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Life in the Truck Lane: Urban Development in Western Rough Cilicia

Preface

The members of the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Team dedicate this essay to the memory of Kurt Tomaschitz, a remarkable scholar who passed away tragically in May 2008. As Assistant Professor with the Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik at the University of Vienna, Kurt Tomaschitz was arguably the leading authority on Rough Cilician epigraphy of our generation. His publications, »Unpublizierte Inschriften Westkilikiens aus dem Nachlaß T.B. Mitfords« (1998) and »Reperitorium der westkilikischen Inschriften« (with Stefan Hagel, 1998), remain fundamental to the understanding of social institutions and urban development in Roman Rough Cilicia.

Our communication with Kurt Tomaschitz began in 2002, when he informed us that he was preparing a response to our on-line publication of the inscribed statue base that we located at Göçük village in 2000 <<https://engineering.purdue.edu/~cilicia>>. The base records a dedication by »the Demos of Juliosebaste,« thus confirming the existence of a community by this name in western Rough Cilicia. We discussed at length the problems raised by this inscription and remained in close correspondence with Kurt from then on. After he published his response in »Tyche« in 2003, we undertook the challenge of reconciling our initial interpretation of this dedication with his compelling, alternative point of view. Two years later Kurt agreed to serve as a co-organizer of the International Conference being organized in Lincoln Nebraska: »Rough Cilicia: New Archaeological and Historical Approaches«. When the participants of the conference assembled in Lincoln in October 2007, we were both saddened and alarmed to learn that Kurt's failing health had prevented him from joining us. His characteristically informative paper on Cilician piracy was read aloud by M. Hoff and will appear in the forthcoming conference proceedings. All the while the members of the survey team continued to develop the following essay, intended to summarize the most significant findings of our field investigations in western Rough Cilicia. As will become evident to the reader, Kurt's courteous and insightful recommendations prompted us to adjust our views about the foundation of Roman era Juliosebaste in western Rough Cilicia. Close analysis of a second inscription recovered by the team at Göçük and discussed below positively confirms Kurt's hypothesis that Juliosebaste was founded and sustained by local dynasts (client kings and queens), rather than by the Roman Emperor Augustus. Such was the nature of Kurt Tomaschitz' penetrating insight that his mere suggestion altered the trajectory of on-going research efforts continents apart. Throughout our correspondence Kurt exhibited the kindness, enthusiasm, and urbanity of a gentleman in every sense of the word.

The members of the survey team express our sincere condolences to family, friends, and co-workers of Kurt Tomaschitz at the loss of so talented a scholar in the prime of his career. We take comfort in the fact that his substantial contributions will undoubtedly stimulate new directions in Rough Cilicia studies for decades to come.

Introduction

What combination of forces precipitated urban development in the ancient Mediterranean world? Are the remnants of such forces identifiable in the archaeological record? Since the Mediterranean basin presented itself as an ethnically diverse region where goods and services were transported largely by water, to what degree was urban development at the local level stimulated by the expansion of overseas empires? More specifically, does a ›world system‹ theoretical construct adequately address the phenomenon of urban development in the ancient Mediterranean world? This construct has gained significant popularity with those attempting to explain the pace and scale of development in the pre-classical world and is commonly applied to prehistoric, Near Eastern, and Bronze Age cultures of the region. However, it is rarely applied in Roman contexts where the quantity of archaeological and historical evidence to test the construct arguably is most plentiful¹. Moreover, existing discussion tends to focus on the formulation of a world system construct from the perspective of the core, defining the entity of the core itself, the possibility that core locations shifted over time, or that multiple competing core entities existed simultaneously. Recent observers have pointed increasingly to the lack of attention paid to diverging tendencies at the peripheral level in these developments². The desire to interpret developments macroregionally tends in particular to diminish the importance of economic behavior on the periphery, not to mention the complexity entailed in the merger of native and offshore systems. Some argue that participation by the periphery was often negotiated by local elites, and that such negotiations create internal conflicts and resolutions that often brought about social, political, and economic transformations. Understanding the nature of core/periphery relations, therefore, requires an awareness of the social and political structures of the individual societies in question. When viewed in microcosm, the likelihood for nuance, complexity, and variation in cultural development at the local level offers potentially significant insight to a world system construct.

With its emphasis on spatial and diachronic attributes, regional field survey holds the capacity to explore the core-periphery question at the local level by investigating the settlement patterns of peripheral societies that undergo urban development. Systematic archaeological survey reliably documents regional patterns of economic and socio-political behavior and, depending on the resolving power of surface chronological indicators, is able to monitor changes in these patterns over time. Exploring past human habitats for relative continuities in site occupation, and variation in site size, location, character, and function obtains crucial insight to patterns of development. Evidence for periods of agricultural intensification, specialization, and settlement nucleation are taken to indicate, for example, heightened demands imposed on a given habitat by the external force of neighboring empires³.

It is in this context that the work of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) has much to offer. Rich in both archaeological and textual sources (literary, historical, and epigraphical), the region provides an opportunity to combine geomorphological, floral, ceramic, architectural, and written evidence in order to investigate the history, material culture, settlement, and use of this semi-peripheral region of the Mediterranean basin, placing particular emphasis on the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Situated at the boundary of world-system resource circulation and peripheral resource production, the region provides the opportunity to examine the balance between the oftentimes conflicting requirements of an ecological paradigm with those

¹ Introduced by I. Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) to describe the continuing transformation of hierarchical, interdependent structures of technology-rich core and labor-rich peripheral polities participating in the early (16th c.) extensive capitalist market economy, the utility of this construct for understanding premodern interregional structures remains significant, albeit debated (Chase-Dunn 1988, 1990; Chase-Dunn – Hall 1991; Edens 1992; Hall 1999; Hall – Chase-Dunn 1996, 1993; Kohl 1989; Peregrine 1996; Stein 1999a, 1999b). Particularly useful is I. Wallerstein's argument that the relative wealth and power of a region are due principally to its ability to manipulate flows of material, energy, and people at a macro-regional (›world-system‹) scale through the establishment of ties of superordinance vs. dependency. – For abbreviations additional to those published in <<http://www.oeai.at/publik/autoren.html>> s. the end of this contribution.

² Kardulias 1999a; Stein 1999a; and Morris 1999.

³ Alcock 1993, 19.

of an institutional paradigm to achieve a greater understanding of the transmutations that occur when native communities and external empires combine efforts to exploit a regional resource base⁴.

Since 1996 RCSP members have addressed this and other questions through the investigation of a 60 km coastal strip in southern Turkey. In modern terms the RCSP area rests within the confines of two provinces (Antalya and İçel) encompassing three districts (Alanya, Gazipaşa, and Kaledran). At its center sits Gazipaşa (ancient Selinus), a town of some 17,000 inhabitants located approximately 175 km east of the provincial capital, Antalya (ancient Attaleia), and 36 km east of its largest neighbor, Alanya (ancient Korakesion). Enclosed by the arc of the Tauros Mountains the valley is sharply dissected by three river systems, the Delice, the Bıçkıcı, and the Hacımusa (figs. 1–3).

In antiquity the survey area formed the boundary between eastern Pamphylia and western Rough Cilicia⁵. Within this narrowly enclosed basin, at least eight urban communities thrived at the height of the Roman era. Along the coast stood five cities whose names are well established even if the sites themselves have received little scholarly attention: Iotape⁶, located on a small coastal promontory along the northern entrance to the valley; Selinus⁷, situated at the base of a second coastal promontory at the mouth of the Hacımusa River; Kestros⁸, situated on the crest of a third coastal mountain (376 m above sea level) directly south (and in plain view) of Selinus; Nephelis or Nephelion⁹, perched on a small chimney-rock directly overlooking the sea; and Antiochia ad Cragum¹⁰, established on an imposing sea cliff at the southern end of the basin (presumably the ancient Kragos, some 300 m above sea level). Here the mountains extend their reach to the sea to enclose the basin area. Some 16 km of rugged hill terrain and steep ridges separated these coastal communities from the nearest neighbor to the south, Charadros at the eastern edge of the survey zone.

The Hasdere/Adanda Canyon immediately inland from the Gazipaşa coastal plain sustained two additional substantial urban communities, Lamos (a metropolis) and Asar Tepe (fig. 4), whose ancient name remains unconfirmed¹¹. Two other settlements, whose ancient names likewise elude detection, are Govan

⁴ The ecological paradigm is also referred to as ›formalism‹, or what R. H. Halperin (Halperin 1988, 1994) describes as locational movements – ›changes of place‹; these involve transfers from one physical space to another, such as transfers of goods, productive resources, including people, from one place to another. The institutional paradigm, ›substantivism‹ or Halperin's appropriational movements – ›changes of hands‹ – consists of organizational changes or transfers of rights in the allocations of resources or goods.

⁵ As a result it was occasionally transferred between the administrative control of one territory and the other. One source would put the boundary at Korakesion (Alanya), another at Anemurium (Anamur). Arguably, the boundary would appear to have been located approximately 20 km eastward from Korakesion along the coast at the Syedra River. s. Ptol. 5, 5, 3. 8; Strabo (14, 4, 2 [667]; 14, 5, 3 [670]) is also confusing on this point. Uncertainty continues to this day. For discussion, s. Jones 1971, 208 n. 30; Syme 1995, 240; Ruge 1922, 1371; Bean – Mitford 1962, 192. 196 n. 22; Bean – Mitford 1965, 27–29; Bean – Mitford 1970, 50. s. also infra p. 276.

⁶ For references to Iotape as a polis, s. Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 122–131, Iot 1a. 3c. 9. 12b. 23a; and the coin IOTAPEITON, Head 1911, 721.

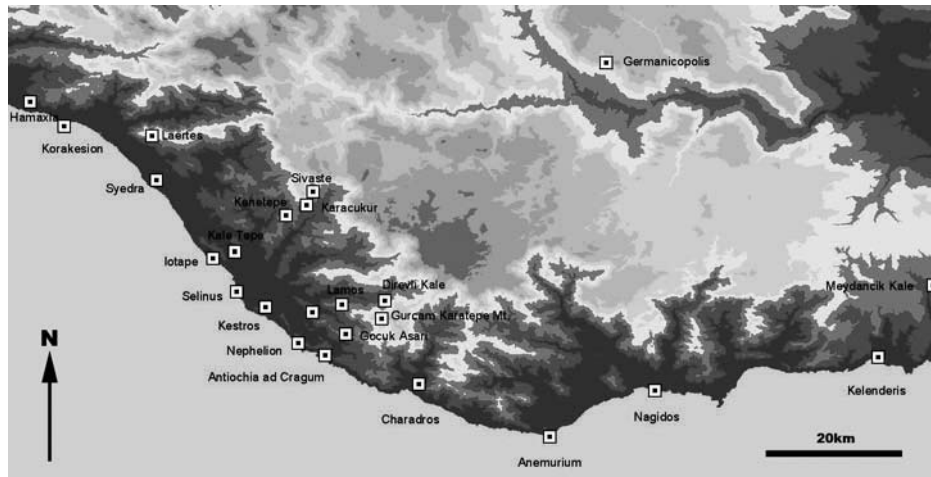
⁷ For Selinus' status as a polis, Skyl. 102 (GGM I 76): ›polis‹; Strab. 14, 5, 3 (669): ›Selinous polis kai potamos‹; Liv. 33, 20, 4–5 *castellum*; Plin. nat. 5, 22; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, De Thematibus 1, 12: ›Selinous, mikron polismation kai potamon homonumon echousa‹ (for the text, s. Pertugi 1952, 38); The Miracles of St. Thekle, 2, 11: ›Selinus was a small polis by the sea, once great in the previous period of peace but now reduced because of wars.‹; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 379 f., SIT 6. 11. Selinus also struck coins, TRAIANO SELINO (Head 1911, 728); for Trajan's death at Selinus, Cass. Dio 68, 33.

⁸ At Kestros numerous local inscriptions record the existence of the *boule*, *demios*, as well as a full roster of magistrates, including gymnasiarchs, imperial priests, and *demiourgoi*; s. Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 148–153, Kes 10. 19. 28a. 28b (›boule kai demios‹); 29 (›boule‹); 1. 2. 4b. 6. 7a. 7b. 13. 16. 17. 19. 20a. 20b. 24. 26a. 26b. 27 (›demos‹); 1. 26a (›iereus‹); 2. 3. 27 (›demiourgos‹); 19 (›gymnasiarchos‹). The city also struck coins in its own name during the Roman empire (Head 1911, 719).

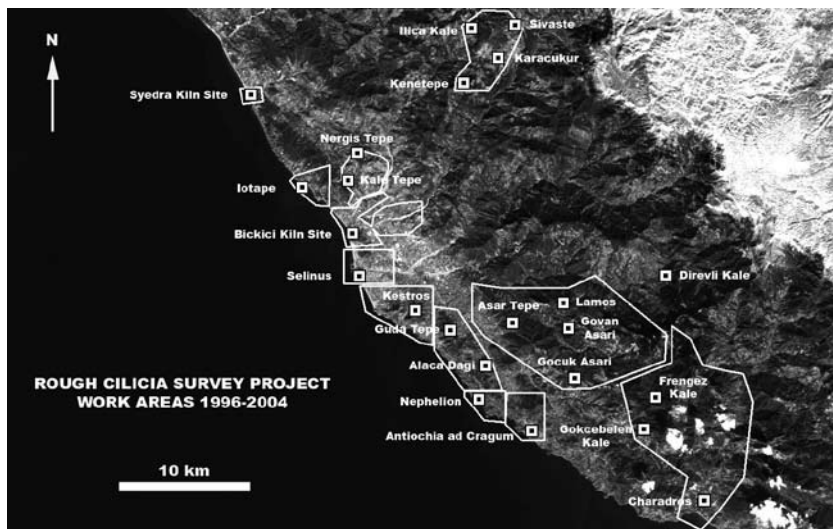
⁹ Karamut – Russell (1999, 364. 369) presume Nephelion to have been a polis and report seeing several inscriptions at the site recording the existence of local officials such as *demiourgos*, *gymnasiarchos*, and *archiereus*. One published inscription refers to the city's ›boule kai demios‹; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 324, Nph 1.

¹⁰ For epigraphical evidence of Antiochia's status as a polis, s. Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 35–43, AnK 4. 20. 21 (›polis‹); 4. 11b. 15. 24. 26 (›boule kai demios‹). In the episcopal list of the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.), there is a bishop Akakios from ›Antiocheias tes Lamotidos‹, indicating that by that time, Antiochia also formed part of the Lamotis; Schwartz 1922–1930, II 1, 39; Ramsay 1890, 380; Jones 1971, 210–212. Coins record ›Antiochia tes paraliou‹ (Head 1911, 717).

