within the city layout but also the transformations these landmarks went through in time were quite similar in various Pisidian cities. In Sagalassos, the *bouleuterion* which was built in the first century BC had a strong visual emphasis with its elaborate decorations, obviously to stress the autonomy and independence of the community (Waelkens et al. 2000, 246–68). The *bouleuterion*, as in Pednelissos, was located in relation to a market building (Waelkens et al. 2000, 297–312) both of which were situated around the upper agora. Similar to that in Pednelissos, when the *bouleuterion* lost its function, this place was chosen as the locus of a church in late antiquity (Waelkens et al. 2000, 255). Similar transformations also took place in Selge. A large rectangular building with three doors approached by steps from a *stoa*, together with a temple and a market building, was part of a larger complex formed around the *agora*. This rectangular building is understood to have been an *odeion* from an inscription; however, its earlier use is suggested to have been a *bouleuterion* (Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, 49–59; Mitchell 1991a, 126–28). What is noteworthy is that this building was also remodelled as a basilical church in late antiquity (Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, 107–8). As a result it can be concluded that similarities in their functions, locations and spatial organizations made way to similar experiences of and confrontations with buildings that comprised the civic landmarks. The image they presented and the symbolisms they came to be associated with were thus spread and shared by a large populace.

Military/ defensive landmarks of Pednelissos comprising the city gates (see photo. 9–12 and 17) and military towers (see photo. 18 and 19) were also built during the Hellenistic period and for the most part continued to function throughout the life of the city. These stimulated mostly passive encounters based on viewing; the city

gates however also stimulated active encounters as people entered into and exited from the city. City gates, moreover, symbolized control and power of citizens over who could and could not enter the city. They were also the first instance of encounter for those who were coming to the city. Monumental, elaborately decorated and symbolically loaded city gates have a long tradition in Asia Minor.<sup>13</sup> It can be put forth that, in addition to their practical function of control, city gates were traditionally the symbolical markers of the transition to an urban area and presented the image, claims and aspirations of a city to the outside world. City gates of Pisidian cities, including Pednelissos, followed this tradition. The south gate at Cremna with its arched gates and tower above the gate illustrates this well. The outer face of the gate was left rough and this rusticated appearance gave an impression of “crude strength” (Mitchell 1995, 46). Ariassos (Mitchell 1991b, 159–60) and ‘Melli’ (Vandeput and Köse 2001, 136) all featured impressive gates and towers which symbolized the strength of the settlements and acted as military landmarks. Even today the extant remains of these military/ defensive landmarks present an impressive view and a strong imagery. It is not difficult to imagine that the city gates of Pednelissos also symbolized the power and strength of the city and encounters with them would have clearly given the message that Pednelissos was unconquerable and provided a safe place for its citizens.

The only known religious landmark of the Hellenistic period, in addition to the *necropoleis*, was the Apollo relief in the Apollo Sanctuary (see photo. 39). The Apollo relief was not visually very prominent in terms of its size, but it was obviously a significant point of reference marking an important place related to the belief systems

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13 City gates of the Hittite capital Hattusha, including the Lion Gate (Seeher 2006, 48–57), Sphinx Gate (Seeher 2006, 62–72) and the King’s Gate (Seeher 2006, 88–95), are of the earliest examples of monumental gates in Asia Minor. Also see the early Phrygian gate at Gordion (Young 1955, 12–16; 1956, 257–60), the Cappadocia Gate at the Iron Age city at Kerkenes Dağ (Summers forthcoming) and the Hellenistic gates at Perge (Mansel 1958, 235–38) for other examples of monumental gates and Güven (1983) for monumental arches in Asia Minor.

of the society. This place may or may not have been related to a foundation legend<sup>14</sup>, real or fictitious historical event or an expression of wish or hope, but certainly was indicative of the cognitive framework within which people conceived the world around them. The fact that this place continued to be significant throughout the life of the city as emphasized by later additions to the sanctuary, such as the temenos wall, shows that it was deeply rooted in the collective memory and had a central role in the cognitive maps. The Apollo Sanctuary facilitated both active encounters through participation into rites and rituals and passive encounters based on visual communication with the Apollo relief and probably also with ritual objects associated with the cult. The north and south *necropoleis*, on the other hand, kept a record of the past of the city and its gentry, rulers and influential citizens in the form of tombs and memorials, which created passive encounters based on viewing. *Necropoleis*, as such, were important reference points in the collective memory of the city in which every citizen could find something of his or her memories and of his or her past. The continuous use of the *necropoleis* indicates their omnipresence in the mental image of the city.

During the Roman imperial period significant transformations and additions took place especially in the civic landmarks of the city. These were concentrated in the lower city. The construction of the bath-house/ *palaestra* complex (see fig. 33 and 35) and the *stoa*/ portico added two more monumental landmarks to the city and dramatically changed the life as well as the mental image of the city. These buildings were familiar urban forms symbolizing Roman urban culture for the ancients. Passive encounters with these buildings familiarized Pednelissians with Roman urban culture and blended the architectural elements of this culture into their life as well as into their visual record and memory. Bath-houses were unique features of Roman urban living which comprised both bodily cleansing and pleasure and recreation (Yegül 1992 and 2010). Bath-houses were social spaces where boundaries

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14 Foundation legends stood at the heart of a city's identity in the classical period and in many cases tied a city's history and mythological past to that of old Greece (Mitchell 1993b, 1:207–208).

of social classes blurred with everyone bathing naked (Laurence 2009, 64–65). On the other hand, activities and rituals related to bathing were socially codified in a strict way and highly hierarchical, through which the structure and hierarchy of social relations were reproduced (Zanker 2000, 37–39). These buildings functioned as agents of nonverbal communication to promote a Romanized social life, in a way similar to the civic centre which promoted the Hellenistic attitude. The bath-house/*palaestra* and the *stoa*/ portico essentially transformed the nature of the active encounters that took place in the city. While people participated actively in the recreational activities in the bath-house/*palaestra* and spent their leisure time in the *stoa*/ portico, they not only appropriated and became an actor of the civic arena but also promoted this role. Although the active encounters that took place within the Roman period buildings of the lower city had similarities with those that took place in the Hellenistic civic centre, there were essential differences between the two. The encounters in the Hellenistic civic centre were based on taking responsibility in the administrative agenda, political life and civic discussions, in which citizens were independent of a central government, whereas the active encounters in the lower city were based on taking part in leisure, recreation and pleasure activities, which were made possible by a central government that guaranteed peace and prosperity and hence sustained these encounters through the social habits of leisure and pleasure. In the former the emphasis was on free and independent decision making and consequently assuming responsibility for those decisions, in the latter the emphasis was on dependence on a central authority but receiving major benefits in return.

Similar transformations are traceable in a number of Pisidian cities, notably in Ariassos (see fig. 14). During the Roman imperial period, Ariassos expanded beyond its Hellenistic fortifications, from the mountain slopes where it was initially founded down to the valley bottom. A number of monumental Roman buildings were built flanking a major street along the valley bottom. As in Pednelissos, a bath-house/*palaestra* complex occupied a prominent place among these buildings, which also

included a theatre and a *nymphaeum* (Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989, 64). In Ariassos, as in Pednelissos, this group of buildings became landmarks, both with their scale and the place they occupied in civic life, and symbolized and advertised the benefits of being a part of the Roman Empire.

The Roman period also witnessed the construction of a group of monumental religious buildings which became new landmarks in addition to those that already existed. These new religious landmarks included the imperial temple in the lower city, the temple to the north of the *agora* and the *heroon* near the Apollo Sanctuary. The *temenos* wall constructed around the Apollo Sanctuary, in addition, indicated the continuing significance of this area in the religious life as well as the mental image of the citizens.<sup>15</sup> It is well-documented at Sagalassos that, during the early imperial period, particular emphasis was put on temple building and renovation along with the construction of auxiliary structures, such as *temenos* walls, at sanctuaries (M. Waelkens 2002, 69–71). As in Sagalassos, new religious constructions during the imperial period transformed the urban landscape of Pednelissos, both visually and mentally. These embraced the legacy of the past, but at the same time marked the Roman impact, played a prominent role in the religious life of the inhabitants and became significant new landmarks in both the collective memory and urban landscape.

The spread of Christianity during late antiquity left its mark in the layout of the city also with churches, which spread homogenously over the area covered by the settlement. Churches were significant landmarks with their visual distinction and also as places of visit in the daily lives of the citizens. They facilitated both types of encounters. Unlike the civic centre in the upper city and the Roman focus of public buildings in the lower city, both of which generated intense encounters and provided focal points around which symbolic buildings concentrated, churches

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15 It is noteworthy that Apollo was presented by Augustus as his divine protector in his military campaigns (Favro 1996, 99–100). It can be suggested that the construction of a *temenos* wall around the Apollo Sanctuary may have been a gesture of loyalty to the first emperor of the Roman Empire.

were interwoven into the city fabric in a homogenous way. Regardless of a person's location within the city, it was possible to come across a church in a close proximity. This was certainly indicative of a new authority, that of the god and the church that acted on the god's behalf. That no other civic landmarks were built in late antiquity and that churches encroached upon the previously civic areas, as in the case of *bouleuterion*, suggest a shift from civic emphasis to a religious one in the social life. The fact that the Apollo Sanctuary does not show any sign of abandonment, however, demonstrates that old, pagan beliefs found a way to survive in one form or the other. Some of the new churches, as they were built close to pagan sanctuaries (the temple north of the agora, the imperial temple in the lower city and the Apollo Sanctuary) and in *necropoleis* (the church in the southern *necropolis*), show that memory of old locations of reference were adapted and continued to have significance in late antique period as well.

Continuity of ritualistic locations is a common occurrence in Asia Minor.<sup>16</sup> A Pisidian example is seen at Sagalassos, where a new basilical church was built right on the site of the temple of Apollo Klarios (Waelkens, Mitchell, and Owens 1990, 185–90). Arpalıktepesi, a sanctuary site approximately 15 km northeast of Pednelissos, testifies to a much older example. Here, use of a natural cave for cultic purposes goes back to the sixth century BC. Later surrounded by a *temenos* wall and provided with a temple that was built on top of the cave, the area remained in use at least until the fourth century AD (Işın 2006). A church, 30 metres to the south of the cave, shows that the area around the cave remained related to cultic/ religious activity probably into late antiquity or Byzantine times. Thus it can be suggested that in Pednelissos, as in other places in Asia Minor, symbolic places and associated landmarks remained more or less unchanged but their contents were transformed under the influence of

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16 Many of these locations have been preserved in collective memory as blended with local cults/ religions and are still revered. One striking example to this is the temple of Augustus/ Hacibayram mosque at Ankara, where the cult of the mother goddess of Anatolia, *Meter Theon*, and the imperial cult of Augustus were fused and embodied in a Roman imperial period temple, which was chosen as the site of a basilical church in late antiquity and also the site of a mosque in the fifteenth century, which still stands and is in use today (Güven 1998).

a new social structure that prioritized religion as the denominator of new social and spatial nodes, relations, communications and developments.

There were surely other urban landmarks in the Pednelissian landscapes along with the public and monumental landmarks mentioned above. Private dwellings of prominent people, visually less prominent urban features such as fountains and even trees<sup>17</sup> could have been among the minor urban landmarks that shaped people's perception and image of their environment. There most likely were elements which were functionally, symbolically or socio-culturally significant and functioned as landmarks for a single individual or for particular socio-cultural groups but had little meaning for others. Called "idiosyncratic landmarks" by Golledge (2003, 34), these minor landmarks were more subjective as they heavily depended on personal experience and less permanent in comparison to public and monumental landmarks; therefore, archaeologically not traceable.

#### **4.2.2. Paths**

Paths are channels of movement and facilitate movement throughout the urban as well as the natural environment. Paths are important elements in people's image of their city as they observe their city while moving along these paths (Lynch 1960, 47). While people move within their environment, they have a sensory experience of this environment. The recurring experiences and encounters taking place under different conditions, such as in different times of the day, in different seasons of the year, during special events such as festivals or religious celebrations, under different political situations and alike, create varying mental images in the mind of the observer (Favro 1996, 1–9). Not only the paths but also the way people move along the paths, for instance at a slow pace, in a hurry, in a cart or on foot etc, influence the encounter and consequently the mental image of the environment (Favro 1993,

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17 In a play by Terence (*Adelphi* 4.2), Syrus describes an address to Demea referring to a fig tree.

230–31). Moreover, if the landscape is considered as a text,<sup>18</sup> then the observers can manipulate the narrative through their choice of paths (Favro 1993, 232).

Lynch (1960) does not make a differentiation between different paths and accepts all as equally important. MacDonald (1986, 33), on the other hand, differentiates major streets from minor ones on the basis of several criteria, such as being wider and connecting main gates and plazas, and calls them *thoroughfares*. Kaiser (2011, 30–31) similarly stresses a differentiation between streets in the ancient context and also demonstrates that this difference is also reflected in language.<sup>19</sup> While there is not much differentiation between the streets of Pednelissos in terms of visual prominence, elaboration or width, some streets stand out with their provision of direct and uninterrupted movement between major urban landmarks, which will be discussed below.

All streets, including both those inside and outside the fortifications, as well as public squares that were connected to streets and facilitated uninterrupted movement make up the transport network or the *paths* of Pednelissos (see fig. 31). Streets of Pednelissos were essentially narrow and winding to fit the topography (see fig. 32). The widths of the streets of Pednelissos, which were generally between 1.5 and 2.5 m with the major axes being around 2.5 m, when compared to approximately 9 m wide north – south colonnaded street of Sagalassos, 10 m colonnaded street of Cremna and 18 – 20 m wide *cardo maximus* of Perge, were significantly narrower. Streets in smaller cities like Ariassos and ‘Melli,’ on the other hand, where traceable,

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18 Favro (1996, 4–9) views the urban environment as a text having a meaning and communicating a message. She also makes an analogy between the urban texts and the study of rhetoric by upper class Romans. This idea of urban text forms the basis of the concept of *palimpsest*, which literally refers to a parchment or other writing surface on which the original text has been partially or fully erased and overwritten by someone else but is also used as a metaphor for built environments where a message was inscribed and has been subject to change over time (Giles 2007).

19 In Latin, *via* and *platea* were used to denote main thoroughfares and wider boulevards, whereas *angiportum* and *semita* denoted secondary or side streets and alleys. *Platea*, moreover, had connotations related to the Greek culture suggesting the wide, elaborate boulevards of some Hellenistic cities (Kaiser 2011, 30–31).



were similar in width to those in Pednelissos. The angle of vision was narrow and visual obstructions were abundant in the streets of Pednelissos. This gave a sense of *directionality* to the streets, which means that they stimulated movement in either direction rather than being stationary. Where the paths opened onto public squares or opened outside through city gates, the angle of vision widened. In this respect, public squares gave a sense of openness, which stood in contrast to the narrowness of the streets.

Three partly overlapping types of paths are identifiable in the city (see fig. 33–36). The first group is the *approaches*. These are the paths located outside the fortifications and connected to the city gates. Approaches are considered important since a visitor's first contact with the city was established along these streets. The second type of paths connected important landmarks and nodes of the city and a person travelling along those sequentially encountered many of the landmarks of the city; thus, experienced an urban procession from one landmark to the other. These, in this respect, will be named as *processional ways*. Approaches and processional ways comprised the backbone of the urban transportation and connected the major landmarks as well as the gates of the city. The final type of paths is those which were secondary or less directly related to landmarks and nodes. Some paths on the other hand overlap in terms of function and meaning, which means that a street might have had a dual character and serve, for instance, both as an approach and an extension of a processional way.

A similar structure of paths, consisting of approaches, processional ways and secondary streets, are traceable in many cities of Pisidia, smaller and larger alike. In Sagalassos, for instance, the southern approach to the city around Alexander's Hill and the north-south colonnaded street were obviously differentiated from other streets with their physical appearance, width, embellishment and connecting major nodes and landmarks of the city (see fig. 13). A similar structure also existed at Ariassos, where a straight stretch of processional street went all the way through the

city along which many of the major landmarks were located (see fig. 14). A winding street approached the city through a *necropolis* on either end of the processional street. 'Melli' shared a similar structure with a winding approach to the northern gate through a *necropolis*, which connected to a processional way that is traceable inside the city along the fortifications (see fig. 15).

Processional ways and approaches acted as sequentially flowing urban spaces in which the possibility and density of encounters with landmarks increased in comparison to other streets. These streets connected the landmarks and other important spaces of the built environment and provided an uninterrupted movement between them. Many important elements that constituted the *image* of the landscape are located along these streets, so a person moving from one building to another along these streets would inevitably have encountered various symbolic elements, even if he or she had not intended to do so. These streets would have acted as an arena of public display, in addition to their primary function of organizing movement. Movement along these streets meant a procession from one encounter to another that established communication between the viewer and the viewed.

In the example of Sagalassos, for instance, a 500 m walk in the Roman imperial period along the north-south colonnaded street from the Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius to the lower *agora* was a procession that provided encounters with the Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the Temple of Apollo Klairos, bath-house, the lower *agora*, *odeion* as well as *nymphaea*, gateways and honorific monuments along the way. Processional ways in smaller cities provided similar urban experiences at a smaller scale. A contemporary walk for 200 m along the processional way in Ariassos would lead to encounters with the Roman arch, Roman *agora/ forum*, bath-house/ *palaestra*, theatre and *nymphaeum*. Both walks provided dramatic encounters with the landscape which presented the traveller with a snapshot of the cities, their power and prosperity, belief systems and identities.

As such, processional ways differed from other streets as they provided key urban experiences which influenced people's perception of the landscape and the mental image formed in their minds.

Of the two main thoroughfares in Pednelissos the northwest – southeast axis and its extension outside the city walls was one of the major processional ways, which was in use from the foundation of the city in the late Hellenistic period until the end of the occupation at the end of late antiquity at the earliest. A person coming to the city from the north and continuing towards the *agora* would have experienced many encounters along this path, which would have presented a picture of the city's occupants and social dynamics leading to the mental construction of an image of Pednelissos (see fig. 37). The approach to the northern gate from outside the fortifications, for example, would have provided encounters along the way, first with tombs and honorific monuments in the *necropolis* that established links with the past of the city, leading families and their legacy. At the same time, the northern gate and its imposing tower as well as the fortifications provided an impressive backdrop and established yet another encounter symbolising the power of the city. Glimpses of the Pamphylian plain viewed in distance among the mountains and trees along this approach were associated with the great *metropoleis* of the plains, whereas the tombs and the gate established a link with the lowland civilization. On entry into the city the gate led onto one of the main axes of the planning grid, along which visitors confronted first a temple in earlier times and a church in later times, thus with a locus of worshipping that remained unchanged in the cultural landscape. Visitors greeted these buildings or donated sacrifices to them, which were gestures that showed respect towards the citizens and their beliefs. This street finally led into the *agora* and as such, this path took a person from the wilderness of the Pisidian mountains into the heart of the civilization, first showing the prominent Pednelissians, then revering the gods who were the guardians of the present and finally leading into economic and civic hearth of the city. In other words, it actually took a person on a journey from the past to the present. An

analogy to a *palimpsest* in this respect, manifests as a temporal record. The journey from outside the fortifications along the approach to the northern gate and the northwest – southeast axis to the agora was a temporal palimpsest which tied the past to the present-day and the present-day within a cognitive framework. This framework was paramount in the creation of the self-identity and self-presentation of the community and, like a palimpsest, was ready to be written over and over again in time. Each record on this palimpsest would add something to the cognitive framework and to the collective memory, which would lead to the re-interpretation and re-construction of the identity of the community.

Another significant path was the northeast – southwest axis, its extension outside the city walls and a main branch splitting off the northeast – southwest axis at the lower city gate and leading to the imperial temple/ church area. These together had a processional character and provided significant cognitive and urban experiences. This processional way was changed and transformed in time by substantial additions. In the earliest phase of the settlement when the lower city had not been laid out, it was comprised of an approach to the western gate and provided an encounter of power and strength of the city, and the axis of the grid, which led to the civic centre (see fig. 33). The approach to the western gate remained within the urban area, with the construction of the lower city fortifications (see fig. 34). It gradually took the shape that is traceable today from the early Roman imperial period during which an approach to the lower city gate, an axis of the urban grid and a branch leading from the lower city gate to the imperial temple/ church area were added (see fig. 35 and 36). The approach to the lower city gate was very similar in character to that of the northern gate of the upper city. It passed through the tombs and honorific monuments of the south *necropolis*. Along the way a silent communication occurred in between the past of the city, the builders of this history and the viewer of this temporal manifestation. This approach was complemented with the sight of the impressive gate and the nearby tower as well as the southwestern fortifications of the upper city in distance, in addition to the glimpses from the Pamphylian plain. Upon

entry into the city, the street was further divided into two processional paths. The first continued straight ahead taking the travellers to the bath-house and the *stoa*/ portico and terminating at what must have been the *temenos* wall of the imperial temple. During the journey the bath-house and the *stoa*/ portico symbolized and manifested the civic benefits of Roman urbanism, while the temple designated a religious focus. In later times the temple fell into disuse but the churches by the temple continued to act as a religious locus. It is noteworthy to mention that this processional path stretched between the confrontation of bodily cleansing at the bath-house, and the temple and church as places of faith and soul purification. The second processional path, which is also an axis of the grid, began from the gate of the lower city and passing through the western gate of the upper city terminated at the *agora* (see fig. 38). The bath-house and the square built in the Roman period are experienced along the lower stretch of this path which represented the context of Roman urban life. Further up, the western gate stood as the symbol of the physical power of the city and the guardian of the church beside. This processional way finally terminated at the *agora*, where it intersected with the northwest – southeast thoroughfare. The images captured along this street were of a more civil character in contrast to the others where a sequence of encounters with religious buildings was more dominant.

The street from the temple and the church in the lower city to the church beside the western gate was another path of a processional character (see fig. 35 and 36). Passive and active encounters mostly religious in content dominated the movement on this path. This processional way connected symbolically significant locations, as emphasized by religious buildings and joined the major northeast – southwest processional way. The procession along this street began with seeing the temple in earlier times and with the church in later times. It eventually arrived at the western gate, which was a point where multiple visual exposures took place. At this point, the path joined the northeast – southwest axis of the grid and led to the civic centre. The close proximity of the church and the gate however are especially important.

Hence, a small church protected by imposing and strong fortifications, gate and tower could have manifested at best the message of Pednelissians as being the protector of religion or in service of the god.

The street leading to the southern gate from outside the fortifications was both an approach and a processional way (see fig. 33–36). Encounters along this path were dominantly of a religious character. The symbolic importance of the area below the southern gate was emphasized from the earliest stages of the settlement by the Apollo Sanctuary, which was later complemented by a sanctuary wall and a still later church. This area, in a way, displayed the repertoire of the religious beliefs of the city, preserving and embracing the material legacy of each and furthermore adapting and sustaining their meaning and symbolic presence in a temporal continuum from the present to the future. It is probably due to this fact that this location was also chosen as the site of a *heroon*. It can be argued that the hero for whom this *heroon* was dedicated manifested his ties with the past of the city and claims of having served for the protection of this legacy for the future. This area, therefore, was an important mnemonic place of the past beliefs and embodied their adaptation into the current system of myths and rituals. This is closely paralleled at 'Melli'. At least three *heroa*, in addition to other tombs including house-shaped tombs, *sarcophagi* and *ostothecae*, were located along the northern approach to 'Melli' (Vandeput and Köse 2001, 138–41). In a striking similarity with Pednelissos, these *heroa* were also close to the Apollo relief and a church was later built further north of the relief (see fig. 15).

The paved path which began from the Apollo Sanctuary in Pednelissos can be traced up to the southern gate having symbolic associations similar to the other city gates. At present, this path has not been preserved beyond the gate; however, in antiquity it would have led to the *agora*, probably passing through other symbolic locations. It is possible to imagine a ritual procession beginning from a symbolic point within the city and proceeding along this path, paying tribute to each of the symbolic

elements along the way and ending around the Apollo Sanctuary or around the church. The fountain in front of the church may have had a cultic function and may have been used in ritual processions. This procession is an example for an active encounter that involved people joining in the ritual and moving around the city with the procession, which created a sense of community as well as a collective memory linked to the *places* visited along the route.

Regularly performed ritual processions and civic rituals in general took an important part in urban life in the classical period. Many civic rituals involved sequential movement from one symbolically important place to another in an orderly and coordinated way (Esmonde Cleary 2005, 1). Ritual processions had a departure point and a destination point as well as a route between these points and involved other places *en route*, which were related to the rituals. The stage of these processions, therefore, was the urban landscapes, including monuments, sacred places and streets. The elements of the urban topography were indeed integrated into a cognitive whole, with a collective memory and a meaning, through regularly repeated ritual processions and ceremonies (Bayliss 1999, 60). Processions often extended into non-urban areas to symbolize the unity of the urban and rural and sometimes also referred to the borders of a city to emphasize the ties of the community with the land they dwelled in and to arouse a feeling of belonging to a group as well as to a land (Esmonde Cleary 2005, 2).

[Processions and festivals] linked ritual to reality: they linked human action to physical urban presence, and in doing so magnified the personal, every-day experience of the city and elevated the event to the level of a community celebration. ... Many ended in parades and banquets, fostering feelings of good citizenship. (Yegül 1992, 151)

A *collective* past and a *collective* identity, which were linked to the landscape in which the society dwelled, were created through rituals. The *collective* past may not have been based on the real events in history but on the myths and rituals promoted during these symbolic encounters. It may not have been a *real* past but a

selection of past events reworked, mystified and given a meaning which eventually served for the creation of a common background and a sense group identity.<sup>20</sup>

Sacred processions and rituals were also socially codified and hierarchically arranged practices. They often involved ordering of the participants according to their places within the society, in which rulers and the elite took the most privileged places and were often juxtaposed next to the symbol of the divine; whereas the rest were arranged with respect to their place within the social hierarchy (Esmonde Cleary 2005, 2). Therefore processions were a reflection of the self-representation of the society where the social structure was reproduced and people understood, accepted and internalized their places within the social structure. This also served for the consolidation of the social structure and helped in passing them to the succeeding generations.

Christianity inherited, re-worked and transformed pagan rituals and processions in a way to narrate its own story and to create its own self-identity (Bayliss 1999, 62–63). Therefore, ritual processions present a continuity and a significant tool of people's experience of and giving a meaning to the landscape they were living in. In this respect, an investigation of possible routes for ritual processions within the paths of Pednelissos can provide insights into how ancient people experienced and conceived their city during ritual processions.

The paved street connecting the symbolically important location around the Apollo Sanctuary to the southern gate can safely be assumed as having been a part of a ritual procession. It is also plausible to assume that the street connecting the other symbolically important location around the imperial temple and the church in the lower city was part of a procession. The similarities between these two locations, including their distance and relation to the upper city, linkage to a city gate and

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<sup>20</sup> Thomas (1996, 13–14) argues that past draws upon memory, which is not a true record of past events, but rather a selective record which is worked upon, crafted and re-crafted in the creation of meaning.



being endowed with a paved street, are noteworthy. These suggest the possibility that the area in the lower city might have gained its symbolic significance from the very early times of the settlement and this significance might have been marked with a natural or a human-made object, like the Apollo relief, which is no longer visible. Then in time, the significance of the area might have been embodied firstly in a temple, afterwards in a church. Though this suggestion cannot be proved without an excavation, such a development seems very similar to that of the Apollo Sanctuary and would fit into the material and historical context.

The rest of the route of the procession is not very obvious. It might be the case that processions were linear, taking place between either the Apollo Sanctuary or the imperial temple area in the lower city and another symbolically important place within the city. Possible symbolic departure/ destination points in the city may have been the *agora* or the earlier temple/ later church in the north of the *agora*. Another possibility was that the procession began at one of these sanctuaries and terminated at the other via either the main axes of the urban grid (i.e. northwest-southeast main axis and/ or northeast-southwest main axis) or another path, possibly, in late antiquity at least, through the large church in the southeast of the city. The procession could have extended further east in late antiquity to the church in the southern *necropolis*. Whether the procession completed a full cycle through the lower city gate or the imperial square is, however, open to discussion (see fig. 39 and 40).

As the locations of ritualistic significance (i.e. the area around the Apollo Sanctuary and the area in the lower city around the imperial temple and church) presented a continuity throughout the history of the settlement, it is reasonable to suggest that the routes of ritual processions as well remained more or less the same. What is common to all of the routes of ritual procession suggested above is movement through very central parts and important monuments of the settlement. For instance during a possible ritual procession between the imperial temple/ church

area and a symbolic location at the civic centre (which may have been the temple/ church to the north of the *agora* or another monument in the *agora*, or, in later times, the church in the southeast of the *agora*) a landscape experience involving both natural and built aspects of the landscape would have taken place. As this is quite a steep route, it would have provided a very lively experience of the topographic features, across a backdrop of the contrast between Bodrumkaya and the Pamphylian plains, together with visual and physical contact with many of the important buildings of the city including the imperial quarters of the lower city, western gate and fortifications, the small church by the western gate and the civic centre. All of these merged into a cognitive framework with each element having its own place, significance and history, whether real or re-created, narrated by the rites and rituals during the procession.

A similar experience would have taken place during a possible procession between the area around the Apollo Sanctuary and, say, the civic centre. This would have covered a larger section of the city and provided more encounters with residential buildings, thus incorporating influential people and their houses into the rituals. In this case, those people would have been acknowledged as protectors or patrons of communal beliefs, which would place them in the collective memory and self-identity of the city. Those influential people would economically or politically benefit from this as their influence would have been communally acknowledged and consolidated through ritual processions. This also involves an ideological aspect in that acknowledgement of the power of the influential people were presented as part of the communal good through rituals. On the other hand, changing power relations within the community would lead to the exclusion of a previously revered person and places related to them from a ritual procession as an acknowledgement of the devaluation of their place within the society.<sup>21</sup>

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21 Esmonde Cleary (2005, 1–2) calls this “social forgetting”.

In the case of a ritual procession between the Apollo Sanctuary and the area around the imperial temple, the procession would cover more of the urban area and incorporate more of the urban monuments. A circular procession, which began and following a circular route terminated at the same point, furthermore, would incorporate some area outside the fortifications. A route through the lower city gate and the southern *necropolis* would refer to the memorials of the past people of the city and their memories, which would integrate them into the cognitive framework, in other words image of the city, constructed during the ritual procession. A route through the imperial square, on the other hand, exposed the travellers to the imperial achievements and those who served for the empire, whose commemorative monuments were located there.

Currently there is not enough archaeological or literary evidence to conclusively determine which routes were used for regular ritual processions. It is reasonable to assume that one or more of these routes were followed during the regularly repeated processions and took part in the formation of cognitive maps related to the city and the landscape. Nevertheless, regular ritual processions and urban ceremonies, though frequent, were not daily events; they took place on special occasions. As in the case of the annual procession established by C. Vibius Salutarius at Ephesus, ritualistic urban processions were the utmost points of urban and landscape experience where myth, ritual and reality blended and were tied to the physical reality.<sup>22</sup> An ordinary citizen, however, reproduced these urban processions, not unconsciously, but rather *subconsciously*, while moving along these processional

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22 C. Vibius Salutarius was a local notable at Ephesus and a Roman citizen. During the reign of Trajan, he provided an annual urban procession at Ephesus to celebrate the mythical past and sacred identity of his city. The procession started at the sanctuary of Artemis and passing through the city following the main thoroughfares and stopping at important monuments including the Augustan basilica, temple of the imperial cult, *bouleuterion* and numerous fountains ended at the sanctuary (Rogers 1991). The processions which took place during the annual celebrations of the birth of Artemis were another dramatic multi-sensory landscape experience. These processions, which were celebrated at least from the fourth century BC to the middle of the third century AD, took place between Ephesus and the mythical birthplace of Artemis, Ortygia, which was a couple of kilometres from the city. During the processions, double pipe and trumpet were played to emphasize important rituals at key locations while incense added olfactory stimulation to the experience (Rogers 2012).

ways during their daily rhythm. It is possible to imagine the subconscious procession a person made in the Roman imperial period while he came out from the *bouleuterion*, say after a meeting, and went to the bath-house to take a bath and refresh. Assuming he used the most direct way, which was the northeast – southwest axis of the armature, he would have encountered firstly with the *agora*, *stoa* of the market building and honorific monuments, which were a glorification of the Hellenistic past and the civic identity of the city. After the *agora*, a winding movement down the main axis towards the western gate presented glimpses of the Pamphylian plains and gave a sense of the natural terrain. Passing through the western gate, which marked a transition between the old, Hellenistic past to the new, Roman present, the traveller moved still further down towards the bath-house. Along the way, a passive encounter of viewing the imperial square materialized the Roman present and advertised its glory and benefits it provided. On arrival at the final destination, the person indulged in the pleasure, refreshment and relaxation at the bath-house. A 200 m walk, thus turned into a procession, which may have reproduced the ritualistic urban processions performed on specific days. At each of the symbolic places along the route, the traveller would have recalled from his memory the story narrated during ceremonial urban processions and blended this with his present experience to recreate the history and image of the present day. Thus, processional ways were the scene of vital encounters which created the mental image of the environment through both *conscious* processions performed on special days and *subconscious* processions taking place during the daily life.

Processional ways abound in both smaller and larger Pisidian cities. Among the latter, the grand colonnaded street of Sagalassos is one of the most monumental and dramatic example of these. This street is traceable from the temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in the southern fringes of the city up to the upper agora in two straight stretches (see fig. 13). The southern, longer stretch began from the temple and passing through the lower agora terminated at the Hadrianic *nymphaeum* in front of the *odeon* where it intersected with the east – west street. The street was

paved, embellished with colonnades and honorific monuments, and ascended the slope via monumental staircases. Important points such as the entrance to the lower agora were further emphasized with arched gateways (Waelkens, Mitchell, and Owens 1990, 193). As such, it provided an excellent example of MacDonald's (1986, 33–51) thoroughfares. The Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, Temple of Apollo Klairos and bath-house were the major landmarks along the way while the Hadrianic *nymphaeum* formed and emphasized the terminus point. The Trajanic *nymphaeum*, which was later replaced by The Severan *nymphaeum* provided further visual foci in the lower *agora*. The lower *agora*, in addition, was a major node along this way to the north of which this processional way intersected with the major east – west street of the city. A few meters to the east of this intersection, the upper part of the processional way began and connected to the upper *agora*, which was the central node of the city. Although this current state of the processional way represents the situation in the Roman imperial period, excavations indicate that the initial laying out of this street goes back to the first century BC (Waelkens, Mitchell, and Owens 1990, 193). It can be suggested that this street was already laid out as a processional way in the Hellenistic period but its character was visually emphasized with colonnades and honorific monuments and its significance was materialized by monumental landmarks during the Roman imperial period, as in the case of the north – south street of Perge (Abbasoğlu 2001, 179–80). The uninterrupted use of the north – south processional way at Sagalassos as the locus and coordinator of landmarks and nodes is another example of the continuity of symbolic places.

What is also noteworthy about the processional way at Sagalassos is its orientation right into the centre of the city where the most important buildings and urban squares stood. A large number of monumental buildings including the Doric temple and the *heroa* around the upper *agora*, stacked upon each other on the terraces along the slope comprised the distant focus of a walk along this street, while *nymphaea* in the lower *agora* and in front of the *odeion* formed a closer focus. orientation of the processional way directly towards this view did not let the eye

distract to another point even for a moment. Each step towards this impressive view brought the monuments closer and each of those was gradually left behind one by one. The colonnades flanking the street framed the view while at the same time visually isolated the viewer from the surrounding landscape, which contrasts with the processional ways of Pednelissos where each bend along the way presented a glimpse of the landscape. The processional way at Sagalassos was obviously a dramatic experience manifesting the might and aspirations of the city.

Cremna exemplifies a similarly arranged processional way to connect the western entrance of the city to the city centre passing along the edge of residential quarters (Mitchell 1995, 123–38). This street was also straight and focused directly on the destination point, the centre comprising many monumental buildings among which were the forum, basilica, theatre and bath-house (see fig. 21). The colonnades with shops behind them masked the residential quarters behind and framed the view together with arches along the street. The colonnaded street at Selge, in contrast, made an obvious turn along its 230 m course, though the processional character was strongly accentuated like those of other cities. The Roman extension of Ariassos presents another example where a straight street extended all the way along the valley bottom connecting the east *necropolis* to the north and south *necropoleis*. This street became the locus of many landmarks throughout time including a Roman arch, two basilical churches, a bath-house/ *palaestra* complex, a theatre and a *nymphaeum*. These were flanking the processional way rather than concentrating at the terminus of the street. The Hellenistic civic centre and residential areas up the northern slopes of the valley, on the other hand, engendered confrontations with the urban reality (see fig. 14). The processional way at 'Melli, which was less straight, less direct and narrower than those in the larger cities, presents a view similar to those in Pednelissos (see fig. 15). It can be concluded that as the scale and power of the city diminished the processional ways became less monumental, less lavishly embellished and less direct.

In line with the scale of the city, the processional ways in Pednelissos conformed to the pattern of smaller cities. In contrast to the larger cities, these were less straight and provided less direct views of the landmarks. They followed the contours of the terrain making many bends and getting narrower and wider at different points. This gave a better sense of the terrain, its contours, heights and prominent points. Processional ways in the smaller cities of Pisidia (e.g. Pednelissos, Melli and Ariassos), in general, were not as monumental and embellished as those of the larger cities (e.g. Sagalassos and Cremna); however, the experience they provided was no less dramatic. A lively experience of the landscape and encounters with monumental landmarks along processional ways presented a vivid image of the physical setting.

It is noteworthy that the straight processional ways at Cremna, Sagalassos and Ariassos were built or remodelled in the Roman imperial period. In these regards it can be suggested that the Roman imperial period processional way from the lower city gate to the imperial temple/ church area in Pednelissos may have been a wide and straight street which was possibly also embellished with colonnades and gateways/ arches. The *stoa*/ portico indicated by geophysical surveys supports this possibility. The same could also be the case for the processional way from the lower city gate to the western gate of the upper city.

#### **4.2.3. Nodes**

Nodes denote locations where certain things or features concentrate. Junctions of paths and concentration of landmarks around public squares are typical examples of nodes. Nodes are significant in the mental image of the city as people heighten their attention at nodes since decisions must be made at these points (Lynch 1960, 72–73). Nodes may constitute breaks in transportation or moments of shift from one structure to another, both of which constitute points of intensive focus on the surroundings (Lynch 1960, 47). MacDonald (1986, 74–110) makes the same point indicating the architectural emphasis laid on nodal points in Classical cities.

Accordingly as MacDonald (1986, 74–110) identified, added visual emphasis were put on nodes with architectural elements such as arches, exedras and fountains to accentuate the experience at nodal points.

Nodes will be separated in the context of Pednelissos into two, as *entry nodes* and *inter-city nodes* (see fig. 41). Entry nodes are centred on the city gates which are the points of convergence for inter-city and intra-city streets. The imperial square in the lower city is also considered an entry node as it provided an entry point into the city; however, with the demolition of the fortifications at this point, it extended visually into the fortifications and related to the bath-house/ *palaestra* complex. Inter-city nodes, on the other hand, are located at the intersections of inter-city paths. The *agora* in Pednelissos is an intercity-node, which constituted a convergence point for the inter-city paths. Public, administrative and religious buildings, which took an important part in the daily routines of people, were also converged around the *agora*, which turned it into a convergence point also for daily routines of people. The western gate of the upper city, on the other hand, was initially an entry node but remained *inside* the city with the construction of the lower city. Still, the western gate may be interpreted both as an entry node and as an inter-city node since it provides entry from the lower city to the upper city and vice versa, while at the same time was a point of convergence *inside* the urban area.

The *agora* must have been the major and most important node of Pednelissos. With its paved open area, clearly marked entry points and other public buildings accommodating the most important civic and economic functions, the *agora* was a well-defined node. Entry into and exit from the *agora* were multi-sensory experiences. Approaching the visually pronounced *agora* through winding and narrow streets of the city, climbing up a few steps to reach the *agora* gate and stepping through a narrow opening into a relatively large and elaborately decorated open area giving access to monumental buildings was a ceremony in its own right. The fact that some of the most important public buildings of the city were located here elevates this



node as a civic centre. What may have been the *bouleuterion* in the southeast corner of the civic centre would have symbolized the citizens' pride in sharing the civic administration. It was the symbol of the city's independence. This was replaced later with a church, a symbol of another world order.<sup>23</sup> This may have been interpreted in the past by the populace as a symbol of shift from the worldly order of humans to the eternal order of the god. The uninterrupted use of the market building probably until the end of late antiquity, on the other hand, indicates the importance of the *agora* as the arena of economic life and prosperity, which had been made possible by the authority and order, whether worldly or eternal. Juxtaposition of the symbols of prosperity (i.e. the market building) and order (i.e. *bouleuterion*/ church) could not have been arbitrary. The *agora* was a node and a converging point for not only the paths but also for the symbols of order, authority, civic and economic life and consequent prosperity.