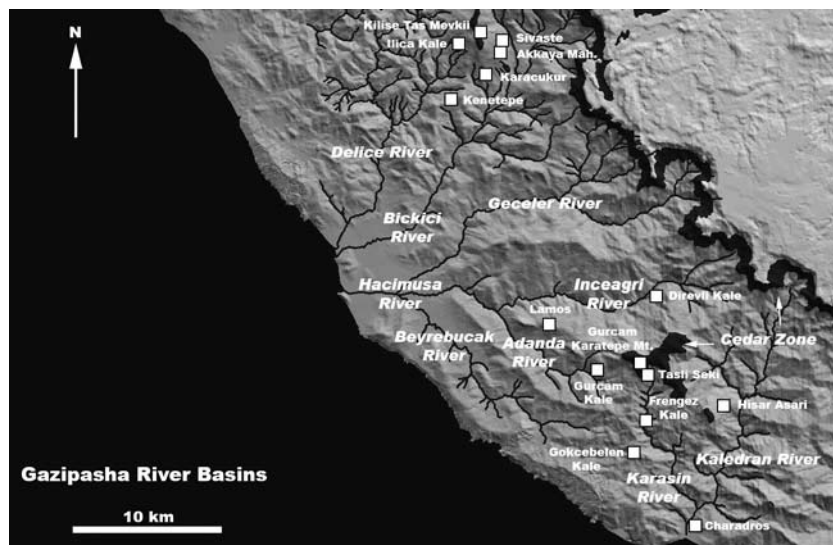
¹¹ Hasdere and Adanda are alternate names for the same river. For epigraphical evidence of Lamos' status as a polis, s. Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 12–16, Ada 2. 6 (›polis‹); 4. 7. 8. 9. 15. 16 (›boule kai demios‹). It struck coins, LAMOU METROPO (Head 1911, 722 f.), indicating that it stood as a metropolis to a surrounding territory, the Lamotis (on which s. infra with n. 127). On the



1 Western Rough Cilicia



2 Survey region, with work areas



3 River basins and cedar zone of Western Rough Cilicia

Asarı and Göçük Asarı. They are smaller in size and lack the architectural features associated with the established urban sites; hence their status remains open to question. Farther inland along the main course of the Hacımusa river basin, at the base of the Tauros itself, an area as yet largely unexplored by the survey team, stood Direvli Kalesi, with its Roman era fortress and its numerous inscribed rock cut tombs¹². To the north in the highland watershed of the Bıçkıcı River stood at least three large communities whose ancient names also are lost: medieval Sivaste (possibly a polis, known today as Karatepe)¹³, Kenetepe and Ilica Kale. These too have received limited investigation by the survey.

One last municipality is Charadros, a polis nestled at the extremely narrow mouth of the ancient Charadros, or Cataracts River (the modern Kaledran), some 16 km south of Antiochia. Hemmed in by towering mountains on all sides, Charadros sat on a small outcrop directly overlooking the river and its river-mouth port recorded by several ancient sources, beginning with Hecataios¹⁴. One canyon of the Charadros drainage system works its way past rugged cataracts to a peak, Gürçam Karatepe (1,700 m), which forms the divide between this and the southern arms of the Hacımusa drainage system. As distant as coastal Charadros may seem from the Gazipaşa basin, topography, archaeological remains, textual and epigraphical records demonstrate that it was linked to the hinterland resources of that region¹⁵.

The majority of these sites exhibit significant traces of monumental architecture and/or inscriptions that indicate the existence of civic institutions such as *boule kai demos*, thus classifying them legitimately as ›cities.‹ In addition to such urban communities, the basin sustained numerous smaller settlements ranging from large fortified villages to isolated fortifications, ›industrial complexes‹ (kiln sites, amphora depots, wine and oil press complexes), isolated settlements (farms), isolated (unidentifiable) structures, tombs, road fragments, and dense sherd scatters. The survey team has identified at least 143 such *loci* since 1996. Another six *loci*, maritime anchorages, were identified in 2004 (tab. 1).

Table 1: Site typologies 1996–2004

SITE NAME	CODE NO.	SITE TYPE
Urban Sites		
Antiochia ad Cragum	28-c-9-d-1	urban site
Asar Tepe	RC 0014	urban site
Charadros	RC 0401	urban site
Göçük Asarı	RC 0030	urban site (?)
Govan Asarı	RC 0040	urban site (?)
Ilica Kale	RC 0309	urban site
Iotape	28-a-20-c-1	urban site
Karatepe (= Sivaste)	RC 0301	urban site

question of Asar Tepe's identification, s. infra pp. 280–285. Locally found inscriptions provide references to a *boule* and possibly officials such as *dekaprotoi*, imperial priests, and *gymnasiarchoi* (Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 46 f., AsT 1 and 2).

¹² For the inscriptions, s. Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 76–80, Dir 1–11; Bean – Mitford 1970, 175–184, nos. 192–202. For discussion of the tombs, s. Er Scarborough 1991, 1998. G. Bean and T. Mitford surmised that Direvli lay within the territory of the city of Lamos, based on repeated references to the demos (one concerning a fine of three minas to be paid to the demos by tomb violators) and one mention of a stone cutter originating from the Lamotis.

¹³ For Sivaste, one fragmentary inscription, from its monumental acropolis, records the existence of an unnamed polis (Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 384, Siv 2a).

¹⁴ Hecataios (early 5th c. B.C.E.) refers to Charadros as a »limen kai epineion Kilikias« (Hecataios in Steph. Byz. s. v. Charadros). By the early 4th c., Skyl. 102 (GGM I 76) calls Charadros a »polis kai limen«; Mitford (1961, 134–136, no. 35) records a man from Pamphylian Arsinoe commanding the Ptolemaic garrison at Charadros; Strab. 14, 5, 3 (669) describes it as fortress with a harbor.

¹⁵ Epigraphical evidence from the 3rd–6th c. C.E. inextricably ties Charadros to the region of Lamos; e. g., IGR III 838 (= Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 61, Char 2), an honorific inscription of Septimius Severus found at Charadros, refers to the town as the »epineion« of the Lamotis: »hoi katoikountes Charadron epineion Lamoton« (»hoi katoikountes« probably refers to non citizen merchants residing at Charadros). Similarly, Stephanus Byzantinus refers to Charadros as the »epineion Kilikias« (GGM I 486). For Lamos' status as a metropolis, s. supra n. 11. In the Epistle of Leo (458 C.E.), a bishop of »Latmi et Calendri« is recorded; s. Schwartz 1922–1930, II 5, 49; Jones 1971, 211 n. 35, and similar evidence for Antiochia and Direvli supra n. 10. 12.

Table 1 (cont.): Site typologies 1996–2004

SITE NAME	CODE NO.	SITE TYPE
Kenetepe	RC 0304	urban site
Kestros	28-c-2-b-1	urban site
Laertes	RC 9617	urban site
Lamos	RC 0000	urban site
Nephelis	28-c-8-c-1	urban site
Selinus	28-b-21-c-6	urban site
Village Sites		
Gürçam Kale	RC 0408	monumental village (?)
Hisar Asarı	RC 0405	monumental village (?)
Gökçebelen Kale	RC 0410	monumental village (?)
Taşlı Seki	RC 0306	monumental village (?)
Kara Dağı	RC 9929	monumental village (?)
Nergis Tepe	RC 9902	monumental village (?)
Güzelce Harman Tepe	RC 9716	monumental village (?)
Tomak Asarı	RC 0019	fortified village
Oz Mevkii	RC 0307	Late Roman village
Karatepe	RC 9601	village
Koru Dağı	RC 9705	village
Guda Tepe	RC 9712	village
Beybeleni	RC 9718	village
Small Isolated Settlements/Farms		
Karaçukur	RC 0303	lithic site
Alaca Dağı	RC 9717	pre-Classical settlement
Kışlabucağı Mahallesi	RC 9609	isolated farm
Dede Tepe	RC 9802	isolated settlement
Sarıaç Mahallesi	RC 9808	isolated settlement
Kara Dağı	RC 9811	isolated settlement
Karacağla Mahallesi	RC 0310	Byzantine ›farmhouse‹
Isolated Industrial Complexes		
Bıkcı Kiln Site	RC 9604	amphora kiln site
Syedra Kiln Site	RC 9615	amphora kiln site
Gürçam Karatepe	RC 0305	lumber camp
Kale Tepe	RC 0201	press complex
Kocas Tepe	RC 9605	press complex
Macar Kale	RC 9708	press complex
Kocayatak Tepe	RC 9714	press complex
Sarnıç Tepe	RC 9715	press complex
above Sarnıç Tepe	RC 9803	press complex
Kocas Tepe	RC 9605	press complex
Kocayatak Tepe	RC 9714	press complex
Sarnıç Tepe	RC 9715	press complex
above Sarnıç Tepe	RC 9803	press complex
Kahyalar	RC 9906	press complex
Isolated Defensive Structures		
Fregez Kale	RC 0409	fortress
Kilise Taş Mevkii	RC 0308	fortifications
Bozkaya	RC 0015	fortified refuge
Obruk Tepe	RC 9707	tower
Kefirbaş Tepe	RC 9711	tower

Table 1 (cont.): Site typologies 1996–2004

SITE NAME	CODE NO.	SITE TYPE
below Tomak	RC 0014	tower
Asar Tepe	RC 0016	tower
Gözkaya Tepe	RC 0020	tower
Kaledran tower	RC 0403	tower
Anchorage		
Iotape	RC 0419M	harbor
Halil Limanı	RC 0420M	anchorage
Kaptan İskelesi Mahallesi	RC 0421M	Antiochia harbor
Cıpcıklıkaya	RC 0422M	anchorage
Kalın Burnu	RC 0423M	anchorage
Kaledran Burnu	RC 0501M	anchorage
Delice Kiln Site	RC 9603	maritime depot
Koru Plajı	RC 9701	maritime depot
Isolated Monuments		
Karasın necropolis	RC 0402	necropolis
Dede Tepe	RC 9713	necropolis
Nergis Tepe	RC 9903	necropolis
Meydancık Tepe	RC 9720	tomb
Meraklar Mah	RC 0417	possible tomb
Kır Ahmetler Mahallesi	RC 9919	tomb
Kır Ahmetler Mahallesi	RC 9920	tomb
Kır Ahmetler Mahallesi	RC 9921	tomb
Kır Ahmetler Mahallesi	RC 9923	tomb
Kır Ahmetler Mahallesi	RC 9924	three tombs
Goktaş Tepe (?)	RC 0043	tomb
Gözkaya Tepe	RC 0018	destroyed tomb (?)
Yuvarlak Tepe	RC 0202	Roman road
Akkaya Mahallesi	RC 0302	Roman road
Karasın road	RC 0411	Roman road
Gürçam Kale Road	RC 0418	Roman road (?)
heights above Işıklar Mahallesi	RC 0012	tower/chapel
Karadağı	RC 9610	monumental structure
Boş Tepe	RC 0021	possible relief
Indeterminate Features and Sherd Scatters		
Halil Burnu	RC 9602	features
Kocas Tepe	RC 9606	sherd scatter
Kocas Tepe	RC 9607	structures
Mevlutlu Mahallesi	RC 9608	sherd scatter
Abasalanı	RC 9611	sherd scatter
Kapı Tepe	RC 9612	sherd scatter
Abasalanı	RC 9613	sherd scatter
Atatürk Caddesi	RC 9614	sherd scatter
Selinti Burnu	RC 9702	sherds and structure
Koru Mahallesi	RC 9703	sherds and structure
Koru Mahallesi	RC 9706	structure
Eresler Tepe	RC 9709	sherds and structure
Eresler Tepe	RC 9710	sherds and structure
Dedebelen Tepe	RC 9804	structure
Maşat Tepe	RC 9805	isolated settlement

Table 1 (cont.): Site typologies 1996–2004

SITE NAME	CODE NO.	SITE TYPE
Muzkent	RC 9806	isolated settlement
Muzkent	RC 9807	sherds and structure
Dedebelen Tepe	RC 9809	sherd scatter
Abasalanı	RC 9810	sherd scatter
Sarıağaç Mahallesi	RC 9812	sherd scatter
Dede Tepe	RC 9813	sherd scatter
Kahyalar	RC 9907	sherds and structure
Kahyalar	RC 9908	sherds and structure
Kahyalar	RC 9909	sherd scatter
Kahyalar	RC 9910	sherd scatter
Kahyalar	RC 9911	sherds and structure
Kahyalar	RC 9912	sherd scatter
Kahyalar	RC 9914	sherds and structure
Değirmen Ozu Mahallesi	RC 9915	sherd scatter
Değirmen Ozu Mahallesi	RC 9916	sherd scatter
Değirmen Ozu Mahallesi	RC 9930	sherd scatter
Beybeleni	RC 9918	sherds and structure
Kır Ahmetler Mahallesi	RC 9922	sherds and structure
Karadağı	RC 9925	sherds and structure
Karadağı	RC 9926	sherds and structure
Karadağı	RC 9927	sherds and structure
Karadağı	RC 9928	sherds and structure
Yuvaklık Tepe	RC 0001	structures
Yuvaklık Tepe	RC 0002	structure
Kemer Sırta	RC 0004	poss structure
Kemer Sırta	RC 0007	sherd scatter
heights above Işıklar Mahallesi	RC 0009	sherds and structure
heights above Işıklar Mahallesi	RC 0010	sherds and structure
Kaşbelen Tepe	RC 0011	sherds and structure
below Tomak	RC 0017	structure
Boş Tepe	RC 0022	sherds and structure
Boş Tepe	RC 0023	sherds and structure
Boş Tepe	RC 0024	sherds and structure
Boş Tepe	RC 0025	sherd scatter
Boş Tepe	RC 0026	sherd scatter/threshing floor
Boş Tepe	RC 0027	sherd scatter/threshing floor
Boş Tepe	RC 0031	chipped stone on threshing floor
Sünbüller	RC 0034	sherd scatter
Imam Gedigi	RC 0041	caves with sherds
Göktaş Tepe	RC 0042	sherd scatter
below Kilburun Tepe	RC 0044	structure
below Kilburun Tepe	RC 0047	sherd scatter
below Kilburun Tepe	RC 0048	sherd scatter
Sünbüller	RC 0101	sherd scatter
Sünbüller	RC 0102	sherd scatter
Burunharman Sırta	RC 0103	sherd scatter
Kaptanlibelen Sırta	RC 0104	sherd scatter
Sunbullen	RC 0105	sherd scatter
Hasdere Köyü	RC 0311	sherd scatter

Table 1 (cont.): Site typologies 1996–2004

SITE NAME	CODE NO.	SITE TYPE
below Adanda Kale	RC 0311	sherd scatter
Alabaş Taşı	RC 0407	sherds and structure
Bozkaya	RC 0412	cistern and sherds
Aydın Köyü	RC 0413	sherd scatter
Aydın Köyü	RC 0415	sherd scatter
Meraklar Mahallesi	RC 0416	sherd scatter

The population density of this basin region was larger during the Roman period than at any other time in antiquity (and arguably larger even than it is today)¹⁶. Indeed, evidence obtained from surface collections and architectural mapping thus far indicates that very few of these settlements existed to any significant degree prior to the Roman era. As table 2 of ceramics finds indicates, the ›Romanization‹ of the region during the first two centuries C.E. appears to have marked a climax in the development of this peripheral region¹⁷.

To obtain a more balanced appraisal of the urbanization of western Rough Cilicia, one that takes into account the native experience in the region, RCSP has monitored evidence for relationships of cultural reception in the region within the context of world system theory. More precisely, we ask whether or not native elites so assimilated Greco-Roman cultural attributes that their own attributes essentially merged with and became indistinguishable from these. Careful monitoring of local patterns of cultural assimilation such as Greco-Roman written languages (epigraphy), political, social and economic organization, architectural design and utilization, crafts technologies, and religious attributes enable us to assess the balance between the diffusion of mainstream Greco-Roman culture in western Rough Cilicia and the preservation of native patterns of behavior. In short, team investigators examine the archaeological remains of western Rough Cilicia with the highest degree of sensitivity possible, one that is designed to detect relatively subtle distinctions in the native experience of this remote region during Roman times.

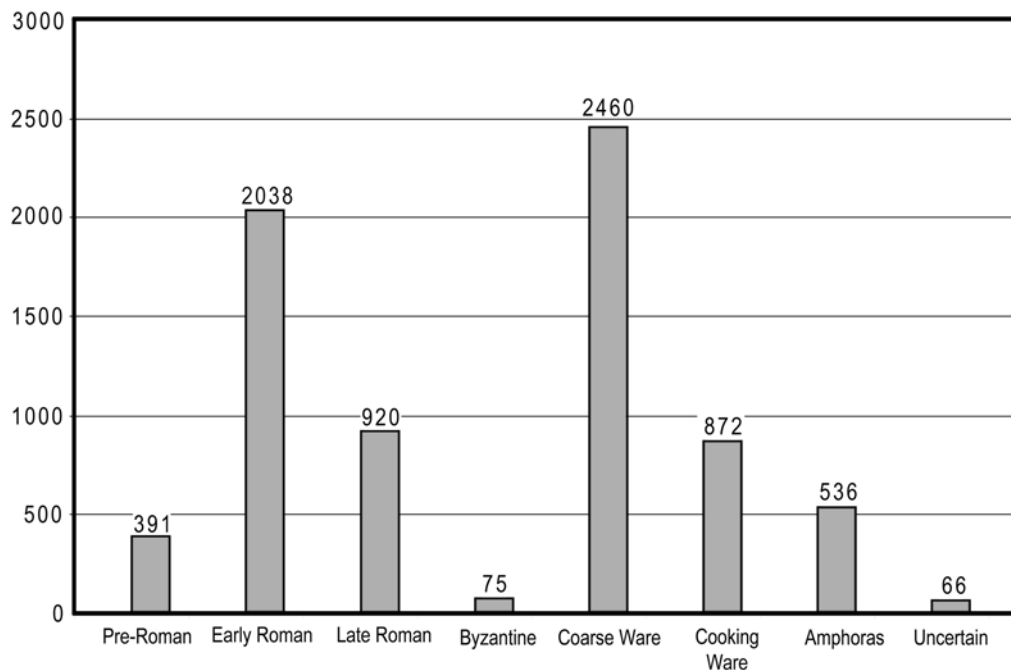
To address the process of cultural reception, we divide the region of western Rough Cilicia into three subsidiary geographical zones: 1. the area of the coast; 2. the river valleys and canyons immediately inland that form the lowermost foothills of the Tauros¹⁸; and 3. the higher, steeper elevations of the hinterland that rise eventually to the ridgelines and peaks of the mountain range. From a ›world system‹ perspective the areas of the coast and lower foothills immediately inland may be said to form a ›semi periphery‹ between the ›core‹ represented by the offshore ›Greco-Roman‹ maritime world and the ›periphery‹ of the mountainous hinterland. This latter area was the homeland of indigenous tribal elements ultimately of Luwian origin.

¹⁶ s. Blanton 2000, who relies on the »carrying capacity« of the contemporary landscape to arrive at population estimates; cf. Alcock 1997.

¹⁷ The presentation of this data requires some explanation. Datable sherds are recorded according to known typologies: these consist almost exclusively of imported fine ware and amphora remains for which chronological information is available from published contexts at archaeological sites throughout the Mediterranean world. In some instances, chronologies of a few locally produced forms such as the pinched-handle, Koan style, and Pamphylian amphoras, are known from published finds of similar forms, again identified elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In the accompanying tables, ceramics remains from recognized typologies have been arranged according to the following categories: Pre-Roman (8th–1st c. B.C.E.); Early Roman (1st–3rd c. C.E.); Late Roman (4–7th c. C.E.); Byzantine (for this region, generally 9–12th c. C.E.). Slightly less than half (46%) of the processed sherds yielded temporal information. Numerous forms that could not be identified temporally (in part because the survey lacks stratigraphically authenticated chronologies for locally produced coarse wares and cooking wares) are simply compiled in the charts as ›Coarse Wares‹ and ›Cooking Wares‹. The first category includes locally produced coarse ware and common ware forms such as bowls, basins, pitchers, mugs, pithoi, stamnoi, and loom weights. Invariably this appears in the tables as the largest of all categories. The second category includes all identified forms of cooking ware, including stewpots, casseroles, and frying pans. An additional category has been compiled for unidentifiable fragments of transport amphoras. Finally, a category of ›Uncertain‹ exists for all sherds that were flagged by the pedestrian team but were too badly damaged to permit any suitable identification. The coarse wares and cooking wares could be further subdivided into significant components such as pithoi, basins, etc.

¹⁸ What Ptol. 5, 5, 8 refers to as the »Kilikias Tracheias mesogeioi«; Bean – Mitford 1970, 70.

Table 2: Preliminary sherd counts of the Rough Cilicia Survey 1996–2004.
Total number of sherds processed, 7313



These were sometimes referred to collectively as Isaurians¹⁹. Available cultural evidence indicates that the Isaurian peoples adhered to a native lineage system with a strong hierarchical social order centering on ›chieftains‹ or ›warlords.‹²⁰ This tradition presupposes a settlement pattern of dispersed pastoral populations dwelling around and dependent on hierarchies residing in isolated highland fortresses and castles. The tradition also raises crucial questions regarding the role of these isolated, highland populations in the transfer of cultural attributes between shore and the Anatolian interior. Did highland elements facilitate these transfers, e. g., or did their ability to utilize the terrain to their advantage actually impede them? Their long-standing reputation for xenophobia, marauding of neighbors, and unbending resistance to external empires would certainly point toward the latter. The likely influence that these tribal elements exerted on the ›semi periphery‹ Cilician populations along the coast, themselves also Luwian in origin, needs to be borne in mind.

¹⁹ These elements are referred to by some pre-Roman sources as ›mountain Cilicians‹. There are four recorded Isaurian tribes: Homonadenses (variously called [H]omanades by Plin. nat. 5, 94; Homonadeis by Strab. 12, 6, 3; Homonadenses by Tac. ann. 3, 48; s. Syme 1986, 159), Cietae, Cennatae, and Llasseis. The location of the Homonadenses is fairly certainly fixed on the Pisidian border well north and west of the survey zone. The Llasseis are generally located along the upper southern branch of the Calycadnus and near its Ermenek tributary. The Cietae are placed a little farther east and north, where both Olba and Coropissus struck coins as the ›metropolis of the Cietae‹. The Cennatae are to be found in the same area, and on other coins, in fact, Olba pronounced itself ›metropolis of the Cennatae‹ (Jones 1971, 195. 210 with n. 34). The sources indicate a good deal of fluidity with these names and identifications; Cietae, e. g., appears to have referred not simply to one tribe but also to the combined Isaurians, and in still other instances to a district or region. For discussion, s. Ramsay 1890, 363–367; Magie 1950, 494. 1354 f.; Jones 1971, 195 f. 210 f.; Desideri – Jasink 1990; Mitchell 1993, I 70–79; Lenski 1999a, especially the map 414; Lenski 2001.

²⁰ ›Ranked‹ as opposed to ›stratified‹ society; s., e. g., Earle 1997. Ancient textual sources furnish a viable model for highland ›warlordism‹ in Rough Cilicia. 8th–7th c. B.C.E. Assyrian records, e. g., mention the need of various Assyrian kings to suppress the marauding tendencies of Cilician (Hilakku) ›kings‹ who presided over ›towns‹ in these mountains. In 557 B.C.E. the Neo-Babylonian king Neriglissar conducted a razzia that focused specifically on settlements along the Calycadnus River (s. infra n. 37, with references). The language used to identify the mountain warlords of the interior remains consistent from Assyrian through Late Roman times. Greek sources of the pre-Roman era refer to these highland leaders as ›kings‹ (*basileis*) and ›tyrants‹ (*tyrannoi*); whereas, Roman era sources refer to them as ›bandits‹ (*latrones*) and *duces*, literally, illegal warlords. Testimony for this tradition is abundant and sustained: Xen. an. 1, 1, 11; 2, 1, etc.; Diod. 14, 19, 3; 6, 18, 22; App. Mithr. 92. 117; Flor. epit. 1, 41, 5; Cic. fam. 15, 2, 1; Cic. Att. 5, 15, 3; 6, 1, 13; Strab. 14, 5, 8 (671); 14, 5, 10 (672); 14, 5, 18 (676); Tac. ann. 12, 55, 1–2; SHA trig. tyr. 26; SHA Prob. 16, 4–17, 2; Zos. 1, 69–70; Malalas 13, 40. s. Desideri – Jasink 1990; Shaw 1990; Lenski 1999a; Lenski 2001. For Isaurian rebellions in the Roman period, s. infra pp. 299–303.

As for Rome, as the textual documentation indicates it extracted resources in the form of tribute and dispatched officials and armies to the region. Roman core influence was very likely felt in neighboring regional polities as well, including the cities of Hellenistic heritage in Lycia and Pisidia, the large, wealthy Greco-Roman cities of Pamphylia, and the emerging urban centers in neighboring Cyprus. In between these two extremes of core and periphery, the semi-peripheral area came to be a meeting ground where visible remains of Greco-Roman features, such as bath complexes, council houses, and the use of Greek in epigraphical records, are found side by side with evidence for local, uniquely Anatolian adaptation of Greco-Roman political and religious forms. The resulting mix reveals that the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia did not necessarily adopt attributes of mainstream Greco-Roman culture unconditionally; rather, they did so in a more nuanced manner.

To anticipate the conclusions drawn from the results of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project in their broader historical context, it may be stated that the world system construct by itself inadequately predicts the hardness of local customs or the willingness of indigenous populations at the semi-peripheral level to resist or modify offshore influences. In western Rough Cilicia native hierarchies at the ›semi periphery‹ appear to have behaved opportunistically when confronted by external powers seeking to exploit available local resources and to have negotiated solutions to the threats thus posed. Over time they successfully accommodated imperial demands while preserving local autonomy and identity beneath their Greco-Roman appearance. In similar manner they utilized the benefits of mainstream ›assimilation‹ – an expanded resource base, a growing population, and enhanced organizational skills – to keep the menacing tribal elements of the hinterland in check.

Parallels for cultural phenomena of this sort are available. Anthropological studies of modern, post-colonial behavior in regions such as central Africa demonstrate, e. g., that, when confronted by technologically advanced European colonial powers, native hierarchies selectively incorporated external economic mechanisms without ever relinquishing local ascendancy or the underlying cognitive and ideological bases to authority²¹. In many instances native hierarchies were able to exploit the imported modes of economic development to insulate and to reinforce their long-standing positions. In some respects this model appears applicable to the native experience in western Rough Cilicia. Despite their relative subordination to Roman authority, e. g., the native elites along this narrow shore appear to have negotiated their way to a suitable position in the Roman world, one that left them in control of local resources while exploiting the benefits that offshore technologies and cultural amenities had to offer. This in turn implies that core elements in ancient world system formations, such as the Roman Empire, were neither as strong nor as forceful as theorists would argue and that the maintenance of the core's place in the world system was to some degree determined by its ability to negotiate compromise with elites at the local level. Particularly along liminal areas of diverging cultures such as western Rough Cilicia, the inhabitants appear to have pursued an uneven, irregular course to development.

To explore questions of cultural diffusion and reception between a Roman core and a Rough Cilician periphery in greater detail, this paper presents the preliminary findings of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project

²¹ Meillassoux 1960; Meillassoux 1981; Rey 1971; Rey 1975; Terray 1969; Terray 1975; van Binsbergen – Geschiere 1985. These scholars articulate a model called the ›lineage mode of production‹ to explain the African ›colonial‹ experience in the early modern era. This model holds that macroregional, market-based systems enter into specific relations with the systems they encounter in particular localities. The forms that ultimately emerge represent complex unions of the pre-existing systems, both market-based and subsistence, resulting conceptually in an ›articulation of modes of production,‹ or in a union between two or more modes of production within the same social form (Raatgever 1985, 292). Although Wallerstein (1974, 127) rejected this argument by insisting that older modes of production undergo drastic transformation once subordinated to the establishment of market-based dominance, his view ignores the possibility that older modes of production could remain dominant within a social formation by imposing and maintaining the requirements of their own reproduction (Terray 1975, 91). In western Rough Cilicia Luwian inhabitants employing subsistence strategies in a pre-world-system environment were repeatedly pressured by Mediterranean world empires such as the Persians (ca. 560–330 B.C.E.), the Ptolemies (ca. 306–205 B.C.E.), the Seleucids (ca. 205–67 B.C.E.), and Rome (67 B.C.E. – ca. 650 C.E.) to adapt to the redistributive/market-based requirements of the respective core polities. Important questions raised by this struggle include the manner in which surplus labor was extracted from existing production communities, and the role played by ›footholds‹ for market-based penetration in the old relations of production (van Binsbergen – Geschiere 1985, 238). The lineage mode of production furnishes a useful parallel for the resulting transformations.

according to five limited topics: 1. The paleo-environment of western Rough Cilicia and the accumulating evidence that ancient resource utilization resulted in significant landscape alteration; 2. Phoenician, Greek, Cypriot, and Persian influences on pre-Roman state formation and the likely role of Cilician pirates in regional development during the late Hellenistic period; 3. The intervention of client kings during the Early Roman era and their efforts at urbanization; 4. The assimilation of ›mainstream‹ Greco-Roman monumental features in the urban settlements of western Rough Cilicia and the evidence this bears on cultural diffusion and reception; and 5. The emerging evidence that peripheral Isaurian tribal elements imposed their will on the coastal settlements during the Late Roman Period. In particular, the purpose of this paper is to elucidate the nuanced manner of cultural assimilation that was attained by the coastal population of western Rough Cilicia. More generally, the objective is to furnish a preliminary archaeological history of this region, one that evaluates its urban development along a diverse range of findings.