The nodal character of *agorae* was a recurring theme for Pisidian cities. *Agorae* were generally placed in a central location, as in 'Melli', Ariassos and Selge, at intersection points of streets. Also as foci of important public buildings such as market buildings (in Ariassos, 'Melli' and Selge), *bouleuteria* (Ariassos, Sagalassos and possibly Selge) and temples (Selge and Ariassos), *agorae* were civic hubs where civic, ritual and economic activities converged. This must have been one of the reasons why *agorae* were chosen as the locus of self-presentation as in Sagalassos and 'Melli' as well as in Pednelissos. It was also *agorae* which were chosen as locus of churches in late antiquity as in Sagalassos and Selge. As such, *agorae* were at the centre of community life and shared a common character and meaning for Pisidians alike.

The imperial square, which was built in the Roman period, was the prominent node of Pednelissos. The imperial square was located outside the lower city fortifications, which were demolished at this point to make way for the square. Therefore, the

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23 The conversion of assembly buildings to churches in late antiquity was a common occurrence in Pisidia as exemplified in Sagalassos and Selge, see above in section 4.2.1. Landmarks.

imperial square functioned as an entry node, which facilitated a transition from outside the fortifications to the interior of the city. In contrast to the other entry nodes (i.e. gates), however, the imperial square provided a more un-obstructed view as it became visually and physically connected to the interior of the city with the demolition of the fortifications adjacent to it. The imperial square was similar to the *agora* in that both were nodal points which constituted strong foci of symbolic importance. Memories and propaganda related to civic life, power structures and political affairs were embodied in monuments, buildings and events that took place in these public squares, where at the same time a collective history was reworked and narrated through encounters. The imperial square, however, differed from the *agora* with the symbols and meanings it communicated. In contrast to the civic and economic emphasis of the *agora*, the imperial square symbolized and praised the empire and the order, peace and prosperity it ensured. In this respect, the emphasis of the symbolic meaning communicated by the imperial square was more on the promotion of the empire rather than on the manifestation of the power to control and defend the city like other entry nodes or on the civic life like the *agora*.

Many Pisidian cities had urban nodes built or re-modelled in the Roman imperial period with an emphasis on Roman buildings and imperial propaganda. For example the upper *agora* in Sagalassos was transformed into a node of imperial propaganda where symbols of the empire and peace and prosperity it brought materialized as a *nymphaeum*, honorific monuments and arched gateways in addition to porticoes and a *macellum* built in this period. In spite of many monumental buildings constructed in Pisidia in the Roman imperial period, a forum and basilica complex like those favoured in the western empire was built in Cremna only. This can be attributed to the re-foundation of Cremna as a Roman colony and settlement of Roman veterans here. The imperial square in Pednelissos, similar to other Pisidian imperial period nodes, would have been a visual advertisement of imperial propaganda, but is differentiated with the fact that it was an *entry* node.

Among the nodes of Pednelissos an important place was occupied by the city gates, which were the entry nodes that controlled, articulated and facilitated the entry into/ exit from the urban area bounded by the fortifications. Both intramural and extramural paths converged at entry nodes and, after a transition between interior and exterior, diverged again. People's attention escalated at entry nodes as they focused on choosing routes appropriate to their destinations. The possibility and chance of coming across with someone familiar was also higher at entry nodes in comparison to other stretches of the armature. The entry nodes, in addition, were the initial points of contact with the city for those who were coming for the first time; hence, the impression left on the viewer by the entry nodes had an important influence on the image of the city created in an outsider's mind. Entry nodes, in these regards, were architecturally emphasized by gates and towers of a monumental scale and also with elaborate workmanship. They symbolized power and safety, manifested control, discipline and authority. To put it in another way, they marked the end of the wilderness and beginning of the civilization for people entering into the city and vice versa for those leaving. Entry nodes were the convergence points; the *interface* between the interior and exterior, civilized and uncivilized and/or safety and insecurity.

The northern and southern gates of the city were two of the earliest entry nodes of the city, marking the northernmost and southernmost edges of the settlement. As they were constantly in use, their symbolic place must have been deeply rooted in the collective memory and the image of the city. The northern gate indeed symbolized North and associated connotations such as mountains, security, etc. (see natural landmarks above) while the southern gate South and associated connotations such as plains, sea, openness, etc. (see natural landmarks above). The western gate, which was initially akin to northern and southern gates, became differentiated with the establishment of the lower city; it opened from one part of the city to the other rather than opening to the *outside*. Therefore the western gate gained the character of an inter-city node where all paths and other minor streets

converged for moving from one part of the city to the other. With the construction of the Roman quarter in the lower city, this node actually came to symbolize the meeting point of the *old* and the *new* or of the *Hellenistic* and the *Roman*. Passing through this node would indeed have marked the passage from the Hellenistic to the Roman culture in terms of political, social and spatial change. The foundation of the lower city also incorporated a second entry node, the lower city gate, into the urban armature. The lower city gate manifested everything the earlier gates of the upper city did. The organization of the imperial square as an alternative entry/ exit point caused two entry nodes with different symbolic emphases to be located at a close proximity, which is not paralleled at other cities.

The city gates remained intact and continued to be used even though some parts of the fortifications were demolished after fortification systems generally became obsolete with the establishment of the Roman peace. Particularly in the case of the lower city, despite the dismantling of fortifications and construction of a more open, more unrestricted entry node (i.e. the imperial square), the gate was still preserved and functional as inferred from the archaeological remains. This shows the symbolic importance attached to the city gates and entry nodes in ancient cities in general.

#### **4.2.4. Edges**

Edges are linear breaks in continuity and mark the boundary between two entities (Lynch 1960, 47). They may be human-made, such as railways, or natural, such as rivers. Edges may function as barriers, restricting access from one area to the other (Lynch 1960, 47). As such, edges can be related to power, may be impenetrable or penetrable, limit access, direct movement and control who may or may not enter/ exit or prohibit access altogether.

In Pednelissos both natural and human-made elements functioned as edges (see fig. 42). Bodrumkaya, with its impenetrable, high edges and visual dominance,

constituted a natural edge, which drew the eastern limits of the settlement and blocked access on this side. Construction of additional fortifications on the ridges of Bodrumkaya where it was viewed as not impenetrable enough, shows that natural properties of Bodrumkaya were appropriated and utilized to control and prohibit access to the city. Existence of only one narrow access way to this part further stresses the restriction of access to this side and the control exercised on it.

Fortifications of the city form the human-made edges of the settlement. They make use of natural elements and topography of the landscape but are essentially human-made and a product of human agency. Dismantling of fortifications as happened in Roman Pednelissos shows that less control could be felt necessary to exercise over in certain periods. Once a vital tool for the safety and independence of a city, fortifications had become connected rather to the image of a city and its self-presentation to the outside world in the Roman period. Whether their military or symbolic functions were dominant, gates and fortifications operated together to define the *interior* and *exterior* and the points where transition from one to the other was possible. Being the edge of the urban area, fortifications, together with the gates, were actually liminal spaces. As they were the most dominant visual element of the city which was visible from outside, they were an important component of the image of the city formed in the mind of an outsider.

Fortifications, as well as Bodrumkaya, functioned as edges throughout the whole occupation period in Pednelissos. Owing to its natural convenience as an edge, Bodrumkaya always remained the northeastern edge of Pednelissos. Similarly, the line followed by the fortifications remained the same once they were built, as there is no indication of a change apart from demolitions and repairs. As such, the fortifications were like a palimpsest that recorded the history of the city. Important events in the development and transformation of the city, such as the lower city extension, Roman period demolitions and frequent repairs of the fortifications, were all recorded on this palimpsest. People's confrontation with the fortifications were

akin to *reading* of this palimpsest, which narrated the history of the city, influenced its image in people's mind and became a part of the collective memory. They remained the regulator of movement towards the city gates, boundary between the interior and exterior and also a medium of communication that conveyed the aspirations and self-presentation of the city. The self-presentation and image of the city as viewed from outside, however, changed dramatically over time as a result of the changing physical quality and appearance of repaired sections. The impression created by the pulvinated blocks of the northern part of the fortifications was obviously not the same as the one created by the haphazardly restored parts (see photo. 21 and 22). These repairs concentrated especially in the northwestern and southeastern sections of the fortification circuit and seem to have originated from functional necessities rather than concerns of aesthetic and prestige.

#### **4.2.5. Districts**

Districts are areas which are recognized as having some common, identifying character and therefore separate from their surroundings (Lynch 1960, 47). The identifying character of districts may include physical, visual, cognitive or functional features. Districts may have clear-cut, physical boundaries or may be a mental construction. In any case, districts are important in identity construction and creation of a feeling of belonging to a community.

On a larger scale three different districts are identifiable in Pednelissos (see fig. 43). The first one is the upper city, defined and bounded by its fortifications and Bodrumkaya. As this is the earliest part of the city, it was likely to have been considered as the *old* city and were associated symbolically with ancestry, past and traditions. The lower city, in contrast, was not only the later, *new* extension of the *old* city but was also remodelled further in the Roman imperial period. Respectively the lower city embraced connotations such as new, fresh, young and renewed. A third identifiable district was the area of the Apollo Sanctuary, which did not have

a definite physical boundary; its defining religious character was manifested by the buildings around the spot. This district, from the earliest to the latest occupation of the city, was associated with ritual, religion and the sacred.

There certainly were further districts within the settlement at a smaller scale; however, no definite physical boundaries are traceable in the city layout with the current amount of data. The boundaries of these districts could have been at a symbolic, cognitive or functional level rather than physical. The area around the *agora* would have been perceived as a district. The area around the bath-house/*palaestra* may also have been viewed as a district with more social functions exercised. Temples and churches may also have been associated with a district and perceived as the focus of a religious/ sacred district. This sacred area may have been enclosed within *temenos* walls, if existed. Otherwise, the boundary of the sacred districts would have been only mentally constructed.

Residences of influential people, including those of the rich, political or religious leaders, were also perceived as foci of districts, especially if other people belonging to the same group resided in close proximity. For instance if the houses of the wealthy and socially influential citizens were concentrated in special areas, which seems to have been the case in the southeast of the settlement along the main axis as inferred from elaborate decorative architectural blocks found at that area, those locations could have been conceived as loaded with symbolic meaning and as separate districts. This might have led to the avoidance of that area by those who were conceived as not-belonging to that district, in this example the lower social order.

#### **4.3. Pattern of Encounters in Pednelissos**

It is beyond doubt that these landscape elements grouped under landmarks, paths, nodes, edges and districts comprised only a fraction of those that played role in

the shaping and conception of the landscape in Pednelissos. Many more elements, which shaped the physical appearance and influenced the perception and image of the landscape, surely existed in the past. Of these, smaller and less durable ones disappeared and hence are not represented in the archaeological record at all. The picture presented here therefore is biased in that it highlights the later stages of occupation as earlier material traces of human agency were destroyed by the later ones and that the archaeological record visible today represents the human actions belonging to later periods more than those belonging to earlier ones. However, there is enough information to trace a pattern in the arrangement of these elements, which structured and articulated the landscape experience. In addition, what remains today would have comprised the largest, most permanent and most monumental of the symbolic elements and thus, visually the most conspicuous ones. Being the most enduring elements of the built environment owing to their permanency, material and scale, they would also have been deeply rooted in the collective memory; hence, very influential in the structure of cognitive maps. In terms of their function as well, they would have been the most commonly confronted. It can be argued that smaller and relatively less significant symbolic elements were likely to have been arranged around the more significant ones to support, enhance and articulate the meanings communicated.

A further issue in questioning the existence of a pattern in the encounters between people and their environment is the long time span of the period in question. As a multi-layered settlement context beginning from the Hellenistic period and lasting into the Byzantine times, Pednelissos presents evidence from a variety of time frames each of which had different dynamics and social motives. Symbolic associations of a place may not have remained the same in all of these time frames. This does not necessarily hinder the traceability of a pattern of encounters as the landscape reading approach also questions temporal and cultural changes in the symbolic elements and the pattern of the encounters they stimulated. On the



contrary, these temporal changes could be indicative of wider transformations in the cognitive world of the human mind.

Plan 6 shows that a number of symbolic elements communicating instances of political, religious or ideological content and constituting reference points both in the landscape and cognitive maps (i.e. landmarks) were distributed all over the city layout.<sup>24</sup> Landmarks were arranged to form focal points where various encounters concentrated (i.e. nodes) and to generate areas which differed from the surrounding with their character, meaning or message (i.e. districts). Movement was facilitated, directed and articulated using paths and edges. It also emerges that a number of paths (i.e. processional ways), including the major axes of the planning grid and the approaches to the city gates, were arranged so as to connect the symbolic elements in a more direct and unobstructed way than other paths. The chance of encounters was more along these processional ways; consequently, their influence on the shaping of cognitive maps and mental image of the landscape in people's mind was more. Locations where these processional way intersected (e.g. the *agora*) and where a transition occurred (e.g. from the exterior to the interior at city gates) gained special significance. Fortifications and gates manifested city's power to control and restrict access and was a medium to communicate citizens' aspirations and display their strength. They eventually became a record of the city's history. Thus structured and experienced encounters with the landscape made way to association of certain locations with certain aspects; the upper city with old and traditional, the Roman quarters with new and fresh, the civic centre with civic pride and identity and so on. These associations were also inscribed on the collective memory, which formed a

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24 Landmarks, paths and nodes of Pednelissos have been marked on plan 6. It shows the locations of these elements, regardless of their size, in isolation within the grid. The functions of buildings and periods during which they were in use are also indicated. In this respect, squares represent religious buildings, triangles represent civic buildings and circles represent military buildings. Colours filling in these shapes indicate the periods during which the buildings were in use; red being the Hellenistic, green being the Roman imperial and blue being the late antique period. One shape is assigned for each of the period during which the building existed.

framework for later transformations in the landscape. This is most obviously seen in the functional continuity of important places. For instance places which came to be associated with ritualistic functions and belief systems preserved their ritualistic reference and continued to function as loci of rituals long after belief systems were radically changed.

Therefore a pattern can be traced in the articulation of the landscape using the scheme of landmarks, paths, nodes, edges and districts. This pattern not only physically shaped the landscape but also structured and influenced people's encounter with it and was followed uninterruptedly from the foundation of the city, probably in the third century BC, until the abandonment, in the seventh century AD at the earliest. In time, elements of this scheme were modified and/ or different elements were added to; thus the encounters they facilitated also changed through time but the pattern followed the same principles and showed a consistent continuity. Processional ways, for instance, were laid out from the foundation stage of the settlement to connect the most important places of the city. They were obviously maintained well and probably further embellished and emphasized perhaps by new pavements, statues or memorial monuments. With the development and spread of the city through time, new processional ways were added to the existing scheme. However, the processional character of already existing ways was always preserved and emphasized. They remained as the backbone of the armature and new processional ways were incorporated to extend and enhance this backbone.

Similarly, locations comprising visually, functionally or symbolically dominant elements, or the landmarks, of the landscape seem to have preserved their characters. Even though the form, content, symbolic associations and meanings of the location were constantly re-worked and re-created through time, it was still the very same location that provided the encounter. Moreover, the kind of encounter also remained same; that is, a location establishing an encounter reminiscent of a religious instance continued to provide encounters referring to belief systems

even if the belief systems, and hence the associated spatial forms and symbolisms changed radically. Similarly, locations establishing encounters of a civic nature continued to do so. Only exception to this is the church in the southeast of the *agora*, which is thought to have been a place of civic nature as a *bouleuterion* in earlier periods. This could be an important exception proving the rule. As the self-governance of communities ceased and was replaced by a central authority in the Roman imperial period (Mitchell 1993b, 1:198–204), councils lost their leading role in the community (Mitchell 1993a, 2:75–77) and *bouleuteria* gradually lost their function. When the church developed as a focus of power and partook in civic administration (Mitchell 1993a, 2:77), the place of the *bouleuterion*, deeply rooted in the collective memory but now functionally obsolete, was claimed by the church. This is an instance where the religious system interfered into the civic system in the built environment.

In contrast, the areas around the Apollo Sanctuary and the temple in the lower city seem to have been associated with encounters of a religious nature from the very beginning until the end, as was the case in the *necropoleis* outside the city gates. It is noteworthy that the site chosen for the spatial manifestation of a new religious system coincided with, even replaced as in the case of the small church to the north of the *agora*, that of the previous one. One explanation to this could be that the collective memory which was programmed to look for encounters of a religious character at a certain point was inevitably inclined to prefer the same location for the encounter of the same character, even when the belief system changed radically.

It is also interesting that a separate processional way was established to connect the location of an apparently religious importance around the temple in the lower city to the west gate and the church next to it. Although this is only a short way from the northeast – southwest main axis of the planning grid, it seems that it was deliberately preferred to restrict the encounters of a dominantly religious character to one processional way and those of a dominantly civic character to another.

Approaches to the city gates were also specially articulated to be replete with symbolism and meaning. They were organized to create an intense and impressive landscape experience. These, on the one hand, established encounters commemorating and glorifying the past of the city and its influential actors through *necropoleis* and sanctuaries, on the other symbolised the claims of power and might of the city through visual contact with monumental fortifications, gates and towers. Movement along approaches winding along the contours of the terrain and through the natural environment, also keeping a visual contact with the Pamphylian plains which gave a sense of the wider context, moreover, presented a lively landscape experience and would have been highly influential in the perception of the environment and creation of the mental maps of the landscape.

The urban grid was the generator of social and spatial encounters. Many of the prominent Classical metropoleis were laid out using a grid pattern and grid would have come to be associated with order, civic pride and *urbanness*. When the Pednelissians built their city in the rough terrain of Pisidia, it is likely that they too preferred the grid pattern as a symbol of their ties and aspirations to *civilization* and *urbanness*. They indeed had tamed and civilized an inhospitable landscape as their homeland. This may also have been a metaphor for the human dominance on nature. The grid seems to have been employed in Pednelissos from the earliest stages of the settlement development until the abandonment of the city. Each of the succeeding periods transformed and added something to the contents of the grid; however, the idea of grid planning was not altered, which can be interpreted as the continuity of the significance of the grid layout as an urban generator.

#### **4.4. Time and Temporality: Rhythms of the Landscape**

In pre-industrial societies, everyday life is structured in resonance with the cycles of nature (Zayani 1999, 1–2). The daily cycle at Pednelissos would have begun with the dawn; however, the large body of Bodrumkaya must have obstructed the sun

light for the earlier part of the morning as it does today. A shady morning would have been much appreciated in the hot summer season but not that much in the cool winter months. The linear rhythms of people's everyday life might have been structured with reference to the cyclical rhythm of the sun. Activities requiring bodily labour might have been carried out during these shady hours in the summer. Hot mid-day hours, in contrast, might have been a leisurely time spent at the *stoa*, either in the agora or in the Roman quarters. Narrow streets would have provided a breezy and shady shelter from the summer sun. Conversely in winter, outdoor tasks might have been postponed until the sun rose behind Bodrumkaya. Locus of activity might have been south-facing open areas or roofs where people could make maximum use of the sun. Once the sun rose, passing of time would have been measured with reference to the movement of the sun along its path. The sun's position with reference to Bodrumkaya and the positions and lengths of shadows would have been references in measuring the passing of time, until the sun set. The reference for measuring the movements of the moon and the stars at night would again have been Bodrumkaya.

Sounds of animals afar at night would have been more pronounced than they were during the day and also followed a cycle. Sounds of owls interrupted by the howling of wolfs at night left their place to cheeping birds early in the morning to which sheep, goats and cows joined during the course of the day. A new cycle began with the sunrise. Crickets, however, never stopped, during spring and summer at least. Their cyclical rhythm followed the seasons. They stopped with the cold and began singing with the warm sun rays of the spring. Like the sound of the wind. A warm summer breeze must have sounded much different from a strong winter storm. One replaced by the other in a never ending cycle. Hence, the *soundscape* of Pednelissos also followed a cyclical rhythm.

The cycle of the seasons must have been another major reference for the rhythm of the lives of people. The rebirth of the nature every year was probably celebrated

by festivals, which may have also included ceremonial processions throughout the landscape that linked significant points of reference, narrated a history and inscribed this onto the collective memory. Spring might have marked also the time for letting animals outdoors for grazing. With the first flowers in bloom, it might have been the time for harvest. Longer times would have been spent outdoors in the spring, which indicated the time to get out, for agriculture, for trade or for war. Summer must have meant the increasing heat and the necessity of taking shelter from the sun, which must have meant a change, or resonation, in the rhythm of everyday life. It might have marked the time for going to the higher plains temporarily, a practice still followed in villages today. For those who spent the hot summer in higher plains, autumn would have meant the return to the city. It would have been the time to collect the olives, pressing and also preparing other necessary products for winter. It would have also marked the time for sowing grains. Terraced fields around Bodrumkaya would have been filled with people, working hard to grow their food. Preparations for the winter such as the maintenance of roofs and food storage would also have taken place during this time. Winter would have necessitated a change in the rhythm of everyday life again. The pace of everyday life must have slowed down with shorter periods of daylight and colder weather. Transportation possibilities would have been reduced with the neighbouring areas so would the communication. Winter would have meant a time of isolation, resort perhaps, from the fast rhythm of spring and summer. Slowly watching the crops grow, harvesting and again the same cycle next year, from one generation to the other.

Rainy seasons followed dry seasons, rising water levels slowly leaving their places to low levels. This might have indicated a point when water needed to be transported from the big cisterns outside the fortifications. And then again rainy seasons and all began again.

Even Bodrumkaya, the big rocky outcrop of the Taurus, which seems to be never changing, had a rhythm. It became greener in the spring, turning into a greyish

brown towards the end of the summer and naked peaks in winter turning into green the next year again. It is a cyclical rhythm of colours.

The linear rhythm of an individual's life, in contrast, presented a continuum, resonated with cyclical rhythms of the nature. Being born in the shadow of Bodrumkaya, growing old going up and down the slopes of Bodrumkaya, working, trading, farming, fighting and finally dying, in the shadow of the same large body of rock and being buried in its shadow would have been the common linear rhythm of life for many of the Pednelissians. During this rhythm they would have witnessed the cycles of the landscape each year, anew, afresh; but not afresh each year for the person as he or she got older and older. Climbing the slopes of Bodrumkaya would have been becoming more difficult year by year and already limited accesses to the hinterland insurmountable.

And there was also the linear rhythm of a people, as a social entity. Making a land home, shaping it, taming it, making rituals to celebrate it, defending it taking advantage of the slope, which on a peaceful day made it hard to transport the harvest, changing economic relations, changing society, changing beliefs, changing built environment and a never-ending process of adaptation would have been the common themes. With one era following the other, one power replacing the other and one belief replacing the other, it is always continuous, always changing, and always dynamic. Memory of the past was diluted in the present, never disappeared but changed form and woven in the fabric of the present (Yegül 2000). Without coming back to the same point, always forward. Harvest would have always been at the same time of the year, in a cycle. But the rites and rituals at the harvest festival, their meanings and symbolisms obviously changed, in a linear rhythm.

The city layout and the built environment as well as the places within the built environment also followed a linear rhythm. Akin to the linear rhythm of a person's life consisting of birth, growing up, getting older and death, the city followed a

linear rhythm, which followed the sequence of foundation, expansion, decline and abandonment. The built environment developed in parallel to these stages also following a linear pattern. In addition to their physical appearances, wear and tear as a result of the passing years and modifications and repairs both in their functions and appearances, the image and discourse they presented, their meaning and their symbolic associations also changed in a linear fashion. The *agora* in the late antique period, for instance, was not the same as it had been in the Hellenistic period, not only in terms of its architectural layout and buildings but also in terms of the meaning, discourse and history it narrated and the image it presented. Past experiences of the civic centre and memory of these experiences influenced and re-created the way it was perceived, and hence the meaning of the place was changed, forever and never to come back at the same point again. All the places of Pednelissos went under similar processes of re-creation and transformed following a linear rhythm.

In conclusion, the interaction of the cyclical rhythm of nature and the linear rhythm of humans was one of the influential factors in the shaping of landscapes in pre-industrial societies, as was the case at Pednelissos. Due to the peculiar landscape in which Pednelissos was located, the influence of natural factors seems to have been more pronounced in the structure of daily life at Pednelissos in comparison to other cities. The resonance of the linear rhythms of humans with the cyclical rhythms of nature, human engagement with natural elements and the interaction of people with the natural physical environment would have been the dominant themes. These would have emphasized the dominance of natural factors as the force structuring the social relations and human adaptation as the key element of the landscape.

#### ***4.5. Power Relations and Human Agency: Landscape as an Ideological Tool***

A multitude of power and dominance relations existed between various actors and elements of the landscapes at Pednelissos. These can be traced at three



levels of interaction; between humans and the physical environment, between Pednelissians and peoples of other cities and between different sections of the society at Pednelissos.

At the first level, a tension between the aspirations of people of Pednelissos and the natural difficulties of the terrain could be observed. Pednelissians shared many of the typical characteristics of Pisidian peoples and followed the general model of the Pisidian cities in both urban and cultural terms.<sup>25</sup> They took the Hellenistic urban planning as their model, best exemplified in orthogonally planned metropoleis equipped with monumental buildings and squares, which were mostly located in the plains and valleys by sea.<sup>26</sup> Pednelissians adapted some urban elements from this model to their own environment. This was a gesture to bring an order to and to appropriate their environment as their homeland as much as to emphasize their ties with the then prevailing Hellenistic civilization. However, the landscape in which Pednelissos was situated had its topographical peculiarities and did not permit an exact physical copy of a lowland metropolis. Pednelissians tried to reach a compromise between establishing a grid planning with wide colonnaded streets, large public squares and buildings and managing both the steep, irregular terrain and safety concerns. The human agency involved in making the landscapes of Pednelissos was manifested in the form of *power to* modify, shape and re-shape the physical topography. The interplay of the human agency and the opportunities and restrictions presented by the natural environment shaped the landscapes of Pednelissos. These landscapes bear the human imprint in tangible forms, such as terraces in steep topographies for buildings or agriculture, quarries for building materials and constructions of various sizes, which are still traceable and still

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25 Mitchell (1991a, 142; 1995, 6) describes the general model of Pisidian cities as politically and economically independent centres of power governing themselves by councils of elders and people's assemblies. These functions were housed in specially designed and visually pronounced urban facilities, such as *agorae*, *bouleuteria* and market buildings, and protection was provided by strong fortifications.

26 Some prominent examples are Olynthos (Cahill 2002), Ephesos (Scherrer 2000) and Miletos (Gerhard 1968; Greaves 2002).

shape the landscape today. Therefore a two-way power relation is traceable in the landscape between the human agency and natural elements, where natural elements set the context, presented possibilities and restrictions and the human agency interacted with, shaped and is eventually shaped by those *to impose order and to tame a landscape that was considered marginal and wild* (see fig. 44).

A second level of power consolidation was relevant against the other cities of the region. Before the Hellenistic period, given the small size of communities<sup>27</sup> and variety of their ways of subsistence<sup>28</sup>, a competition and power struggle between villages and transhumant groups for control of natural resources could be expected; however, these struggles would have remained limited and local. Neither enough evidence exists about the pre-Hellenistic period nor a precedent of the Hellenistic city can be traced at Pednelissos, in contrast to Tepe Düzen, which preceded Sagalassos (Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010), and Panemoteichos I, which preceded Panemoteichos II (Aydal et al. 1997, 141–63). However, the foundation of the city during the late Hellenistic period indicates that Pednelissos conformed to the general pattern as this was the time when a trend of centralization is observed during which time larger settlements were founded, sedentary villages superseded transhumant groups and the society was organized around cities (Mitchell 1993b, 1:241).<sup>29</sup> This also led to larger scale power struggles between these cities. “The Pisidian cities often fought to protect their own interests and to expand their territory” (Bracke 1993, 19). The Selgians’ siege in 218 BC (Polybius, 5.72–76) indicates that Pednelissos was also involved in the power struggles between cities. The power struggles of the Hellenistic period were *symmetrical*, which means that a struggle of domination

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27 Mitchell (1999, 193–94) thinks that villages between 100 and 500 people were the most common type of settlement in Asia Minor before the Hellenistic period.

28 Pastoralists and transhumant groups were common in addition to sedentary farming communities (Mitchell 1993b, 1:145–48).

29 Grainger (2009, 24–27) suggests that one factor that triggered this process may have been the turmoil and upheavals preceding Alexander’s campaigns, which may have necessitated larger populations and strongholds for safety and security. Also see Mitchell (1998, 241) on this point.

existed among equals, more or less equally powerful communities (see fig. 45). Temporary alliances were formed and split, different communities dominated at different time spans, a city gained more power or weakened through time but none of the centres of power outdid the others or was able to keep its dominance for too long, in other words power was not *absolute*. Power relations dramatically changed with the Roman hegemony over Pisidia. Rome became the absolute power with which no other city of the region could compete. Symmetrical power struggles between cities continued, but the form of these struggles changed. Violent wars and military expeditions between cities ceased, a competition in economic and political arena as well as in monumental architecture and urban embellishment began (Mitchell 1993b, 1:210; Levick 1987, 339–41). This power structure was *asymmetrical* where Rome was unquestionably the dominant centre which regulated, balanced and governed the struggles among its subjects and the superiority of Rome was acknowledged by competing cities (see fig. 46). Pednelissos was obviously a party to the competition between cities. The variety and scale of the buildings constructed in the Roman period indicate that Pednelissos competed with other cities.

The third level of power relations is observable in between different social groups within a society. It is a well-established fact that the classical society, of which Pednelissos was a part, was a stratified and highly competitive society (Hope 2000). The archaeological record indicates a stratified society also in Pednelissos. Architectural differentiation of dwellings, for instance, those between more elaborate and richly decorated and less elaborate ones, larger and smaller ones, and those built with ashlar masonry and those with rubble, indicate a social differentiation and also a competition to display wealth and status in the domestic environment. Classical society was already stratified in the Hellenistic period; however, the gap grew bigger and social hierarchy became more pronounced during the Roman period (Mitchell 2007, 3). During the late Roman and early Christian periods, moreover, the opposition between the Christians and pagans gained ascent and became a major power struggle between two religiously differently oriented sections of the

society. The tension between the Christians and pagans turned into violence from time to time also with the intervention of the central authority<sup>30</sup> and only settled when Christianity became virtually universal by the sixth century AD and the practice of pagan beliefs were pushed to the margins, if not ceased (Mitchell 2000, 139). Conversion of pagan temples to churches (as in the case of the temple/ church to the north of *agora*) and construction of new churches at pagan landmarks (as in the case of the church near the Apollo Sanctuary) indicate a similar shift in the belief systems of Pednelissians and a power struggle between followers of different beliefs. Moreover, the spatial relation and proximity of the church near the Apollo Sanctuary with the *heroon*, which would have been transformed into a martyrion in late antiquity, may be an indication that this shift did not happen peacefully but involved violence and martyrs.

The image presented and the discourse narrated by the landscape played its part at all levels of power relations. Landscape operated both as an ideological tool that functioned to distort relations of power and as a power resource to create communal identities, convey political discourses and mobilize people. At the first level of power relations, that is between socio-cultural aspirations and natural restraints, the urban environment of Pednelissos was shaped to manifest human agency to shape, modify and appropriate the natural environment in the way that larger cities, associated with civilization, did. It was the urban grid that displayed order, safety and civilization that the city had to offer. The orderly and spatially coordinated arrangement built environment of Pednelissos presented an image of a civilized environment and communicated that Pednelissians had the power to shape and modify their environment to bring an order to their environment and urban life.

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30 For instance, Diocletian's edict in AD 303 to destroy churches and persecute Christians made way to a decade-long wave of violence against Christians. The violence did not end, however, neither with Constantine's Edict of Milan in AD 313, which ended the persecution of Christians, nor with the establishment of Christianity as the state religion. Religious violence, both against pagans by Christians and among Christians themselves, for instance at an attempt to establish the unity of the church or as a result of power struggles between religious authorities and state officials, was a common occurrence in late antiquity (Gaddis 2005).

At the second level of power relations, that is between different cities, civic pride aggrandized by monumental constructions played its part as the ideological tool. As evidenced by the elaborate civic centre, facilities and buildings that were thought to have been the essential elements of a city took the greatest share from the city's resources. Beyond the central role these buildings played in the day-to-day life, it was also the pride people took from living in a city adorned with monumental and elaborate buildings that made this expenditure possible. People identified themselves with their city and their success with the success of their city, which served as an ideological tool concealing the class contradictions and mobilizing resources for struggles against other communities.

At the third level, power struggles between different sections of the society were concealed by creation of a common identity, a common past and a common future for the inhabitants. As early as the Hellenistic period, a strong feeling of identity based on a person's belonging to a city was a unifying aspect for the inhabitants of a city. Creation of a mythical past consolidated this communal identity and unified different sections of the society. The image of the landscape was presented in a way to enhance and consolidate the mythical ancestry of Pednelissians. Foundation myths, possibly embodied by the Apollo Sanctuary, communicated the common roots of the society and promoted a sense of community. Regular ritualistic processions narrated this myth and tied the past to the present. As a result, tensions between different strata of the society were concealed and the social structure was consolidated.

To conclude, power relations between people and the environment, between different cities and between different sections of society were one of the important dynamics that took part in the shaping of the landscapes of Pednelissos. These relations of dominance, like the landscape itself, were modified, appropriated and re-created through time both under the influence of the wider context and local conditions. Ideological constructs were also at work, which helped to conceal the

contradictions within the society and maintain the existing social structure. One of the visually most prominent manifestations of ideology was monumental public buildings. Therefore, ideology not only socially consolidated but also physically shaped the landscape, to put it in other words, ideology was *embodied* in the landscape.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

This thesis has set out to investigate the city of Pednelissos, a smaller city of antiquity that was located on the southern fringes of the mountainous region of Pisidia. The theoretical framework has been drawn by the concept of landscape. Landscape is viewed as a cultural image, a way of representing, structuring and symbolizing the physical and cognitive worlds that people have created for themselves to live in. People's perception, experience and conception of the landscape, the way they structured, shaped and presented their environment and the image of their surroundings they created in their minds comprised the main lines of inquiry. The built environment is viewed as a major way of people's articulation of the landscape and their way of giving a meaning to their surroundings. Similar settlements from the region provided the wider context with which the evidence from Pednelissos is compared.

Engagement with natural elements appears as a recurring theme for the Pisidian cities in general. Palaeoenvironmental studies indicate that antiquity was a period of intense human interaction with the landscape as a result of which a change from a nature-dominated landscape to a human-dominated one is observed around the mid-first millennium BC and this human-dominated landscape lasted for more than a millennium (N. Roberts, Brayshaw, et al. 2011). Human interaction with the natural environment left its imprint on the landscape as deforestation, cultivation and alteration of the morphology in the form of terraces, buildings and roads. Cities comprised major foci where these alterations intensified. In Pednelissos, too, the physical environment was greatly altered to terrace the steep slopes for cultivation and constructions, to enclose and bound the urban area, to provide transportation facilities and above all to construct buildings. While realizing these huge tasks

at a scale never seen before, people acted within a cognitive framework to give a meaning to their environments, to use it as a medium of communication and education, to convey their aspirations and to present their image as well as to meet their functional needs.

The aspirations of Pednelissians seem to have been influenced from their interaction with other communities. The situation of Pednelissos at the boundary of two morphologically contrasting regions (between Pisidia, dominated by mountains and Pamphylia, dominated by plains), gave it a liminal character. In this context, while larger Pisidian cities in the north, such as Sagalassos and Cremna, were certainly a model for Pednelissos, Pamphylian cities were more accessible, both visually and in terms of economic activities as important trade ports were located in Pamphylia. As such, one is inclined inevitably to assume that Pednelissos is likely to have been more in contact with Pamphylian cities than Pisidian cities. It also appears that the tension between *north* and *south*, *mountain* and *plain*, and *civilized* and *uncivilized* was a strong reference for Pednelissians. They shaped their environment to strike a balance between the particular conditions of their environment, and influences and aspirations generated by the cities of Pamphylia.

The planning grid stands out as an obvious example of this synthesis. Orthogonal grid planning, which became a widely used method of urban planning and also an indication of a *civilized* population in the classical period, was also used in Pednelissos, albeit in a different way. The grid here was applied in a loose form to fit into the irregular topography of the city; grid blocks were extended, expanded, reduced or merged to meet topographical and probably also social necessities. The grid, where it was not deemed desirable or practical was ignored. The urban grid seems to have been employed from the foundation of the settlement and can be seen most clearly in the oldest remains, especially in the civic centre area. Not all later additions to the built environment respected the grid; in contrast, a pragmatic



approach seems to have been adopted in which the grid was modified or disregarded where it was impractical or restrictive. As such, it can be asserted that the symbolic functions of the planning grid were as important as its practical functions, in the choice and adaptation of the grid as an urban regulator. Although the grid was not rigidly imposed to the urban layout, it was sufficiently obvious and well manifested in the built environment to give the impression of a planned, orderly and well-maintained city, as exemplified by many large metropoleis of the time. A planned urban layout, monumental public buildings and urban facilities, were considered as the major and most conspicuous indicators of the status of a settlement as a city, in other words, as a centre of civilization, culture, art and prosperity (Mitchell 1991, 144; 1993, 1:80; Waelkens 2002, 66). Therefore, the *improvisation* of the urban grid at Pednelissos can be viewed as the manifestation of a desire, claim or attempt to civilize, tame or bring an order to a landscape, which was seen as hostile and uncivilized by contemporaries. It is also noteworthy to mention that although sizeable settlements existed within the territory of Pednelissos, none of them had grid planning. Neither did other cities of the region adopt grid planning at a scale comparable to Pednelissos. This illustrates the attempt of its inhabitants to differentiate Pednelissos from its neighbours and thus manifest its status as a city and a centre of civilization.

Perhaps more importantly, it was the *structure* of the urban layout and its social consequences, rather than the geometric harmony and order that the grid contributed to the city. Main streets running perpendicular to each other and intersecting at a central location where monumental public buildings were located comprised the main character of the urban structure of Classical cities (Ward-Perkins 1974, 33–36; Grimal 1983, 10–11; Sewell 2010, 25–26). This structure was not only a result of aesthetic taste but also an outcome of a social structure and a way of communal living. Public appearance, whether in the form of carrying out duties and public affairs in the *agora* as in the Hellenistic period or in the form of bathing in public bath-houses as in the Roman imperial period, was a key aspect of this way

of communal living. Streets, public spaces and public buildings as well as dwellings, which became the scene of public appearance especially in the later Roman period and late antiquity,<sup>1</sup> housed, facilitated and articulated the way people appeared in public. These spaces were structured by a grid pattern, and the grid in turn structured the public appearance of people, day-to-day lives and social relations in general. The utilization of a grid layout at Pednelissos, in this respect, implies the existence and acceptance of similar social patterns and ways of communal living.

Town planning can be interpreted as a reflection of centralization and an indication of the existence of a central authority that was able to mobilize people to realize a premeditated design (Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 40). In this regard, the urban planning at Pednelissos could also be related to the centralization of power in the Mediterranean area during the Hellenistic period. Probably as a result of the rising Hellenistic kingdoms and powerful military figures, small villages, which were the norm of settlements until that time, were unified and organized themselves as self-governing, independent city states in the Hellenistic period, for which urban planning was a standard criterion (Mitchell 1991a, 142). Centralization reached its peak with the asymmetric growth of the Roman Empire and its becoming the absolute, central power. Urban planning became a universal application in the Roman territories. The following late antiquity, in contrast, was marked with the erosion of Roman authority, turbulence and decentralization. In this sense, it is not a coincidence that the additions and modifications at late antique Pednelissos tended to break away from the formal grid; an indication and consequence of the general decentralization trend in this period.