I. Paleo-environmental Research

Although preliminary, our investigation of the paleo-environment of the survey region indicates that the landscape of the Gazipaşa river basin has undergone significant alteration since antiquity. This is precisely the result one would expect from a sustained pattern of resource utilization, especially under the influence of external maritime powers. Although it is increasingly apparent that the region produced a range of products, Rough Cilicia was celebrated during antiquity for its forestry resources, particularly its high altitude stands of cedar, the natural habitat for which lay along a narrow thermocline between 1,500 and 1,800 m above sea level, just below the crest of the Tauros (fig. 3)²². Due to the close proximity of these ancient forests to the sea, external empires logically attempted to gain access necessary to exploit this region for its valuable shipbuilding timber and maritime supplies such as tar, pitch, and resins. Ancient textual sources demonstrate a sustained interest in the forestry resources of Rough Cilicia, particularly during the late Classical and Hellenistic eras. The late 1st century B.C.E. geographer Strabo (14, 5, 3 [669]), e. g., asserted that Hamaxia, a site 36 km northwest of the survey area, was an important center for the collection of cedar timber hauled down from the interior. He adds that M. Antonius ceded this territory to Cleopatra precisely to obtain the resources necessary to construct the naval armada that they used at the Battle of Actium²³. The proximity of Hamaxia to the survey area and the insistence of the sources on the importance of forestry products regionally legitimize the use of geoarchaeological methodologies to look for past patterns of regional deforestation. Calibrated evidence for ancient deforestation in western Rough Cilicia holds the potential not only to confirm or to deny the attraction of regional forestry resources to external core polities, but also to reveal the scale and duration of their exploitation.

Team geologists, M. Doyle and S. Ozaner, have pursued a number of strategies to determine the effect of ancient deforestation on the landscape²⁴. The first of these is geomorphological mapping to evaluate patterns of erosion as indicated by highland landslides, relic river terraces, and braided river beds in three fluvial basins: the Bıçkıcı, the Hacımusa, and the Kaledran. These patterns suggest that all three river valleys

²² Theophr. c. plant. 3, 2, 6; 4, 5, 5; App. Mithr. 92. 96; Strab. 14, 5, 3 (669); 14, 5, 6 (671); Rauh 1997; Rauh et al. 2000. For the habitat of cedars in south Anatolia, s. Blumenthal 1963, 75; Davis 1965; Zohary 1973; Meiggs 1982; Thirgood 1981; McNeill 1992; Boydak 2003.

²³ Blumenthal 1963, 117 interprets Strabo as referring specifically to the region between Alanya (Korakesion) and Gazipaşa (Selinus), although there is reason to believe that Cleopatra's territory may have extended much farther eastward to include the entire survey zone; s. infra n. 88. Today, he adds, the forests are gone except for pine of little economic value, with only the surrounding mountains giving an indication of the once rich forests that the coast provided.

²⁴ With respect to deforestation, modern development studies emphasize the correlation between local control and sustainable harvest (Holmberg 1992; Berger 1998), while historical studies point to the major negative impacts on forests by pre-modern and industrializing colonizing polities (Wilkinson 1986; Gadgil – Guha 1993; Murtaza 1998). If ancient forests were harvested and replanted in a sustainable manner by local inhabitants, e. g., one would expect little change in pollen levels. On the other hand, unsustainable harvest, or conversion of forests to agro-pastoralism should result in a significant change in pollen. Increased erosion may occur with unsustainable harvest but may be delayed as sediments are stored in valley slopes under agro-pastoralism, and later evacuated after land maintenance has ceased. Sedimentological charcoal tends to increase with agro-pastoral production.



4 Hasdere/Adanda River Valley

experienced periods of drastic changes in sediment delivery to the lower reaches. Such changes are most often instigated by substantial shifts in the sediment transport capacity of the main channel, either via degradation or aggradation of the main stem. The presence, e. g., of numerous landslides at the crest of the Bıçkıcı river canyon and of as many as five relic river terraces (4 m, 25 m, 55 m, 72 m, and 190 m respectively above the flood plain) along its length indicates an extensive pattern of erosion.

Mapping alone cannot reveal dates or determine precise causes of erosion, however²⁵. To obtain a record of alluvial deposition commonly associated with deforestation and to determine the possible dating of its historical phases, M. Doyle and S. Ozaner have conducted some 17 stratigraphical trench excavations in various catch basins of the Bıçkıcı, Hacımusa, and Kaledran Rivers (fig. 5)²⁶. The excavations have yielded dozens of stratigraphically recorded samples of charcoal, macrobotanical material, wood residue, and pollen. The trench excavation of the Kızılın Cave (excavated in 2001) illustrates the kinds of information these procedures are intended to reveal. The cave lies at the base of a small coastal promontory known as Kara Dağı approximately 2 km north of Selinus²⁷. Most recently, the beach and dune area outside the cave has been influenced by sediment deposited by the Hacımusa River that flows past the site of ancient Selinus; the mouth of the Bıçkıcı River lies on the opposite, northern side of the cave promontory and influenced earlier phases of sedimentation as well. Excavated just inside the mouth of the cave, the trench attained a depth of 3 m, cutting through silt, lime and charcoal strata, before terminating at beach sand. The trench yielded excellent pollen preservation as well as evidence of human activity (lime-making) with uncalibrated dates

²⁵ At least some of the visible landslide activity at the crest of the Bıçkıcı appears to result from recent road construction, e. g. some river terraces, meanwhile, predate regional human occupation. s. Blumenthal 1963, 114 for likely tectonic influences in the formation of the Gazipaşa floodplain; s. also Beach – Luzzadder-Beach 2000.

²⁶ When highland forests are denuded through logging the root structure disintegrates within 25 years, causing landslides such as those visible along the peaks of the Bıçkıcı and Kaledran canyons (Montgomery et al. 2000; Guthrie 2002; McNeill 1992, 349; Thirgood 1981; Hughes 1983; Beach – Luzzadder-Beach 2000, 117). The alluvium is gradually carried downstream (particularly during incidences of flooding) and deposited in lowland terraces. The geological team employed a local backhoe to excavate trenches approximately 4 m long, 1 m wide, and 4 m deep (the reach of the backhoe shovel). The scarp of each trench was then cleaned and examined for carbon, pollen, and lignin residues as well as for the stratigraphical record of alluvial deposition.

²⁷ The cave at the northern side of Karadağı (overlooking the mouth of Bıçkıcı River) is still active. Nearby neighborhoods rely on its karstic spring water for drinking purposes. Shale and limestone formations have prevented similar development on the southern side of the promontory.



5 Geomorphological trench

ranging from 2020 \pm 30 BP (ca. 19 B.C.E.) at the base to a lime-making deposit dating to 1565 \pm 40 BP (ca. 436 C.E.) The stratigraphy of this trench thus indicates preliminarily that beach sediment at the mouth of the Kızıllın Cave stood 3 m below its current level at the end of the 1st century B.C.E. In other words, the Hacımusa and Bıçkıcı Rivers would appear to have deposited nearly 3 m of alluvium along the shore of this beach and lagoon area during the past 2,000 years, most of this during the past 500 years, in fact. The stratigraphic pattern in this trench of gravel lenses, under- and overlain by fine silts and clays, appears to represent a period of intense bed-level aggradation consistent with significant landscape alteration. Although not all the tributaries in the Gazipaşa basin are exactly alike, the preliminary results of 17 trench excavations conducted by the geological survey point to similar activity throughout the survey zone. Results of the carbon dating of the trench samples should eventually enable team geologists to determine the extent to which this alteration occurred during antiquity²⁸.

In addition to the chronological data to be obtained from geomorphic trench excavations, team specialists, T. Filley and R. Blanchette, are employing biogeochemical analysis of woody tissues (lignin), carbon, phytolith and macrobotanical assemblages in the samples to investigate of the range of terrestrial vegetation preserved in the sediment as well as the relative sequencing of their deposition. At the same time, H. Caner is analyzing recovered pollen samples. Those analyzed thus far indicate that native tree species in the Gazipaşa basin were gradually replaced by various species of grass as well as by cultivated orchard trees such as black walnut. The preliminary results of her palinological investigation hint at a pattern of increasingly degraded vegetation resulting from severe overgrazing on the one hand and the human impact on natural high altitude forests and their replacement by secondary scrub colonizers on the other²⁹. Analysis of lignin and carbon samples obtained from the geomorphic trenches will shed similar light on these questions. P. Kuniholm and Ü. Akkemik, meanwhile, have undertaken dendrochronological investigations of tree-ring samples from the oldest surviving cedar and juniper trees in the highlands, particularly from trees located in the relic cedar forest at the crest of Gürçam Karatepe Mt. (fig. 3) above Charadros at the eastern edge of the survey zone. This forest seems particularly important not only because of its close proximity to the sea (15 km) but also because the pedestrian team has identified a number of highland archaeological sites along its arms, including one at the mountain's crest itself, Gürçam Karatepe, and another directly below the peak, Taşlı Seki. Thus far, dendrochronological analysis indicates that the current, government protected forest on Gürçam Karatepe is entirely regenerated, the oldest surviving tree being a juniper 483 years old³⁰. Based on a relatively limited, if authoritative

²⁸ Similar research was conducted in 1996–1997 by T. Beach in connection with S. Redford's investigation of Selçuk hunting lodges. Soil samples obtained from the river bank of the Kaledran River yielded evidence of agricultural activity in 1500 B.C.E., based on carbon-dated samples of fertilized soil; s. Beach – Luzzadder-Beach 2000, 134.

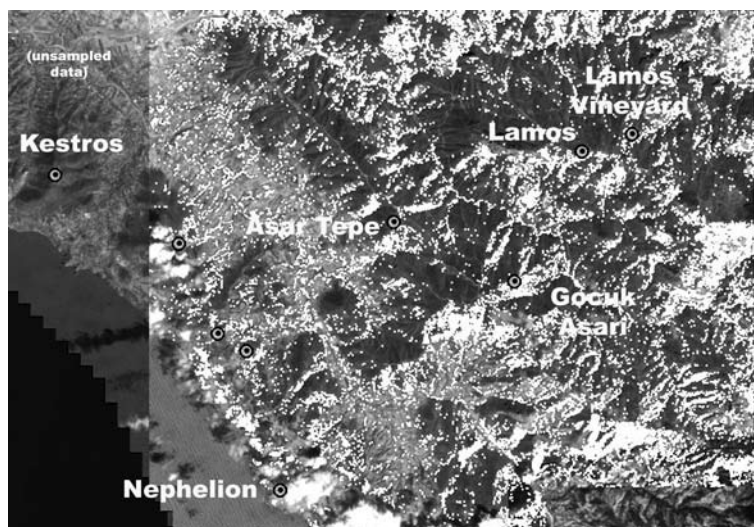
²⁹ The timing of this transformation remains to be determined (Caner et al. 2004).

³⁰ P. Kuniholm has built up a sequence of tree-ring samples obtained from 65 trees in the vicinity. For *Pinus nigra* his samples indicate a 557 year chronology (1444–2003 C.E.), based on 23 trees; for *Juniperus sp.* his samples indicate a 276 year chronology (1728–2003 C.E.) based on 12 trees; for *Abies cilicica* a 207 year chronology (1797–2003) based on 7 trees; and for *Cedrus libani* a 581 year chronology (1423–2003) based on 23 trees. Of the 9 trees sampled by Ü. Akkemik on Gürçam Karatepe, 7 were cedars, one was pine, and one was juniper. The last mentioned proved to be the oldest (483 years). One of the cedars (no. 5) dated 423 years old, but the mean lifespan of the 7 cedars was a mere 280.7 years.

sample, the cedar forest on Gürçam Karatepe would appear to have been exhausted centuries prior to 1500 C.E.³¹. The scarcity of old trees analyzed in this forest indicates once again the effect that human activities had on the immediate environment over a sustained period of time.

Last, C. Dore's remote sensing analysis of multispectral satellite imagery for the survey region is helping to determine the range and typology of existing ground cover in western Rough Cilicia. Dore's investigation is enabling the team not only to gauge the extent of landscape deformation over time but also to identify the habitat of surviving vegetative species. Preliminary analysis of the chromatic signature of regional grape vines has demonstrated, e. g., that grape vines thrive throughout the survey area, especially uncultivated growth otherwise obscured by dense maquis scrub (fig. 6)³². In a manner unmatched by pedestrian archaeological investigation, Dore's remote sensing procedures furnish a highly accurate means to identify and to locate the presence of natural resources in the survey region. His preliminary results regarding grape vine habitation in western Rough Cilicia help to confirm the archaeological and textual evidence for surplus wine production during antiquity³³.

Although the results of these paleo-environmental investigations remain preliminary, they indicate that anthropogenic forces have left their mark on the landscape of western Rough Cilicia. The highland landslides, multiple river terraces, and braided beds of regional river basins point to a pattern of erosion consistent with long term deforestation. The pollen data, though lacking chronological signposts for the time being, indicate a gradual shift in the landscape from forest cover to grassland and orchards. The dendrochronological data show that the current cedar forest is relatively recent growth. Finally, the remote sensing of spectral reflectance of grapevines confirms the archaeological and textual evidence for surplus wine production in this region. All of these conclusions remain tentative and must await the laboratory results of scores of geomorphic trench samples. Even the results obtained to date, however, demonstrate the degree to which a combination of geoarchaeological and paleo-environmental procedures help to articulate the form, scale, and duration of Cilician resource



6 Satellite image showing grape vine signature in survey region

³¹ Recent studies indicate that cedar forests, once eroded, are very slow to regenerate (Boydak 2003). The Turkish Forestry Service recently established effective legislation to conserve native cedar forests. It determined that by lengthening the cutting rotation period to 120–140 years on good sites and 160–180 years on poor sites minimum standards for regenerating cedar forests in the Taurus Mts. were attainable. These standards are, of course, based on forest regeneration under highly controlled circumstances, including systematic artificial seeding and enforced protection against the deleterious impact of grazing. Under natural conditions eroded forests exposed to constant grazing take considerably longer to regenerate. Blumenthal 1963, 75 argues that the forests of Pamphylia were likewise cleared during antiquity. He notes, however, the descriptions of rich forests in neighboring mountains recorded by 19th and 20th c. travelers. This could indicate that centuries-long regeneration was followed by renewed depletion in recent times. McNeill 1992, 94, 102, 148, 156–161, 248, 275, 283–290, 349–354 argues, meanwhile, that deforestation in these mountains is a very recent phenomenon (the past two centuries C.E.).

³² We presume that the maquis scrub expanded following deforestation and the abandonment of agricultural terrain at the end of antiquity. The scrub vegetation (kermes oak, wild olive, spartium junceum, juniper, pistachio, sage, and others [lorbeer, myrtle, baumerika, cistus, buxus imper vivens]) represents a remarkable colonizer, impervious to fire and drought (Caner et al. 2004; Atalay 1994; Bottema et al. 1994; Bottema – Woldring 1990; Bottema – van den Zeist 1990; Zohary 1973; Davis 1965; Blumenthal 1963, 117). Wild grape vines appear to thrive in the scrub, meanwhile, using it as a form of trellis to extend their habitat along the top of the scrub canopy (Rauh et al. 2006).

³³ The pedestrian team has identified 20–30 press installations and at least three amphora kiln sites in the survey region, all largely associated with regional wine production (table 2 lists 11 press complexes and two kiln sites; additional ones are found at several of the urban and village sites; s. also Rauh – Slane 2000; Rauh – Will 2002; Rauh 2004; Rauh et al. 2006).



7 Cilician imitation of Cypriot fineware

region. At Karaçukur in the Bıçkıcı highland, the survey team encountered lithic remains, several fragments of hand-made pottery, and Classical era kylix rims³⁴. At Alaca Dağı³⁵, isolated on a cliff top along the inland side of the coastal ridge, the team encountered a remarkable deposit of early painted fineware fragments (fig. 7). Apparently Cilician imitation of regionally distributed Cypriot fineware, these are dated to slightly before 500 B.C.E.³⁶. Although no architecture can be positively associated with the early finds at either Karaçukur or Alaca Dağı, the unique ceramic concentrations suggest that these two locations represent early native settlements, one along the coast and one in the Bıçkıcı highlands. Their isolated, non-architectural character appears to reflect traditional Anatolian patterns of pastoral habitation. From a Greek perspective numerous place names along the coast – including Hamaxia, Korakesion, Laertes, Syedra, Selinus, Nephelion, and Charadros – conceivably date to the era of Hellenic exploration and colonization of these waters³⁷. In the case of Charadros, the description of this settlement as a »polis kai limen«

utilization during antiquity, and the extent to which these resources were exploited potentially by offshore core polities over time.

II. Pre-Roman State Formation in Western Rough Cilicia

Textual, ceramic, and epigraphical sources contribute to our knowledge of the character and extent of pre-Roman settlement in Rough Cilicia. Together, they provide important insight into the beginnings of urbanization in the region. At least five cultural influences played a part in this process: indigenous Cilician, Cypriot, Greek, Phoenician, and Persian. Evidence suggests that while the survey region reflected this wider regional development, it remained a relative backwater, at least until the era of the Cilician pirates.

Pre-Hellenistic Periods

As table 3 indicates, a fairly significant presence of pre-Roman pottery has been identified throughout the survey region.

³⁴ And a unique, possibly Hellenistic strainer vessel. Lithic remains at Karaçukur include one intact obsidian blade and two additional worked obsidian fragments, and some 12 samples of locally worked chert. Residents of Gazipaşa informed N. Rauh that chert blades used with modern wooden threshing sleds were commonly obtained at Karaçukur. Additional lithic remains were found at the nearby site of Kenetepe.

³⁵ In previous publications also referred to as Rural Site 5, or »Dead Animal Site«; s. Rauh 2001b; Laflı 2001; Townsend – Hoff 2004.

³⁶ Personal communication from T. Hodos who inspected the samples in 2003; cf. Laflı 2001.

³⁷ For a few of these there is some corroborating textual information. Plutarch, e. g., mentions that around 460 B.C.E. 80 Persian warships moored possibly at Syedra during Cimon's campaign at the Eurymedon River in nearby Pamphylia (Plut. Cimon 13, 3 [»Syedra«, emended from »Hydroi«]). Selinus appears to be referred to as early as the mid-6th B.C.E. In 557 B.C.E. King Neriglissar campaigned in Rough Cilicia, pushing deep into the interior of the Calycadnus river basin and later setting fire to the passes leading from Sallune to the Lydian frontier (s. Albright 1956; Wiseman 1956, 39–42, 74–77, 86–88; Grayson 1975, 103–104; Glassner 1993, 200–201; Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 320; supra n. 20). Assuming that Sallune is Selinus, this document indicates not only that during the 6th c. B.C.E. Selinus stood at the boundary of the Lydian empire, but that the settlement, regardless of its actual size, was also a community of known international stature. Further evidence for Greek presence in the region arises from the Athenian tribute lists during the 5th c. B.C.E. The lists mention assessments for several cities along the coast, such as Ityra (= Idyros) (ATL I 493), Perge (ATL I 534), Syllion (ATL I 548), Aspendos (ATL I 471), and Kelenderis (ATL I 500), which paid one talent in 425/424 (ATL I 116: a 9 fr. 36 [= IG I² 63]). None is in the survey zone, however. Isokr. or. 161 says that most Cilician cities were ruled by partisans of Athens and that it is not difficult to gain the others. He may have been referring to, among others,

by the late 6th century B.C.E. geographer Skylax (for whom the textual tradition dates at least to the 4th c. B.C.E.)³⁸ not only conforms to the tradition for Greek colonies in the neighboring vicinity – Phaselis founded by Rhodes, Side by Kyme, Kelenderis and Nagidos by Samos – but it also demonstrates that Greek urban settlements, *poleis*, governed by political institutions of *boule kai demos*, and sustained by gymnastically educated community elites, presented themselves as models of state formation. Whether or not communities in western Rough Cilicia actually adopted these models is another question, however. Some scholars have argued that Greek presence was minimal in Cilician waters during the Iron Age and that Phoenician influence, by contrast, was stronger, particularly in western Rough Cilicia³⁹. The archaeological evidence supports this view.

Table 3: Loci with significant concentrations of pre-Roman Sherds (5+)

Code	Location	Sherds	Site	Season
Iotape	Iotape	11	28A20C1	1996
RC 0303	Karaçukur	16	RC 0303	2003
RC 0304	Kenetepe	19	RC 0304	2003
Selinus	Selinus	67	28B21C6	1997–1998
RC 9712	Guda Tepe	10	28C3D4	1997–1998
RC 9716	Güzelce Harman Tepe	5	28C3D5	1997–1998
RC 9717	Alaca Dağı	18	28C8B1	1997–1998
RC 0201	Kale Tepe	27		2002
Nephelion	Nephelion	12	28C8C1	1997
RC 9926	Kara Dağı	5	99-25&26	1999
Antiochia	Antiochia	6	28C9D1	1997
Asar Tepe	Asar Tepe	24	CC 14	2001–2003
RC 0019	Tomak Asarı	18	CC 19	2000–2002
Göçük Asarı	Göçük Asarı	9	CC 30	2000–2001
RC 0040	Govan Asarı	30	CC 40	2000–2001
RC 0041	possible tomb	5	CC 41	2000
RC 0043	Göktaş Tepe	8	CC 43	2000
Lamos	Lamos	15		2000–2003
Charadros	Charadros	14	RC 0401	2004
RC 0306	Taşlı Seki	5	RC 0306	2003
RC 9811	Kara Dağı	6	3-1-D	1998
1998 Trans 10	1998 Trans 10	5	10-3-B/C	1998

The Rough Cilicia Survey team has found minimal evidence of imported finewares of the pre-Hellenistic eras to confirm the presence of Greek settlement in the survey region⁴⁰. By contrast, Phoenician amphora remains, some of which have been preliminarily dated as early as the 8th century B.C.E., have been found

Kelenderis, Nagidos, Aphrodisias, and Holmi. These cities, too, are not in the survey zone. For discussion, s. Houwink ten Cate 1961, 37; Blumenthal 1963, 119; Graham 1970, 93 (with ancient sources); Jasink 1989; Lafli 2001.

³⁸ s. supra n. 14.

³⁹ For general characterization and discussion of Greek literary and historical references, s. Desideri – Jasink 1990, 25–48. 113; Blumenthal 1963; Graham 1970. Graham 1970, 94 and Desideri – Jasink 1990, 151 refute Greek presence; cf. Blumenthal 1963; Hawkins 1970, 419; Culican 1970, 465. Greek urban populations were far more prevalent in eastern Cilicia: Alexander encountered autonomous city states with Greek origins in Cilicia (Arr. an. 2, 5, 5–6; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 200). For recent work on early Hellenic settlement in Smooth Cilicia, s. Salmeri 2004, 180–191. As for Greek place names in western Rough Cilicia, e. g., Hamaxia (Wagon Place), Korakesion (Crows' Place), Laertes (Ant Hill), Selinos (Celery Place), Nephelion (Cloudy Place), Charadros (Cataract Place), for all we know these were nothing more than that, landmarks named and used by Greek sailors navigating this coast.

⁴⁰ Undecorated, ›black-glazed‹ sherds of the Classical period are nearly impossible to distinguish from Hellenistic black-glazed fragments of the survey pottery. Black- or red-figured fineware, then, is the only certain way to determine an Archaic or Classical date. Fragments of Rhodian ›Wild Goat‹ painted fineware have been observed at the Alanya Museum excavation at Syedra.

along the coast at Selinus and Charadros⁴¹. These finds support early historical references indicating Near Eastern involvement in this region. Phoenician amphora rims in the survey area also complement the discovery of a Phoenician language inscription, dated to the late 7th century B.C.E., at nearby Laertes, some 25 km northwest of the survey region⁴². These indicators suggest that Phoenician polities, some as close as neighboring Cyprus, took an early interest in the region and natural resources of western Rough Cilicia. Interaction between indigenous west Cilician elements and Phoenician, or eastern powers more generally was not unilateral, however, but rather appears to have struck a balance between and among the parties involved, in some ways presaging the nuanced connections between native and offshore influences that were to occur later.

The activity of indigenous western Cilician peoples thus warrants greater attention. State formation in the area arguably resulted from efforts of regional authorities, particularly ›warlords‹ or petty kings, to expand their sovereignty by developing neighboring territories. For example, the Phoenician inscription from Laertes not only confirms the presence of Phoenician traders in the survey region but also demonstrates encroachment by Cilician officials representing a known dynasty⁴³. According to the inscription, an official serving a Cilician king named Urikki received allotments of land, not only near Laertes, but also in several locales along the coast; several of these he converted to cultivated estates⁴⁴. This official was eventually driven into exile, the king awarding his estates to a second official. The purpose of the inscription appears to have been to demonstrate that this later royal assistant had obtained the lands legitimately. The inscription appears, accordingly, to indicate the process by which unsettled territories were ›awarded‹ by Cilician kings to courtiers for purposes of development. When combined with other Phoenician ›royal‹ inscriptions in Cilicia, the inscription at Laertes demonstrates that ›petty dynasts‹ of wider Cilicia used this means to settle less populated regions, to organize local agricultural labor, and to harness available natural resources. Epigraphical evidence for Cilician land ventures of this sort during the Iron Age exists from eastern Cilicia Pedias as far west as Aspendos in Pamphylia⁴⁵. Native Cilician dynasts would appear to have been the first to consolidate landholdings in the region, thereby attracting the attention of outside empires.

A nearby example of the physical setting of one such dynasty is furnished by the remains of the fortified mountain site of Meydancık Kale, some 80 km east of Charadros. Investigated by a French team during the 1970s, the fortress, set on a 700 m promontory at the head of a narrow, inaccessible canyon some 25 km inland behind Kelenderis, stood as an important garrison post from at least the 7th through the 3rd centuries B.C.E.⁴⁶. In its earliest phase (end 7th/early 6th c. B.C.E.) the site exhibited cliff-faced fortifications, palace remains, and a Cypriot styled, gabled, ›royal‹ tomb. A. Lemaire and A. Davesne have suggested that this was the ancestral settlement of King Appuashu of Pirindu, the ruler pursued into the mountains by Neo-Babylonian King Neriglissar in 557/556 B.C.E.⁴⁷. According to the Babylonian Chronicle Neriglissar pursued Appuashu along a difficult mountain track to his royal city of Ura, which he successfully besieged and pillaged⁴⁸. From Ura he then pursued Appuashu to Kirshi or Kirshu, the royal city of his ancestors. Neriglissar

⁴¹ Illustration and descriptions of Phoenician amphora rims may be found in the survey project's Preliminary Ceramics Study Collection: Rauh 2001a, <https://engineering.purdue.edu/~cilicia/SC_etc.>; s. nos. 167 a–c. For another such rim found at Charadros in 2004, s. Rauh 2001a, <https://engineering.purdue.edu/~cilicia/rc2004_etc.>. On the basis of these web-posted photographs P. Rouillard and G. Lehmann suggest that our forms date from the 8th/7th–6th/5th c. B.C.E. The basket-handle form (no. 167a) is possibly later. J. Lund advises that its fabric appears to match that of Hellenistic examples found in Beirut, possibly originating from eastern Cyprus (Rauh et al. 2006).

⁴² Mosca – Russell 1987; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 149; Lemaire 1991; Lemaire 2001. The date, ca. 625–600 B.C.E., is based on orthography.

⁴³ Estate ownership was asserted by several people bearing Luwian names. Even the scribe is Luwian. In these respects it parallels examples found elsewhere in Pamphylia and Smooth Cilicia during the 8th and 7th c. B.C.E.; s. Mosca – Russell 1987, 1–21; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 149; Lemaire 1991; Lemaire 2001.

⁴⁴ The properties in question are referred to at least five times in the text as »KRM«, a word that is generally taken to mean »vineyard«, but can also mean »orchard«.

⁴⁵ Lemaire 2001.

⁴⁶ Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker 1998.

⁴⁷ Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 63. For reference to Neriglissar, s. also supra nn. 20, 37.