Pednelissos differed from other Pisidian cities with its planning grid. A structured and coordinated urban environment existed in many of the Pisidian cities with a

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1 Leading figures of the Hellenistic period conducted their affairs in public, for instance as high officers dealing with public issues or speakers in front of people's assembly. Under the Roman influence and particularly from the Roman period onwards, houses of the members of the elite became the focus of private business and locus of public appearance (Mitchell 1999, 201).

centrally located civic centre, differentiated major streets and a shared repertoire of public buildings. However, the urban coordination was not manifested as a grid plan in other Pisidian cities, as inferred from current archaeological data. Only Cremna presents a comparable grid pattern in its western residential area. Though loosely-applied and not rigidly imposed, like that of Pednelissos, the grid at Cremna still presents a more regular appearance, obviously owing to the more favourable terrain in this area of the city in comparison to the steep topography of Pednelissos. One major difference though, is that the grid at Cremna was laid out in the Roman imperial period and was a typical example of Roman colonial planning (Mitchell 1995, 160). The grid at Pednelissos, in contrast, was established as early as the foundation of the city in the third century BC and can be considered as a native Pisidian adaptation of the orthogonal grid planning characteristic of the Greek east. As such, Pednelissos exemplifies one of the earliest grid applications in Pisidia. One reason of this may be the proximity of Pednelissos to Pamphylia, which put Pednelissos in a position open to influence from Pamphylian cities with grid patterning, like its southern neighbour Perge.

Though planned in a grid layout, the built environment of Pednelissos was not composed of a homogeneous, undifferentiated array of building blocks and uniform, parallel streets. It was differentiated, articulated and structured through the use of landmarks, paths, nodes, edges and districts that created particular landscape experiences and engendered specially designed encounters between people and their environment. As a result of these encounters and experiences, which took place repeatedly during daily life, people ascribed specific meanings, symbolic attributes and associations to specific places within the landscape and created an image, a cognitive map of the relationships embodied in their landscape (Lynch 1960). This image not only acted as a framework within which people perceived, understood and behaved within their environment but also had a communicative aspect, through which people presented themselves, conveyed their aspirations, created and narrated a discourse (Rapoport [1982] 1990). While

people encountered, viewed, experienced and made use of the communicative urban elements during their daily lives, they reflexively interpreted the message communicated and the discourse presented by them. To manipulate and control the experience of landscape and direct it to serve as an ideological tool, for instance to help to appropriate social structure, create collective memory and a sense of community, particular instances of landscape experiences were created and designed, such as ritualistic urban processions that took place on special occasions, where the built environment and the landscape in general became the scene and the stage.

Landmarks, with their monumentality and visual conspicuousness, were the most dominant elements of the landscape that took part in the creation of the urban image and self-presentation of communities. Landmarks presented a degree of uniformity across different cities. Not only their scale but also their physical form, function, relative place in the city plan and symbolic associations were shared by all cities. This indicates a shared way of community life, a common culture and a system of values shared by all Pisidian communities alike. Spatial coordinations of landmarks were similar, such that public assembly spaces and market buildings were placed around a public square to form a central focus in the urban layout; or bathouse/ *palaestra* complexes were connected to public squares with colonnaded streets. The urban landmarks of Pednelissos conformed to the general pattern and Pednelissians took the urban model exemplified by larger cities as their example. As such, it can be attested that Pednelissos was not an isolated city; on the contrary, it was well-integrated to the Pisidian culture and had good contacts with the outside world.

Landmarks manifested the spirit of the time they were built. They were monumental embodiments of how people viewed the world and structured their social life. With the changing structure of their social life and frameworks of interpretation of the world, landmarks were physically altered, modified or demolished altogether in time

and new landmarks were constructed when desired. However, what is noteworthy is the continuity of landmark *locations*. Encounters took place at the same locations, although the content and form of the landmark that established the encounter changed in time. A place where landmarks provided a religious/ ritualistic encounter, for instance, continued to provide similar encounters even after belief systems and the mythical stories the landmark narrated were changed radically. The myths and cognitive framework that people used to interpret the world had been re-worked and re-created, the physical form of the landmark had also been re-shaped but it was still the same location where the cognitive world was manifested. This indicates that the pattern of people's experiencing and acting on the world remained, while the contents of the pattern were transformed.

The experience and perception of landscape and urban landmarks were specially choreographed and articulated. Processional ways come forth in this respect. They took an important place in all cities as the scene of major encounters between people and their surroundings. The character of processional ways as thoroughfares connecting main landmarks and nodes of the city showed a continuity. Their elaboration, embellishment and monumentality peaked in the Roman imperial period. During this time, existing processional ways were remodelled, embellished with colonnades, gateways and honorific monuments and also new processional ways were built particularly in newly established foci of Roman buildings. The scale and elaboration of processional ways were generally proportional to city's resources. Sagalassos, Cremna and Selge as most powerful of the Pisidian cities also had the most monumental and elaborated processional ways. Smaller cities, including Pednelissos, adapted these according to their economic means. Processional ways of Pednelissos, with the possible exception of that from the lower city gate to the imperial temple/ church, were narrower and winding to fit the topography in contrast to those of larger cities. They provided less direct views and narrower angled vistas. Rather than being visually isolated from the urban fabric with colonnades, the course of the processional ways at Pednelissos ran right through the urban fabric

and residential areas. As such, they provided a more direct experience of the urban layout. The embellishment and visual emphasis was ensured by elaborate facades of houses along these ways, rather than colonnades. The facades of buildings facing processional ways were mostly made of nicely cut and dressed ashlar blocks, in contrast to rubble masonry of buildings along secondary paths. Processional ways, as the scene of both ritualistic urban processions performed on special days and subconscious daily processions, engendered intense experiences of the landscape and influenced the image of their environment created in people's minds.

Nodes, where a transition occurred or landmarks converged, were also important locations where landscape experience intensified. Urban squares where processional ways intersected and landmarks converged were characteristic urban features throughout Pisidia. Hellenistic civic centres were the most important of these, where civic pride, urban identity and power of the community crystallized. Roman period inter-city nodes, on the other hand, embodied the imperial discourse and advertised the benefits of being a part of the Roman Empire. The peculiarity of the imperial square in Pednelisos was the fact that, rather than being located in a central location within the city, it was located at the edge, or rather outside, of the city. As such, it also functioned as an entry node and enhanced the approach and entry to the city. In addition to the imperial square, city gates comprised the transitional points where interior and exterior, urban and rural, civilization and wilderness met. A noteworthy aspect is the transformation of the western gate from an entry node into an inter-city node with the construction of the lower city. This attributed peculiar meanings to this node such as the transition from old to new, traditional and modern, which other nodes did not have.

Edges also played an important role in the landscape experience as they structured and directed movement. Fortifications, as the edge of the urban area, originated from functional necessities of security and control over access to the city, but they were also an item of prestige and self-display. The fortifications of Pednelissos, in

this respect, displayed its citizens' claims of power with their monumentality and elaborate workmanship. Dismantling of fortifications in the Roman imperial period was as much a reflection of *Pax Romana* as it was of the changing ways of power display. Even then, enough of the fortifications survived to mark the boundary between the civilization and wilderness. It was still this boundary that was followed when fortifications were haphazardly restored in late antiquity.

It is also possible to differentiate several districts in Pednelissos. These gained their meaning and character from oppositions, like old and new between the upper city and the lower city, or concentration of particular functions, like the area around the Apollo Sanctuary with its ritualistic focus or the civic centre with its civic focus.

Although the urban environment was highly structured by landmarks, paths, nodes, edges and districts, and order was assured by the use of an urban grid, which were manifestations of human dominance on nature, the rhythm of daily life was still dependent on natural cycles. While daily life followed the repeated cycles of nature, socio-cultural life was in a constant process of transformation, in a linear fashion. While changes were taking place in power structures, belief systems and cultural aspirations through time, the image of the landscape presented by these urban elements had an important role in the consolidation of the community. The urban image concealed power struggles between different sections of the society and helped in the preservation of the social structure through some ideological mechanism including creation of a mythical past shared by all, construction of a common identity and promotion of civic patriotism.

The landscapes of Pednelissos, the meaning and image of which were thus articulated and conceived, seem to have been structured along some lines of tension between opposing themes: past and present, plains and mountains, civilization and wilderness, safety and danger and order and disorder. While some of these tensions are reminiscent of those within the wider context of the Classical world, such as

civilized versus uncivilized and order versus disorder, some others, including the opposition between plains and mountains, would have been the result of the local conditions of Pednelissos. The civilized versus uncivilized, for instance, was a recurring theme in antiquity. Both the Greeks and Romans took pride in their culture as the utmost level of civilization and despised other peoples as *barbarians* (Morris [2007] 2012; Webster [2007] 2012).<sup>2</sup> Cities, in this respect, were viewed as centres of civilization, which helped to acculturate and civilize barbarians (Owens 2009, 183; Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 252–53). Town planning, monumental buildings and urban facilities can all be viewed in relation to the desire of differentiating *civilized* from the *barbarian* and to the embodiment of the claims to become civilized. Such oppositions as civilization versus wilderness and order versus disorder, which can be *read* in the landscapes of Pednelissos and which refer to the contrasts between the city of Pednelissos and the natural environment in which it was located, would have been the reflections of the civilized versus barbarian opposition in the wider context of the Greco-Roman thought. The opposition between the plains and the mountains, on the other hand, was a translation of this opposition to the local context of Pednelissos, an interpretation from the perspective of the local framework or a reworking of *universal* facts through *local* realities. As such, the common opposition of civilized versus uncivilized were embodied in the landscapes of Pednelissos as an opposition between the plains of Pamphylia, which were associated with large and powerful cities, therefore with civilization, and mountains of Pisidia, which were associated with wilderness as cities were smaller in size and visually less pronounced.

As a result, Pednelissos exemplifies a case where people acted under the tension between their socio-cultural aspirations and constraints of their physical environment to shape their landscapes and structure their cognitive and social

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2 The concept of *the barbarian* was developed by the Greeks, principally by the Athenians, as a result of their encounter with the Persians. In the aftermath of their defeat of the Persians in the battle of Plataea in 479 BC, they deployed this concept to denote and often denigrate those who did not speak Greek (Morris [2007] 2012, 407). The Romans took the concept of the barbarian from the Greeks but they used it to denote the peoples of the northern Europe, primarily the Germanic peoples, rather than eastern cultures, which were deeply Hellenized by the time the Romans got into contact with them (Webster [2007] 2012, 419–20).



worlds. This followed a parallel line to other cities in the area and took its aspiration from larger cities. Many similarities with both larger and smaller cities of Pisidia are traceable, including a structured, organized and coordinated urban environment presenting an image of a civilized place; articulation of urban experience with landmarks, paths, nodes, edges and districts and creation of particular landscape experiences via processions. In contrast to larger cities of Sagalassos, Cremna and Selge, Pednelissos provided a more direct landscape experience and was more integrated with the natural environment like other smaller cities of 'Melli' and Ariassos. The urban grid of Pednelissos, on the other hand, stands out as a unique example in Pisidia. As such, Pednelissos exemplified a provincial interpretation of the eastern Mediterranean city in the Classical period, which developed under the influence of its own local conditions.

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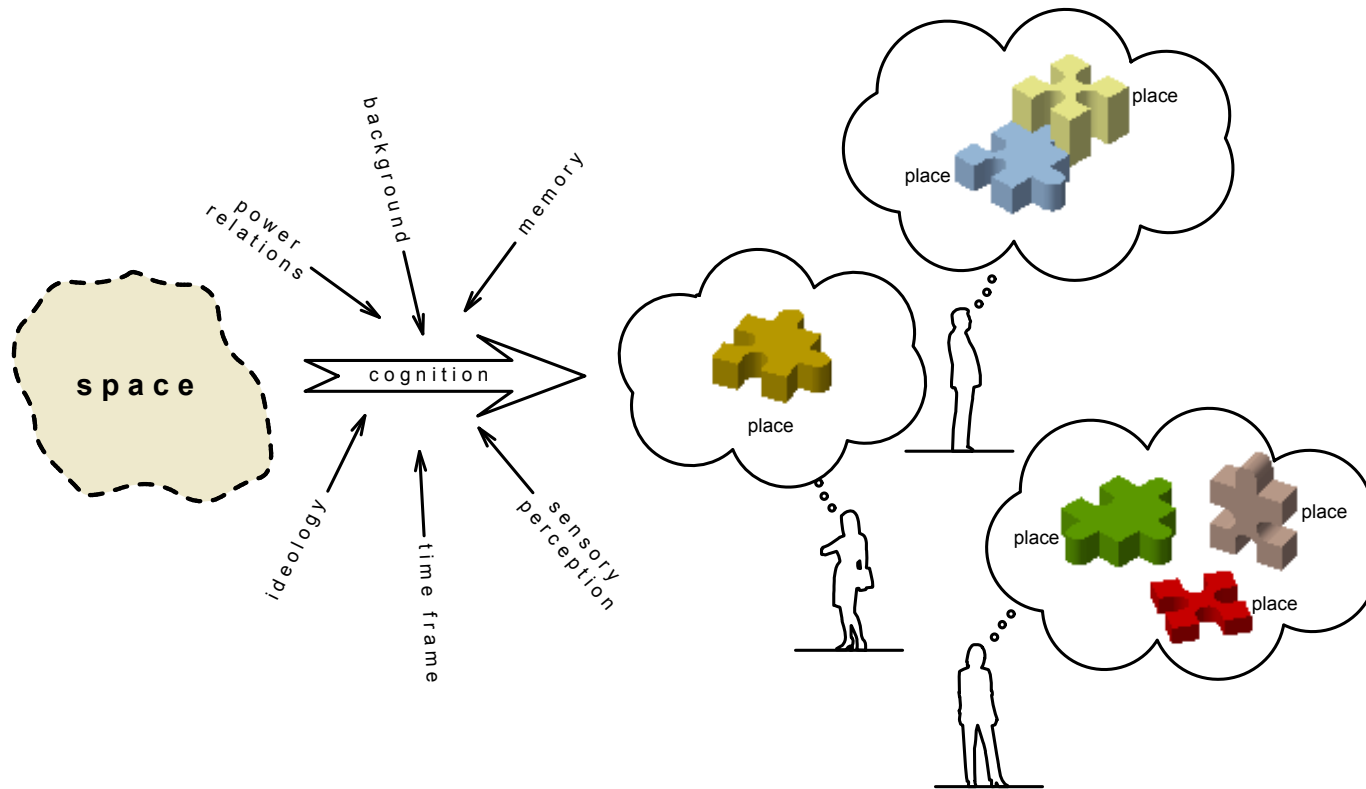


Fig. 1: Illustration of the process through which *space* becomes a *place* and gains a meaning (Illustration by the author)

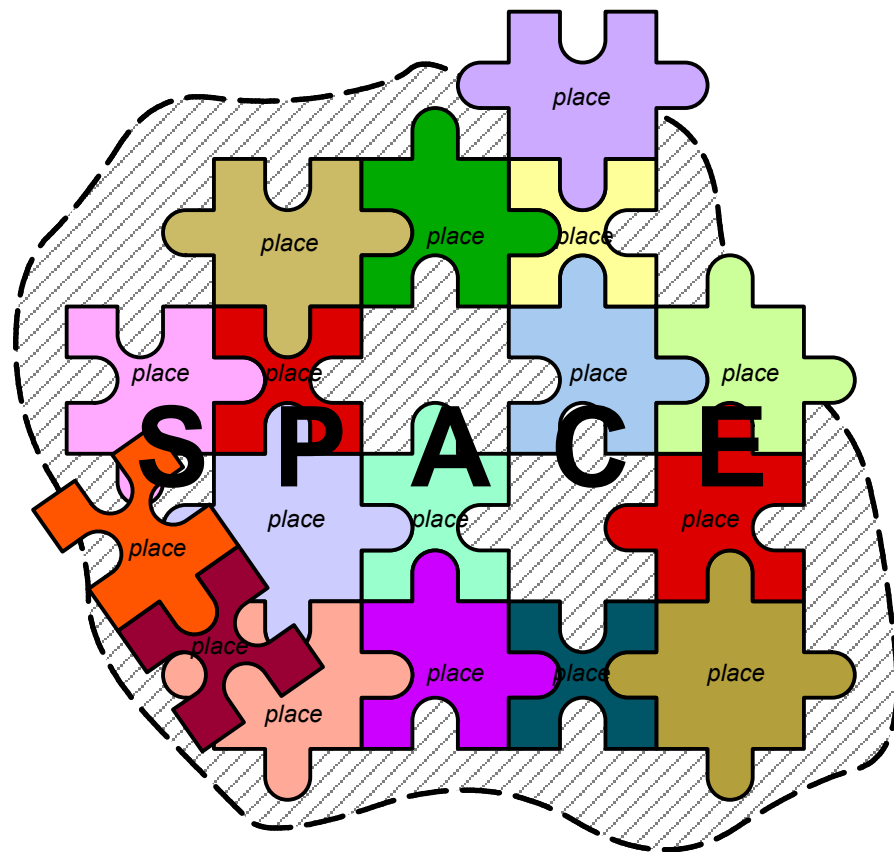


Fig. 2: Conceptual representation of a space consisting of several places (Illustration by the author).



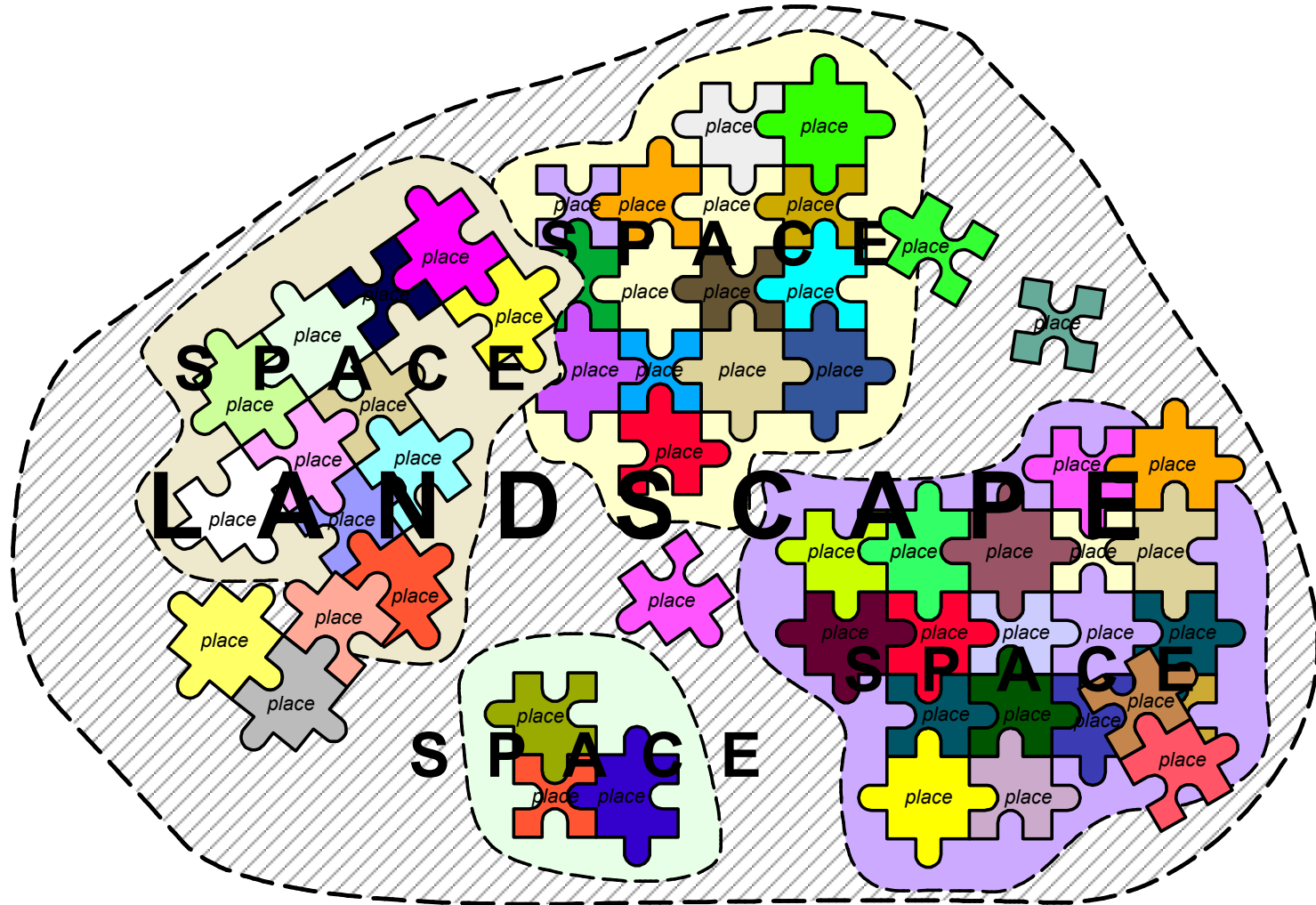


Fig. 3: Conceptual representation of a landscape consisting of spaces and places (Illustration by the author).

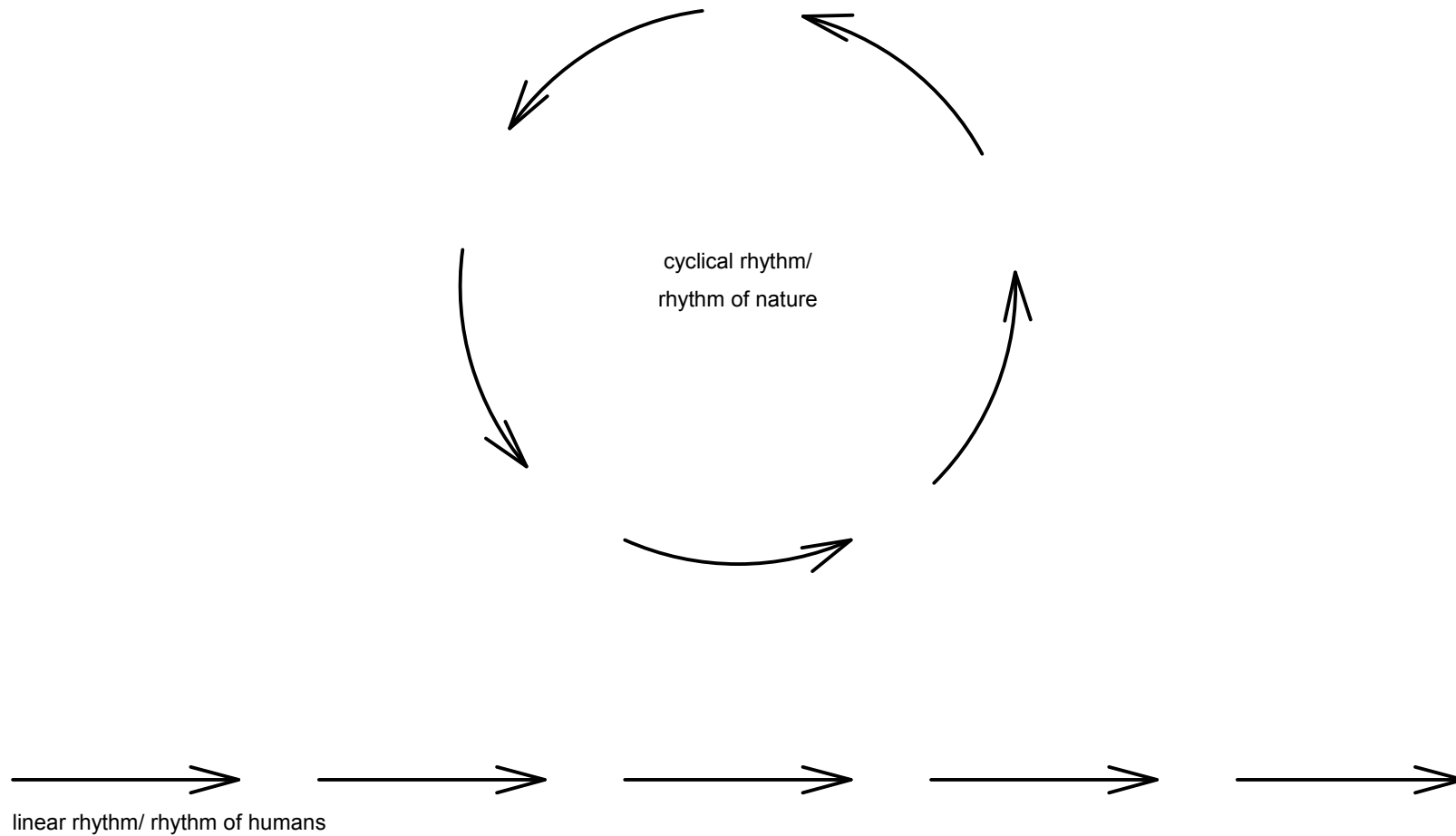


Fig. 4: Rhythms of landscape; top: cyclical rhythm, bottom: linear rhythm (Illustration by the author).



Fig. 5: Topographical map of the region of Pisidia (Adapted by the author from Google Maps).

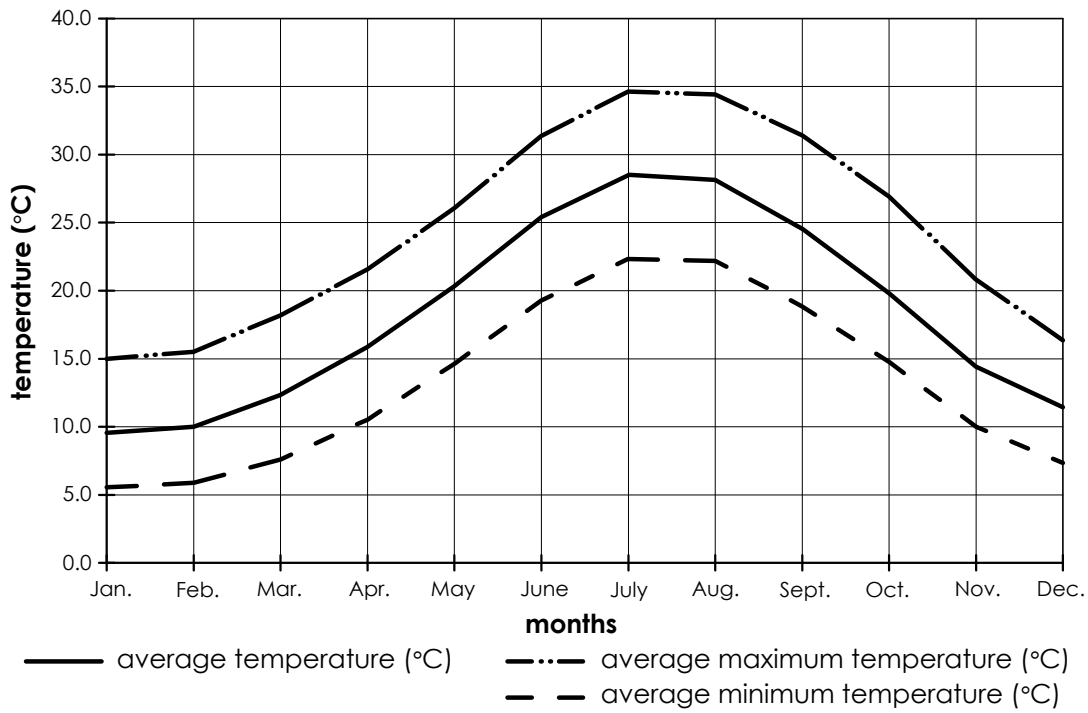


Fig. 6: Mean monthly temperature in Antalya (Drawn by the author from the data by General Directorate of Meteorological Services n.d.).

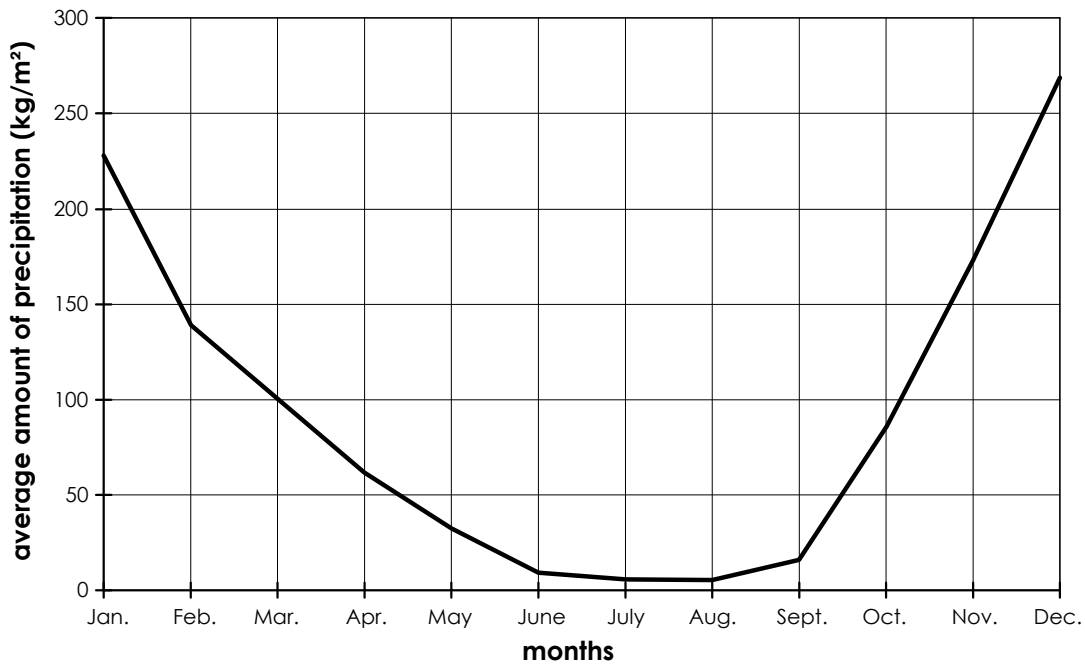


Fig. 7: Average amount of precipitation in Antalya (Drawn by the author from the data by General Directorate of Meteorological Services n.d.).

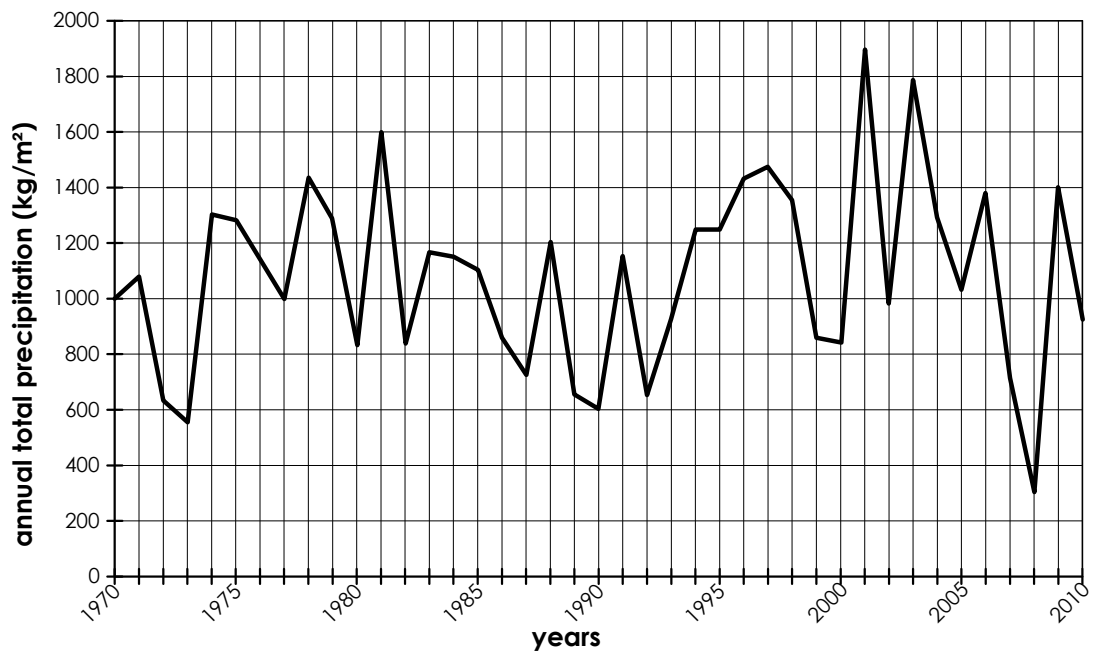


Fig. 8: Annual total amount of precipitation in Antalya (Drawn by the author from the data by General Directorate of Meteorological Services n.d.).

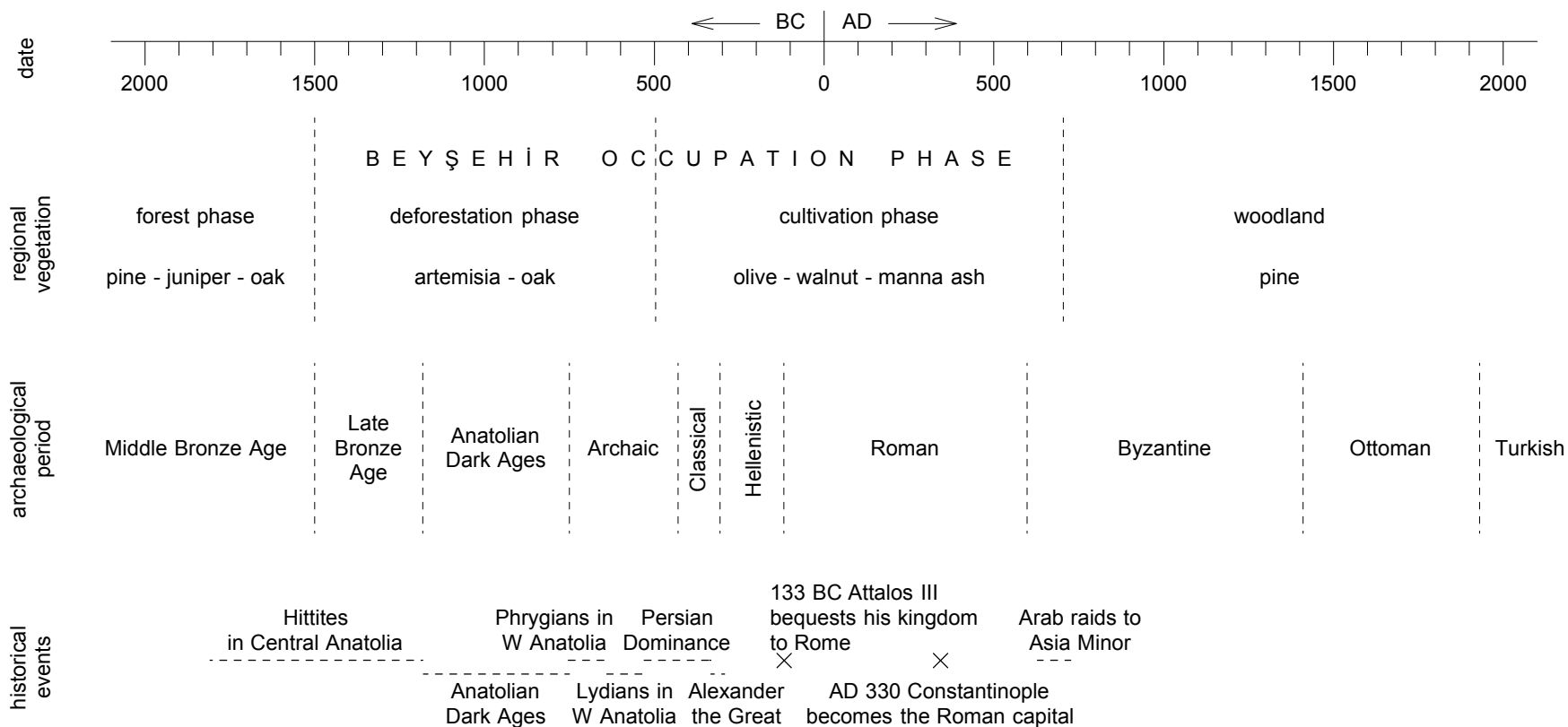


Fig. 9: Comparison of palynological phases with historic and archaeological data (Adapted by the author from Eastwood, Roberts, and Lamb 1998, fig.4 and Verwoere et al. 2000, table 4).



Fig. 10: Location of Pednelissos with major contemporary cities and roads (Adapted by the author from Google Maps).

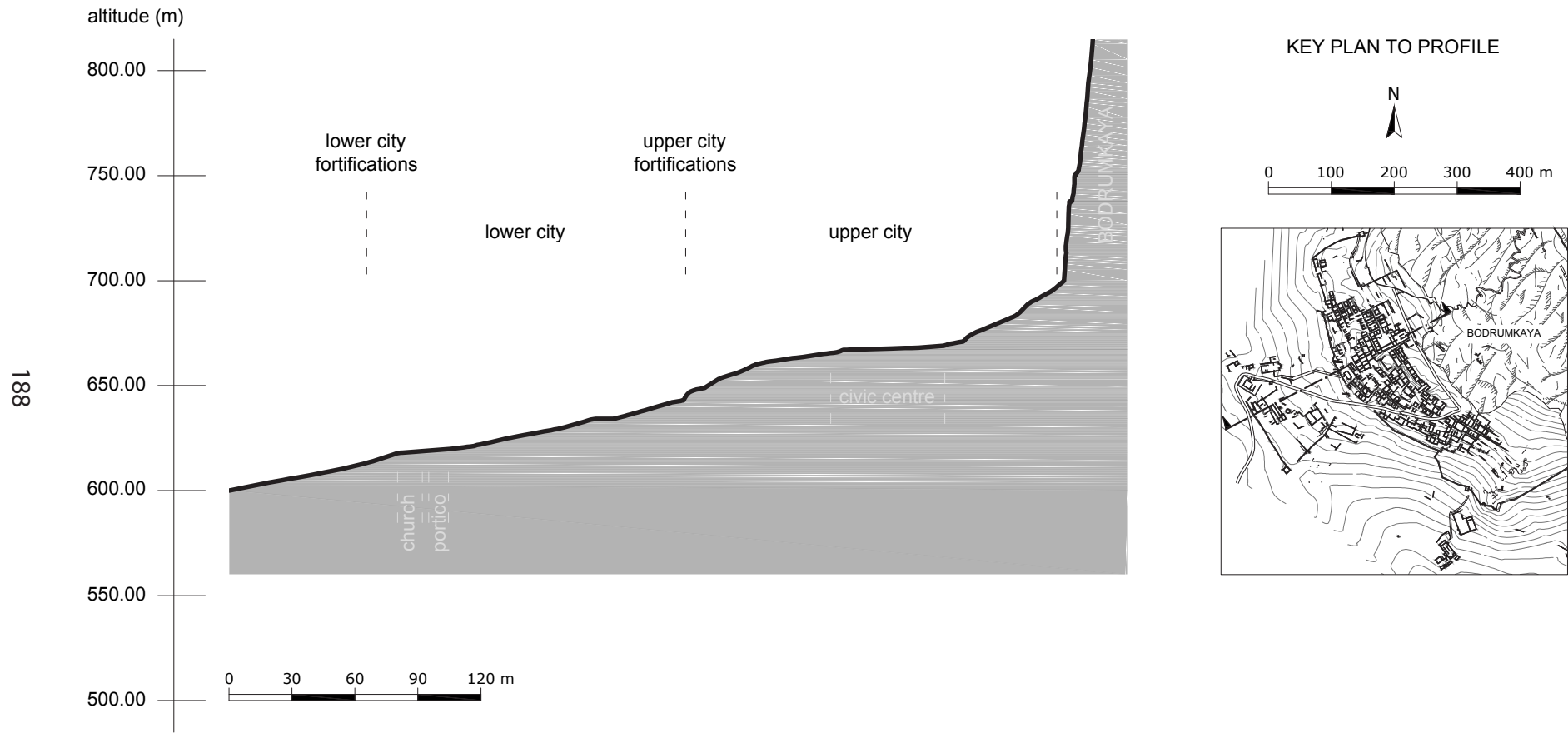
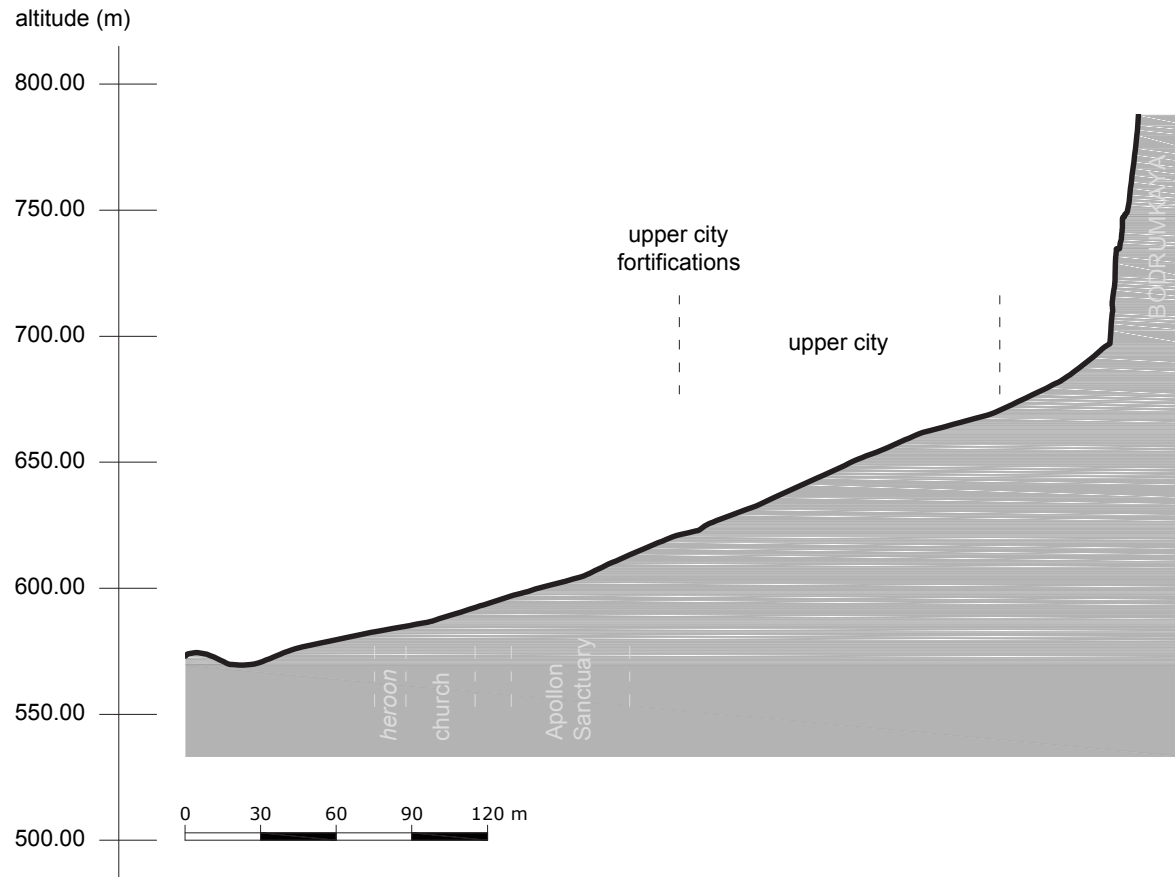


Fig. 11: Topographical profile across Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).