⁴⁸ A second capital, believed to be located near Silifke; Beal 1992.

besieged this fortress as well, setting fire to its walls, its palace, and its inhabitants⁴⁹. An Aramaean funerary inscription found at Meydancık Kale specifically makes mention of Kirshu, the apparent name of the site, and thus connects this remote mountain bastion with the chronicle of Neriglissar⁵⁰. Meydancık Kale was later occupied by a high-ranking official of the Persian Empire, who established a monumental residence complete with Persian processual reliefs and the funerary inscription just mentioned⁵¹. Founded by the ancestors of Appuashu, highland fortress-communities like Kirshu, described by the excavators as exhibiting the monumental characteristics of a city on the coast within the context of a mountain fortress⁵², appear to have represented the habitats of Luwian ›warlords,‹ who perhaps, like King Urikki, dispatched ministers to seize control of neighboring coastal lowlands⁵³.

This historical testimony hints at a growing interest among neighboring powers in the local resources in the general area of the Gazipaşa basin. Courtiers of Cilician King Urikki attempted to organize the estates in the vicinity of Laertes; Neo-Babylonian King Neriglissar conducted his razzia all the way to Selinus; and Lydian King Croesus conquered Pamphylia⁵⁴ and extended his sway apparently as far as Syedra. Persian authorities appear to have seized control of the harbor of Kelenderis about the same time that they occupied Meydancık Kale⁵⁵. Persian warships en route to the Battle of the Eurymedon River possibly moored at Syedra, where they were confronted by Delian League forces commanded by Cimon⁵⁶. Despite the occurrence of so many events in the relative vicinity, the archaeological record furnished by the survey area indicates that it remained a comparative backwater during the Persian era. Persian governors, garrisons, coinage, inscriptions, and reliefs are recorded throughout the south coast of Anatolia, including Lycia, Pamphylia, and eastern Rough Cilicia (as close as Meydancık Kale); nothing of the kind survives in the survey area itself⁵⁷. Greek written language likewise makes an appearance by the 4th century B.C.E. in regions such as Lycia, Pamphylia, and Flat Cilicia, several centuries prior to the earliest recorded Greek inscriptions in the survey area⁵⁸. Greek styled cities such as Tarsus and Soloi in eastern Cilicia furnished fleets and important shipyards to the Persians, as did cities in Pamphylia and Lycia. Conflicts such as the war between Cyrus II and his brother Artaxerxes (404–401 B.C.E.), the suppression of King Evagoras of Cyprus (390–380 B.C.E.), the Satraps' Rebellion (380–360 B.C.E.), and the campaigns of Alexander the Great (334–330 B.C.E.) transpired in the vicinity, offshore, and/or in the mountainous hinterlands of western Rough Cilicia⁵⁹. These conflicts and the movements of people and material they represent forcibly assimilated neighboring peoples

⁴⁹ Appuashu nonetheless eluded capture. Neriglissar then stormed a seaside fortress named Pitussu, and he later set fire to the passes from Sallune (Selinus) all the way to the Lydian frontier.

⁵⁰ Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 320, 327. The inscription is dated sometime between 464–387 B.C.E. and records the burial of a resident Persian dignitary.

⁵¹ Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 280.

⁵² Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 227.

⁵³ E. g., the Assyrian King Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.E.) claimed to have destroyed some 21 such cities of the Hilakku, situated in ›remote mountains‹ in Rough Cilicia; s. Desideri – Jasink 1990, 128.

⁵⁴ Hdt. 1, 28.

⁵⁵ During a visit in September 2007 L. Zoroğlu, the director of the Kelenderis excavations, showed N. Rauh and M. Dillon submerged vestiges of Classical-era ship sheds recently exposed in the harbor as well as a Persian-era destruction level below the floor of the 5th c. C.E. ›customs house‹: Zoroğlu 1992; Zoroğlu 1994, 31. More than a dozen one-handed Persian-styled ›amphoras‹ and Phoenician amphoras have been recovered from tombs in Kelenderis (looted and excavated) and are now stored in the Anamur Archaeological Museum. s. Zoroğlu 1994, 63. In the 5th and 4th c. B.C.E., Kelenderis also struck stater coins on the Persian standard, Zoroğlu 1994, 70.

⁵⁶ Supra n. 37. Syedra is the logical frontier referred to by the Babylonian Chronicle; Grayson 1975, 103: [Neriglissar] ››started fires from the pass of Sallune to the border of Lydia.«

⁵⁷ For Aramaean inscriptions, tombs, and reliefs in Lycia, including the trilingual inscription at the Letoon, s. Bryce 1986, 47, 99, 150 (Persian coinage 51, 111); for Persian garrisons in Pamphylia, s. Brandt 1992, 11–38; for Cilicia, Bing 1998. For a recent survey of evidence for the Persian presence in Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, s. Briant 2002.

⁵⁸ Adaptation to Greek written language would not occur until significantly later. Bean – Mitford 1970, 109 recorded only four pre-Roman Greek inscriptions in the survey area (their nos. 45, 94, 95 and 206). Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 45, *Ars* 1, furnishes one additional Hellenistic inscription from nearby Arsinoe (about 10 km west of Alanya) in Pamphylia. In all Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998 have assembled 2,009 Rough Cilician inscriptions in their repertorium.

⁵⁹ Cyrus II began his assault on Artaxerxes by claiming to suppress Pisidian/Cilician tyrannoi in the Cilician highlands (Xen. an. 1, 1, 11; 2, 1; Diod. 14, 19, 3, 6). Persian generals used Cilicia as their base of operations against Evagoras (Diod. 15, 3, 3). The rebelling satraps recruited Pisidians, Pamphylians, Cilicians, and Ionians (Diod. 15, 90–91). Generals sent by Artaxerxes to suppress

to wider Mediterranean culture. All the while western Rough Cilicia remained in the background, exhibiting little evidence of advancement, developing slowly under indigenous and Near Eastern influences through the end of the Persian era, thus establishing a pattern already at this early date for the adaptation to external influences that was to continue later.

Hellenistic Period

The ceramic record in the survey region begins in earnest late in the Hellenistic era. Pottery of this period predominates at two sites only, Kale Tepe and Tomak Asarı, suggesting that their occupation may be largely restricted to this time⁶⁰. Nonetheless, Late Hellenistic forms (2nd–1st c. B.C.E.) occur at numerous sites investigated in the survey area. This nearly ubiquitous presence establishes a pattern of habitation that combines minimal earlier finds with evidence for long-term continuous occupation from the Late Hellenistic through Early and Late Roman times. Repeated finds of imported Late Hellenistic fineware and amphoras leave the unmistakable impression that the period ranging 50 years to either side of 100 B.C.E. marked a turning point for urban development. That this is also the period of the earliest identified Greek inscriptions of the region further confirms that this time, not earlier, was a moment of significant transition and assimilation of Hellenizing influence in western Rough Cilicia. The question of what may have compelled or catalyzed such change naturally arises.

Historical testimonia indicate Ptolemaic and Seleucid activity in western Rough Cilicia. Ptolemy III of Egypt seized Korakesion and Selinus and founded an Arsinoe somewhere along the coast⁶¹. The military expedition of Antiochus III of Syria in 197 B.C.E. further demonstrates the presence of Ptolemaic garrisons and *castella* at Korakesion, Selinus, and elsewhere⁶². Traces of fortification walls at Korakesion, Selinus, and perhaps at Lamos appear to date to this period and thus support the notion that a number of settlements in the survey areas possibly arose as Ptolemaic garrison bases and roadsteads designed to accommodate ships of the Egyptian grain trade. Other than these candidates, however, Hellenistic remains are minimal; in fact, none of the architecture investigated by the survey team can be positively identified as pre-Roman⁶³. Other archaeological evidence is similarly equivocal. The emergence of Cypriot Sigillata fineware and the discovery of a Ptolemaic coin hoard at Medancık Kale, not to mention inscriptions referring to Ptolemaic dignitaries in the region, suggest the efforts of Ptolemaic dynasts, particularly those based in Cyprus, to exploit the resources of the opposite Cilician shore⁶⁴. Nevertheless, the quantity of imported ceramic wares

the rebellion recruited 3,000 troops from Aspendos and neighboring Pisidia as well as 2,000 Cilicians (Nep. Datames 9, 2; Russell 1991a; Bing 1998).

⁶⁰ A few of the Hellenistic forms identified in the region possibly may be as early as the 3rd c. B.C.E., reflecting Ptolemaic investment locally, as indicated by text references to a number of Ptolemaic garrison points along this coast; s. Bagnall 1976, 114. However, the bulk of the earliest identifiable materials appears to date to the 2nd and 1st c. B.C.E. and consistently includes late Hellenistic fine wares such as incurved bowls with black slip and cream fabric, and similarly late Hellenistic transport amphoras such as the (stamped) Koan and (stamped) Rhodian handles found at Guda Tepe (referred to as Rural Site 3, >Cloud City< in previous publications) or the (stamped) Knidian handle found at Kale Tepe. In fact, the style of Koan handle found at Guda Tepe has been identified at a number of sites with Hellenistic occupation levels, including Tomak Asarı and Charadros. For the fine wares much of the dating depends on the assigned date for early black-slipped Cypriot Sigillata, generally dated to the mid to late 2nd c. B.C.E.; s. Lund 2002; Meyza 2002.

⁶¹ Jerome, Comm. in Daniel 9, 15 (Migne, PL XXV 563); Strab. 14, 5, 3 (669). s. also Jones 1971, 198; Bagnall 1976, 115 f.

⁶² Liv. 33, 20, 4–5: *Coracesium eo tempore Antiochus operibus oppugnabat, Zephyrio et Soli et Aphrodisiade et Coryco et superato Anemurio – promunturium id quoque Ciliciae est – Selinunte recepto. Omnibus his aliisque eius orae castellis aut metu aut voluntate sine certamine in dicionem acceptis, Coracesium praeter spem clausis portis tenebat eum*. Similarly, s. Mitford 1961, 134, no. 35 and Bean – Mitford 1970, 196, no. 22 for evidence of a Ptolemaic garrison at Charadros. s. also Bean – Mitford 1970, 139, no. 138; Mitford 1990, 2143; Hopwood 1991, 308, for the guild of Serapistae from Colybrassos who represented the interests of the hinterland Isaurian settlement at Olosada in its dispute with the nearby settlement at Thouthourbia in the 3rd c. B.C.E. Note as well the Sarapeum at Laertes, presumably of Ptolemaic origin (Mitford 1990, 2141). Considerable numbers of Cilicians served in Hellenistic armies (Launey 1949, 476. 1067. 1225; with Russell 1991a, 285).

⁶³ For discussion of architecture in the survey region, s. infra 285–296.

⁶⁴ Davesne – Le Rider 1989; Lund 2002; Meyza 2002. For Ptolemaic coins found at Kelenderis, Zoroğlu 1994, 67.

convincingly identified as Early Hellenistic remains small, and, as already noted, only four Hellenistic inscriptions have been found in the region itself⁶⁵.

Historically, by far the most well known episode in the Hellenistic history of Rough Cilicia is that of the famed Cilician pirates, whose short-lived but thorough domination of Mediterranean sea lanes wreaked havoc on trade and transportation from ca. 139–67 B.C.E. Prior to this, in the 3rd century B.C.E., Rough Cilicia had been disputed between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, but the waning authority of these kingdoms during the 2nd century led to a loss of control. This power vacuum was eventually filled by the pirates, who drew their numbers from the displaced and disenfranchised populations of those crumbling empires. Despite extensive historical reference to an overwhelming presence of pirates in the region, no archaeological remains have revealed themselves on land that can be identified as specifically associated with a ›pirate‹ presence⁶⁶. Pedestrian survey results were minimal even at the site of Antiochia ad Cragum, almost certainly the location of the pirate base described by Appian as the »Kragos Mountain«⁶⁷. Particularly troublesome was the lack of any certain sign of nautical installations. Although the coast directly below the ›Kragos‹ displays a hidden bay (the quintessential ›pirates' cove,‹ fig. 8), from land there was otherwise very little indication of anything resembling a harbor.

During the 2004 and 2005 seasons therefore RCSP extended its coverage to include a maritime survey directed by C. Ward. Relying on side-scan sonar and visual survey by diving and snorkeling, archaeologists searched the seabed immediately adjacent to the shore between Iotape and Charadros. The maritime survey team ultimately conducted some 127 dives to depths of up to 25 m from the diving boat DERIN 2, utilizing GPS measurements of artifact location to create GIS maps. For the purpose of this discussion the most significant accomplishment of the maritime survey unquestionably was the confirmation of an ancient harbor at Antiochia ad Cragum. The harbor is situated northwest of the lower Byzantine castle and modern village of Güney. At this broad sheltered embayment the dive team recorded more than 30 stone weights and anchors, 3 lead stocks from wooden anchors, and nearly 20 iron anchors, an assemblage that ranges chronologically from the Early Roman through Ottoman periods (ca. 17th c.)⁶⁸. One of the wooden anchors was represented by both a lead stock and a collar for the anchor's arms. Team members found these lead parts lying in such a manner as to suggest that they rested on the sea bottom where the anchor itself came to settle during antiquity. A second anchor stock was likewise recovered from Antiochia's harbor, while a third stock could not be separated from the rock to which it had become concreted. This type of anchor arguably dates to the era of the pirates⁶⁹. In addition to documenting anchors through photography and measurements, the dive team also examined representative ceramic sherds found on the surface of the sea bottom. Most notable among these were the upper parts of two amphoras heavily coated with resin on the interior, indicating their use in the shipment of wine. One amphora neck (AC 003) represents the upper portion of a locally produced ›pinched



8 ›Pirate‹ Cove, Antiochia ad Cragum

⁶⁵ Supra n. 58.

⁶⁶ For discussion of the Cilician pirate menace and the archaeological evidence pertaining to it collected in years prior to the maritime survey of 2004/2005, s. Rauh 1997; de Souza 1999, 97–148; Rauh et al. 2000; Rauh 2003.

⁶⁷ App. Mithr. 96; Rauh 1997, 265; Rauh et al. 2000, 167 f. It should be pointed out that a great deal of earth-moving and building activity, both ancient and modern, has occurred at this site. Perhaps as much as 3 m of Early Roman fill was employed to create the earthen foundation for the Roman gymnastic complex that survives in the upper city. Likewise, contemporary inhabitants in the modern village of Güney have for decades moved large quantities of earth from unknown locations to construct terracing for their homes and gardens. The massive extent of artificial terracing for contemporary banana tree plantations further obscures the archaeological record of the lower city as well. Construction of the Byzantine castle in the lower city will also have played a role; while the area of the castle and hidden cove below it produced an overwhelming mass of Byzantine ceramics dating to the 10th–12th c. C.E., little if any material of preceding eras was found.

⁶⁸ It is not possible to date the stone weights and anchors at present, but further research may assist in their analysis. Many of them are small and likely to represent local fishing activities over a long period of time.