KEY PLAN TO PROFILE

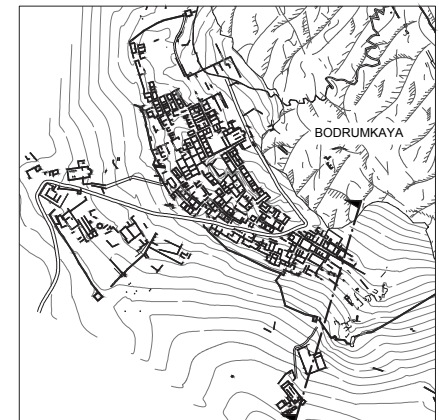
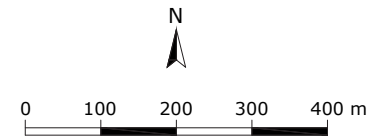


Fig. 12: Topographical profile across Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

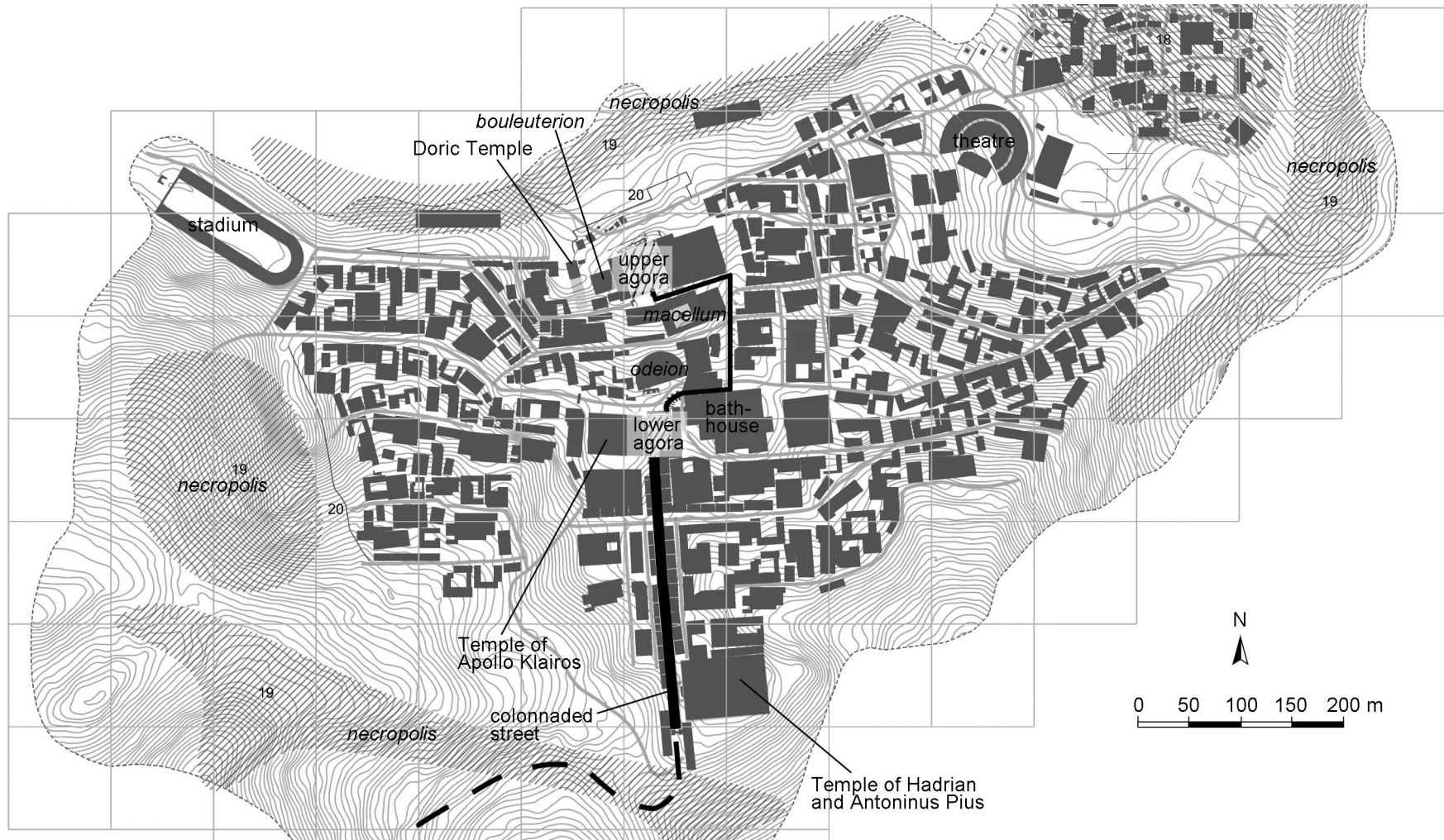


Fig. 13: Plan of Sagalassos during the second century AD. Major spaces mentioned in the text are marked (Adapted by the author from Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project n.d.).

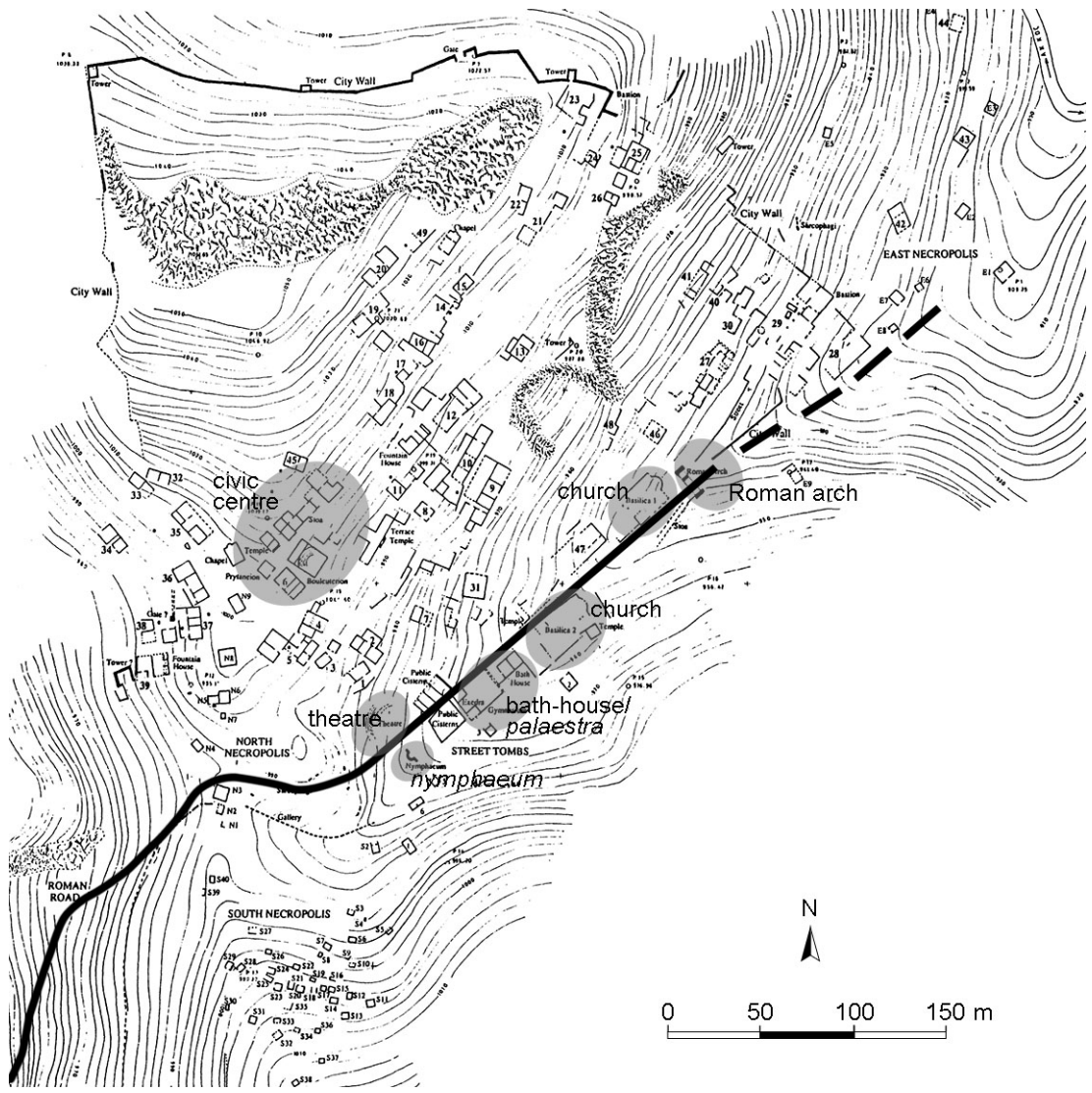


Fig. 14: Plan of Ariassos. Major spaces mentioned in the text are marked (Adapted by the author from Cormack 1996, fig. 1).

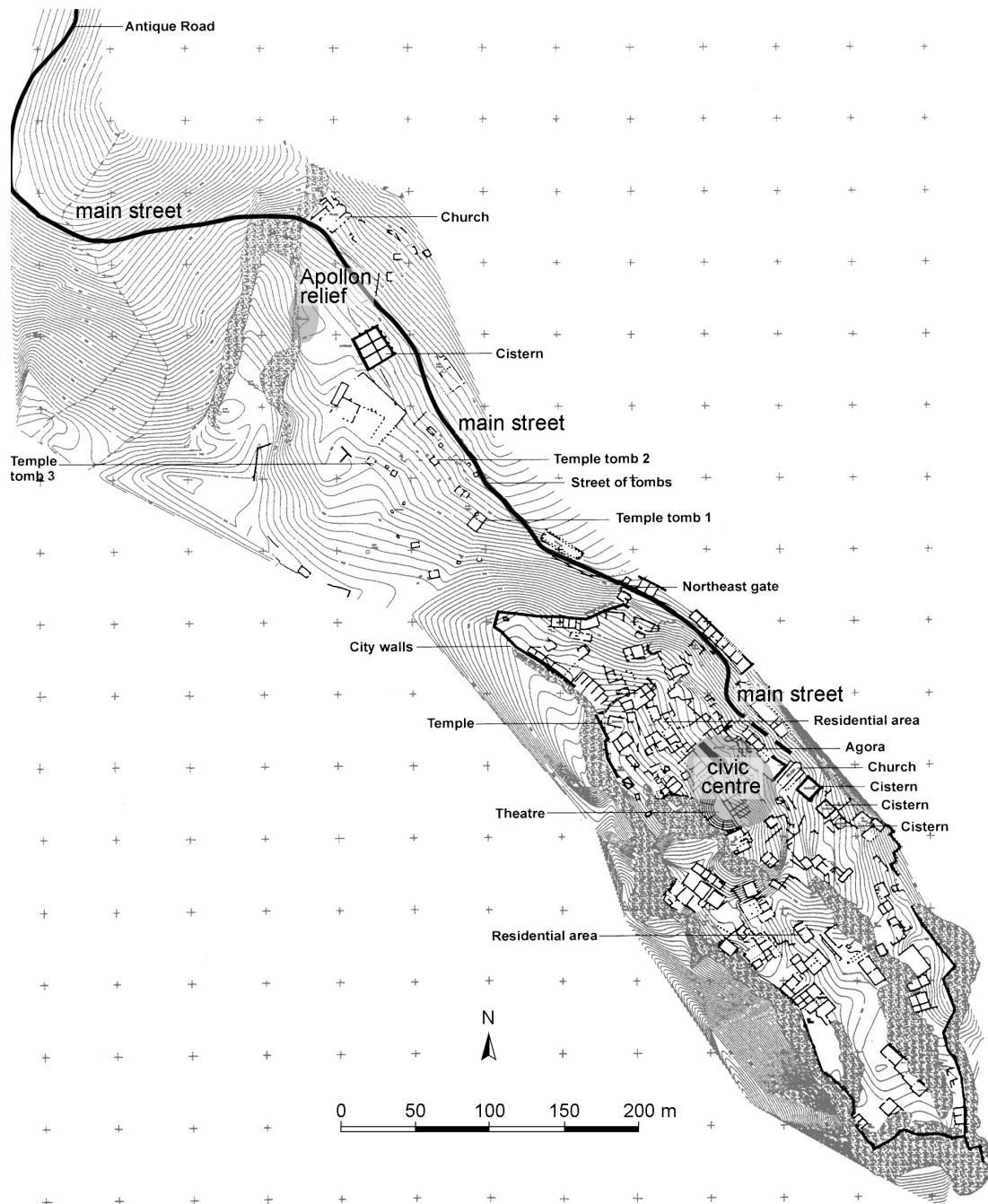


Fig. 15: Plan of Melli. Major spaces mentioned in the text are marked (Adapted by the author from Vandeput and Köse 2001, fig. 1).

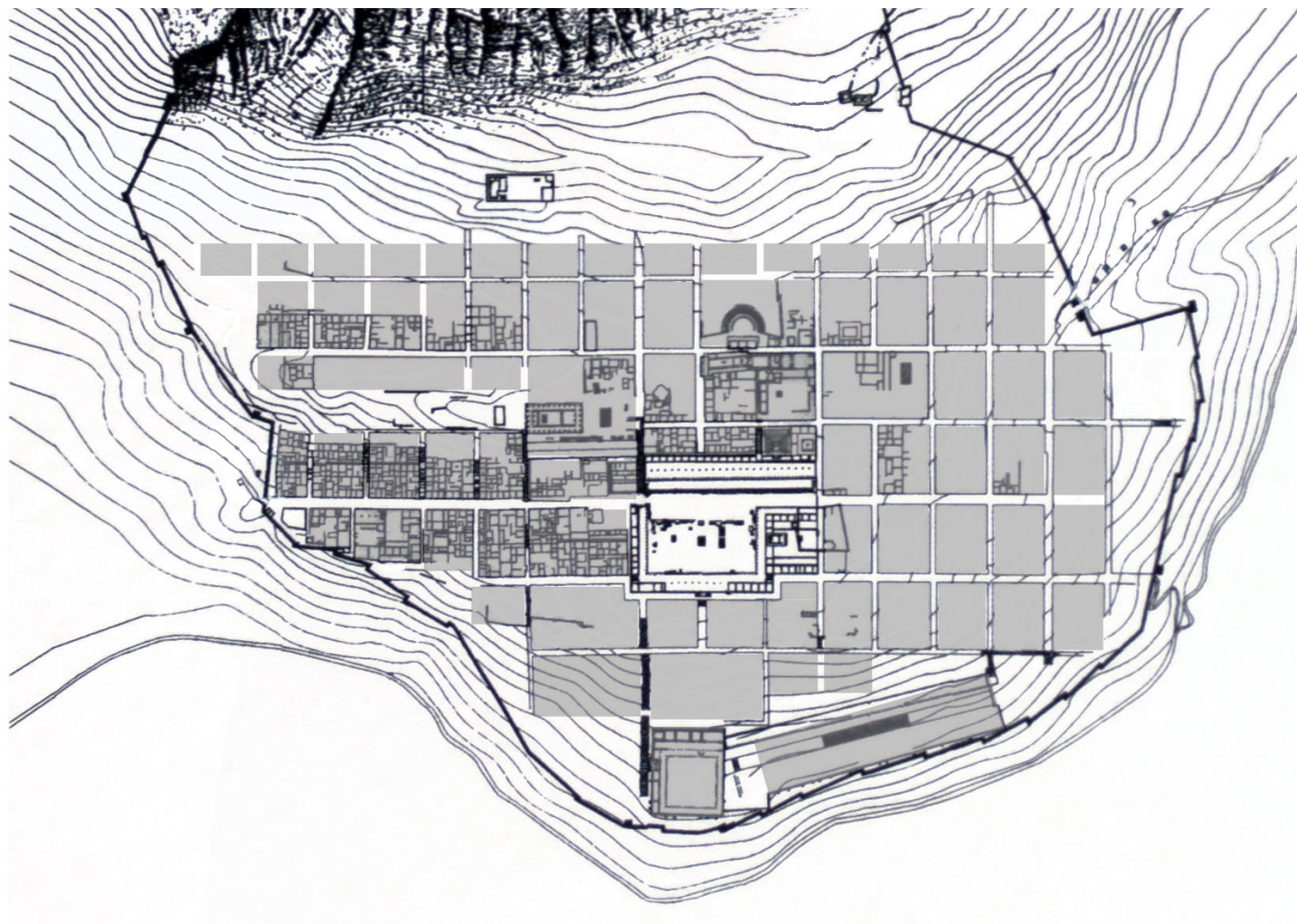


Fig. 16: Plan of Priene. Grid blocks are highlighted (Adapted by the author from Ferla 2005, 53 and 58).



Fig. 17: Plan of Pergamon (Adapted by the author from Radt 2001, fig. 2.6).

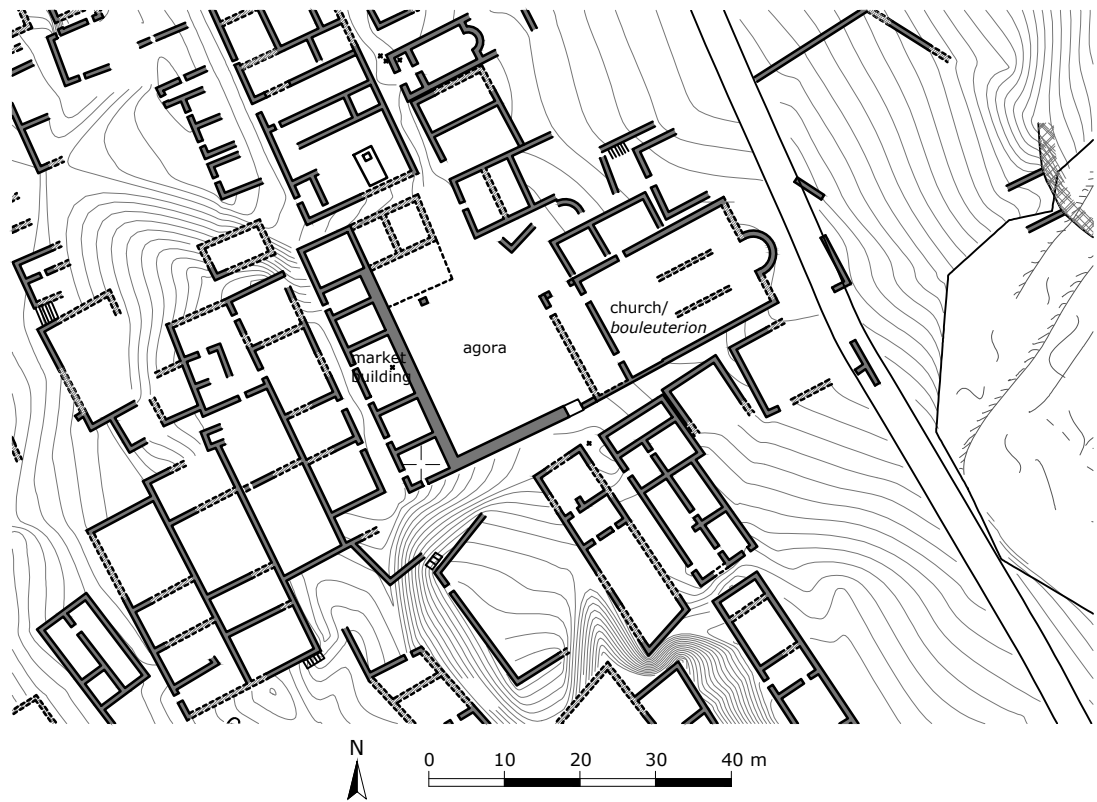


Fig. 18: Plan of the civic centre (Adapted by the author from the map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



Fig. 19: Typical building blocks. 1 is an example of the linear arrangement of rooms in a single row; 2 is an example of the linear arrangement of rooms in two rows; 3 is an example of the irregular block formed by the combination of blocks with linear arrangements; 4 is an example of the *organically* developed irregular block (Adapted by the author from the map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



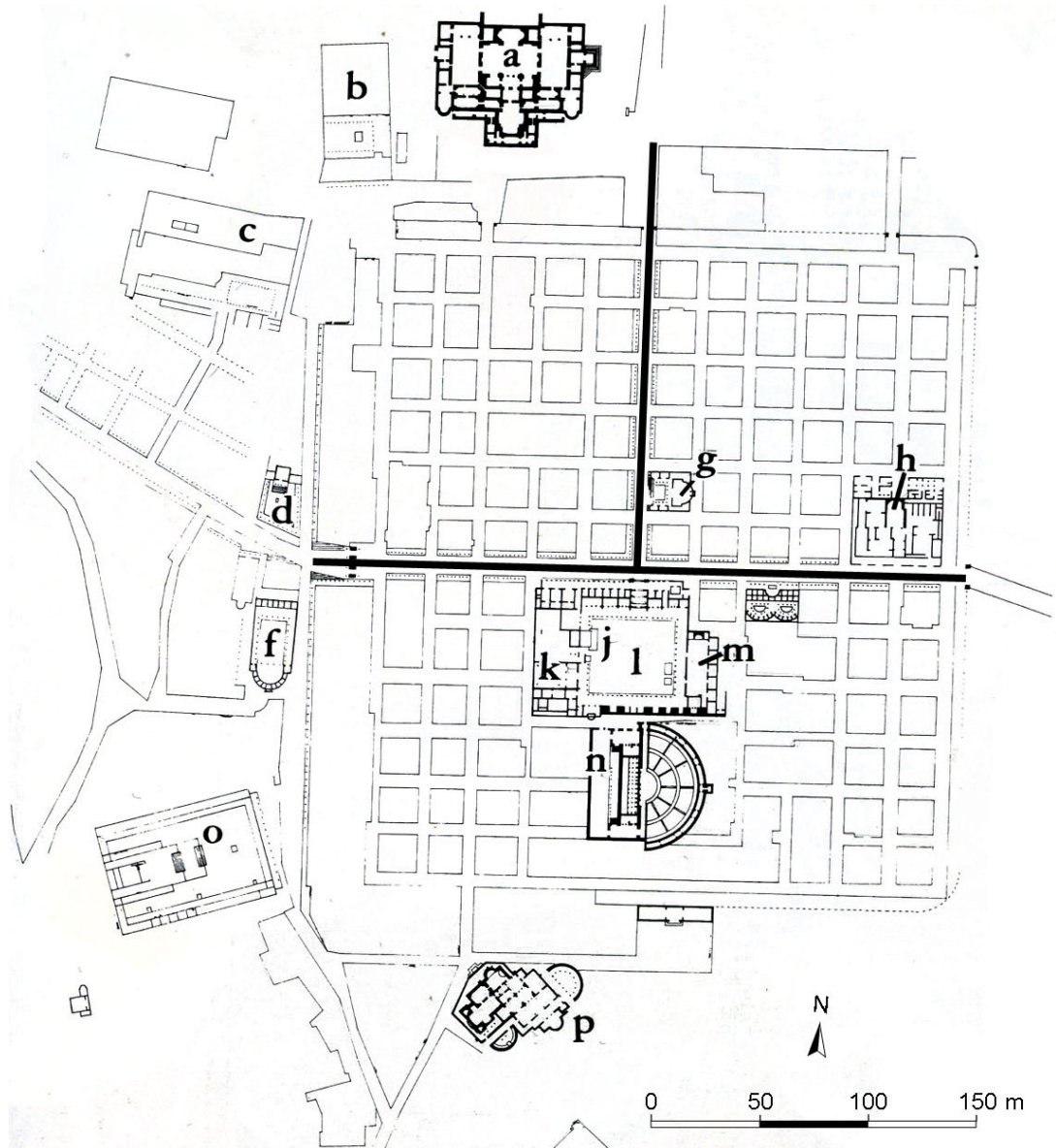


Fig. 20: Plan of Timgad. *Cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* are marked (Adapted by the author from MacDonald 1986, fig. 23).

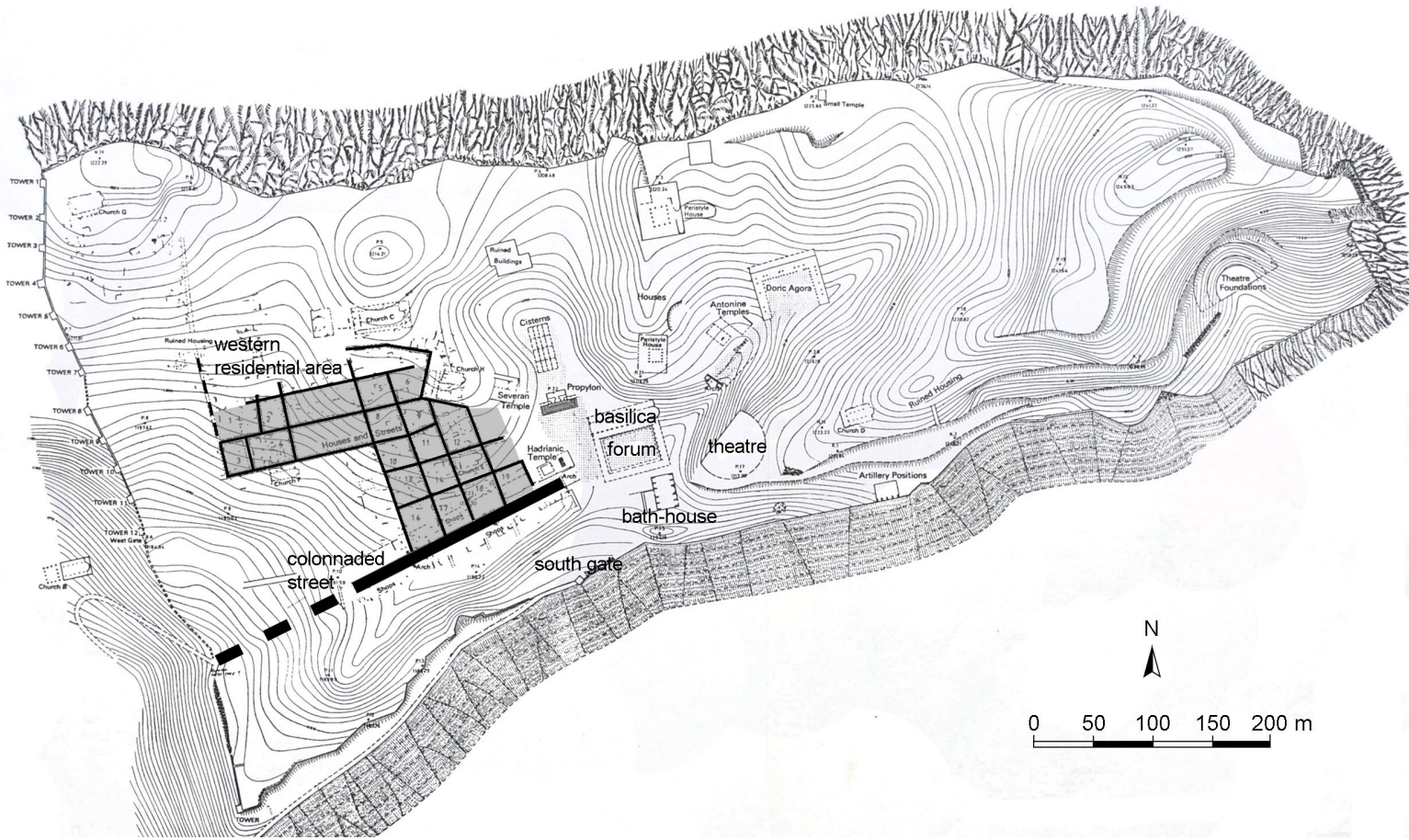


Fig. 21: Plan of Cremna. Major spaces mentioned in the text are marked. Note the loosely-applied grid in the residential quarters to the west (Adapted by the author from Mitchell et al 1995, fig. 4).

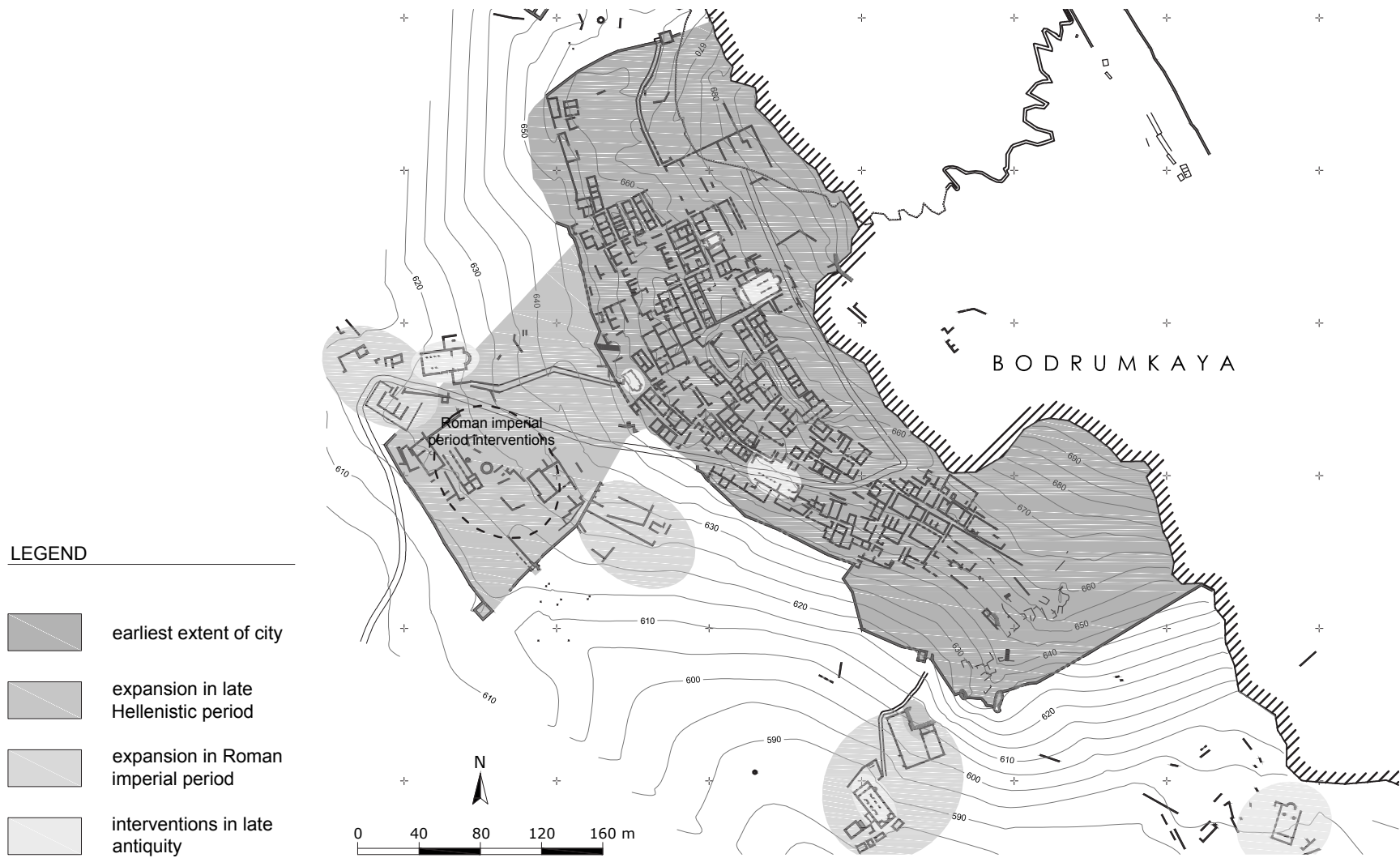


Fig. 22: Phases of urban extension and interventions in Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

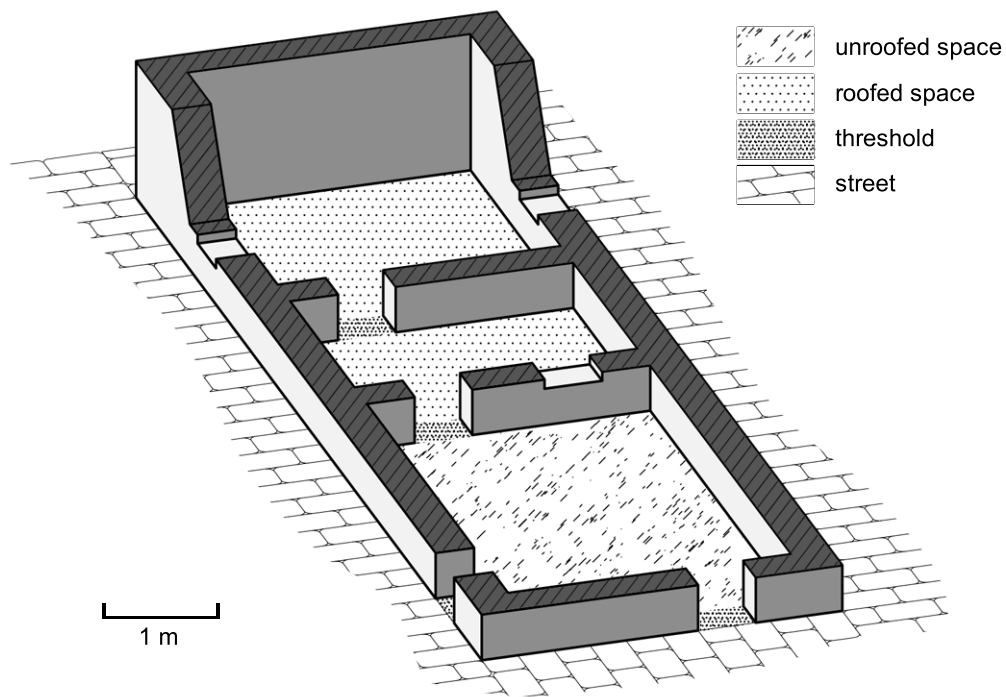


Fig. 23: Idealized view of a row house, cut-away view (Drawn by the author).

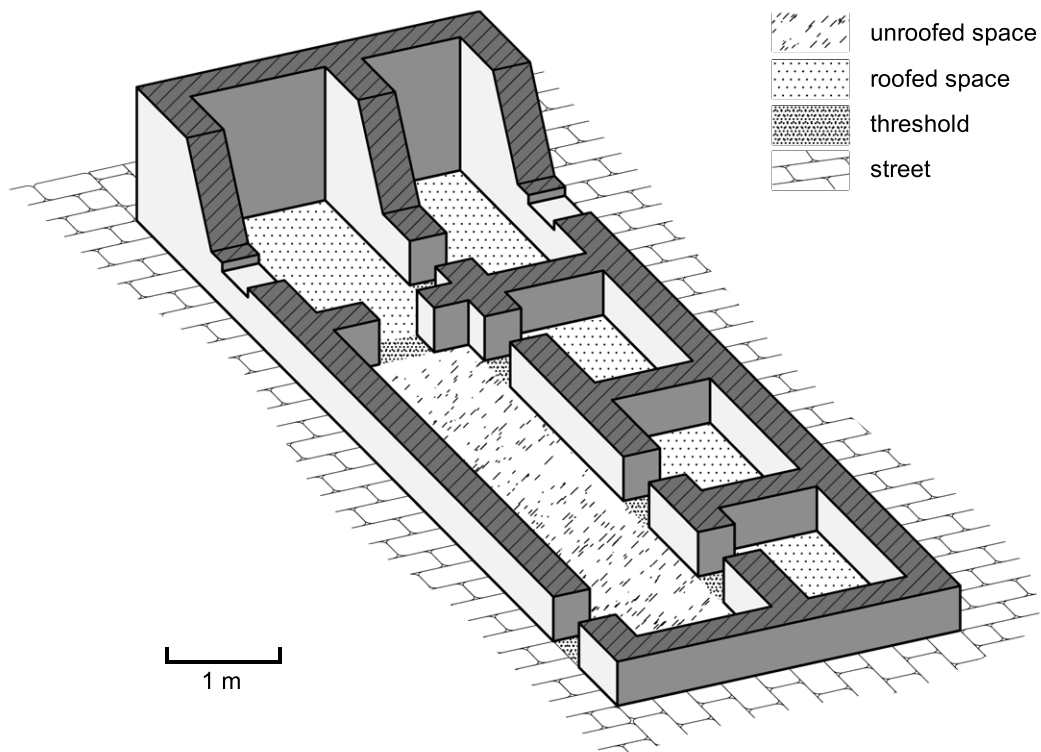


Fig. 24: Idealized view of a multi-row house, cut-away view (Drawn by the author).