⁶⁹ The iron anchors date from the late Roman through Ottoman periods, with many falling in the 7th–10th c. C.E.



9 Will Type 10-amphoras, Anamur Museum; inset: fragment of Will Type 10-amphora from harbor, Antiochia ad Cragum

handled<- or Zemer 41-transport amphora (1st–4th c. C.E.). The other (AC 004) has been identified preliminarily as the upper portion (neck, shoulder, and attached handle) of a Will Type 10-amphora from south Italy, dated to the 1st century B.C.E. (fig. 9 inset). Guided by A. Tchernia's hypothesis that the presence of these and similar amphoras from Italy at the pirate bases in Rough Cilicia would confirm the reported role of the pirates in the Roman slave trade at Delos⁷⁰, the pedestrian team had searched for similar remains with little success⁷¹. The find of such a jar, contemporary with the pirates, in the harbor at Antiochia along with similar Will Type 10-amphoras by fishermen offshore and now on display in the museums of Alanya and Anamur (fig. 9) increasingly support Tchernia's hypothesis⁷².

The most spectacular find recovered in the harbor at Antiochia was a small bronze socket decorated with the form of a winged horse, almost certainly the mythological figure Pegasus (fig. 10)⁷³. The ornament was originally attached to a rectangular wooden timber that protruded most likely from the side of a ship⁷⁴. Preliminary evaluation indicates that the style of the ornament dates to the era of the pirates, and carbon dating of wood residue obtained from the socket interior has likewise yielded an approximate date of 125 B.C.E.⁷⁵. The team also located a small concretion of bronze and lead objects near stairs at the base of the castle promontory. The concretion contains bronze nails of several sizes, a broken handle, a hexagonal shaft that

⁷⁰ Strab. 14, 5, 2 (669). s. Tchernia 1986, 68–74, who goes so far as to describe the Roman wine trade as the engine of the slave trade.

⁷¹ E. Will identified some fragments in the collections made at Tomak Asarı in 2000: Rauh 2003, 180 f.

⁷² One such amphora is on display in the Alanya Archaeological Museum; Sibella, 2002, 8 fig. 10. By invitation of R. Peker, the director of Anamur Archaeological Museum, N. Rauh and M. Dillon processed and identified four similar Will Type 10-amphoras in that museum in September 2007. All were reportedly found at sea. For the Italian amphoras of the period in the Bodrum Museum, s. Alpözen et al. 1995, 104 f.; for the likely Will Type 10-stamped rim at Tarsus, s. Grace 1950, 296, no. 1050 pl. 169; cf. Rauh 2003, 129.

⁷³ Alanya Museum Inv. AC001. The horse and socket together measure 0.222 m in length. s. Rauh 2004, 226; Marten 2005.

⁷⁴ For examples of this type of attachment and discussion of their use, s. Horn 1974, 179–192. Bronze busts were found on the Mahdia Wreck, but they are of a different type (Barr-Sharrar 1994).

⁷⁵ Radiocarbon dating conducted by R. Cohen at the Prime Laboratory of Purdue University yielded a date of 2080 BP +/-200 years. The date reflects the age of the wood used to mount the ornament to the ship.

may have been a tool, and small tacks, some of which are still in lead sheathing preserved within the concretion. This as well appears to date to the 2nd–1st centuries B.C.E.⁷⁶ Directly south of Antiochia and within easy view of it, the team also explored the shore of a small island named Cipçiklikaya. Despite the existence of strong currents running between it and the mainland, the island also appears to have functioned as an anchorage for thousands of years. During two dives the team located a number of iron anchors from the 6th–17th centuries C.E. and the lead core from a 5th–4th centuries B.C.E. wooden anchor stock.

The existence of a harbor at Antiochia ad Cragum thus appears certain. In and of itself this does not confirm the presence of pirates, but the finds from the maritime survey together with the ceramic evidence on land are enough to substantiate that the site was occupied at this period and that it included a sizeable anchorage at a time prior to its official foundation by Antiochus IV of Commagene in ca. 52 C.E. The identification of a pirate-era harbor at the site of ›the Kragos‹ draws additional reinforcement from the evidence of Late Hellenistic assemblages at other sites that on the basis of textual evidence also were not settled until later. Elsewhere along the coast ceramic evidence shows this to be true at Iotape, also officially founded by Antiochus IV⁷⁷. Evidence for Late Hellenistic occupation occurs as well at the fortified site of Guda Tepe situated high atop the coastal ridge between Kestros and Nephelion⁷⁸. In general the settlements along this coast in the Late Hellenistic period were small and frequently hidden from view. Many are situated as fortified hill sites high atop the coastal ridges; some of these settle on the less visible landward flanks of coastal promontories, and still others such as ›the Kragos‹ and Iotape nestle amid rock precipices and concealed sea coves. While hidden from view from the sea, they are visible to each other. Both topographically and chronologically, these settlements present themselves as a connected series of small, fortified, and extremely well camouflaged harbors.

Inland from the coast in the narrow canyon of the Hasdere/Adanda River, survey efforts have revealed evidence for Late Hellenistic occupation at more sites, including Lamos, Asar Tepe, Tomak Asarı, Govan Asarı, and Kale Tepe. All of these are naturally fortified, situated high atop precipices +600 m in elevation. They call to mind Plutarch's assertion that the pirates maintained fortresses and citadels in nearby mountains to conceal the whereabouts of their women, their children, their valuables, and »a large element of disabled warriors«⁷⁹.

Thus, the emerging data throughout the survey area points to incipient, widespread regional development at the time of Ptolemaic and Seleucid decline, a time that also saw the arrival of renegade sailors and warriors, hardly a combination that would appear to encourage growth. It is quite conceivable, however, that the Cilician pirates, themselves generally skilled maritime laborers, introduced the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia to advanced technological skills such as shipbuilding, mining, weapons manufacture, even specialized agricultural production⁸⁰. Given reports of their squadrons of warships (both decked and undecked) and elaborate shipbuilding facilities (with prisoners chained to their work stations), they conceivably helped to



10 Bronze socket in the form of Pegasus

⁷⁶ After that date, iron nails are more commonly used.

⁷⁷ s. infra pp. 285–296 for further discussion of Iotape and Antiochia ad Cragum.

⁷⁸ s. Rauh 2001b, 261.

⁷⁹ Plut. Pompeius 28, 1.

⁸⁰ According to App. Mithr. 92. 96, the pirates amassed large quantities of weapons, timber, metals, sailcloth, and rope, as well as maintained enslaved laborers who constructed their warships and necessary material. Plut. Pompeius 24, 3 remarked on their skill

organize and/or expand the highland timbering industry (as indicated by Late Hellenistic finds at Kenetepe on the Bıçkıcı, Taşlı Seki below Gürçam Karatepe, and Gökçebelen Kale on the Karasın)⁸¹. Possibly, they enhanced the status of hinterland *tyrannoi* by cultivating native demand for transport goods such as wine and oil from the Aegean and Italy⁸². A relationship of mutual cooperation could easily have resulted as increasing numbers of maritime refugees found asylum in these remote shores, bringing with them essential maritime skills, manpower, technologies, and overseas luxury goods. The pattern of tyranny that persists in the literary tradition for Cilician piracy certainly conforms to the evidence for ›warlord‹ behavior mentioned earlier. Asylum-seeking pirates thus may well have marked the tipping point in urban settlement and resource utilization in western Rough Cilicia. But it remained for the Roman-era conquerors of the pirate menace to advance this peripheral population towards its high point.

III. The Period of Client Kings

Historical Context

Pirate domination of Rough Cilicia ended abruptly in 67 B.C.E. when Cn. Pompeius Magnus routed the pirates at Korakesion (Alanya) and relocated the survivors to Smooth Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias) far to the east⁸³. Despite the opportunity that this conquest offered for the development of Rough Cilicia, Roman attention generally is believed to have been diverted elsewhere following Pompeius' victory. From the era of M. Antonius until the third quarter of the 1st century C.E., Roman authorities engaged in a frontier policy that delegated the region to the control of surrogates, namely, locally recruited client kings and queens⁸⁴. This allowed Roman military resources to be directed toward significant threats on the frontiers of the empire while allowing client rulers free reign to pacify and develop remaining pockets of resistance along the periphery. Such a policy clearly applied to Rough Cilicia overall, although it is difficult to know precisely to what extent it affected a specific area within the region. One problem arises from the absence of precise ›boundaries‹ between competing royal domains. For one thing, textual use of the expression ›Cilicia Tracheia‹ is decidedly broad and applicable to a diffuse region extending from the Lamos River on the border of ›Cilicia Pedias‹ in the east all the way to Korakesion in the west. Adding to this difficulty is the fact that western Rough Cilicia was often associated with the Roman province of Pamphylia⁸⁵. A third difficulty lies in determining which of several coeval client kings actually held power in a given territory to which any

as seamen: »The fleets which put in at the Cilician pirate bases were admirably equipped for their own work with fine crews, expert pilots, and light fast ships.« s. Rauh 1997; Rauh et al. 2000; Rauh 2003.

⁸¹ Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 131–132; Rauh 2006, 233.

⁸² If pirate bands obtained external ›luxury goods‹ otherwise unavailable to the local elder hierarchies or ›tyrants,‹ it is easy to see how the latter would have come to accept their presence and to attempt to accommodate this. According to App. Mithr. 96. 117, the pirates developed good relations with the ›tyrannoi‹ to the interior. Pompeius Magnus displayed several of these native leaders as captives in his Roman triumph in 62 B.C.E. (App. Mithr. 117). Some scholars argue for a general fluidity between mountain bandits and pirate elements throughout the Mediterranean. The emergence of Cretan piracy in the Hellenistic era has been convincingly portrayed, e. g., as a downward and outward progression of bandit populations from secure mountain fastnesses to neighboring coastal harbors, and then to piracy (Brulé 1978, 117–184).

⁸³ For sources and discussion, s. Plut. Pompeius 27 f.; Magie 1950, 1180 n. 43; Jones 1971, 203; Ormerod 1987, 240 f.; De Souza 1999, 175–178.

⁸⁴ App. civ. 5, 75: »histe de pe kai basileas, hous dokimaseien, epi phorois ara tetagmenois, Pontou men Dareion ton Pharnakous tou Mithridatou, Idoumaion de kai Samareon Hepoiden, Amuntan de Pisidon kai Polemona merous Kilikias kai heterous es hetera ethne.« (»Here and there [Antony] set up as kings those he approved on fixed phoroi: of Pontus, Darius, Son of Pharnaces, son of Mithradates; and of Idumaeans and Samaritans, Herod; and Amyntas of the Pisidians and Polemo of part of Cilicia and others over other people.«); Suet. Aug. 48: *reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter universos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit.* (»He [Augustus] also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them.« [trans. Loeb]); Strab. 14, 5, 6 (671): »edokei pros hapan to toiouto basileuesthai mallon tous, e hupo Romaiois hegemosin einai.« (»All things considered, it seemed best for the territories [of Rough Cilicia] to be ruled by kings rather than to be under Roman prefects.«); for quotation of Suetonius and Strabo, and translation of Strabo, s. Sullivan 1978b, 928.

⁸⁵ s. supra n. 5.

of them may have had some claim. Historical sources can take us only so far. Recent epigraphical finds of the Rough Cilicia Survey shed new light on this matter. To understand their significance, however, a more detailed discussion of the historical background is required.

For more than a generation following the defeat of the pirates little is written about Roman control of Rough Cilicia⁸⁶. As the era of Roman Civil Wars proceeded, Cilician piracy conceivably reemerged, promoted and encouraged by Pompeius' son, Sex. Pompeius⁸⁷. With the passing of this disturbance, in 36 B.C.E. M. Antonius ceded the region to Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, whose family could lay previous claim to it. Strabo specifically asserts that Antonius yielded the region to Cleopatra to amass cedar and other timber necessary to construct warships for the fleet that ultimately sailed at Actium⁸⁸. Cleopatra was not the only dynast to obtain rights in Rough Cilicia, however. Previously, in 39 B.C.E., Polemon, to whom Antonius was soon to assign Pontus and Armenia Minor, also received »parts of Cilicia«⁸⁹. Three years later, in 36 B.C.E., Antonius appears to have transferred Polemon's lands to Amyntas, whom he had made king of Galatia and Pisidia⁹⁰. After the defeat of Antonius and Cleopatra in 31 B.C.E., the Roman victor, Octavianus, confirmed many of Antonius' assignments, despite these dynasts' previous support of his rival⁹¹. Although Octavianus took away Armenia from Polemon, e. g., he reaffirmed his rule in Pontus⁹². In addition to his

⁸⁶ Brush wars with hinterland warlords continued throughout the wider region of Cilicia, to judge from the military acclamations earned by P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, the *proconsul* in Cilicia in 56–55 B.C.E. (Cic. fam. 1, 8, 7; 1, 9, 2; Broughton 1951–1952, II 218); Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *consul* in 54 and *proconsul* in 53–52 (Cic. fam. 3, 1, 2; Broughton 1951–1952, II 229); and M. Tullius Cicero, *proconsul* in 51–50 (Cic. Att. 5, 20, 3; Cic. fam. 2, 7 and 10; 8, 7, 2; 8, 11; 15, 4 and 14; Cic. Phil. 11, 34; Plut. Cicero 36, 4; Broughton, 1951–1952, II 243. 251. 279).

⁸⁷ Cass. Dio 48, 17; 46; App. civ. 5, 77; 100; Flor. epit. 2, 18, 1; Vell. 2, 73, 3; Strab. 14, 5, 6 (671); 14, 5, 10 (672); but s. DeSouza 1999, 185–195. For the disputed date of the Syedra »piracy« inscription, s. Bean – Mitford 1965, 21, no. 26; DeSouza 1997; DeSouza 1999, 139 f.; Tomaschitz 2004b.

⁸⁸ Since Strab. 14, 5, 3 (669) makes this point while discussing Hamaxia and Korakesion, one can assume that Cleopatra controlled the coastline in the area to the west of the survey zone. Bean – Mitford 1965, 22 n. 37 argue that Cleopatra's territory must have extended eastward from Korakesion at least as far as Syedra. Jones 1971, 208 n. 30 further suggests that Cleopatra may have founded Titiopolis and Domitiopolis inland from Anemurium. These suppositions would support the idea that she controlled the area of the survey and even farther east, the best part of the whole region in other words. Moreover, in referring to Archelaus' control of the »whole of Cilicia Tracheia,« Strab. 14, 5, 6 indicates that he considered Cleopatra previously also to have ruled the entire region: »Eith' e Elaioussa nesos meta ten Korukon, proskeimene tei epeiroy, sunoikisen Archelaos kai kateskeuasato basileion, labon ten Tracheiotin Kilikian holen plen Seleukeias, kath' hon tropon kai Amuntas proteron eiche kai eti Kleopatra.« (»Then, after Corycus, one comes to Elaeussa, an island lying close to the mainland, which Archelaus settled, making it a royal residence, after he had received the whole of Cilicia Tracheia except Seleuceia – the same way in which it was obtained formerly by Amyntas and still earlier by Cleopatra.« [trans. Loeb]).