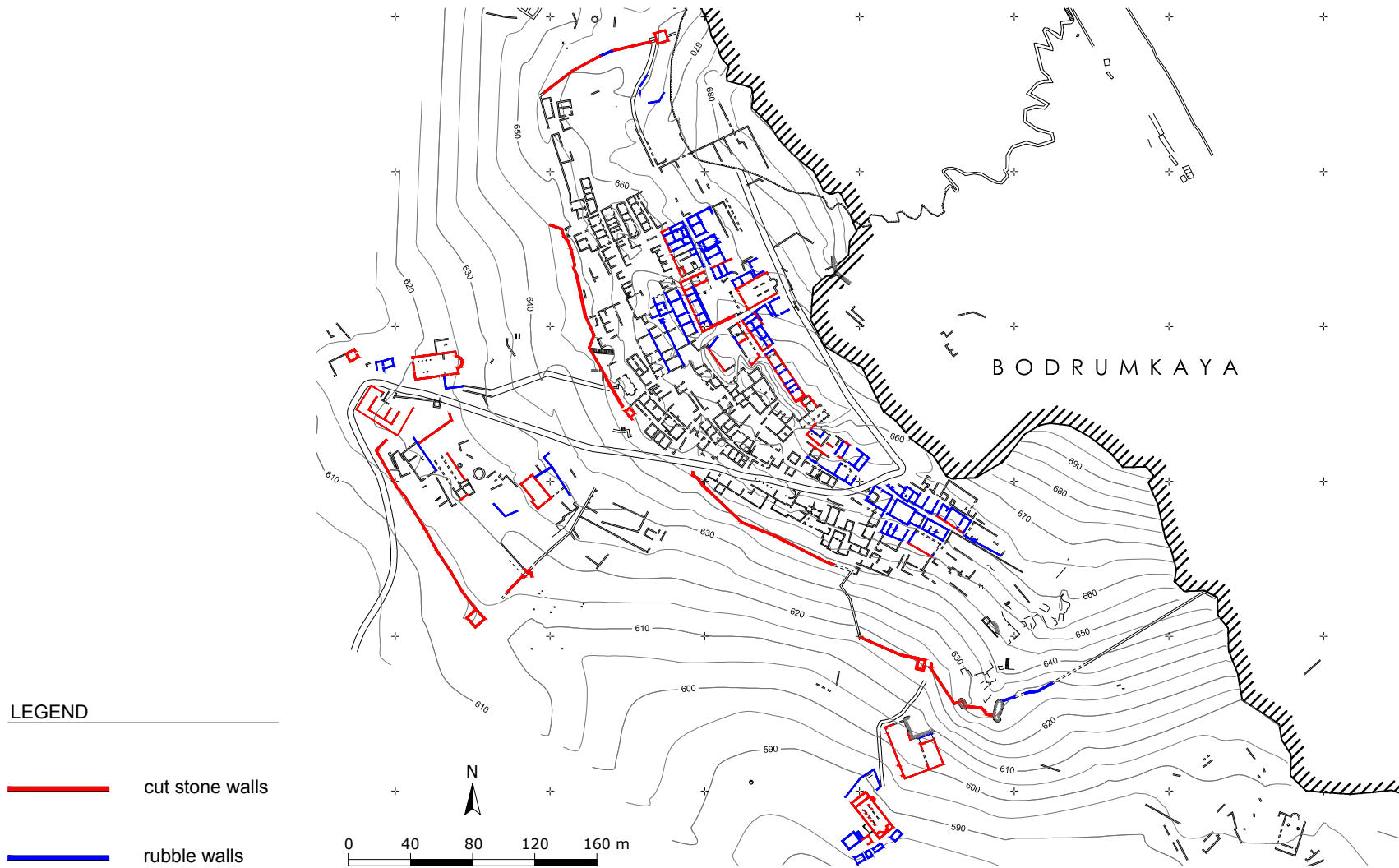


Fig. 25: Plan showing the distributon of cut stone and rubble constructions (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

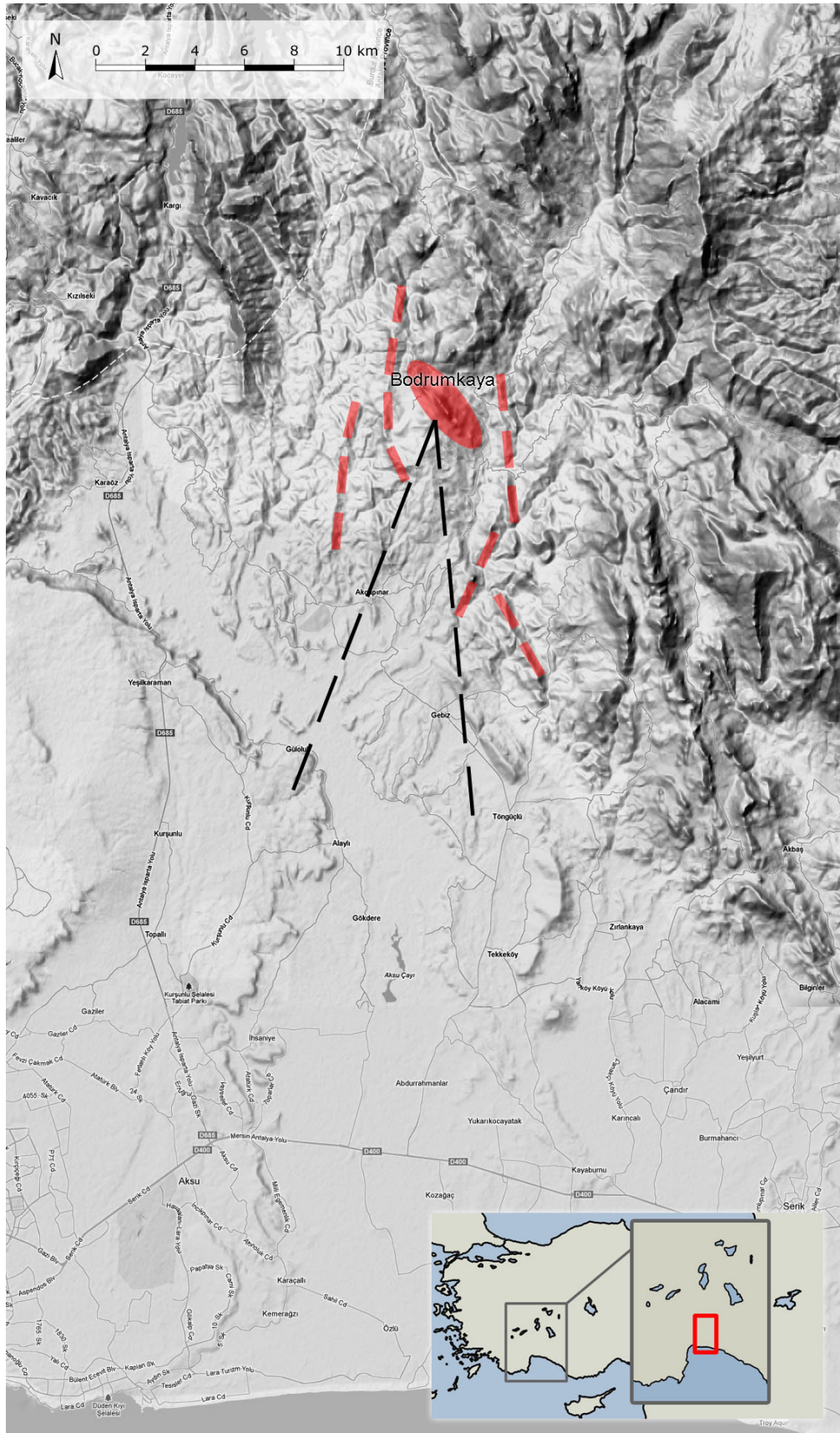


Fig. 26: Natural landmarks around Pednelissos (Adapted by the author from Google Maps).

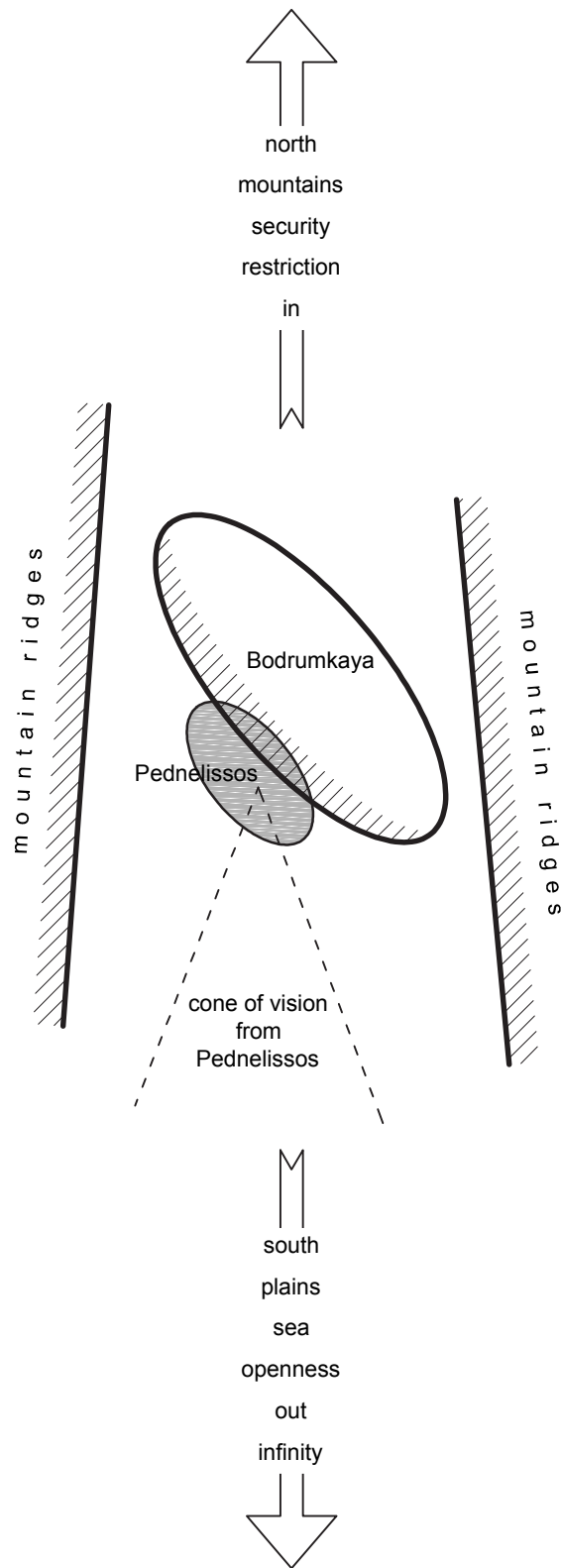


Fig. 27: Diagram of natural landmarks around Pednelissos and their possible symbolisms (Illustration by the author).



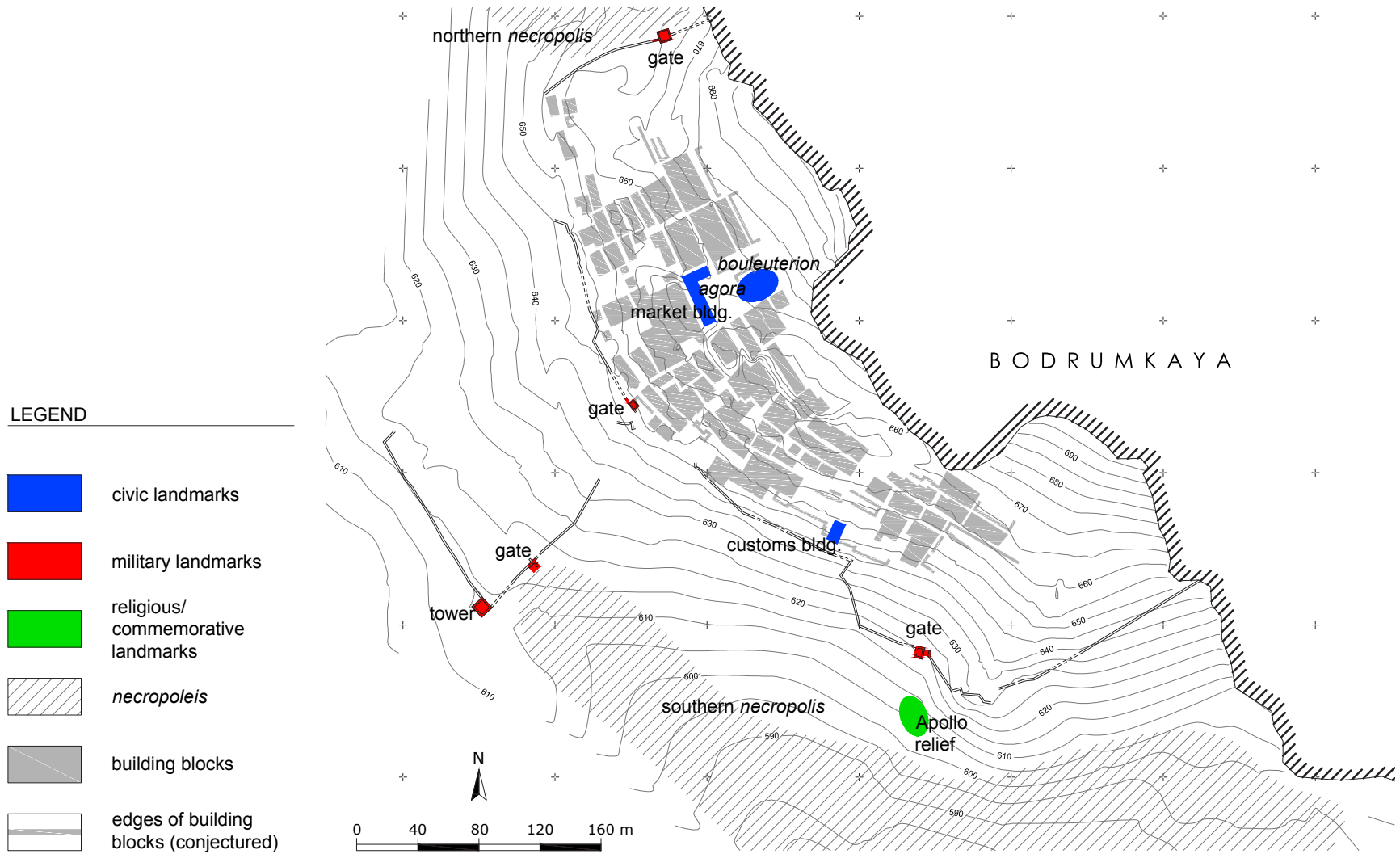


Fig. 28: Landmarks of Pednelissos during the Hellenistic period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

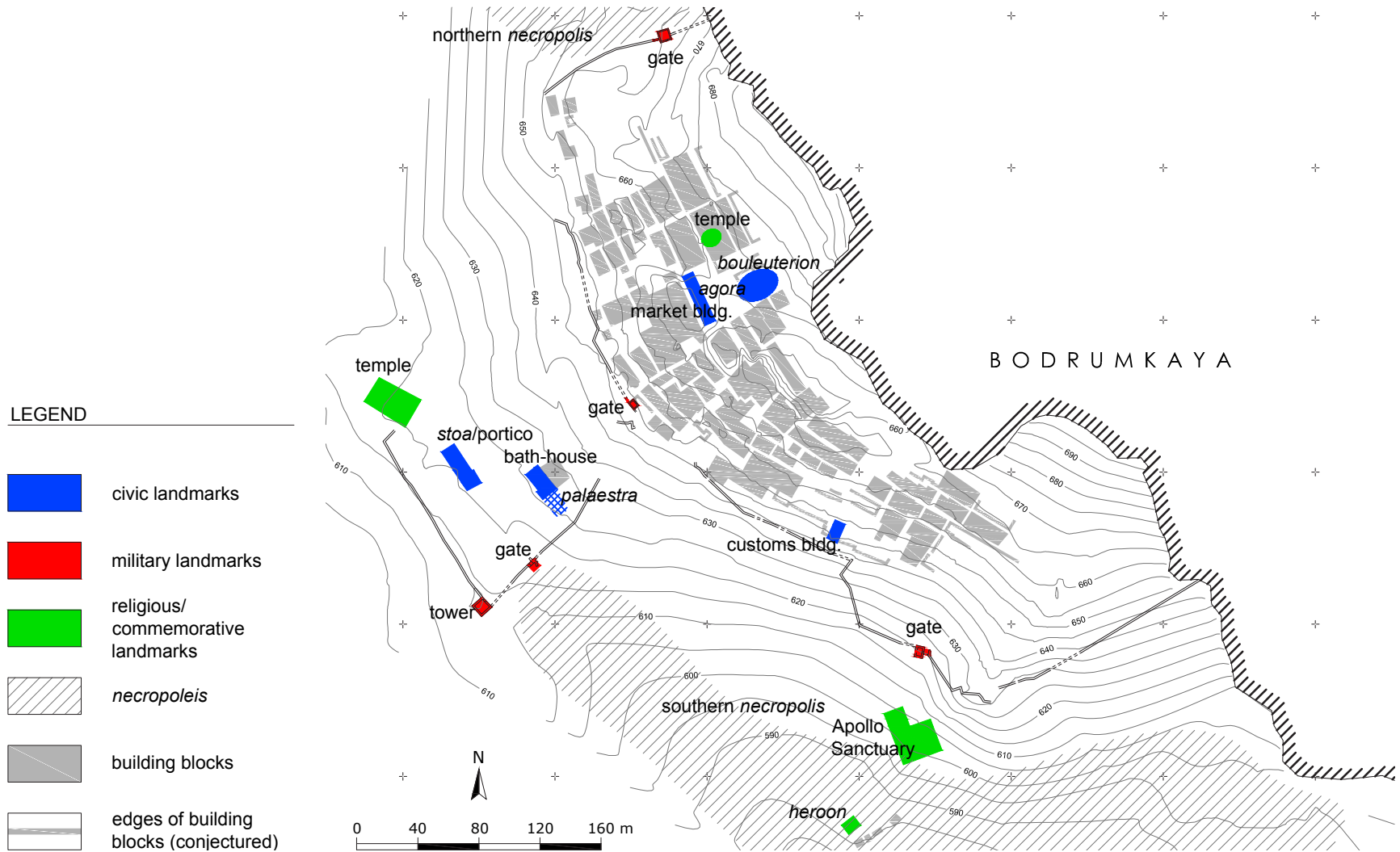


Fig. 29: Landmarks of Pednelissos during the Roman imperial period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

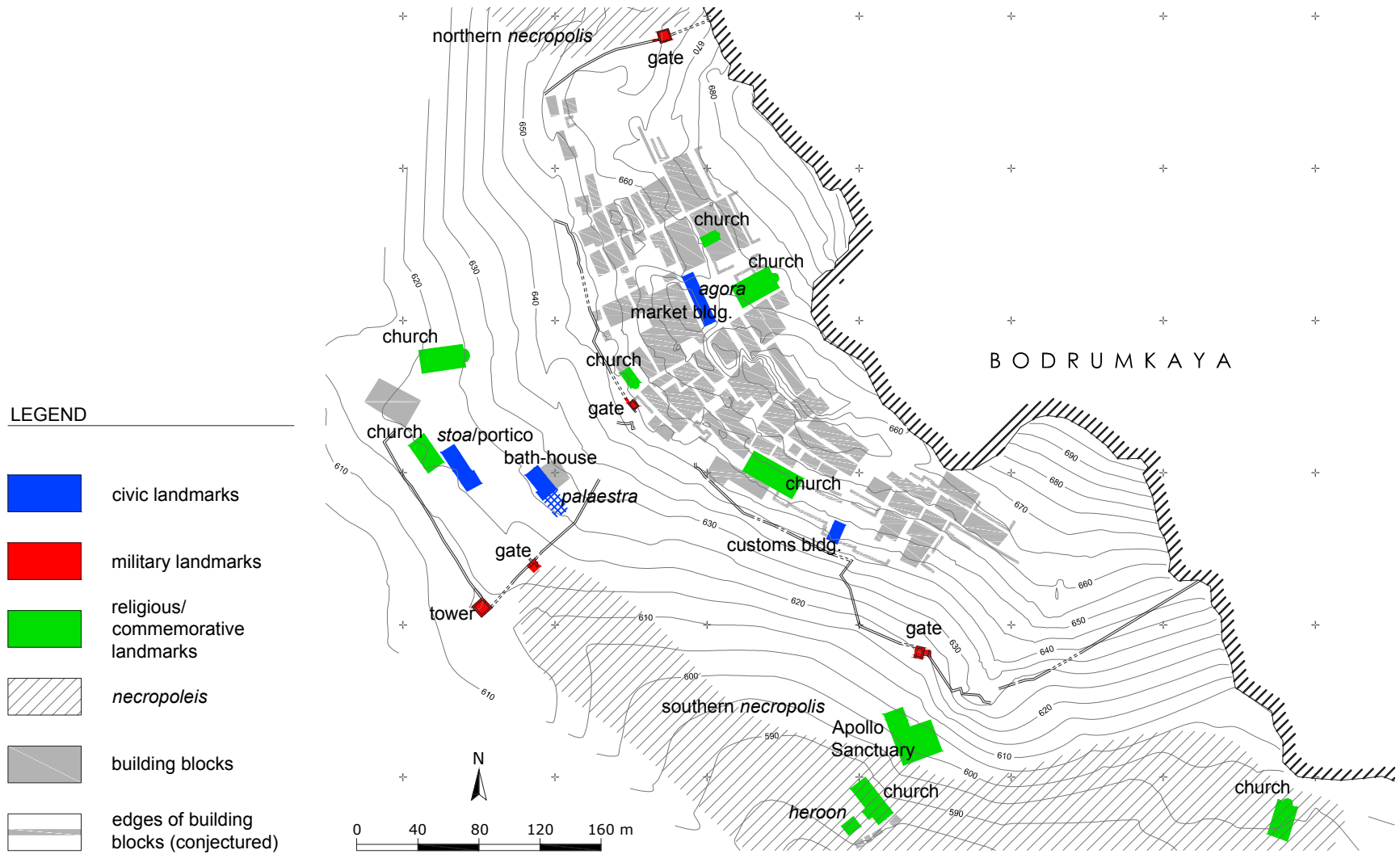


Fig. 30: Landmarks of Pednelissos during the late antique period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



Fig. 31: Kinetic network (paths) of Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

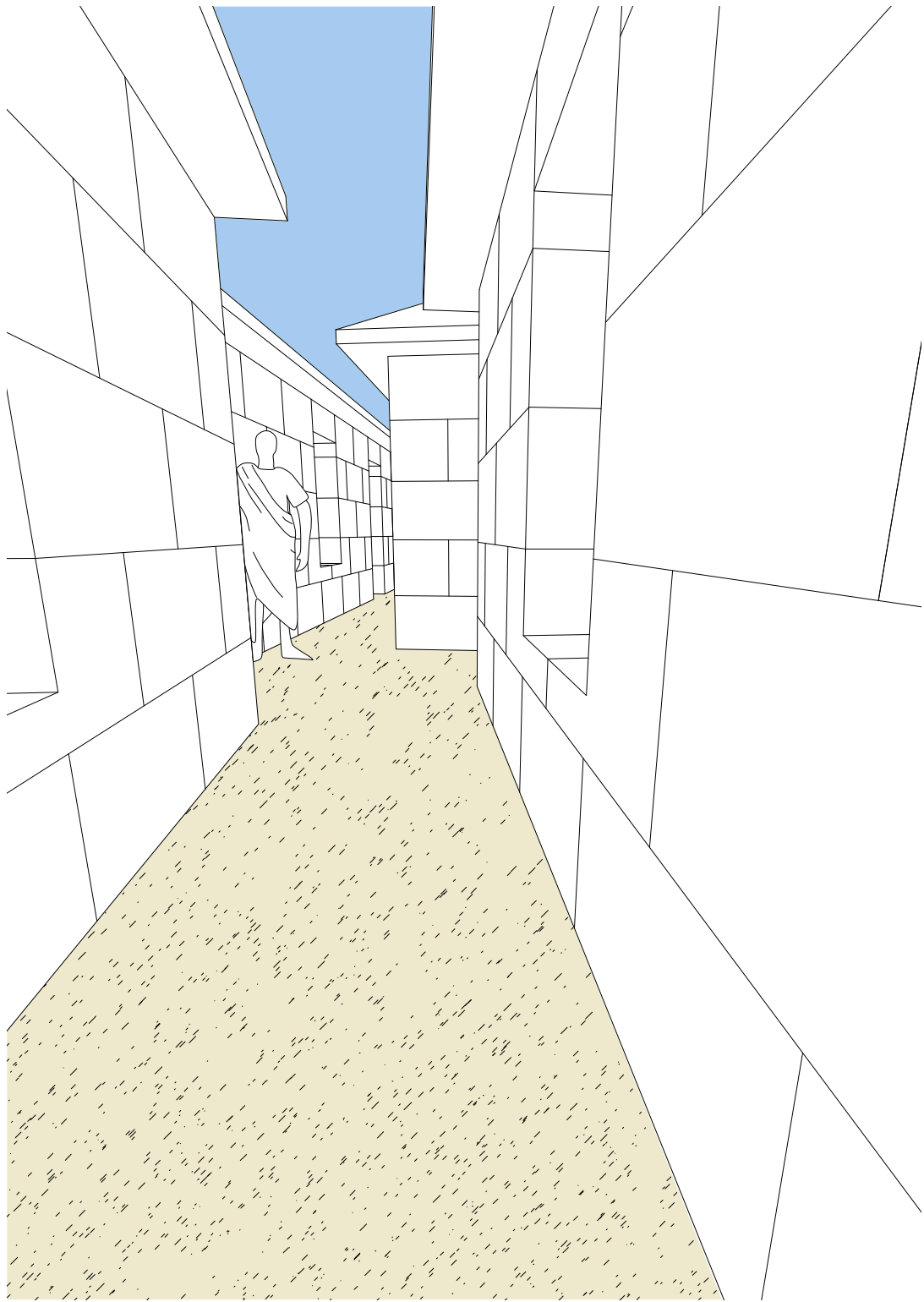









Fig. 32: An imaginary perspective showing how the streets of Pednelissos might have looked like (Drawn by the author).

LEGEND

-  paths/ thoroughfares
-  paths/ thoroughfares (conjectured)
-  squares/ open spaces
-  processional ways
-  approaches
-  building blocks
-  edges of building blocks (conjectured)

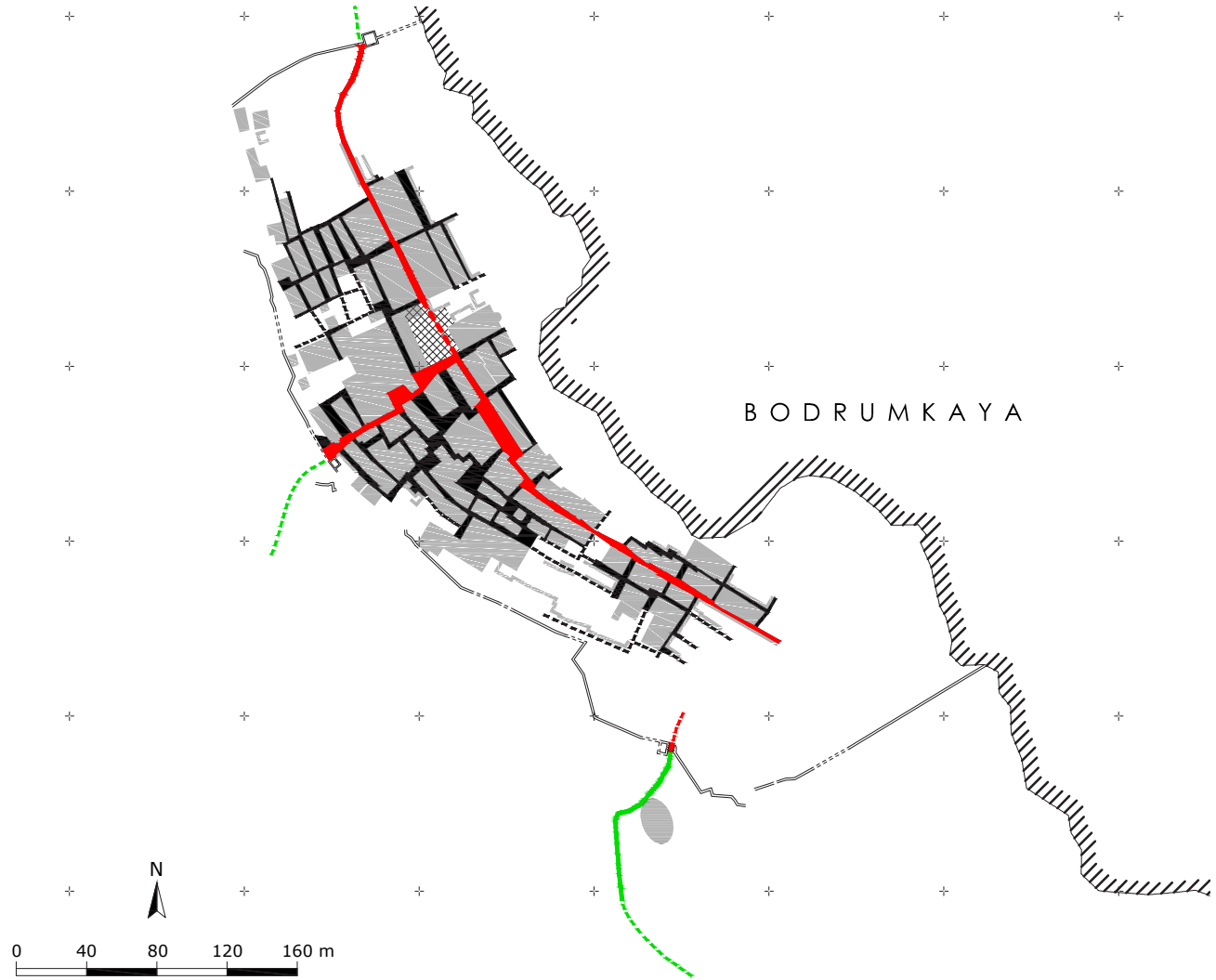


Fig. 33: Paths of Pednelissos during the earlier part of the Hellenistic period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

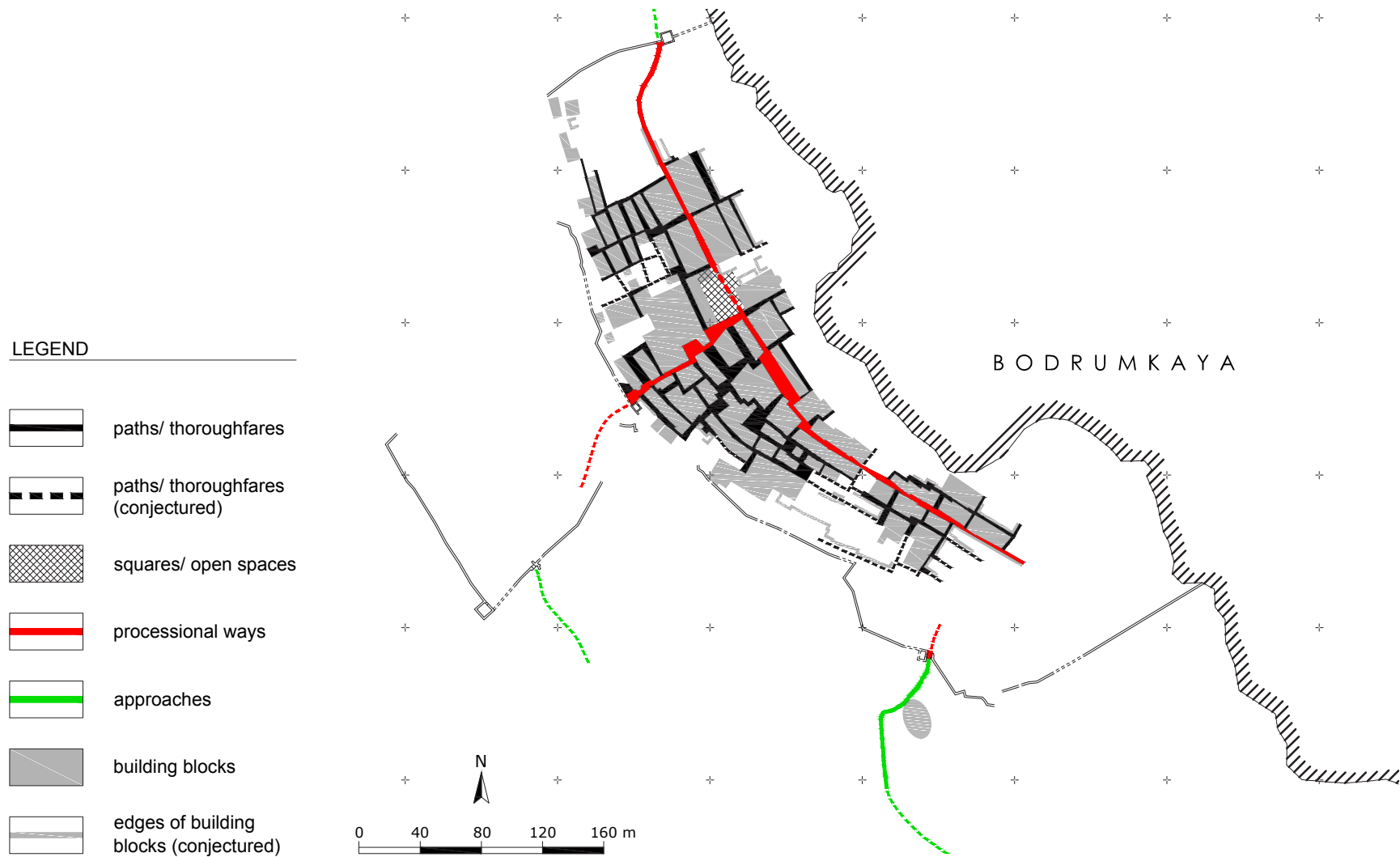


Fig. 34: Paths of Pednelissos during the later part of the Hellenistic period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

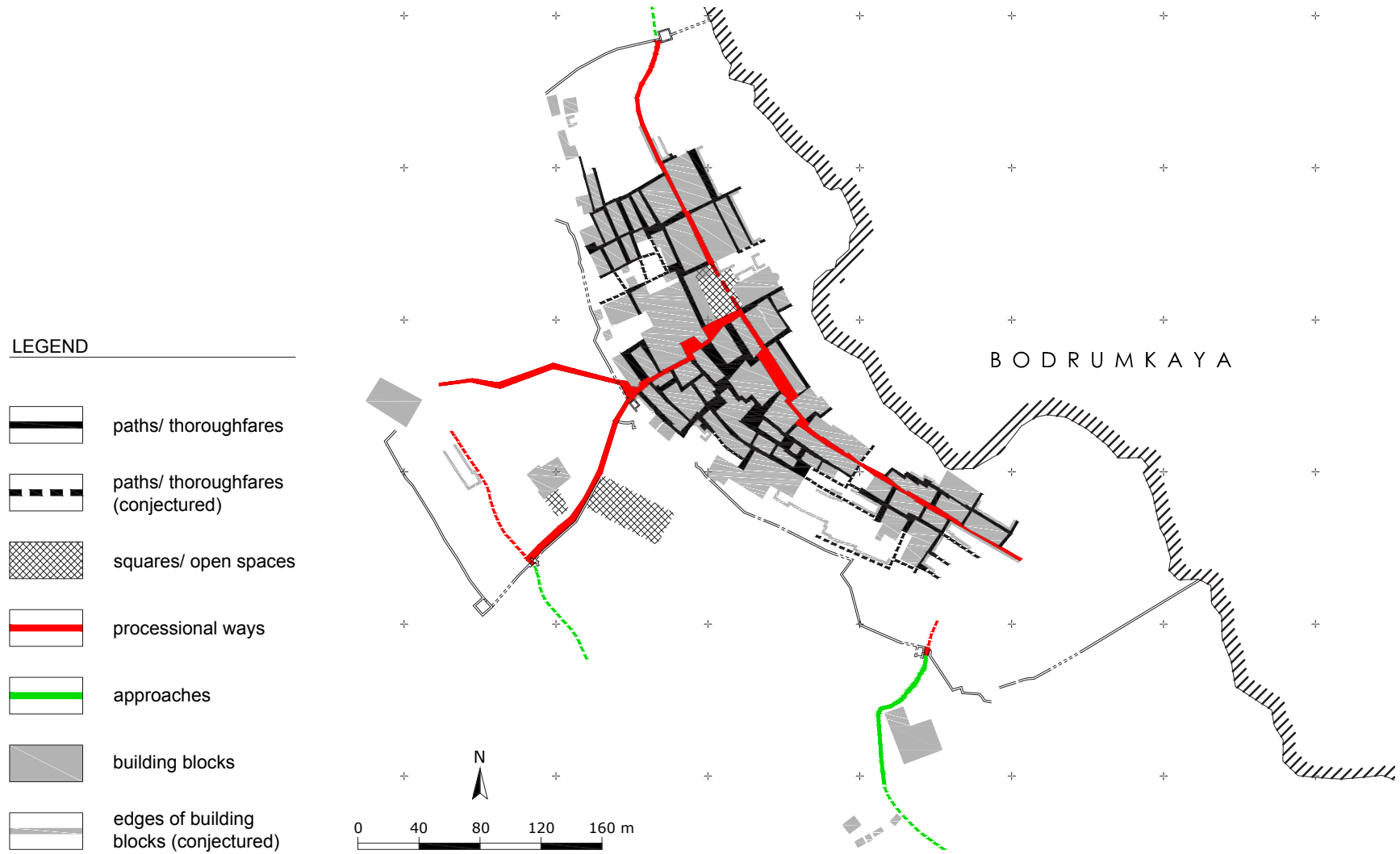


Fig. 35: Paths of Pednelissos during the Roman imperial period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).





Fig. 36: Paths of Pednelissos during the late antique period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

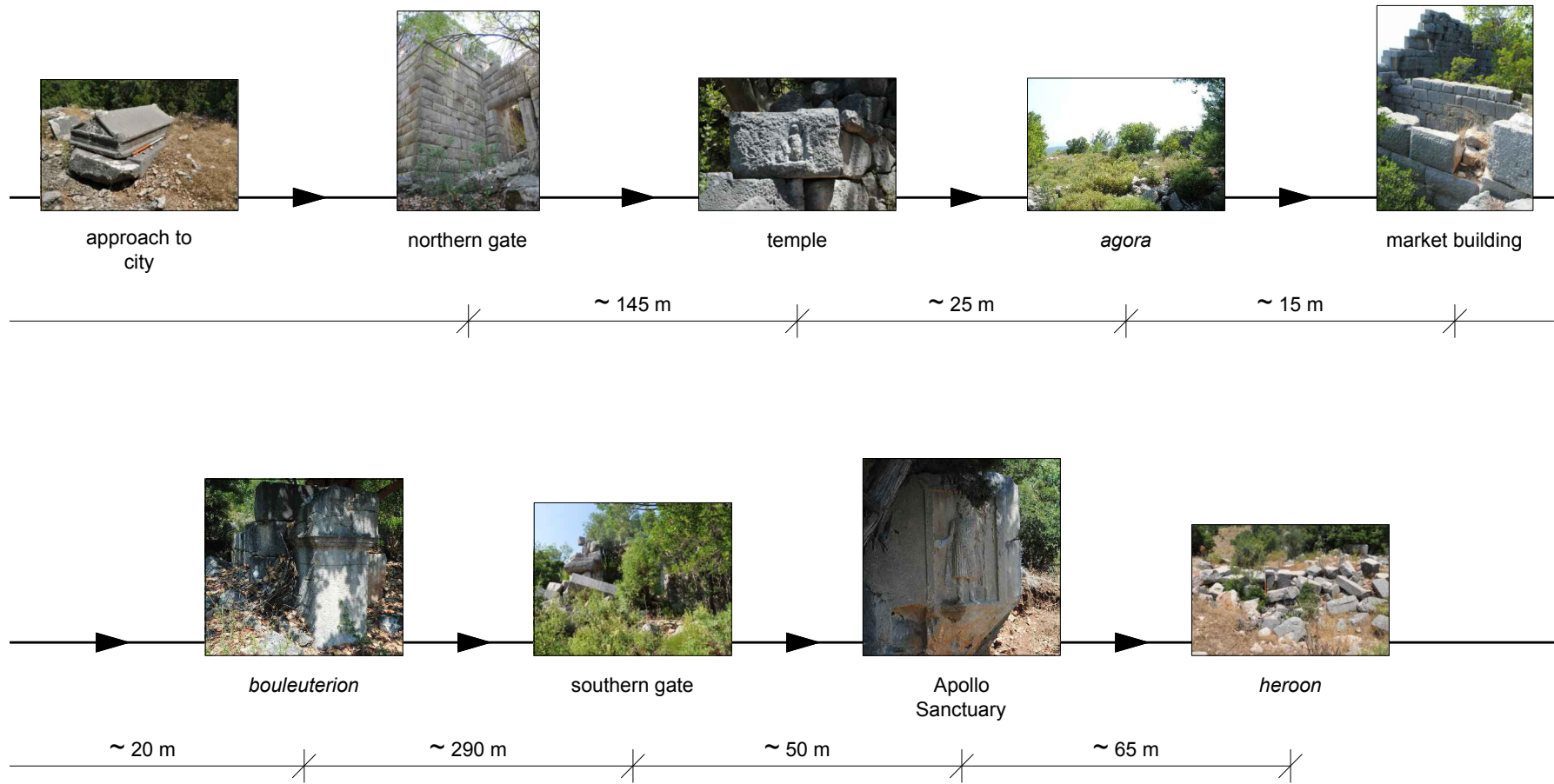


Fig. 37: Places that generated symbolic encounters along the northwest - southeast main axis of Pednelissos during the Roman imperial period (Photographs and diagram by the author).

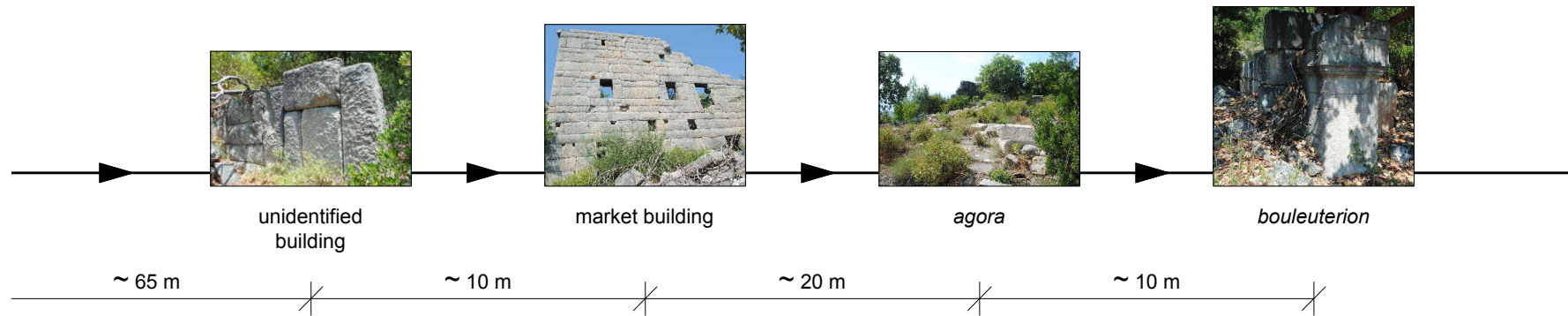
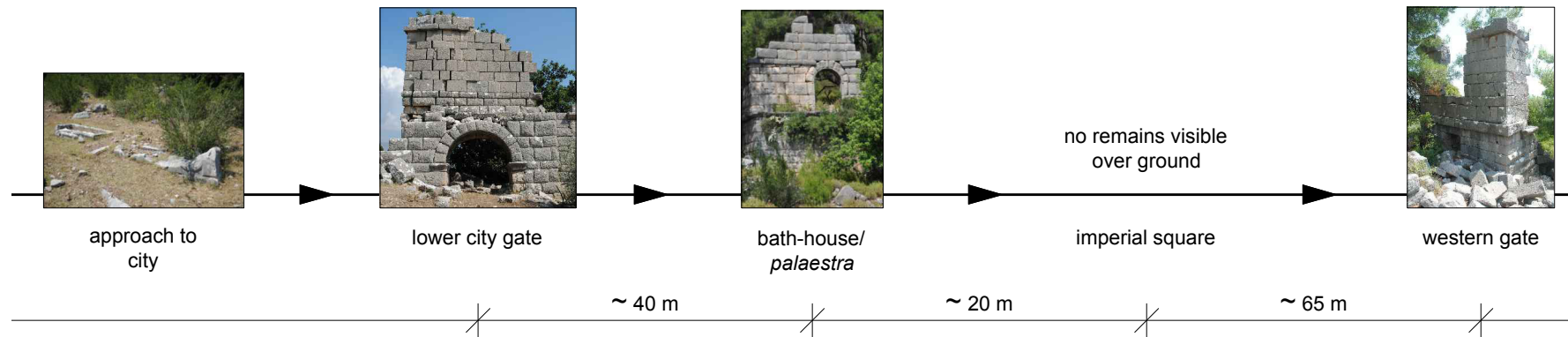








Fig. 38: Places that generated symbolic encounters along the northeast - southwest main axis of Pednelissos during the Roman imperial period (Photographs and diagram by the author).

LEGEND

-  possible routes of ritualistic procession
-  possible stops along first linear route
-  possible stops along second linear route
-  *necropoleis*
-  building blocks
-  edges of building blocks (conjectured)

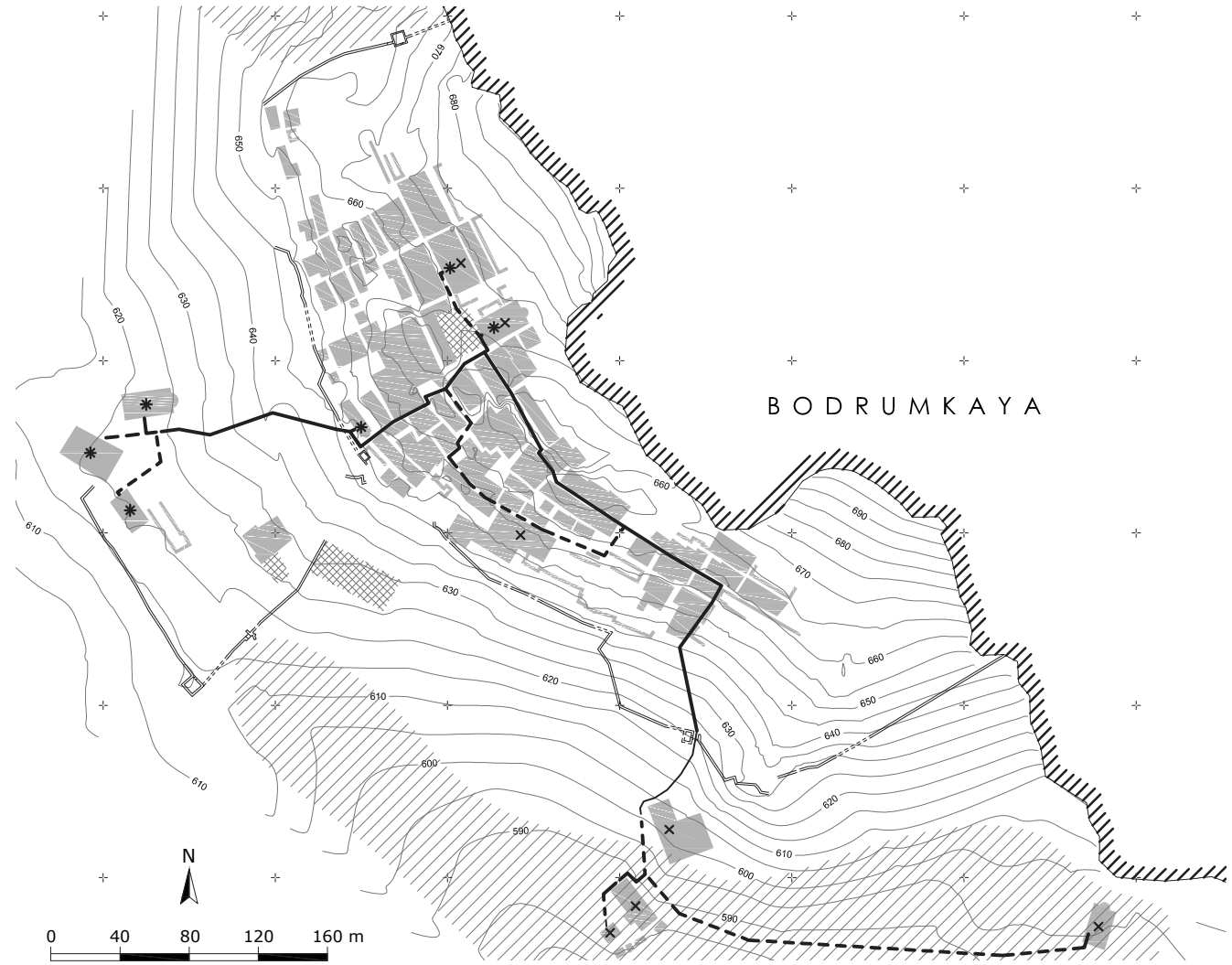


Fig. 39: Possible routes and stops for a linear ritualistic procession (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

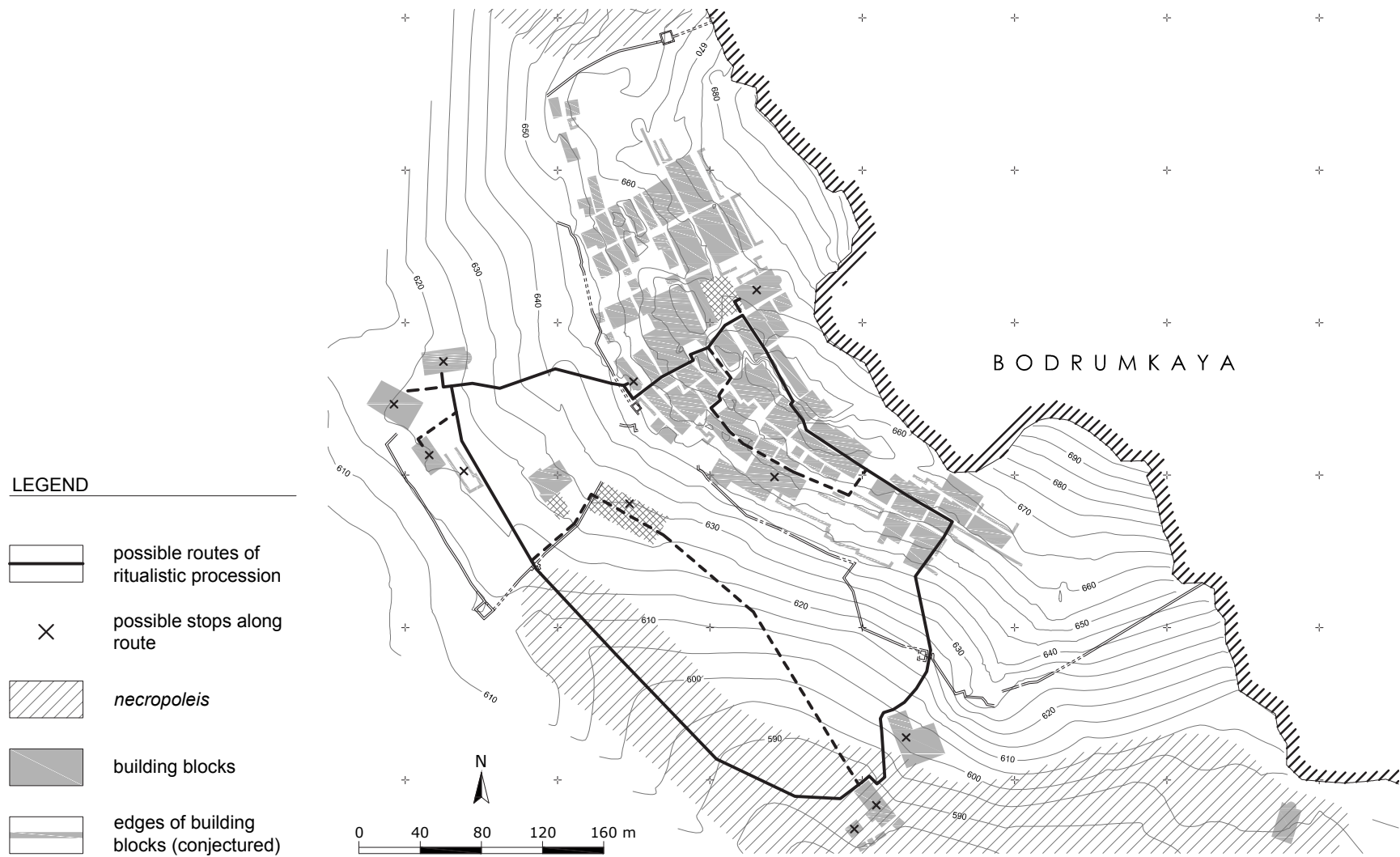


Fig. 40: Possible routes and stops for a circular ritualistic procession (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

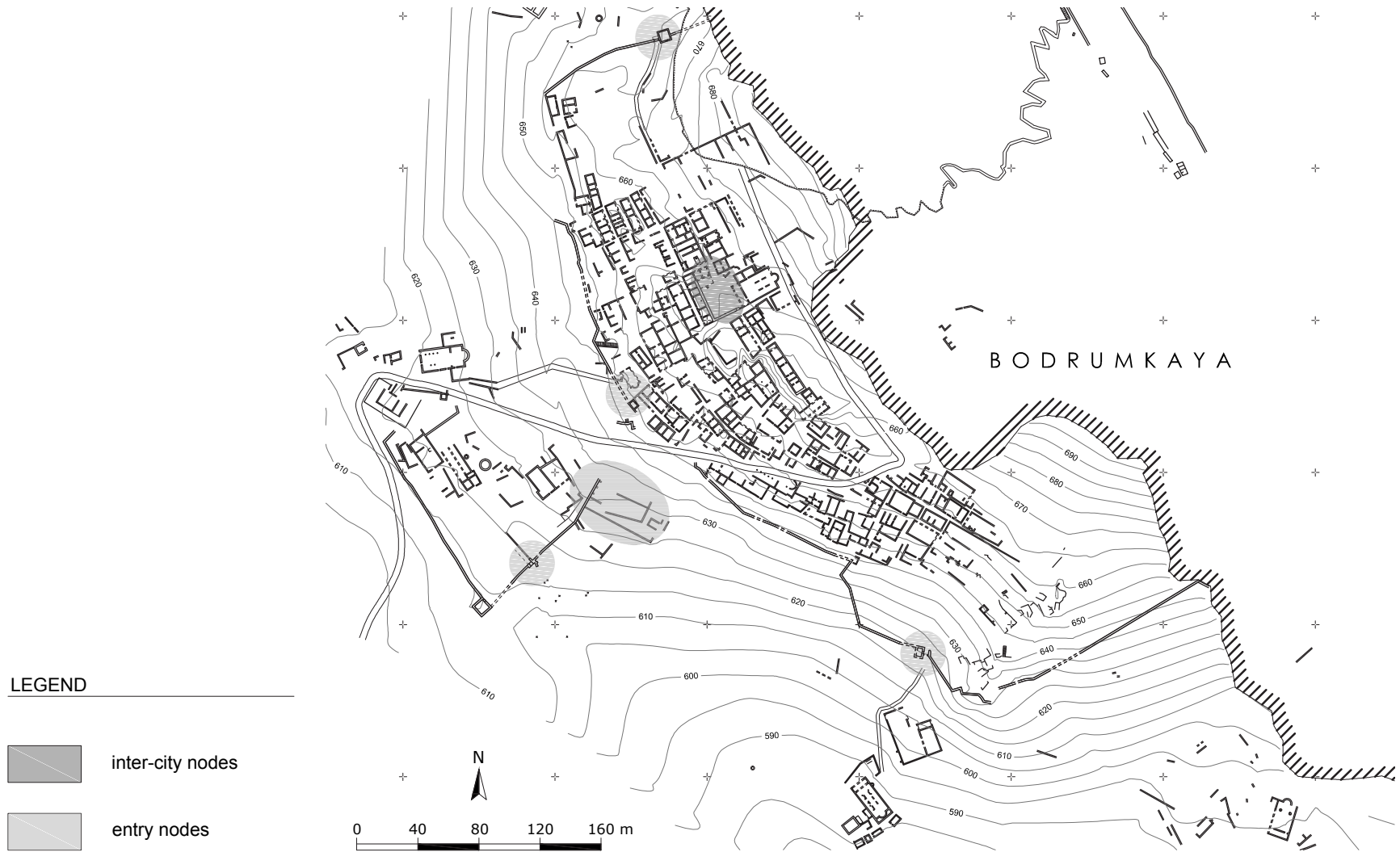


Fig. 41: Nodes of Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

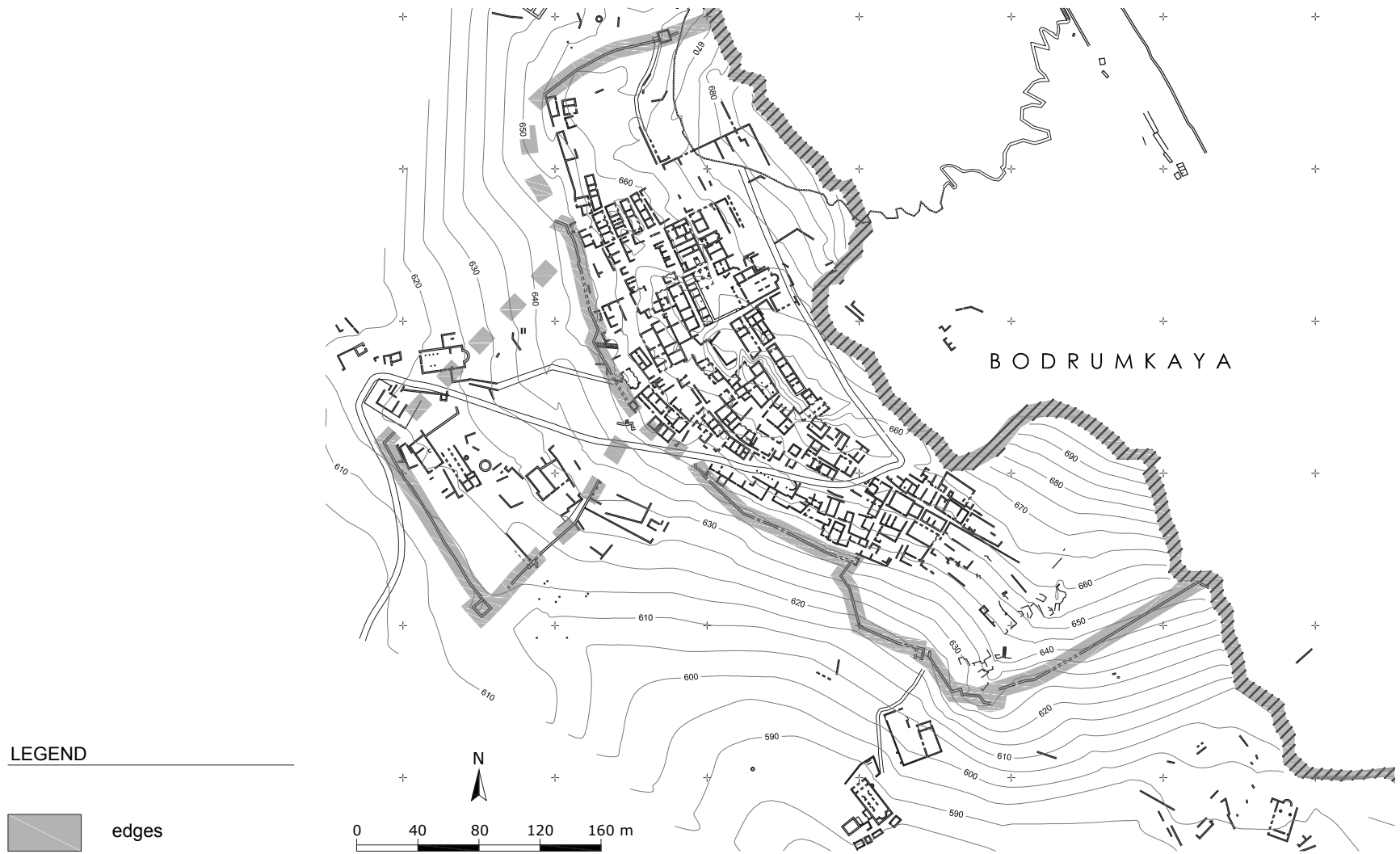


Fig. 42: Edges of Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

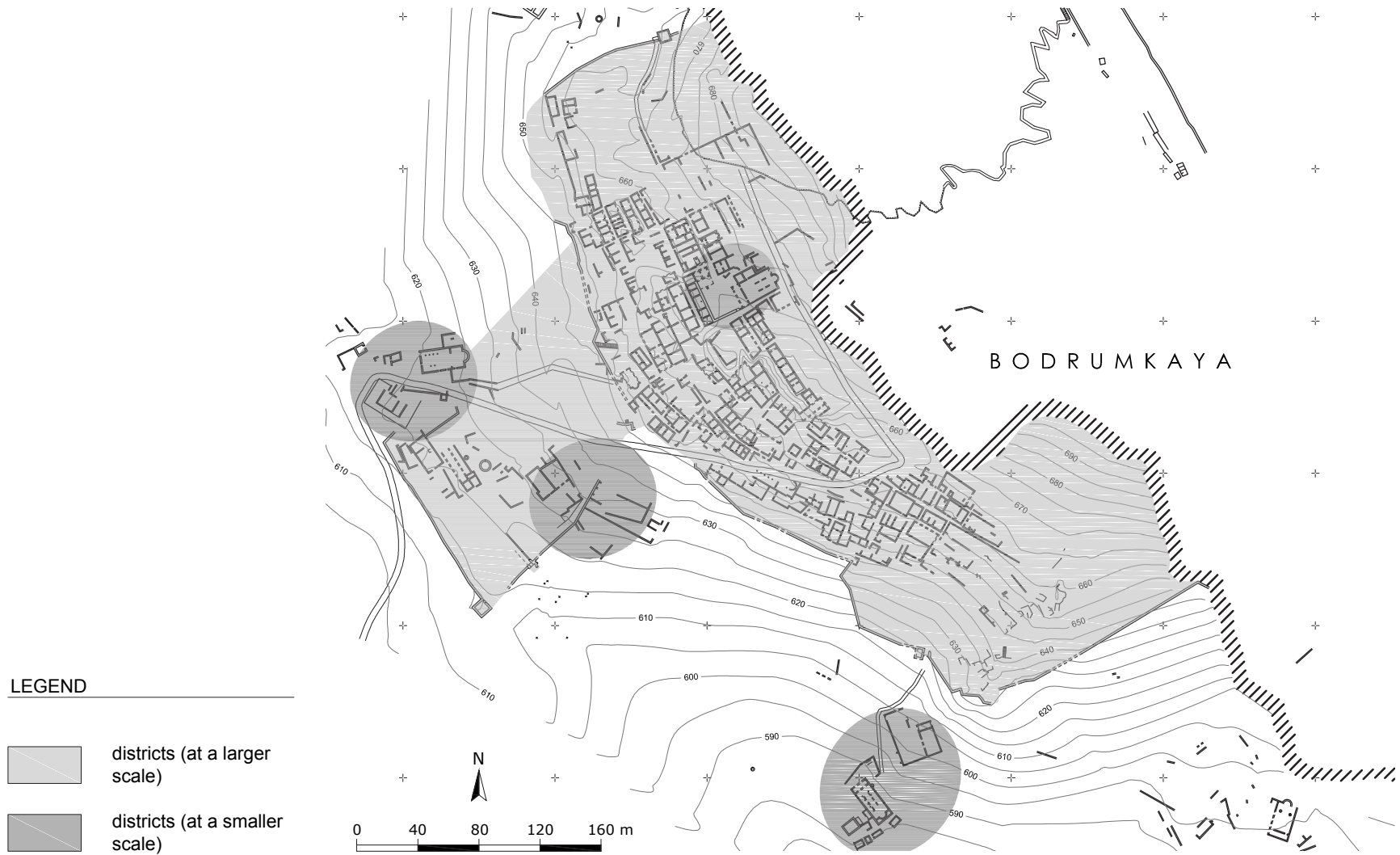


Fig. 43: Districts of Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



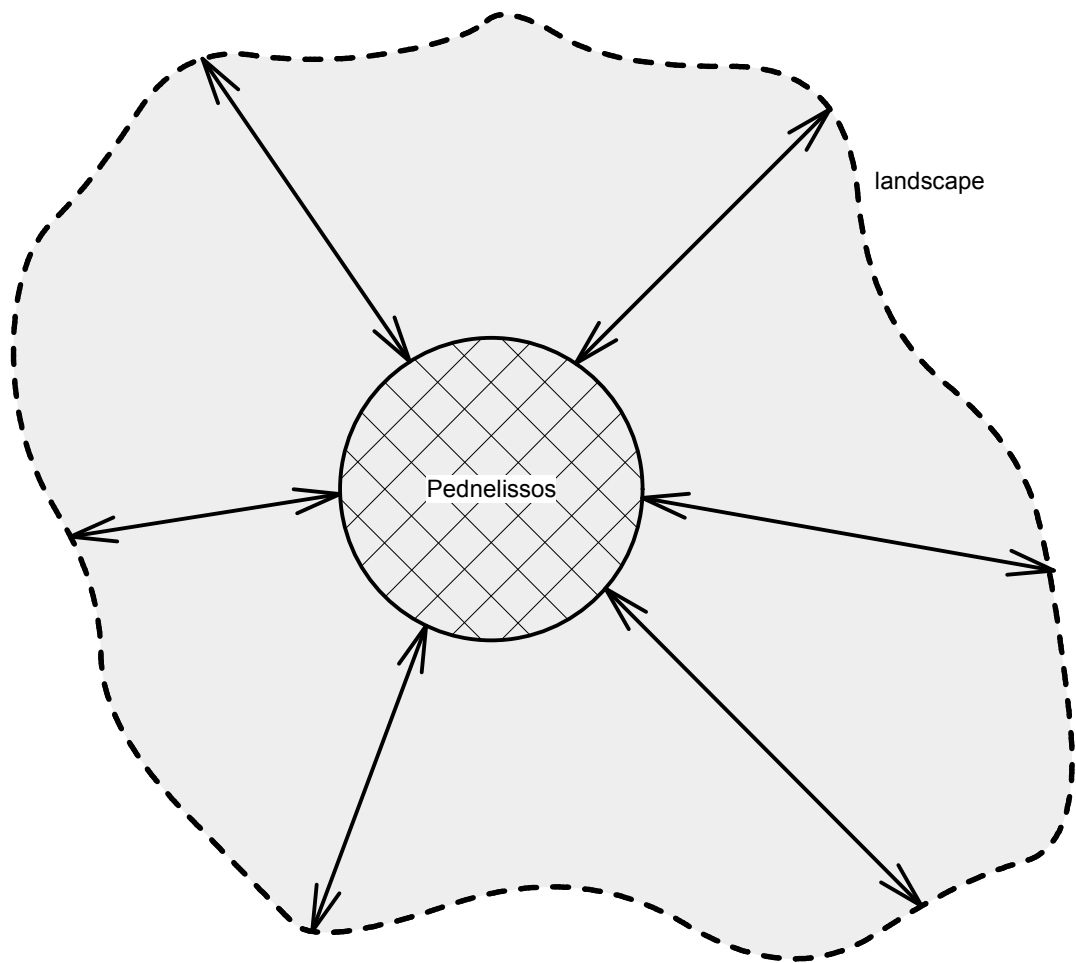


Fig. 44: Diagrammatic representation of the power relation between the natural features of the landscape and the inhabitants of Pednelissos (Illustration by the author).

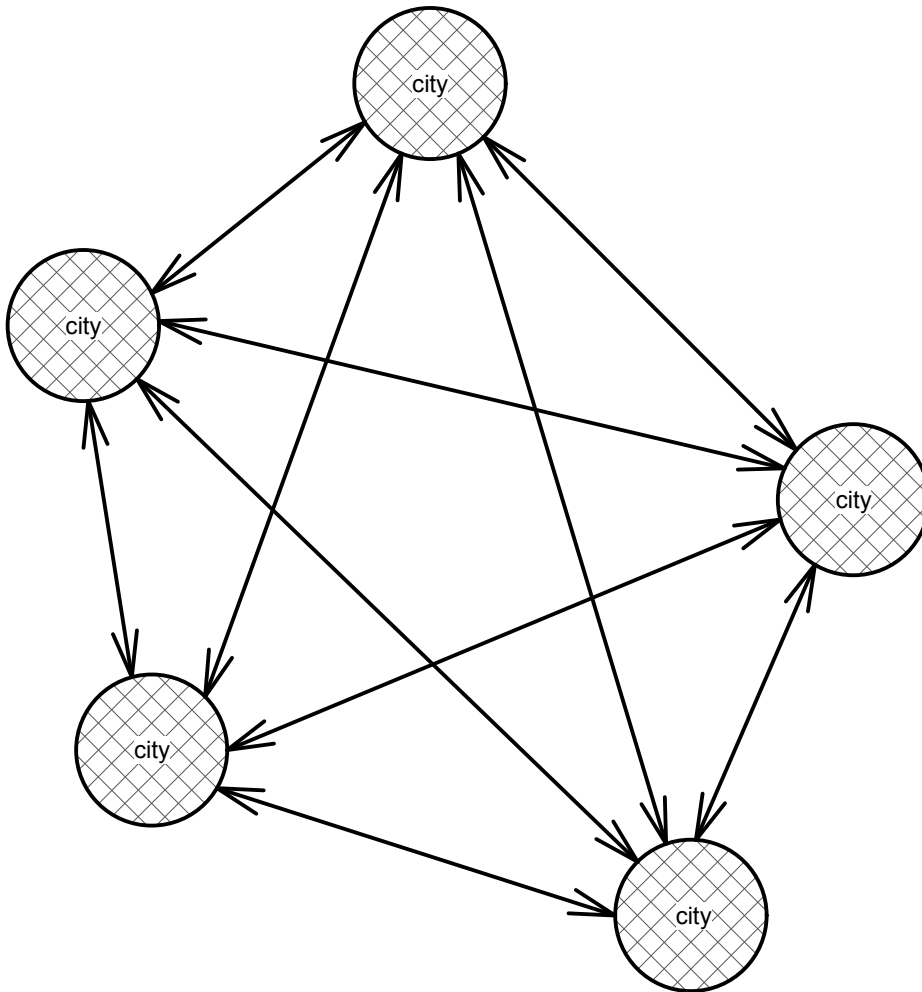


Fig. 45: Diagrammatic representation of the symmetrical power relations between various cities (Illustration by the author).

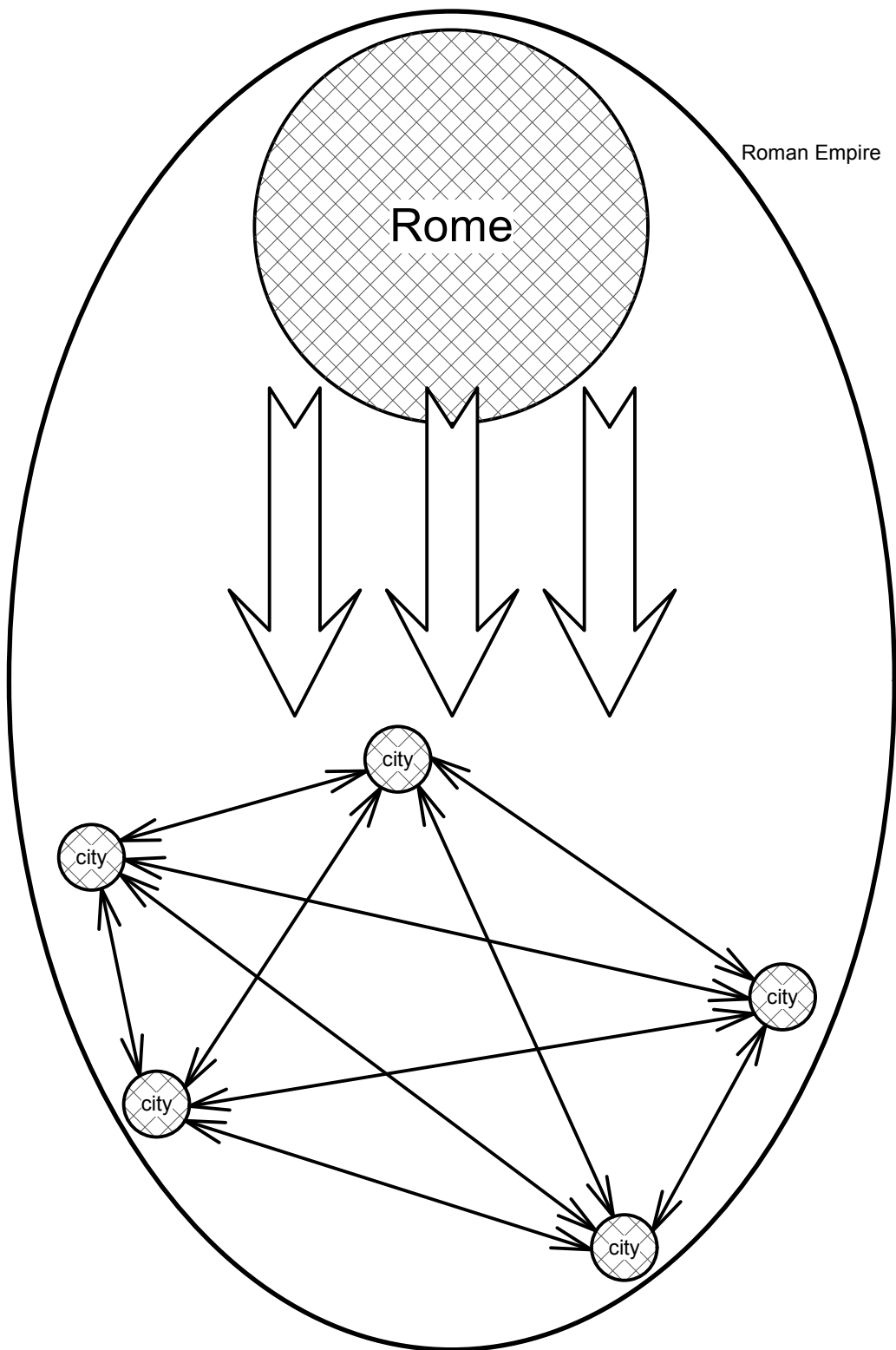


Fig. 46: Diagrammatic representation of the asymmetrical power relation between Rome and other cities of the empire together with the symmetrical power relations between various cities within the empire (Illustration by the author).

## APPENDIX B

### PHOTOGRAPHS<sup>1</sup>



Photo. 1: View of the typical vegetative cover of the lower altitudes of the Taurus.

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1 All photographs by the author unless otherwise stated.



Photo. 2: View of the typical vegetative cover of the higher altitudes of the Taurus.



Photo. 3: View of Bodrumkaya from the west.



Photo. 4: View of Bodrumkaya from the north.



Photo. 5: View of Bodrumkaya from Arpalıktepesi, another ancient settlement in the southeast of Bodrumkaya.



Photo. 6: View towards north from the summit of Bodrumkaya.



Photo. 7: View towards south from the summit of Bodrumkaya.



Photo. 8: Fortifications near the summit of Bodrumkaya, with the stairs leading to them.





Photo. 9: The northern gate and its tower.



Photo. 10: The western gate and its tower. In the lower right corner of the foreground is the door jamb of the gate, in the background is the tower.



Photo. 11: Tower of the western gate viewed from inside the fortifications.



Photo. 12: The southern gate and its tower.



Photo. 13: One of the best preserved sections of the fortifications, adjacent to the southern gate and viewed from outside of the fortifications.



Photo. 14: The same stretch of the fortifications in the photo. 13, adjacent to the southern gate and viewed from inside the fortifications.



Photo. 15: Fortifications adjacent to the lower city gate, viewed from outside of the fortifications.



Photo. 16: The same stretch of the fortifications in the photo. 15, adjacent to the lower city gate and viewed from inside the fortifications.



Photo. 17: The lower city gate viewed from inside the fortifications.



Photo. 18: The tower in the lower city viewed from inside the fortifications.



Photo. 19: Northwestern facade of the tower in the lower city viewed from outside.





Photo. 20: A typical view of the interior face of the fortifications, close to the southern gate. Compare with photo. 13 and 15.



Photo. 21: A later repair/ modification in the fortifications. Compare with photo. 13 and 15.



Photo. 22: Pulvinated blocks of the fortifications adjacent to the northern gate.



Photo. 23: Pulvinated blocks of the fortifications adjacent to the northern gate. Tower of the northern gate is seen in the background.



Photo. 24: A typical stretch of a terrace wall exposed by treasure hunters.



Photo. 25: Paved street connecting the lower city gate to the western gate of the upper city.



Photo. 26: The *agora* looking towards northwest. The market building is seen in the background.



Photo. 27: The southeastern terrace wall of the *agora*.



Photo. 28: An *in situ* honorific block in the *agora*.



Photo. 29: The southwestern facade of the market building at the northern end of the building.





Photo. 30: The market building viewed from the *agora* towards northwest.



Photo. 31: The terrace wall between the *agora* and the market building. Compare with photo. 27.



Photo. 32: Massive building blocks of the unidentified monumental public building.



Photo. 33: The bath-house viewed from the west.



Photo. 34: The bath-house viewed from inside towards southwest. The arched window, rubble inner face and cut stone outer face of the walls are seen.



Photo. 35: The *palaestra* with the bath-house in the background. Viewed towards northwest.



Photo. 36: Northwestern corner of the temple podium.



Photo. 37: What would have been the *temenos* wall of the temple.



Photo. 38: The apsis of the church to the northeast of the temple in the lower city.





Photo. 39: The Apollo relief.



Photo. 40: The Apollo relief.



Photo. 41: The *temenos* wall of the Apollo Sanctuary viewed from outside.



Photo. 42: The *temenos* wall of the Apollo Sanctuary viewed from inside.



Photo. 43: The fountain near the church around the Apollo Sanctuary.



Photo. 44: An *osthotec* in the southern *necropolis*.



Photo. 45: *Sarcophagi* in the southern *necropolis* along the road leading to the lower city gate.



Photo. 46: A *sarcophagus* to the north of the city.



Photo. 47: The large cistern to the west of the bath-house.



Photo. 48: The chamber in the basement of a house.



Photo. 49: A column capital located in a domestic context.



Photo. 50: A broken column located in a domestic context.





Photo. 51: A decorative architectural block located in a domestic context.



Photo. 52: A decorative architectural block located in a domestic context.



Photo. 53: Well-worked cut stone blocks of a house facade facing a northwest - southeast street.



Photo. 54: *In situ* door posts.



Photo. 55: A typical stretch of an *emplekton* wall from a domestic context with cut-stone blocks on both faces and earth and rubble fill in between.



Photo. 56: An example of the header-and-stretcher technique from the civic centre.



Photo. 57: A typical example of a rubble wall.



Photo. 58: Large, cut stone corner blocks of a wall from a domestic context. The rest of the wall was mostly rubble, some of which do survive.



Photo. 59: An example of a later modification in a dwelling. Existing doorway in a facade made of cut stone blocks is blocked with rubble infill.



Photo. 60: Moulded blocks reused.



Photo. 61: A triglyph block reused as a door post in the church near the Apollo Sanctuary.



## **APPENDIX C**

### **PLANS**

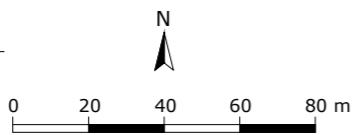
Plan 1: General plan of the remains at Pednelissos (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



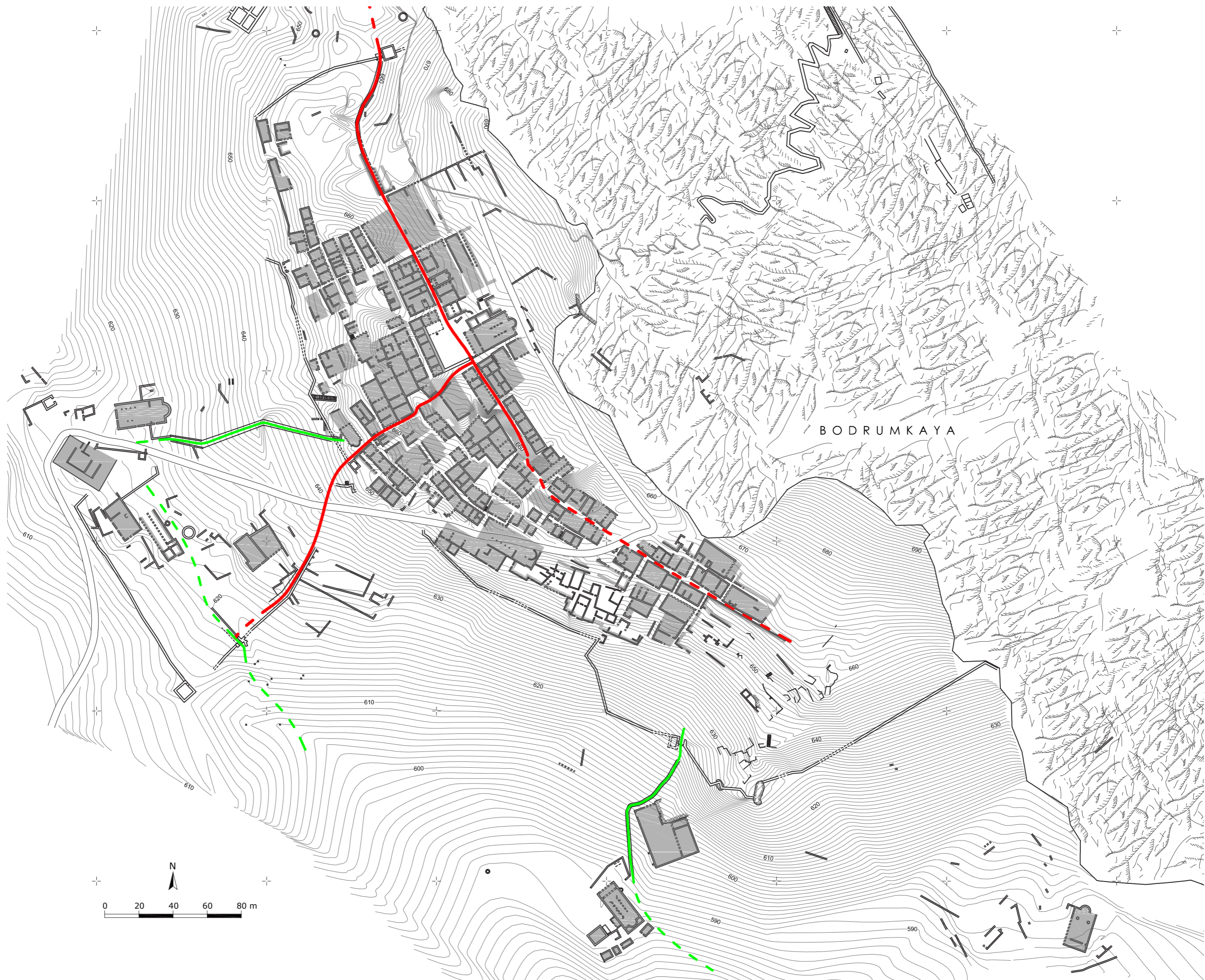
LEGEND

- walls (measured)
- walls (conjectured)
- public squares
- necropoleis

- 1 agora
- 2 market building
- 3 northern gate and tower
- 4 western gate and tower
- 5 southern gate and tower
- 6 lower city gate
- 7 military tower
- 8 unidentified building
- 9 customs building
- 10 bath-house
- 11 *palaestra*
- 12 *stoa*/ portico
- 13 imperial temple
- 14 *bouleuterion*/ church
- 15 temple/ church
- 16 church
- 17 church
- 18 church
- 19 church
- 20 church
- 21 church
- 22 imperial square with gate
- 23 Apollo Sanctuary
- 24 *heroon*
- 25 northern *necropolis*
- 26 southern *necropolis*
- 27 fountain







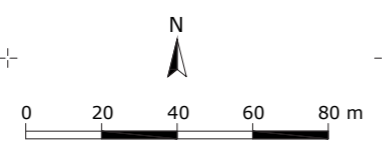
Plan 2: Building blocks, axes and major streets of Pednelissos  
(Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



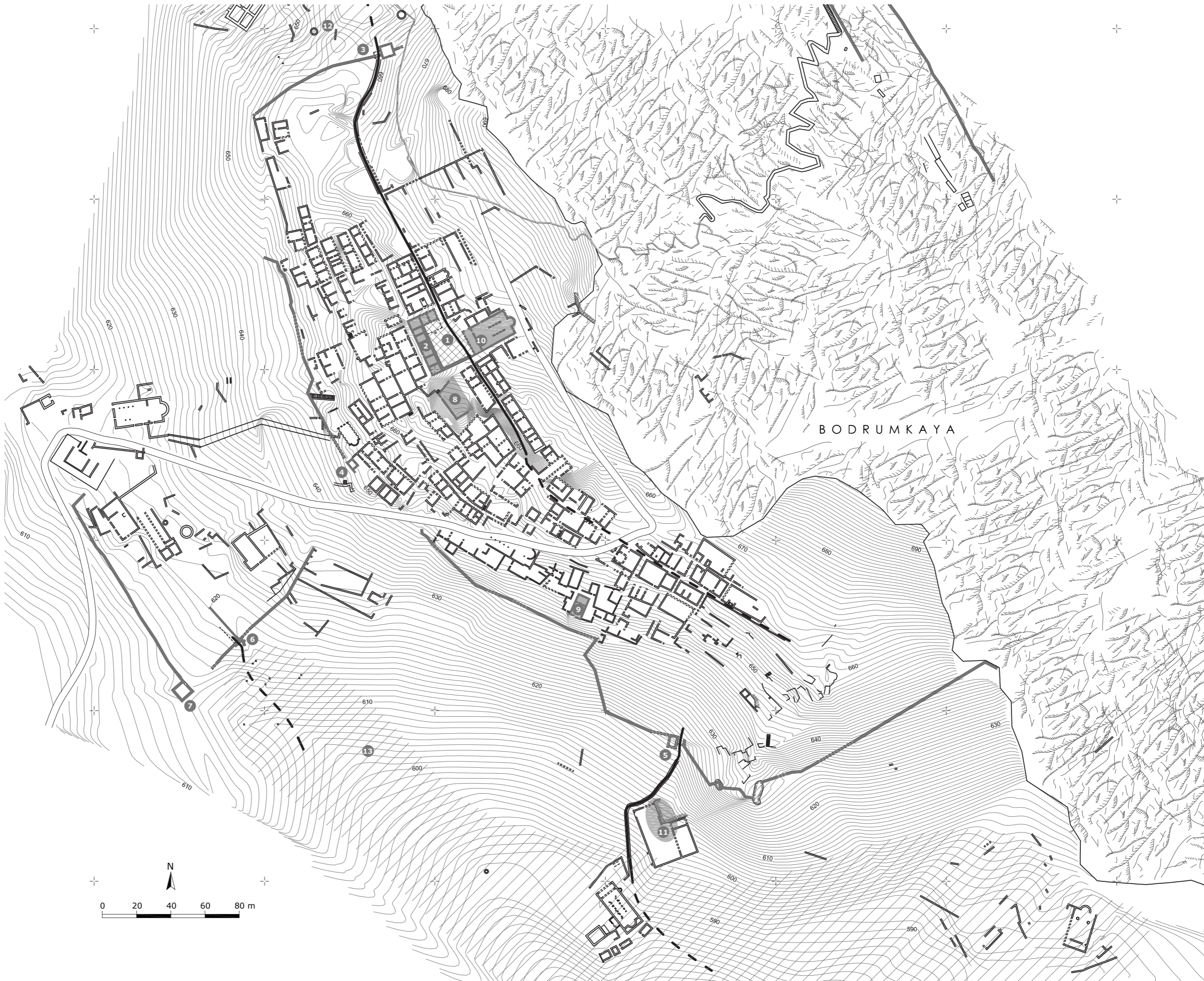
BODRUMKAYA

LEGEND




-  axes of the urban grid
-  other paved/major streets
-  building blocks
-  edges of building blocks (conjectured)



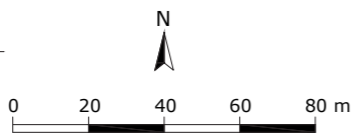
Plan 3: Plan showing the public buildings, squares and major streets of Pednelissos during the Hellenistic period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



LEGEND

-  paved/ major streets
-  public squares
-  necropoleis

- 1 agora
- 2 market building
- 3 northern gate and tower
- 4 western gate and tower
- 5 southern gate and tower
- 6 lower city gate
- 7 military tower
- 8 unidentified building
- 9 customs building
- 10 *bouleuterion*
- 11 Apollo Sanctuary
- 12 northern *necropolis*
- 13 southern *necropolis*






Plan 4: Plan showing the public buildings, squares and major streets of Pednelissos during the Roman imperial period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

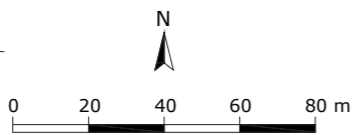




LEGEND

-  paved/ major streets
-  public squares
-  necropoleis




- 1 *agora*
- 2 market building
- 3 northern gate and tower
- 4 western gate and tower
- 5 southern gate and tower
- 6 lower city gate
- 7 military tower
- 8 unidentified building
- 9 customs building
- 10 *bouleuterion*
- 11 Apollo Sanctuary
- 12 northern *necropolis*
- 13 southern *necropolis*
- 14 bath-house
- 15 *palaestra*
- 16 imperial square with gate
- 17 *stoa*/ portico
- 18 imperial temple
- 19 temple
- 20 *heroon*



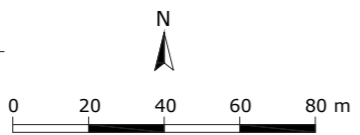
Plan 5: Plan showing the public buildings, squares and major streets of Pednelissos during the late antique period (Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).



LEGEND

-  paved/ major streets
-  public squares
-  necropoleis

- 1 *agora*
- 2 market building
- 3 northern gate and tower
- 4 western gate and tower
- 5 southern gate and tower
- 6 lower city gate
- 7 military tower
- 8 unidentified building
- 9 customs building
- 10 Apollo Sanctuary
- 11 northern *necropolis*
- 12 southern *necropolis*
- 13 bath-house
- 14 *palaestra*
- 15 imperial square with gate
- 16 *stoa*/ portico
- 17 *heroon*
- 18 church
- 19 church
- 20 church
- 21 church
- 22 church
- 23 church
- 24 church
- 25 church

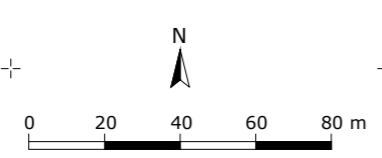
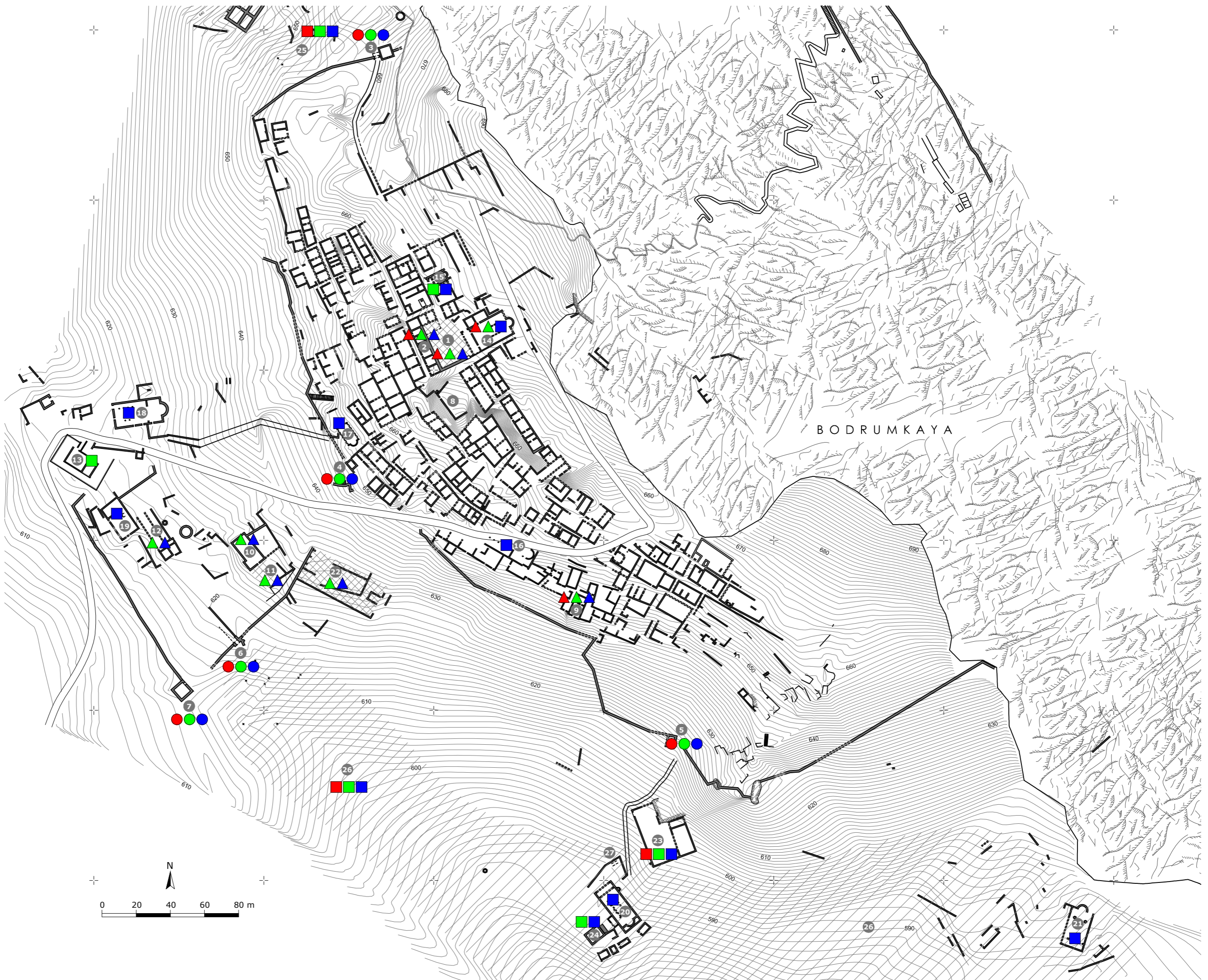


Plan 6: Continuity of the symbolic elements of Pednelissos  
(Drawn by the author, base map by the Pisidia Survey Project).

LEGEND

- |          |                    |                             |  |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| ●        | ▲                  | ■                           |  |
| military | civic              | religious/<br>commemorative |  |
| ● ▲ ■    | Hellenistic        |                             |  |
| ● ▲ ■    | Roman<br>imperial  |                             |  |
| ● ▲ ■    | late antique       |                             |  |
| ▨        | public<br>squares  |                             |  |
| ▨        | <i>necropoleis</i> |                             |  |

- 1 agora
- 2 market building
- 3 northern gate and tower
- 4 western gate and tower
- 5 southern gate and tower
- 6 lower city gate
- 7 military tower
- 8 unidentified building
- 9 customs building
- 10 bath-house
- 11 *palaestra*
- 12 *stoa*/ portico
- 13 imperial temple
- 14 *bouleuterion*/ church
- 15 temple/ church
- 16 church
- 17 church
- 18 church
- 19 church
- 20 church
- 21 church
- 22 imperial square with gate
- 23 Apollo Sanctuary
- 24 *heroon*
- 25 northern *necropolis*
- 26 southern *necropolis*
- 27 fountain



## APPENDIX D

### CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE<sup>1</sup>

An abundant amount of examples from vernacular architecture still exist in the area today. These are mostly individual buildings spread sparsely over a large area away from population centres such as towns and villages, where modern techniques and materials of construction prevail.

The modern vernacular houses are mostly built of rubble of various sizes from the foundation up to the roof level. Load distributing timber beams placed at regular intervals between stone courses and use of mud-mortar are common features. The most notable thing in these buildings is the heavy use of timber for features such as windows, doors, stairs and balconies as well as for roofs and load distributing beams. Extensive use of timber should be expected also in antiquity as is the case today. Another important feature is the use of plaster on many of the interior faces of walls and a number of the exterior ones. The ruins of a village school that was in use until the 1960s give clues about this practice. Both the interior and exterior faces of rubble walls in this school were plastered with a mixture of mud and straw and finished with whitewash. A similar application of mud-mortar and plaster could well have been in use also in antiquity. The roofs of modern houses, on the other hand, are mostly pitched and covered with modern ceramic tiles. Ceramic roof tiles found at Pednelissos show that similar roofs also existed in the ancient city. However, concentration of ceramic roof tiles at certain points suggests that their use was limited. Different techniques and materials of roofing, such as flat roofs of earth, could also have been used in antiquity.

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1 All photographs by the author unless otherwise stated.



Photo. 62: A typical example of contemporary vernacular architecture with rubble walls, heavy timber use and pitched roof with ceramic roof tiles.



Photo. 63: Another typical example of contemporary vernacular architecture with rubble walls, heavy timber use and pitched roof with ceramic roof tiles.



Photo. 64: A typical rubble wall construction. Note the load distributing timber beams evenly spaced between rubble courses.



Photo. 65: The village school that was in use until the 1960s.





Photo. 66: Interior of the school. Note the mud-plaster, whitewash and the timber roof structure.



Photo. 67: Reeds have been used as an underlayer beneath ceramic roof tiles. Also note the plaster and whitewash use on interior wall faces.



Photo. 68: Another contemporary example with large cut stone blocks in the corners.



Photo. 69: Semi-permanent timber structures in a yayla.

## APPENDIX E

### TURKISH SUMMARY

Torosların güney ucunda bulunan Pednelissos, dağlık Pisidya bölgesinin antik dönemdeki orta büyüklükteki yerleşimlerinden biriydi. Bu bölge, yüksek dağlar, derin vadiler, ovalar, nehirler ve göller gibi doğal fiziki elemanlarının çeşitliliği ile karakterize edilir (Mitchell 1993, 1:70–71). İnsanlar bu doğal ortamla başa çıkabilmek için fiziksel yöntemler kadar bilişsel, algısal ve kavramsal adaptasyon yolları da geliştirmişlerdir. İnsanlar, dünyayı bu bilişsel çerçeveler içerisinde yorumlayarak fiziksel çevrelerini şekillendirmiş, dönüştürmüş ve yeniden şekillendirmişlerdir. Bu nedenle fiziksel çevre, insanların dünyayı nasıl algıladıkları, anladıkları ve dünya üzerinde nasıl etkinlik gösterdikleri hakkında ipuçları içerir.

Pisidya *peyzajı* yoğun insan varlığına sahne olmuştur ve insan etkinliğinin tarım terasları, çeşitli binalar ve su sistemleri gibi birçok fiziksel izini barındırır. Arkeolojik kalıntılar Pisidya bölgesinin Hellenistik dönem başlarında her biri bir şehri merkez alarak örgütlenmiş olan küçük devletler halinde organize olduğunu işaret etmektedir. Bu küçük şehir devletlerinin zamanın büyük metropollerine kıyaslanabilecek seviyede kentsel altyapıları, kamusal binaları ve askeri yapıları bulunmaktaydı (Mitchell 1991, 125). Şehirler, geç antikitenin sonları ve Bizans dönemi içerilerine dek sosyal organizasyonun çekirdeği olarak kaldılar. Bu nedenle şehirler Pisidya'nın antik sakinlerini, onların algılama, anlamlandırma ve dünya ile etkileşimlerini incelemek için ana kaynaklardan birini oluştururlar.

Pisidya'nın bu özelliklere sahip şehirlerinden bir olan Pednelissos, en az MÖ üçüncü yüzyıl ile MS yedinci yüzyıl arasında, muhtemelen de onikinci yüzyıl içerilerine kadar kesintisiz yerleşime sahne olmuştur (Vandeput et al. 2005, 241–242). Kent, Klasik

dönem kent planlaması normlarına uymaktaydı ve dönemin büyük metropollerinin sahip olduğu kamusal donatıların birçoğuna sahipti (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 354). Önceden tasarlanıp uygulanmış kent planının bir işareti olan ızgara plan, Pednelissos'u benzer büyüklükteki diğer kentlerden ve çevresindeki, büyüklük olarak kendisiyle kıyaslanabilecek diğer yerleşimlerden ayırır. Genelde organik gelişim gösteren bu yerleşimler, Pednelissos'un sahip olduğu kentsel donatıların çoğuna sahip değillerdi. Bu, Pednelissos'un diğer yerleşimlerden farkı olarak *kent* statüsüne sahip olduğunun da bir işaretidir.

Bu nedenle Pednelissos, eyaletlerdeki fiziki çevrenin şekillenmesinde etkin olan dinamiklerin incelenmesi için uygun bir örnektir. Pednelissos hakkındaki ana bilgi kaynağı iyi korunmuş ve yüzey araştırmalarıyla detaylı olarak belgelenmiş arkeolojik kalıntılardır. Bölgede yapılmış paleoçevresel araştırmalar ve kıyaslama yapılabilecek başka kentlerin mevcudiyeti Pednelissos'u *peyzaj*da cisimleşmiş çevresel, sosyal ve bilişsel ilişkilerin incelenmesi için uygun bir örnek haline getirir.

*Peyzaj* kavramı burada kelimenin en geniş anlamında ve insanların içinde yaşamak üzere yaratmış oldukları hem fiziksel, hem de bilişsel dünyaları kastedecek biçimde kullanılmaktadır (Strang 1999, 106). *Peyzaj*, insan vücudunu, hareketi, mekânı ve zamanı kapsayan ve birbiriyle ilişkilendiren bütünsel bağlamdır (Tilley 1996, 161–62; 2004, 24–25). İnsanların hem kendi aralarındaki hem de çevreleriyle aralarındaki tüm seviye, ölçek ve alanlardaki etkileşim ve ilişkilerin bir ürünüdür (Tilley 2004, 24–25). *Peyzaj*, insan kavrayışının ve insanların çevreleriyle olan ilişkilerinin devamlı değişmekte ve yeniden şekillendirilme sürecinde olan bir ifadesi ve bir kayıdır (Bender 2002, 103). İnsanlar çevrelerini deneyimlemelerinin, yorumlamalarının ve anlamlandırmalarının bir sonucu olarak, zihinlerinde çevrelerinin kültürel bir imgesini, bir betimlemesini oluştururlar (Lynch 1960, 4–6). Bu anlamda *peyzaj*, insanların mekân ve zaman içerisinde yaşamaları ve etkinlik göstermelerinden doğan kültürel bir *imge*, fiziksel çevreyi betimleme, yapılandırma ve simgeleştirmenin bir yolu olarak kavramsallaştırılabilir (Daniels ve Cosgrove 1988, 1). Bu imge, sosyal

yapının devamını sağlayacak şekilde gerçekliğin çarpıtılmış bir görünümünü sunabileceğinden ideolojik de olabilir. Bu nedenle *peyzajı* şekillendirme, *peyzaja* erişimi ve *peyzajla* yüzleşmeleri işleyip yapılandırarak oluşan imgeyi etkileme gücü önemli bir egemenlik aracıdır (Shanks ve Tilley 1982, 133).

İnsanların dünyayı kavramasının ve dünyayla etkileşiminin cisimleşmiş hali, görsel bir ifadesi olarak *peyzajlar*, yorumlanması gereken sembol, işaret ve imgelerin bir kümesi olarak görülebilir. Bu nedenle *peyzaj* okunması gereken bir sosyal metne benzetilebilir (Cosgrove ve Jackson 1987, 96–97). Bu çalışma, en geniş anlamda Pednelissos *peyzajlarını okumayı* amaçlar. İnsanların fiziksel çevrelerini nasıl görmüş, yorumlamış ve anlamış oldukları ile çevrelerini bir mesaj, bir söylem ve kendilerine dair bir imge iletmek üzere nasıl şekillendirip dönüştürmüş oldukları sorgulanmaktadır. Bir peyzaj okuması sunmak üzere bağlamı kurgulamak ve bu şekilde Pednelissos'un kent kimliğini daha geniş bir fiziksel perspektif içerisinde tartışmak amacıyla kentsel ve mimari mekân, mekânın sosyal olarak üretimi ve kent sakinleri ile fiziksel çevreleri arasındaki sözsüz iletişimin araçları incelenmektedir.

*Peyzaj* kavramının kullanılmasının önemli bir avantajı bu kavramın kapsadığı insan boyutudur. Buna göre *peyzaj* hem insanları hem fiziksel veriyi içerir ve bu kavram aracılığı ile insan davranışının bellek, simge ve anlam ile ilgili yönlerini irdelemek mümkün olur. *Peyzaj* kavramının sağladığı bir diğer avantaj ise farklı eylem alanlarını ve farklı ölçekleri birbirine bağlayan bütüncül bir perspektif getirmesidir. Bu şekilde farklı ölçekleri, örneğin bölge ölçeği ile kent ya da bina ölçeğini, birbiriyle ilişkilendirmek kolaylaşır.

*Peyzaj* okuması yaklaşımının yerleşim arkeolojisi kapsamında kullanımının potansiyeli Pednelissos modeli ile örneklenmektedir. Buna göre *peyzaj* okuması antik fiziki çevrelerin ve bunların işlenişindeki sosyal boyutun çözümlenmesi ve yeniden kurulması amacıyla bir çerçeve çizilmesine yardımcı olmaktadır. Kent imgesinin nasıl sosyal olarak üretilmiş, deneyimlenmiş ve tüketilmiş olduğu konusunda bilgi

veren *peyzaj* okuması tekniđi, aynı zamanda tahribatsız arkeolojinin potansiyelini de vurgulamaktadır.

*Peyzajın* ve genel anlamda herhangi bir fiziksel çevrenin en basit anlamlı birimi *mekân*dır. İnsanlar ve mekânlar arasındaki etkileşim iki yönlüdür. Öncelikle insanlar, mekânlar içerisinde ve mekânların sağladığı olanaklar ve kısıtlamalar çerçevesinde etkinlik gösterir ve böylece mekân, insan eyleminin ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelir. İkinci olarak mekânlar, bu eylemin sonucu olarak şekillenir, deđişir ve dönüşür. Buna göre mekân insan etkinliğinin sadece bir aracı deđil aynı zamanda sonucudur (Tilley 2004, 10). Mekân, zihinsel çağrışımlardan çok fiziksel özellikleri vurgular. *Yer* ise kendisine atfedilen kişisel anlam ve deđer ile mekândan ayrılır. Boyutu, sınırları ya da özelliđi ne olursa olsun, bir yerin belirleyici özelliđi bir mahal ile girilen kişisel etkileşim ve bu etkileşimin bellekte bıraktığı anı, o yerin özdeşleştiđi duygu ya da o yere ait simgesel anlamdır. Bir mekânın anlamı, o mekânla ilişkili yerlerin anlamlarına bađlıdır.

Herhangi bir çevrenin algılanması, dolayısıyla o çevreyi oluşturan mekân ve yerlerin algılanması, insanın vücuduyla ve vücudunun mekân içerisindeki hareketiyle olur. İnsan bir çevrede vücudu aracılığıyla yönünü belirler; neyin önde, neyin arkada üstte ya da altta olduđu o şeyin insanın vücuduna göre konumuna bađlıdır (Tilley 2004, 9–10).

Nasıl bir insanın vücudu ve vücudunun çevreyle olan ilişkisi o insanın dünyayı algılamasını etkiliyorsa, insanın içinde bulunduđu zamansal çerçeve de o kişinin algısını etkiler. İnsanlar yerlerini ve yönlerini ön, arka, sağ, sol gibi mekânsal terimlerle belirledikleri kadar önce ve sonra gibi zamansal terimlerle de belirler (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 2002, 476). Zaman, ayrıca deđişim anlamına da gelir (Norberg-Schulz 1980, 165). Zaman da mekân ve yer gibi *peyzajın* ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır.

*Peyzaj*, aynı zamanda sosyal eylemi kapsar, çevreler ve gizler (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 82–83). *Peyzaja* biçimini veren, değiştiren ve yeniden üreten gündelik yaşamdaki sosyal eylemdir. Her insan eyleminin ürünü gibi *peyzaj* da bir niyet, anlam ve mantık içerir (Oubina, Boado, ve Estevez 1998, 159). *Peyzajda* cisimleşen niyet, güç ilişkileriyle bağlantılı olabilir ve toplumu kontrol etme ve kısıtlama amacı güdüyor olabilir; hatta, toplumun sadece bir bölümünün çıkarına yönelik de olabilir.

Pednelissos *peyzajlarının* bir okuması, bu genel bakışın ışığında, Pednelissos kenti ve çevresinde klasik antikite süresince hem insanlar arasında hem de insanlarla çevreleri arasında meydana gelmiş ve sonucunda insanların yaşadığı çevrenin yaratıldığı, değiştirildiği ve yeniden yaratıldığı ilişkiler ve etkileşimlerin bir okuması olarak önerilmektedir. Bu ilişkiler sosyal pratiğe ek olarak güç ve egemenlik ilişkilerini de içerir. Dahası bu okuma, insanların çevrelerini nasıl algıladıklarının, kavradıklarının ve anlamlandırdıklarının incelenmesini de içerir. Bu okumanın zamansal bir yönü de vardır ki bu değişim, adaptasyon ve dönüşümü de içerir. Tüm bu ögeler bütüncül bir bakış açısıyla, yani uzun dönemli ve uzun mesafeli ilişkiler de dikkate alınarak ve *peyzajların* çoğulluğu ile algı ve anlamın özneliği korunacak biçimde incelenecektir.

Pednelissos Pisidya bölgesinin güney uçlarında, modern adı Bodrumkaya olan dar ve uzun bir tepenin güneybatı yamaçlarında yer alır. Bodrumkaya bölgenin en yüksek dağlarından olmamasına karşın, aniden ve dik bir şekilde yükselmesi nirengi karakteri kazanmasını sağlar.

Pednelissos surlarla çevrili iki alana yayılır. Bunlardan daha büyük alan kaplayıcı diğerinden biraz yüksekte ve nispeten daha dik bir bölgede yer alır ve yukarı kent olarak adlandırılmıştır. Yukarı kente giriş, herbiri bir kule ile korunan üç kapı (kuzey, güney ve batı kapıları) ile sağlanmaktaydı (Vandeput ve Köse 2009, 323). Aşağı kent adı verilen surlarla çevrili ikinci bölgeyse yukarı kentin hemen aşağısında ve ona bitişik olarak, nispeten daha düz bir bölgede konumlanmıştır. Yukarı kent surları ile aşağı kent surlarının birleşimi arazide izlenememektedir (Vandeput ve Köse 2004,

353; Vandeput et al. 2005, 241). Üzerinde bir kulesi olan kemerli bir kapı aşağı kente ulaşımı sağlamakta ve güneybatısındaki ikinci bir kule ile korunmaktaydı (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 353).

Kuzey kapı ve çevresindeki surlar kentin en eski dönemine aittir ve MÖ üçüncü yüzyılın son çeyreğine tarihlenirler (Işın 1998, 114 ve Vandeput et al. 2005, 241). Güney kapı ve civarındaki surlar ise MÖ ikinci yüzyıla tarihlenmiştir (1998, 113–14).

Pednelissos teraslar halinde düzenlenmiştir. Kısa ve doğrusal teras duvarları birbiri peşi sıra dizilerek topografik konturlara paralel olarak devam eden teras duvarlarını oluşturur.

Yukarı kentte sokak planı daha net izlenebilmektedir. Burada sokaklar ya yamacı kesecek şekilde kuzeybatı – güneydoğu doğrultusunda teras duvarlarını izlemekte ya da kuzeydoğu – güneybatı yönünde yamaç boyunca uzanmaktadır (Vandeput ve Köse 2003, 321). Aşağı kentte ise ana caddeler dışındaki sokaklar izlenememektedir. Bu ana yollardan biri kent dışından gelerek aşağı kent kapısına ulaşmaktadır (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 353). Aşağı kent kapısından sonra ikiye ayrılan yolun taş döşemeli bir kolu yukarı kentin batı kapısına kadar uzanırken bir diğer kolun kuzeybatı doğrultusunda devam ettiği izlenebilmektedir.

Özellikle yukarı kentte gevşek bir ızgara sistemi uygulanmış gibidir (Vandeput ve Köse 2003, 321). Dar ve uzun dikdörtgen biçimli yapı blokları uzun kenarları yamacı kesecek doğrultuda teraslar boyunca sıralanmıştır. Bu yapı blokları birbiriyle eş olmamakla birlikte, çoğunun topografyaya uyacak şekilde bükülmüş bir ızgara planı andıran bir modele uygunluk gösterdiği görülmektedir. Bu model içerisinde birçok düzensizlik bulunmakla beraber bunların orijinalinde mi böyle yapıldığı yoksa sonradan yapılan değişiklikler mi olduğu ancak kazı ile anlaşılabilir. Her şekilde yapı bloklarının rastgele değil bir planlama kaygısıyla yerleştirildiği açıktır. Bu kaygının *Hippodamos* ızgarasının uygulanmasından kaynaklandığı düşünülebilir;



ancak, Pednelissos'un düz olmayan topografyası bu prensibin araziye göre uyarlanmasını gerektirmiştir. Bu nedenle Pednelissos, Hippodamos ızgarasının dik ve düzgün olmayan bir topografyaya uyacak şekilde *gevşek* bir biçimde uygulanışını örneklemektedir. Bu Pednelissos'un en özgün yönlerinden biri ve onu diğer Pisidya kenterinden ayıran bir özelliğidir.

Pednelissos kent ızgarasının merkezi bir alanı kent merkezi olarak düşünülebilecek binalarla kaplıdır. 28 x 20 m boyutlarında taş döşemeli bir *agora*; *agoranın* güneybatı duvarına bitişik, en üst katı *agorayla* aynı seviyede olup bir *stoa* barındıran üç katlı bir market binası ve *agoranın* doğusunda bulunan bir kilise kent merkezinin temel kamusal yapılarını oluşturular. Bu kilisenin daha erken döneme ait bir yapıdan dönüştürülmüş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır (Vandeput ve Köse 2003, 322–323). Bu erken yapının bir toplantı mekânı, belki de bir *bouleuterion* olması bölgenin tarihsel bağlamına çok uygundur (L. Vandeput ile kişisel iletişim). Sonuç olarak geç Hellenistik dönemde Pednelissos'ta tam teşekküllü bir kent merkezinin kurulmuş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Kamusal binalar kent merkezi ile sınırlı değildi. *Agoranın* kuzeyinde, kuzeybatı – güneydoğu ana aksı üzerinde yer alan küçük bir kilise bunlardan biridir. Bu kilisenin yapımında kullanılmış olan taş blokların muhtemelen aynı noktada yer almış ve MS ikinci yüzyıl sonları/ üçüncü yüzyıl başlarına tarihlenen bir tapınaktan gelmiş olduğu düşünülmektedir (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 352).

Buna ek olarak *agoranın* güneyinde, kent surlarına yakın bir noktada büyük bir kilise MS altıncı yüzyıla tarihlenmektedir (Karas ve Ristow 2003, 146–48). Buna ek olarak batı kapısının hemen yanına düşen ve kuzeydoğu – güneybatı ana aksı üzerinde yer alan ve dördüncü/ beşinci yüzyıllara tarihlenen küçük bir kilise daha bulunmaktadır (Karas ve Ristow 2003, 142–43).

Kent merkezinin hemen güneyinde büyüklüğü ve devasa kesme taşlarıyla öne çıkan bir yapı daha bulunmaktadır. İşlevi tam olarak anlaşılamasa da boyutları ve işçiliği bu yapının kamusal bir bina olduğunu işaret etmektedir. Bir Hellenistik dönem Pisidya kentinde bu noktada bir tapınak olması çok olası olmakla birlikte bunun doğrulanması için kazı yapılması gerekmektedir.

Yukarı kent için son olarak kentin güneydoğusunda ve güney kapıya yakın bir yerde bulunan bir binadan bahsedilmelidir. Binanın boyutları konut olma olasılığını ortadan kaldırır. Bu binanın kent içindeki konumu ve yapım tekniği ile Selge'deki gümrük binasını andırması dikkat çekicidir (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 353).

Izgara planın aşağı kentte de uygulanmış olup olmadığı hakkında yorum yapmak, burada anıtsal binalar dışındaki yapıların iyi korunmamış olması nedeniyle kolay değildir. Bununla birlikte aşağı kent kapısının kuzeydoğusunda bulunan bir hamam binası, dar ve uzun dikdörtgen şekli ve yukarı kentteki binaları andıran konumlanışı ile yukarı kenttekini andıran bir ızgara planın burada da uygulanmış olduğunu düşündürür. Hamam binasının güneydoğusuna bitişik uzanan ve taş döşeme izleri barındıran düz alan ise *palaestra* olmalıdır (Işın 1998, 118–19). Mekânsal düzenlemesine ek olarak, hipokaust sistemine ait terakota parçalar da göstermektedir ki bu bina bir hamam binasıdır ve Roma dönemine ait olmalıdır (Işın 1998, 118–19).

Hamam binasının kuzey – kuzeybatısında yüzeyde görülen bir sıra kesme taş bloğun, ardında bir sıra oda bulunan ve muhtemelen *stoa*/ portiko olan bir binaya ait olduğu 2002 yılında yapılmış olan geofizik araştırma ile ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 353; L. Vandeput ile kişisel iletişim).

Hamam binası, *palaestra* ve *stoa*/ portiko'nun aksine aşağı kentin en batı noktasında bulunan bir tapınak podyumu ve bu podyumun kuzeydoğusundaki bir kilise yukarı kentteki ızgara plandan bağımsız, aykırı pozisyonları ile öne çıkmaktadır. Çok büyük,

diktörtgen kesme taşlardan inşa edilmiş olan podyumun bir tapınağa ait olduğu şüphe götürmemekle birlikte, tapınağın üstyapısından hiçbir iz bulunmamaktadır (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 352–353).

Tapınağın kuzeydoğusundaki kilise ise 33 x 15 m'lik bir alan kaplayan bazilika planlı bir kilisedir ve MS beş ve altıncı yüzyıllarda yapıldığı düşünülmektedir (Karas ve Ristow 2003, 149).

Bahsi geçen bu iyi korunagelmiş kamusal yapıların yanında iyi korunmamış ya da toprak altında kalmış binaların varlığına dair izler de bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan tapınak podyumunun güneydoğusundaki büyük ancak çok zarar görmüş binanın bir kilise olduğu düşünülmektedir (L. Vandeput ile kişisel iletişim). Buna ek olarak geofizik araştırmaların aşağı kent kapısının doğu – kuzeydoğusuna düşen, surlarının sökülüp başka binalarda yapı malzemesi olarak kullanılmış olduğu bölgede işaret ettiği anomalinin de büyük ölçekli bir inşa faaliyetine ait olduğu düşünülmektedir (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 353). Aşağı kentteki surların doğu bölümünün imparatorluk dönemi içerisinde sökülüp burada kentin ilk sınırlarının dışına da taşan bir kamusal meydan inşa edilmiş olduğu düşünülmektedir (L. Vandeput ile kişisel iletişim).

Aşağı kent üzerine bu kısa özet ve Pisidya bölgesinin tarihsel gelişimi göz önüne alındığında, aşağı kentin Pednelissos'un bir genişleme evresine ait olduğu düşünülebilir. Bu genişleme evresi için, aşağı kent surlarının tarihlemesi göz önüne alınarak MÖ ikinci yüzyıl önerilebilir. Aşağı kent, imparatorluk dönemi içerisinde MS ikinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren büyük bir inşa dönemine girmiştir (Vandeput ve Köse 2004, 354). Aşağı kentin sur sisteminin bu tarihten önce kurulmuş olduğu düşünüldüğünde, bu Roma dönemi inşa etkinliğinin mevcut yapıları çevre üzerine kurulduğu ve muhtemelen o çevreyi yeni baştan şekillendirdiği sonucuna varılmaktadır. Aşağı kentin daha erken dönemlerdeki planını çıkarmak ve burada izgara planının uygulanmış olup olmadığını anlamak kazı yapmadan mümkün

görünmemektedir. Bu anlamda kimi imparatorluk dönemi binalarının yukarı kentteki ızgara plana benzerlik gösterirken kimilerinin göstermediği söylenebilir. Ancak açık olan şudur ki bu bölge, muhtemelen MÖ ikinci yüzyılda, surların inşa edilmesiyle birlikte başlayan, Roma imparatorluk döneminde büyük bir inşa hareketi geçiren ve son olarak, muhtemelen MS yedinci yüzyılda terk edilmesinden önce, MS beşinci ve altıncı yüzyıllarda iki adet kilise ile sona eren kesintisiz bir yerleşim göstermektedir. Bir diğer önemli nokta ise Roma dönemi kamusal yapılarının aşağı kentte yoğunluk göstermesidir.

Küçük Asya'daki Hellenistik kentlerin Roma egemenliği altında geçirdiği dönüşüm iyi bilinmekte ve Pednelissos ile birçok paralellikler göstermektedir. Çoğu eyalet kentinde Roma dönemi, özellikle MS ikinci yüzyıl ortalarından sonraki çok çeşitli inşa faaliyetleri ve malzeme zenginliği ile ayrılır (S. Mitchell 1995, 79). Sagalassos'taki imparatorluk dönemi inşaat patlaması bunun anıtsal ölçekteki bir örneğidir. Bu dönemde kentte hamam binası, stadyum, dini yapılar, tiyatro, odeion, kütüphane, anıtsal çeşmeler gibi birçok anıtsal boyutta kamusal bina ve kentsel donatı inşa edilmiştir.

Benzer bir gelişme Efes'te de izlenebilir. Burada özellikle yukarı *agora* (devlet *agorası*)'nın kurulması Pednelissos'taki aşağı kentin yeniden yapılandırılması ile büyük benzerlik göstermektedir (Scherrer 1995, 4–6; 2001, 69–71).

Bu gelişmeler sadece büyük kentlerle sınırlı değildi ve küçük kentler tarafından da izlenmekteydi. Bunun Pisidya'daki bir örneği Ariassos kentidir. Burada yerleşim, MS üçüncü yüzyılda surla çevrili dağ yamaçlarından aşağıdaki vadiye doğru yayılmış ve burada törensel bir kemer ile başlayıp kent boyunca devam eden bir ana cadde etrafında tiyatro, hamam/ *gymnasium* kompleksi, *agora*, iki küçük podyum tapınağı ve anıtsal çeşme gibi yapılar inşa edilmiştir (S. Mitchell, Owens, ve Waelkens 1989, 63–67; S. Mitchell 1991b; S. Mitchell 1998, 244).

Toparlamak gerekirse, Roma imparatorluk dönemi Pednelissos'ta, çağdaşı birçok kentte de olduğu gibi, artan anıtsal kamu yapıları, meydanlar ve kentsel donatılar gibi inşa etkinlikleri ile öne çıkmaktadır. Bu dönemin hamam binası, podyum tapınakları ve törensel kemerler gibi öne çıkan yapıları aynı zamanda önceki *bouleuterion*lar ve market binaları gibi Hellenistik dönem binalarından önemli bir kopuşu işaret eder (S. Mitchell 1991a, 142). Bu kopuşun, kentsel önceliklerde meydana gelmiş bir değişimi işaret ettiği düşünülebilir. Buna göre Hellenistik dönemde bağımsız kent olmanın sembolü olan binalar, Roma imparatorluk döneminde yavaş yavaş imparatorluğun bir üyesi olmanın faydalarını simgeleyen görkemli kamusal anıtlarla yer değiştirmiştir. Önceki dönemlerdeki kentler arası mücadele ve savaşlar, bu dönemde yerini kenti güzelleştirme ve anıtsal yapılar inşa etme yarışına bırakmıştır (S. Mitchell 1993a, 1:210).

Pednelissos'un kent surları dışında da bazı anıtsal yapılar bulunmaktaydı. Bunlardan en önemlilerinden biri yukarı kentin güney kapısının 45 m kadar güneyinde bulunan Apollon kutsal alanıdır. Bu kutsal alanın en önemli özelliği yekpare bir anakaya bloğu üzerine oyulmuş bir *aedicula* içerisine yerleştirilmiş bir figürdür (Işın 1998, 117–18). Figürün, sol elinde tutmakta olduğu defne dalı nedeniyle Apollon'a ait olduğu ve geç Hellenistik veya erken Roma dönemlerinde yapılmış olduğu düşünülmektedir (Işın 2009).

Şehrin güney kapısı Apollon kutsal alanına döşemeli bir yol ile bağlanmaktadır. Bu yol, kutsal alandan güneye doğru devam ederek 29 x 12 m'lik bir alanı kaplayan bir kiliseye ulaşır (Işın 1998, 116). Bu kilisenin güneybatısında ise MS ikinci yüzyıla tarihlenen bir *heroon* bulunur (Işın 1998, 118).

Mezarlar, biri kuzeyde biri güneyde olmak üzere sur dışındaki iki alanda yoğunlaşmaktadır (Vandeput et al. 2005, 240). Özellikle kuzey kapıya ve aşağı kent kapısına giden yolların iki yanı mezarlar ile çevrilidir. Birkaç tümülüse ek olarak, *ostotekler*, lahitler ve tapınak biçimli anıtsal mezarlar ana mezar yapılarını

oluşturmaktadır (Vandeput et al. 2005, 240). Hellenistik döneme özgü *ostotek*lerin ve Roma dönemine özgü lahitlerin her iki mezarlıkta da bulunması, her iki mezarlığın da Hellenistik dönemde kullanılmaya başlandığını ve devamlı olarak kullanımda kaldığını göstermektedir (Köse 2004, 461).

Ayrıca geç antik dönemde güney mezarlıkta, kentin güneydoğusunda ve surlardan 150 m kadar uzakta büyük bir kilise inşa edilmiştir. (L. Vandeput ile kişisel iletişim).

Pednelissos'taki dini yapı ve mezarların sayısı dikkat çekicidir. Özellikle yerleşimin geç dönemlerdeki kilise sayısı, Cremna'daki sekiz (S. Mitchell 1995, 230–231), Selge'deki yedi (Machatschek ve Schwarz 1981, 104–117), Ariassos ve Sagalassos'taki dörder (S. Mitchell 1995, 230–231) ve 'Melli'deki dört (Vandeput ve Köse 2002, 148–150) kilise ile kıyaslandığında, Pednelissos'un çeşitli boyutlardaki sekiz kilisesi ile Pisidya'nın daha büyük birçok kenti ile kıyaslanabilecek derecede gelişmiş Hristiyanlık donatılarına sahip olduğu görülür.

Pednelissos'un kentsel öğelerinin bu kısa özeti göstermektedir ki kent, kuruluş dönemlerinden başlayarak Hellenistik kent normlarına uyan bir gelişme göstermiştir. Bu da Pednelissoslular'ın Hellenistik çağın politik ve sosyal ağına entegre olduklarını gösterir. Takip eden dönemlerde de Pednelissos, içinde bulunduğu bağlamın genel özellikleriyle uyumlu bir gelişme göstermiştir. Hem Roma, hem geç antik dönemler Pednelissos'un yapılı çevresi üzerinde bölgenin diğer kentlerinde bıraktığı kadar iz bırakmıştır. Bu nedenle Pednelissos, yapılı çevresi ve sosyo-kültürel bağlamı açısından Klasik çağın tipik bir eyalet kenti örneğidir.

Pednelissos'un içerisinde bulunduğu fiziksel ve sosyo-kültürel bağlamın bu özetinin ardından, Pednelissos *peyzajının* yapısı ve insanlar tarafından algılanış biçimine odaklanılacaktır. Bu çalışma kapsamında *peyzaj*, insanların dünyayı algılama, anlama ve dünya üzerindeki etkinliğinden doğan kültürel bir imge, bunların görsel bir ifadesi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Aynı zamanda *peyzajların* sosyal bir metin

gibi okunup yorumlanabileceği ortaya konmuştu. Bugüne kadar yapılmış olan çalışmalar bu okumaya yönelik bazı çerçeveler önermektedir. Bunlar arasında Lynch (1960) tarafından ortaya konan “imge” ve “imgesellik” kavramları Pednelissos’taki kent imgesini ve deneyimini incelemek için faydalı bir çerçeve sunmaktadır.

Lynch (1960), her bireyin zihninde fiziksel dış çevresine dair bir betim, başka bir deyişle bir *imge*, oluşturduğunu ileri sürer. Bu imge dış dünyaya dair algı ve duyular ile geçmişin bellekte bıraktığı izlerin bir ürünüdür. Bu imge bireyin dış dünyadan edindiği verileri yorumlamasını ve dolayısıyla bireyin sonraki eylemlerini yönlendirir (Lynch 1960, 4). Lynch (1960), aynı zamanda bu imgenin oluşma sürecine dair çözümlenelerde bulunur ve bu süreçte kişinin içinde bulunduğu bağlamın ve öznel deneyimlerinin etkisini vurgular.

Lynch (1960) bu çözümlenelerin ışığında kente dair imgenin oluşmasında rol alan öğelerin özelliklerini tanımlamak için bir çerçeve önerir. Buna göre beş çeşit öge kent imgesinin oluşmasında öne çıkmaktadır. Bunlar gözlemcinin hareketini sağlayan *patikalar*; farklı özellikteki bölgelerin sınırlarını tanımlayan *kenarlar*; ayırdedici ortak karakterleri ile diğer kesimlerden ayrılan *bölgeler*; ulaşımdaki kesinti noktaları ya da değişik patikaların toplanma noktaları olarak farklılaşan *düğüm noktaları*; ve boyut, renk veya doku gibi öne çıkan özellikleri ile çevrelerinden ayrılan *nirengilerdir* (Lynch 1960, 46–48). Bu öğeler insanların yaşadıkları çevreleri anlamlı olarak şekillendirme ve yapılandırma gereksinimlerinin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkar. Bu nedenle bu öğeler, insanların içinde buldukları *peyzajı* nasıl algıladıkları, yapılandırdıkları ve anlamlandırdıklarını işaret eder.

Lynch’in (1960) modeli, sonraki çalışmalar üzerindeki etkisine rağmen, öznel deneyime bağlı olması, hareket ile kısıtlı olması ve sosyal tabakalanma gibi sosyal bağlamın etkilerini büyük oranda gözardı etmesi nedeni ile eleştirilmiştir (Malmberg 2009, 39). Bununla birlikte kent deneyimi incelenirken bir dereceye kadar kişinin kimliği, politik görüşü, sosyal statüsü gibi öznel etkenlerin işin içine girmesi

kaçınılmazdır. Bu eleştirilere rağmen Lynch'in (1960) modeli insanlar tarafından içinde buldukları çevrenin nasıl kavrandığının incelenmesine dair kullanışlı bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Özellikle kalıntıların kısıtlı olduğu ve genellikle anıtsal yapılarla sınırlı kaldığı arkeolojik bağlamlarda bu model önemli bir çıkış noktası sunmaktadır.

*Peyzajın* deneyimlenmesi dış dünya ile kişi arasındaki bir yüzleşme olarak ortaya çıkar. İnsanlar günlük yaşamlarında çevrelerindeki öğelerle günün farklı zamanları, farklı iklim koşulları ve değişik politik şartlar gibi farklı durumlar altında karşılaştıkça ve yüzleştikçe, zihinlerinde o çevrenin bir imgesini oluştururlar. (Favro 1996, 9). Bu zihinsel imge zaman ve yere bağlı olduğu gibi kişinin sosyal statüsü, geçmişi, anıları, kimliği ve politik duruşu gibi kişisel etmenlere de bağlıdır (Bender 2002, 107). Yüzleşmeler aynı zamanda bir mesajın iletildiği sözsüz bir iletişim aracı olarak da işlev görürler (Rapoport [1982] 1990). Bu yüzleşmeler aracılığı ile *peyzaj* bir anlam kazanır ve bir belleği olan, bir fikri simgeleyen ve bir aracılık gücüne (agency) sahip olan bir yere dönüşür. Bu tekrarlanan yüzleşmeler aracılığıyla *peyzajın* imgesi üretilir, değiştirilir ve yeniden üretilir.

Yüzleşmeler antik kentler bağlamında çeşitli biçimler alabiliyordu. Örneğin bir yüzleşme pasif bir biçimde bir *peyzaj* elemanını görüp, onun iletmediği mesajı çözümlenmekten oluşabilirdi. Örneğin antik dönemde bir kişi onursal bir anıtla karşılaşır onu gördüğünde, anıtın adanmış olduğu kişinin toplumda etkin bir insan olduğunu ve onun mirasçılarının onun izinden gitmekte olduklarını ve onun gücünü devraldıklarını iddia ettiklerini anlıyordu.

Öte yandan yüzleşmeler aktif biçimler alıp hedef kişiyi de *peyzaj* ögesinin aracı olduğu etkinlikte rol almaya itebilirdi. Bu yüzleşmelerde gözlemci, görme pasif eyleminin ötesine geçerek o yerle ilişkili etkinliğin bir parçası haline geliyordu. Bu şekilde kişi hem kendi *peyzaj* deneyimini yaşarken hem de başkalarının deneyiminin bir parçası haline geliyordu. Örneğin Roma döneminde hamamda yıkanan bir insan, temizlenme ve hamamın sunduğu keyiften faydalanma yanında, sınırları kültürel



olarak çizilmiş bulunan sosyal bir yaşamı kabul ettiğini ve bu yaşamda aktif bir rol aldığını da belirtmiş oluyordu. Bu şekilde o belirli yaşam tarzının özendirilmesi ve yaygınlaştırılmasında da rol almış oluyordu. Bu aktif yüzleşmeler sonucunda hamam binaları sadece yıkanmayla değil, Romalılara özgü bir sosyalleşme ve rekreasyon biçimi ile de özdeşleşmişti.

Kısaca özetlemek gerekirse insanların *peyzajı* deneyimlemeleri ve *peyzajı* oluşturan öğelerle yüzleşmeleri sonucunda *peyzaj* bir anlam kazanmakta ve bu *peyzajı* gelecekte değiştirip yeniden şekillendirecek eylemlerin bir aracı haline gelmektedir. Lynch'in (1960) tanımladığı öğelerse bu *peyzaj* deneyimini yapılandıran en önemli elemanlardan olmaları nedeniyle önem taşımaktadır. Bu öğeler Pednelissos bağlamında aşağıda özetlenmektedir.

Pednelissos bağlamında hem doğal hem de insan yapısı öğeler *nirengi*, yani fiziksel ve zihinsel dünyada öne çıkan referans noktaları işlevi görmekteydi. Pednelissos'taki en öne çıkan doğal nirengi Bodrumkaya'dır. Bodrumkaya'nın iki yanından güneye doğru uzanan dağ sıraları ve arasındaki görece engebesiz alan diğer doğal nirengileri oluşturur. Bodrumkaya ve iki yanından uzanan dağ sıraları ile güneydeki Pamfilya ovası ve deniz belirgin bir tezat oluşturmaktadır. Hep aynı kalan bu fiziksel çevre Pednelissos sakinlerinin kolektif belleğine kazınmış olmalıdır. Dahası, deniz, ovalar ve güney yönü *açıklık*, *sonsuzluk* ve *dışarı* gibi sembolik anlamlar kazanırken kuzey yönü ve dağlar *kısıtlılık*, *kapalılık* ve *içerisi* gibi sembolik anlamlar kazanmış olabilir.

İnsan yapısı nirengilerden askeri niteliğe sahip olanları kentin savunması ve güvenliğinde rol oynayan kent surları ve kent kapılarıdır. Dinsel nirengiler ise tapınaklar, kiliseler, Apollon kutsal alanı, *heroonlar* ve mezarlıklar ile onursal anıtları içerir. Sivil nirengiler ise insanların sosyo-ekonomik hayatında oynadıkları rolle öne çıkar.

Kent merkezi, kent yaşamının bir merkezi olarak devamlı olarak sivil nirengiler için bir odak noktası işlevi görmüştür. Üst katındaki *stoa* ile birlikte market binası ve *bouleuterion*, Hellenistik yaşam biçimini sembolize eden önemli nirengilerdir. Toplumun özgürlüğünün ve kendi kendini yönetmesinin sembolü olan *bouleuterion*, ekonomik hayatın merkezi market binası ve kent hayatıyla ilgili işlerin odağı olan *agorası* ile birlikte kent merkezi, toplumun özgürlüğünün ve kimliğinin en önemli simgesi haline gelmiş olmalıdır. Roma imparatorluk döneminde bağımsız toplumların bağımsız karar alma süreçleri yavaş yavaş sona ererken *bouleuterion*lar da işlevini kaybetmiştir (Mitchell 1993a, 2:75–77). Bunun sonucu olarak kent vurgusu aşağı kentteki yeni inşa edilen yapılara kaymış ve beraberinde yeni yüzleşme biçimleri ve simgeler getirmiştir.

Pisidya kentlerinde kent merkezleri hem içerdiği binaları hem bunların birbiriyle ilişkisi hem de kent merkezlerinin zaman içinde geçirmiş oldukları dönüşümlerle birbirlerine benzerler. Örneğin Sagalassos'ta da bezemesi ve anıtsallığıyla görsel vurgusu öne çıkan *bouleuterion*, market binasına yakın ve yukarı agorayı çevreleyecek şekilde konumlanmıştı (Waelkens et al. 2000, 297–312). Yine Pednelissos'a koşut şekilde, işlevini kaybettiğinde ise yerini bir kilise almıştı (Waelkens et al. 2000, 255).

Pednelissos'un surları ve kent kapılarını içeren askeri nirengileri de Hellenistik dönemde inşa edilmiş ve çoğu, kent yerleşim gördüğü sürece kullanımda kalmıştır. Bunlar görmeye dayalı pasif yüzleşmeler sunar; kent kapıları ayrıca insanlar kente girip çıkarken aktif yüzleşmeler de sağlardı. Bu nirengiler genel olarak kentin gücünü ve kent sakinlerinin kimlerin kente girebilecekleri üzerindeki kontrolünü sembolize etmekteydi.

Hellenistik dönemde, mezarlıklara ek olarak, bilinen tek dinsel nirengi Apollon kutsal alanı idi. Apollon kabartması görsel olarak çok öne çıkmamakla birlikte, belli ki insanların referans sistemlerinde önemli bir yeri işaret eden bir referans noktası idi.

Roma imparatorluk döneminde özellikle kentin sivil nirengilerinde önemli dönüşümler oldu. Bunlar aşağı kentte yoğunlaşmıştı. Hamam binası/ *palaestra* kompleksi ve *stoa*/ portiko'nun inşası sadece sosyal hayatı değil kentin zihinlerdeki imgesini de dramatik bir şekilde etkiledi. Antik insanlar için bu binalar, Roma kent kültürünü simgeleyen bilindik biçimlerdi. Bu binalarla gerçekleşen pasif yüzleşmeler Pednelissoslular'ı Roma kent kültürüne aşına hale getirirken bu kültürün mimari biçimlerini da hayatlarına ve görsel belleklerine kaydetmekteydi. Bu binalar, kent merkezinin Hellenistik hayatın reklamını yapması gibi, Romalılaşmış bir sosyal hayatı özendiren sözsüz bir iletişimin araçları olarak işlev görmekteydi.

Roma döneminde aynı zamanda bir grup dinsel nirengi de inşa edilmişti. Bunlar aşağı kentteki imparatorluk tapınağını, *agoranın* kuzeyindeki tapınağı ve Apollon kutsal alanının yakınındaki *heroonu* içerir. Apollon kutsal alanının *temenos* duvarı ile çevrenmesi ise bu alanın öneminin devam etmekte olduğuna işaret eder.

Geç antik dönemde Hristiyanlık'ın yayılması, kent dokusunda kentsel alana homojen biçimde yayılan irili ufaklı kiliselerle iz bırakmıştır. Bu değişim yeni bir otoriteyi, tanrının ve onun adına hareket eden kilisenin otoritesini işaret etmekteydi. Geç antikitede başka bir sivil nirenginin inşa edilmemiş olması ve kiliselerin, *bouleuterion* örneğinde olduğu gibi, daha önce sivil alan olan yerlere de yayılmış olmaları sosyal hayatta sivil vurgudan dini vurguya bir kayış olduğunun işaretidir. Bununla birlikte Apollon kutsal alanının hiçbir terkedilme belirtisi göstermemesi, eski inanç biçimlerinin de bir şekilde devam etmenin yolunu bulduklarının bir göstergesidir. Yeni kiliselerin bazılarının eski pagan kutsal alanlarının yakınında (*agoranın* kuzeyindeki tapınak, aşağı kentteki imparatorluk tapınağı ve Apollon kutsal alanı) ve mezarlıkların (güney mezarlıktaki kilise) içinde yapılmış olması ise eski nirengi noktalarının anısının bu döneme de adapte edildiğini ve önem taşımaya devam ettiğini gösterir. Dini yerlerin devamlılığı Küçük Asya'da sık görülen bir durumdur. Sagalassos'ta Apollo Klarios tapınağının yerine yapılan kilise (Waelkens, Mitchell, ve Owens 1990, 185–90) ve Pednelissos'un yaklaşık 15 km kuzeydoğusunda yer alan

ve MÖ altıncı yüzyıldan başlayarak en az MS altıncı yüzyıla kadar kutsal alan olarak kullanılmış olan Arpalıktepesi (Işın 2006) bunun Pisidyadaki örneklerindedir. Buna göre Pednelissos'ta da, Küçük Asya'daki diğer yerlerde de olduğu gibi, sembolik yerlerin ve buralarla ilgili nirengilerin az ya da çok aynı kaldığı fakat bunların içeriğinin sosyal hayatta dine öncelik veren yeni bir sosyal yapının etkisiyle değiştiği öne sürülebilir.

*Patikalar* kentsel ve doğal çevre içerisinde hareketi sağlayan kanallardır. İnsanlar yaşadıkları çevreyi patikalar boyunca hareket ederken deneyimlediklerinden, patikalar insanların zihinlerinde oluşturdukları imgede önemli yer tutarlar (Lynch 1960, 47). Pednelissos'un patikaları, yani kent sokakları, dar ve topografyaya uyacak biçimde kıvrımlıydı. 1.5 – 2.5 m arasında değişen sokaklar ve 2.5 m civarında olan ana akslar, Sagalassos'un 9 m'lik kuzey – güney sütunlu caddesi, Cremna'nın 10 m genişliğindeki sütunlu caddesi ve Perge'nin genişliği 18 – 20 m arası değişen *cardo maximus*'u ile kıyaslandığında oldukça dardır. Ariassos ve 'Melli' gibi daha küçük kentlerin sokakları ise Pednelissos'un sokaklarına yakın genişliktedir.

Pednelissos'taki patikalar, kısmen birbiriyle çakışan üç gruba ayrılabilir. İlk grup surların dışından gelip kent kapılarına bağlanan *yaklaşımlar*, ikinci grup önemli nirengi ve düğüm noktalarını bağlayan ve üzerinde hareket eden bir kişinin bu elemanlarla sırayla yüzleştiği, dolayısıyla bir çeşit resmi geçit yaptığı *geçitler* ve üçüncü grup da bunların dışında kalan ikincil ya da nirengi ve düğüm noktalarıyla doğrudan ilişkilenemeyen sokaklardır. Öte yandan kimi patikalar birden çok gruba dahil olabilir; örneğin hem bir yaklaşım, hem de bir geçitin uzantısı olabilir.

Yaklaşımlar ve geçitler kent ulaşımının belkemiğini oluşturur ve bu patikalar üzerinde nirengilerle yüzleşme olasılığı diğer patikalara göre çok daha fazladır. Kent imgesini oluşturan birçok öge bu yollar üzerinde yer aldığından, bu yollar üzerinde bir nirengiden diğerine doğru hareket eden kişi ister istemez başka nirengilerle de

yüzleşmekteydi. Bu özellikleriyle geçitler, kamusal sunumun ve sözsüz iletişimin arenası durumundaydı.

Pednelissos kent ızgarasının kuzeybatı – güneydoğu ana aksı ve bunun kent dışındaki uzantısı Pednelissos'un en önemli geçitlerinden birisi olarak Hellenistik dönemden, muhtemelen geç antik dönemin sonunda, yerleşimin terk edilmesine değin kullanımdaydı. Kente kuzeyden gelip bu yol üzerinden *agoraya* kasar ilerleyen bir kişi birçok yüzleşmeye yaşayacak ve zihninde kentin sakinleri ve sosyal dinamikleri ile ilgili bir imge oluşturacaktı.

Bir diğer önemli patika ise kent ızgarasının kuzeydoğu – güneybatı aksı, bu aksın surların dışındaki uzantısı ve akstan aşağı kent kapısında ayrılıp imparatorluk tapınağı/ kilise bölgesine doğru devam eden yoldu. Bunlar da geçit karakteri taşımakta ve önemli bir kent deneyimi sunmaktaydı.

Aşağı kentteki tapınak ve kiliselerin yer aldığı bölgeden yukarı kentteki batı kapısının yanındaki küçük kiliseye uzanan yol ve güney kapıdan Apollon kutsal alanına uzanan yol da kentin diğer önemli patikalarını oluşturmaktaydı.

Bütün bu yollar Hellenistik dönemden geç antikiteye kadar geçen dönemde önemli değişikliklere uğramış, yeni yollar eklenmiş ve yolların üzerinde yer alan nirengiler değişmiştir ancak yolların oluşturduğu yapı aynı kalmış ve yeni yapılan geçitler eskilerine eklenecek ve onların özelliklerini güçlendirip vurgulayacak şekilde planlanmıştır.

Antik dönemde önemli yer tutan, kent kimliğinin, aidiyet duygusunun ve ortak bir kültürün oluşmasında önem taşıyan törensel ve dini geçitlerin bu yollar üzerinde yer almış olduğu düşünülebilir (Esmonde Cleary 2005). Bu geçit törenleri ritüeli gerçekliğe, insan etkinliğini fiziksel çevreye bağlamakta ve kent algısında önemli yer tutmaktaydı (Yegül 1992, 151).

*Düğüm noktalarının* tipik örnekleri yolların kesişim noktaları ve kamusal meydanların etrafında kümelenen nirengilerdir. Pednelissos bağlamında düğüm noktaları giriş düğümleri ve kent içi düğümler olarak ikiye ayrılabilir. Giriş düğümleri kent kapılarında odaklanır ve kent içi ve dışındaki yolların kesim noktasını oluşturur. Aşağı kentteki imparatorluk meydanı da kente giriş sağladığı için giriş düğümü olarak düşünülebilir. Kent içi düğümler ise patikaların kesim noktalarında yer alırlar. Pednelissos *agorası* kent içi patikalarının kesişim noktası olduğundan, kent içi bir düğüm noktasıdır. Kamusal, yönetimle ilgili ve dinsel binaların da yoğunlaştığı bir nokta olması nedeniyle *agora*, aynı zamanda insanların günlük hayatlarında da bir karşılaşma ve kesişme noktasıdır.

*Kenarlar* iki farklı şey arasındaki sınırdır (Lynch 1960, 47). İnsan yapısı veya doğal olabilirler. Kenarlar, bir bölgeden diğerine geçişi engelleyecek şekilde olabilir (Lynch 1960, 47). Bu nedenle güç ve otorite ilişkileriyle de bağlantılı olabilir. Bodrumkaya, sarp yamaçları ile kentin doğu sınırını çizen bir kenar görevi görmekteydi. Surlar ise kentin insan yapısı kenarları idi. Roma döneminde surların sökülüp başka yapılarda kullanılması, bu dönemde kente giriş çıkışta daha az kontrol gereksinimi duyulduğunun bir işaretidir. Bu dönemde surlar, fonksiyonlarından öte kent imgesi ile ilişkili hale gelmişlerdir.

*Bölgeler*, çevrelerinden farklı, ayırdedici bir özelliğe sahip olmalarıyla ayrışırlar (Lynch 1960, 47). Bu ayırdedici özellik fiziksel, görsel, bilişsel ya da işlevsel olabilir. Bölgelerin belirgin sınırları olabileceği gibi zihinsel bir yapı da olabilirler. Pednelissos'ta üç farklı bölge tanımlanabilir. Bunlardan birincisi, sınırları surlar ve Bodrumkaya ile çizilmiş olan yukarı kenttir. Bu kısım kentin en eski bölgesi olduğundan atalar, geçmiş ve gelenekle ilişkilendirilmiş olabilir. Bir diğer bölge olan aşağı kentse tam tersine yeni, taze ve genç gibi çağrışımlar kazanmış olabilir. Üçüncü bölge ise Apollon kutsal alanı çevresindeki bölgedir. Buranın ayırdedici karakteri de din, kutsallık ve ritüeldir.

Pednelissos *peyzajının* nirengi, patika, düğüm noktaları, kenar ve bölgeler ile işlenmesinde bir düzen izlenebilir. Bu düzen sadece *peyzajı* şekillendirmekle kalmayıp insanların *peyzajla* yüzleşmelerini de yapılandırıp etkilemiştir. Kentin yerleşimde olduğu ve en azından MÖ üçüncü yüzyıldan MS yedinci yüzyıla kadar devam eden dönemde bu şemanın öğeleri değişmiş, yeni öğeler eklenmiş ve dolayısıyla bu öğelerin oluşturduğu yüzleşmelerin niteliği de değişmiş ancak şemanın ilkeleri aynı kalmış ve kararlı bir devamlılık göstermiştir.

Örneğin geçitler yerleşimin ilk kuruluşunda kentin en önemli noktalarını birbirine bağlayacak şekilde inşa edilmiştir. Kentin yayılması ile mevcut geçitlere yeni geçitler eklense de mevcut geçitlerin karakterleri hep korunmuş ve vurgulanmıştır. Benzer şekilde nirengi noktaları da, biçimleri, içerikleri, yarattıkları çağrışımlar ve anlamları zamanla değişip yeniden şekillenmiş olsa da, konum olarak aynı kalmıştır. Üstelik bu konumda gerçekleşen yüzleşmenin niteliği de büyük oranda aynı kalmış, yani dinsel yüzleşme sağlayan bir nirengi inanç sistemi temelden değiştiğinde bile dinsel yüzleşmeler, bu kez yeni inanç sistemine dair yüzleşmeler, sunmaya devam etmiştir.

Bu devamlılığın tek istisnası *agoranın* güneydoğusundaki, yerinde daha önce bir *bouleuterion* olduğu düşünülen, kilisedir. Kentlerin bağımsızlıkları Roma egemenliği ile sona ererken (Mitchell 1993b, 1:198–204), kent konseyleri de toplumdaki lider rolünü kaybetmiş (Mitchell 1993a, 2:75–77), *bouleuterionlar* da işlevsiz hale gelmişlerdir. Kilise yeni bir güç odağı olarak ortaya çıkıp yönetimde söz sahibi olduğunda, toplumsal bellekte yer etmiş fakat artık işlevsiz kalmış olan *bouleuterionun* yeri de kilise tarafından devralınmıştır. Bu, inanç sisteminin sivil sisteme yapılı çevrede müdahalesinin bir örneğidir.

Bunun tam tersine Apollon kutsal alanı ve aşağı kentteki tapınağın çevresi gibi bölgeler, tıpkı sur dışındaki mezarlıklar gibi, yerleşim süresince dinsel yüzleşmelerle ilişkili kalmışlardır. Yeni bir inanç sisteminin mekânsal ifadesi için seçilen yerin eski inanç sisteminin yerine yakın olması, hatta *agoranın* kuzeyindeki küçük kilise gibi

onun yerini alması, dikkate değerdir. Bunun bir açıklaması belirli bir yeri dinsel yüzleşmelerle özdeşleştirmiş olan toplumsal belleğin, aynı nitelikteki yüzleşmeler için, inanç sistemi radikal bir şekilde değişmiş olsa dahi, aynı yeri tercih etme eğiliminde olmasıdır.

Kent ızgarası ise sosyal ve mekânsal yüzleşmelerin düzenleyicisi işlevi görmüştür. Önde gelen birçok Klasik dönem şehrinin ızgara plana göre kurulmuş olması, ızgara planının düzen, kentsel gurur ve kentlilik ile özdeşleşmesine neden olmuştur. Pednelissoslular da Pisidya'nın engebeli topografyasında kentlerini kurduklarında, muhtemelen medeniyet ve kentlilikle ilişkilerinin simgesi olarak ızgara planı tercih etmişlerdi. Dostane görülmeyen bir ortamı bu şekilde ehlileştirip medenileştirerek kendilerine yurt edinmişlerdir.

Sonuç olarak diğer Pisidya kentleri gibi Pednelissos'ta da fiziksel çevre teraslar, askeri yapılar, ulaşım ve hepsinden önemlisi binalar ile değişikliğe uğratılmıştır. Bu büyük işleri önceki hiçbir dönemde görülmemiş bir boyutta gerçekleştirirken insanlar, yaşamsal gereksinimlerini karşılarken çevrelerini de bir bilişsel çerçeve içerisinde anlamlandırıp onu bir iletişim ve kendilerine dair bir imge sunma aracı olarak kullanmışlardır.

Pednelissoslular'ın hedef ve arzuları diğer toplumlarla olan etkileşimleri aracılığıyla şekillenmiş görünmektedir. Dağlık Pisidya ile düz ovalarla kaplı Pamfilya gibi iki tezat bölgenin sınırında bulunan Pednelissos'un sakinleri için *kuzey* ile *güney*, *dağ* ile *ova*, ve *medeniyet* ile *medeni olmayan* arasındaki gerilimler güçlü referans noktalarıydı. Pednelissoslular bu referanslar ile buldukları çevrenin özel koşulları arasında bir denge kuracak şekilde fiziksel çevrelerini şekillendirmişlerdir.

Planlama ızgarası bunun açık bir örneğidir. Izgara burada gevşek bir biçimde, topografyanın etkisi altında şekillenmiş, pratik olmadığı ya da istenmediği yerde de gözardı edilmiştir. Yerleşimin kuruluşundan beri kullanımda olduğu izlenimini



veren ızgara plan, en açık şekilde yerleşimin en eski kalıntılarında, özellikle de kent merkezinde izlenebilmektedir. Sonradan yapılan binaların ızgara plana uyumu konusunda pragmatik bir yaklaşım sergilenmiş olduğu, kimi binaların uygunluk gösterirken kimilerinin aykırı durduğu söylenebilir. Izgara plan, katı bir şekilde uygulanmamış olmasına karşın, planlanmış, düzenli ve bakımlı bir şehir imgesi yaratacak kadar açık ve belirgindir. Böylece Pednelissoslular'ın kent statülerini ve medeniyet merkezi olma iddialarını sergiledikleri söylenebilir. Bu nedenle planlama ızgarasının simgesel fonksiyonunun da pratik fonksiyonu kadar Pednelissoslular'ın ızgara planı benimsemelerinde önem taşıdığı öne sürülebilir.

Izgara plan dahilinde planlanmış olmasına karşın, Pednelissos'un yapıları çevresi birbirinden farksız, homojen binalardan ve birbirinin aynı paralel sokaklardan oluşmamaktaydı. Yapılı çevre özel *peyzaj* deneyimleri ve insanlarla çevreleri arasında yüzleşmeler yaratacak şekilde planlanmış nirengiler, patikalar, düğüm noktaları, kenarlar ve bölgelerle yapılandırılıp farklılaştırılmıştı. Günlük hayatta tekrar tekrar yaşanan bu yüzleşme ve deneyimlerin bir sonucu olarak insanlar *peyzaj* içerisindeki değişik yerlere değişik anlamlar, sembolik değerler yüklemiş, ve *peyzaj*larında somutlaşan ilişkilerin bir imgesini, zihinsel bir haritasını yaratmışlardır (Lynch 1960).

Anıtsallık ve görsel baskınlıklarıyla öne çıkan nirengiler, farklı Pisidya kentleri arasında bir dereceye kadar benzerlik göstermekte idi. Bu, Pisidya toplumlarının ortak bir sosyal yaşam tarzını, ortak bir kültür ve değerler sistemini paylaştıklarının bir işaretiydi. Bu, Pednelissos'un çevresinden yalıtılmış bir kent değil Pisidya kültürüne entegre olmuş bir kent olduğunu göstermektedir.

Nirengiler yapılmış oldukları zamanın ruhunu yansıtmaktadırlar. Buna sonucu olarak değişen toplum yapısıyla birlikte nirengiler de değişim göstermişlerdir. Ancak nirengilerin yerlerinin gösterdiği devamlılık dikkat çekicidir. Bir nirenginin biçim ve içeriği değişse bile yüzleşmenin meydana geldiği yer aynı kalmıştır. Ayrıca nirenginin sağladığı yüzleşmenin niteliği de genelde aynı kalmış, örneğin dinsel

yüzleşme sunan bir yer takip eden dönemlerde de dinsel yüzleşmeler yaratmaya devam etmiştir.

Geçitler, önemli nirengi ve düğüm noktalarını bağlamaları ve yüzleşmelerin meydana geldiği yerler olmaları nedeniyle önem taşırlar. Geçitler de takip eden dönemlerde devamlılık göstermiş, görsel vurguları Roma döneminde zirveye ulaşmıştır. Bu vurgu genelde kentin büyüklük ve kaynaklarıyla orantılıydı. Sagalassos, Cremna ve Selge gibi bölgenin en büyük ve güçlü kentleri en görkemli geçitlere sahipken, Pednelissos gibi daha küçük kentlerin geçitleri daha dar ve dolambaçlı bir görünüm sunar. Görsel vurgu kolonatlara yerine binaların cephelerinin gösterişle sağlanırken, kolonat olmadığı için kent dokusuyla daha iç içe bir deneyim sunarlar. Bunlar daha dar görüş açıları ve daha dolaylı görünüm sunmakla birlikte yarattıkları deneyim büyük kentlerin geçitlerinin yarattığı deneyimden daha az görkemli değildir.

Yolların ya da nirengilerin toplandığı odaklar olan düğüm noktaları da kent deneyiminin ve yüzleşmelerin yoğunlaştığı noktalardır. Pednelissos bağlamında özellikle Hellenistik kent merkezi kentin gücünün ve kimliğin yansıtması ile kent imgesinin oluşmasında önem taşımaktaydı. Roma döneminde inşa edilen düğümlerse Romalılık duygusunu vurgulamaktaydı. Öte yandan kent kapıları içerisi ve dışarısının, kentsel ile kırsalın ve medeniyet ile medeni olmayanın buluştuğu yerler olarak önem taşımaktaydı.

Kenarlar ise hareketi yönlendirmeleri ile kent deneyiminde rol almaktaydı. İnsan yapısı kenarlar olan kent surları aynı zamanda kentin gücünün ve prestijinin bir göstergesi haline gelmişti.

Bölgeler ise, yukarı ve aşağı kent örneğinde olduğu gibi, eski ve yeni gibi zıtlıklardan ya da, Apollon kutsal alanı ve çevresinde olduğu gibi dinsel vurgusundan anlamını ve karakterini kazanmıştı.

Anlamı ve imgesi bu şekilde oluşan Pednelissos *peyzajlarının*, geçmiş ve bugün, dağlar ve ovalar, medeniyet ve yaban hayat, güvenlik ve tehlike, düzen ve düzensizlik gibi bazı karşıtlıklar ekseninde yapılanmış olduğu öne sürülebilir. Bu karşıtlıkların bazıları Kalsik dönem bağlamının etkisini hatırlatırken bazıları bölgenin kendine özgü şartlarından kaynaklanmaktaydı. Sonuç olarak Pednelissos, sakinlerinin sosyo-kültürel motivasyonları ve çevresel etkenler arasındaki gerilim içerisinde *peyzajlarını* ve zihinsel dünyalarını yarattıkları bir durumu örnekler. Bu haliyle Pednelissos, tipik bir Klasik dönem doğu Akdeniz eyalet kenti örneğidir.

## APPENDIX F

### CURRICULUM VITAE

Ahmet Çinici

ahmet.cinici@gmail.com

#### EDUCATION

PhD	2006 – 2013	Middle East Technical University (METU), Settlement Archaeology
MS	2003 – 2006	METU Settlement Archaeology
BArch	1997 – 2002	METU Department of Architecture

#### CAREER HISTORY

Nov. 2011 – present	Design, Drawing and Documentation Consultancy, London, UK – freelance consultant
March 2009 – June 2011	The Architecture Studio, Milton Keynes, UK – architectural designer and drafter
Dec. 2006 – Sep. 2007	Kerkenes Excavation Project, Ankara and Yozgat – project assistant
Dec. 2005 – Sep. 2007	METU Science and Technology Museum, Ankara – architect and model maker

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS AND EXCAVATIONS

2010 – 2012	Pisidia Survey Project
2007 – 2011	Kerkenes Dağ
2005 – 2008	Komana Pontika Survey
2008	Klazemonae Survey

2008	Domuztepe
2005 – 2006	Burgaz Örenyeri
2006	Pessinus
2005	Çatalhöyük
2003	Ary-Kanda
2000 – 2001	Magnesia

## **LANGUAGES**

Turkish	native
English	fluent
Italian	basic

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **journal article**

Erciyas, D. Burcu and Çinici, Ahmet. 2010. "The Hexagonal Basin at Komana: A Preliminary Architectural Study." *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 27, 281-296.

### **conference proceedings**

Çinici, Ahmet. 2012. "The Memory Remains: Continuity and Change in the Pattern of Symbolic Encounters within the Planning Grid of Pednelissos." *Proceedings of the Second International Meeting EAHN - European Architectural History Network*, edited by H. Heynen, Gent: Academia.

Çinici, Ahmet. 2009. "An Architectural Investigation of Leisure Spaces in the Roman Domestic Context: The Case of Ephesus." In (ed.) *SOMA 2007: Proceedings of the XI Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, İstanbul Technical University, 24 – 29 April 2007*, edited by Ç. Özkan Aygün, 68-74. Oxford: Archaeopress.

## APPENDIX G

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
- Enformatik Enstitüsü
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Çinici  
Adı : Ahmet  
Bölümü : Yerleşim Arkeolojisi

**TEZİN ADI:** Pisidian Landscapes: Production of Space, Power and Ideology in Rural Pednelissos

**TEZİN TÜRÜ:** Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**