⁸⁹ App. civ. 5, 75, 319. Although Appian is not specific about where in Cilicia Polemon ruled (»merous Kilikias«), the evidence points to the highland plateau beyond the main Tauros Mountain peaks, since Strab. 12, 6, 1 (568) says that Polemon ruled Lycaonia, including in his territory the city of Iconium. At this time it is generally held that Rough Cilicia was more broadly defined than later and the name could be taken to include large tracts in the mountainous hinterland, at least this far inland. Plin. nat. 5, 94 includes Iconium in his list of Cilician cities west of the Calycadnus River; s. further Syme 1995, 218 f.; Sullivan 1980a, 916. Barrett 1978, 438, however, interprets Polemon's territory in Cilicia (attested by Appian) to be separate from that which he controlled in Lycaonia (attested by Strabo); that Antonius took the latter away in order to give to Cleopatra in 36; and in recompense, that Polemon received Pontus (but s. infra, following note).

⁹⁰ For Amyntas' control in Cilicia/Lycaonia, s. Strab. 14, 5, 6 (671); 17, 3, 25 (840); App. civ. 5, 75. 137. 140. 142; Cass. Dio 49, 32, 3; 51, 2, 1; 53, 26, 3; Plut. Antonius 61; s. also Syme 1995, 219 with n. 26; Mitchell 1993, II 152. The assumption that Antonius gave Polemon's territory to Amyntas relies on Cass. Dio 49, 3, 2, who states that Antonius added Lycaonia to Amyntas' domain; moreover, it was at just this time that Antonius made Polemon king of Pontus. But it is possible that Antonius divided Lycaonia between the two, since elsewhere Strabo (12, 6, 1) refers to lands held in Lycaonia by Amyntas and Polemon in such a manner as to suggest that their domains may have abutted each other. Cf. Syme 1995, 213 and 219. For Amyntas' death, s. Strab. 12, 6, 3 (567). Amyntas originally was the secretary of King Deiotarus and commanded a force of Galatian auxiliaries for Brutus and Cassius. He then went over to Antonius. Similarly, prior to the Battle of Actium he abandoned Antonius for Octavian (Cass. Dio 47, 48, 2; 49, 32, 3; 50, 13, 8; Vell. 2, 84, 2; Plut. Antonius 63). Amyntas was killed while campaigning against the Homonadenses in 25 B.C.E. (Strab. 14, 5, 6 [671]; Cass. Dio 54, 5, 6; Syme 1986).

⁹¹ Cass. Dio 54, 9, 1–2.

⁹² And dynasts related to Polemon soon resumed control in Rough Cilicia (Strab. 12, 8, 16 [578]; Cass. Dio 53, 25, 1; 54, 9, 2 [for the grant of Armenia Minor to Artavasdes of Media]; Magie 1950, 443). One M. Antonius Polemon (possibly Polemon I's son) became priest king at Olba; another, possibly Polemon I's grandson Julius Polemon (Polemon II), ruled some northerly portion of

previous holdings, moreover, Amyntas was given control of that part of Rough Cilicia that had belonged to Cleopatra. A general consensus holds that he maintained his rule until his defeat and death at the hands of the tribal Homonadenses in the western Cilician interior in 25 B.C.E.⁹³

At this point Roman provincial governors took complete control of Pamphylia to the west, but it is assumed that Augustus continued the practice of client kingship in Cilicia Tracheia, assigning the coast at least to Archelaus I of Cappadocia. Archelaus married Polemon's widow Pythodoris, and thus it was that the region came under the rule of a dynast related to Polemon⁹⁴. One theory holds that the Roman emperors made a conscious effort to leave some portion of a client king's territory in Rough Cilicia to his descendants⁹⁵. However, the patchwork of territorial claims that resulted, combined with evidence of sustained unrest in the Isaurian hinterland, suggests that the Julio-Claudians were equally intent on maintaining as many royal hands on deck as possible, perhaps an acknowledgement of the difficulties inherent in dominating the rugged terrain and the xenophobic attitudes of the interior. Inevitably, the boundaries between Roman territory and those of client kings in Rough Cilicia remain open to dispute⁹⁶.

Upon the death of Archelaus I, some of his lands, including Rough Cilicia, transferred to his son, Archelaus II. Conceivably by this time security in the region had declined significantly, particularly among the tribes of the Cietae who dwelled directly behind the mountains enclosing the survey area⁹⁷. On the demise of Archelaus II in 38 C.E., the Emperor Gaius entrusted Rough Cilicia to his close friend (C. Julius) Antiochus IV of Commagene (ruled 38–72 C.E.). Together with Gaius and Herodes Agrippa, Antiochus had been educated in Rome and was a member of the emperor's ›inner circle.‹ Although Gaius turned on Antiochus and deposed him sometime before 41 C.E., he was soon restored by the Emperor Claudius and saw his realm expanded through the acquisition of Armenia Minor⁹⁸. Firmly establishing his hold along the coast with new

Rough Cilicia. His widow Antonia Pythodoris, meanwhile, ruled coastal Rough Cilicia as consort of Archelaus I of Cappadocia. She continued to control territory in the region following the latter's death in 17 C.E. (OGIS 376–377; IGR IV 145; Strab. 11, 2, 18 [499]; 12, 3, 29 [555]; 12, 3, 37 [559]; 14, 1, 42 [649]; Sullivan 1980a, 920–922). Pythodoris was a granddaughter of Marcus Antonius by an unspecified daughter; hence, her epithet, Philometora (OGIS 376–377; IGR IV 145).

⁹³ For references, s. supra n. 90.

⁹⁴ Mitchell 1993, I 94 says that her date of death is unknown. Sullivan 1980a, 921, however, places it between 22/23 and 33/34 C.E. s. also Magie 1950, 1368 n. 50; Sullivan 1980b, 1158; Strab. 12, 32, 9 (556). Strabo indicates that Pythodoris was alive and living as a widow at the time of his writing (ca. 22–33 C.E.). The date of the marriage with Archelaus I is uncertain, perhaps 8 C.E.; Archelaus died in 17 C.E. and Pythodoris lived beyond that.

⁹⁵ Sullivan 1980b, 1167.

⁹⁶ Note Tacitus' reference to *reguli Cilicum* in 19 C.E. (Tac. ann. 2, 78, 2; 80, 1). For Archelaus' rule in Rough Cilicia, s. Cass. Dio 54, 9, 2; Sullivan 1979, 14. Archelaus governed from Elaiussa-Sebaste but was not allowed control of Seleucia on the Calycadnus, which struck coins for Rome at that time (Sullivan 1979, 15; Strab. 14, 5, 6 [671]). Moreover, when Cappadocia was incorporated into the Roman Empire in 17 C.E. (Tac. ann. 6, 41, 1), Archelaus II was allowed to retain a part of his father's kingdom in Lycaonia and Cilicia Tracheia (Barrett 1978, 442; Sullivan 1980b, 1167). Barrett 1978 and Sullivan 1979, 19 argue that the priests of the temple kingdom of Olba also fell out of favor with Tiberius in 17 C.E. and were replaced by M. Antonius Polemon. s. Bean – Mitford 1970, 50, no. 27 for the closest find of a dedication honoring Augustus near the survey area, namely, Kasai, inland from Korakesion and thus well onto the ›Pamphylian‹ side of the Syedra River that presumably divided that province from the territory of Archelaus. For evidence that Syedra and Laertes were ruled by Roman governors, s. Bean – Mitford 1962, 192, 197, no. 13; Bean – Mitford 1970, 106, no. 92). Note that Korakesion struck Roman coins under Tiberius (Jones 1971, 213).

⁹⁷ An attempt by Archelaus II to conduct a census among the Cietae in 36 C.E. ended disastrously, requiring the intervention of Roman forces from Syria (Tac. ann. 6, 41, 1; Sullivan 1980b, 1167). His father had ended his career in similar disgrace, accused by Tiberius of revolutionary activity just prior to his death. Reportedly Roman authorities executed one of his ›Cilician officials‹ as a result of this affair (Philostr. Ap. 1, 12, 2). Trouble with the tribal elements of the interior had been persistent since the time of Amyntas, however. As noted earlier (supra n. 90), Amyntas himself had been captured and killed in 25 B.C.E., while attempting to subdue the Homonadenses in western Isauria. It took two decades before Roman forces under P. Sulpicius Quirinus were able to suppress these peoples (Strab. 12, 1, 4 [535]; 14, 5, 6 [671]; Plin. nat. 5, 94; Tac. ann. 3, 48; Syme 1995, 229–230). In 6 C.E. the Isaurians again engaged in marauding expeditions and »were led into all the horrors of war« (Cass. Dio 55, 28, 3). The Romans sent in two legions under M. Plautius Silvanus to reassert control (Vell. 2, 112; SEG VI 646; Syme 1939, 139–143; Mitchell 1976, 302 f.).

⁹⁸ Antiochus received back Commagene (after a 20 year ›interregnum‹) and the ›parathalassia of Cilicia« (OGIS 411; Cass. Dio 54, 9, 2; 60, 8, 1; Tac. ann. 6, 41; Ios. ant. Iud. 19, 276; Magie 1950, 1367, 1408; Sullivan 1977a, 786). Antiochus IV's coins attest to his rule over Cetus, Lacanitis, and Lycaonia Antiochiana (which thereafter bore his name). The cities Elaiussa-Sebaste, Kelenderis, Anemurium, Antiochia ad Cragum, and Iotape also struck coins in his name (Jones 1971, 211; Sullivan 1978a, 787). His authority over some portion of Armenia after 60 C.E. (Tac. ann. 14, 26) possibly earned him the title of ›Great King‹ (*basileus megas*),

foundations at Antiochia ad Cragum and Iotape (named after himself and his wife, respectively), Antiochus IV eventually confronted and quelled a significant uprising among the Cietae (52 C.E.), led by an Isaurian *dux* named Troxobor⁹⁹. New cities such as Eirenopolis, Germanicopolis, and Philadelphia, near the western fork of the Calycadnus Canyon are generally assumed to mark the path of his campaigns¹⁰⁰. Establishing his mark along a broad line that extended from Lesser Armenia and Commagene to Rough Cilicia, Antiochus IV became extremely wealthy and an active partner in the Julio-Claudians' efforts not only to suppress the threat of the Cietae in Rough Cilicia but also to solidify the eastern frontier against the Parthians¹⁰¹. Other dynasts were potentially active within Rough Cilicia around this general time, however, including Archelaus' widow Pythodoris and at least one, possibly two, of her relatives named Polemon. Pythodoris conceivably died about the time Antiochus IV came to the throne or shortly before¹⁰², but she was survived first by a son, perhaps named Polemon, and then by a grandson of the same name, Polemon II (attested)¹⁰³. According to Dio Cassius, Polemon II received from the Emperor Gaius »certain lands in Cilicia« in 38 C.E. in exchange for surrendering control of the Bosphorus kingdom¹⁰⁴.

though his ancestor, Antiochus I of Commagene, likewise employed this title (OGIS 383–403; Sullivan 1979, 16). The expression occurs on Antiochus IV's coins and in an inscription found at Chios, »Basileus Megas Antiochos philokaisar, Iotape Basileuos Antiochou gune« (SEG XVI 490; SEG XVII 381; Sullivan 1979, 783 n. 210). The expression, »basileus megas«, was also used on a coin by Polemon II, possibly in association with his claim to Armenia (Sullivan 1978b, 925; Sullivan 1979, 16).

⁹⁹ Tac. ann. 12, 55: »Not long afterwards some tribes of the wild population of Cilicia, known as the Clitae (*sic*), which had often been in commotion, established a camp, under a leader named Troxobor, on their rocky mountains, whence rushing down on the coast and on the towns, they dared to do violence to the farmers and the townsfolk, frequently even to the merchants and ship owners. They besieged the city of Anemurium and routed some cavalry dispatched from Syria under the command of Curtius Severus. For the ruggedness of the terrain, suited as it is to infantry tactics, did not allow for cavalry maneuvers. After a time, Antiochus, king of that coast, having broken the unity of the barbarian forces, by cajolery of the people and treachery to their leader, slew Troxobor and a few other chiefs and pacified the rest by gentle pressure.« For the proximity of the Cietae to Anemurium, note the location of Titiopolis (Kaliören) some 7 km north of Anamur. Titiopolis was identified as a member state of the Isaurian Decapolis and struck coins identifying itself as a settlement of Cetus (Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus* 36; Ramsay 1890, 266; Jones 1971, 195. 204. 439 n. 30; Head 1911, 734).

¹⁰⁰ For the assumption that Antiochus IV founded these cities, s. Jones 1971, 209. 211. 440 n. 36; Lenski 1999a, 435; for their relative proximity to one another, s. Bean – Mitford 1970, 217. Prior to the 3rd c. C.E., the reign of Claudius marked the high water mark for Isaurian disturbances in the region. The evidence demonstrates, however, that Claudius' governors and his client kings were equal to the challenge: s. Lewin 1991; Shaw 1990; Minor 1979; Rougé 1966; Lenski 1999a. As Tacitus indicates, Antiochus IV acted in concert with Roman forces advancing from the east and west, and possibly with help from Polemon II (s. *infra* this note). At the eastern end of Pamphylia, Claudius' legates repaired roads and bolstered the defenses of the Rough Cilician »mesogea,« that is, the settlements along the ridge crests below the Tauros (Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus* 36; Ramsay 1890, 266; Jones 1971, 195. 204. 439 n. 30; Head 1911, 734). Already by the mid 40s C.E., Claudius' governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, Q. Veranius, had conducted a siege of a *castellum Tracheotarum* from his province (Gordon 1952; Lenski 1999a, 420). Çökele Kalesi, the ruined settlement at the head of the Dim Çay Canyon, furnishes one possible location for this fortress (Bean – Mitford 1970, 105). From this position Isaurian marauders could have threatened communities such as Cibyra Minor and Laertes, where *kaisareia* were erected in honor (most probably) of Claudius (Bean – Mitford 1970, 60, no. 32; 97, no. 75). Note as well the fragmentary inscription at Laertes recording a letter to that community from Claudius, and making mention of Julius Polemon and a »presbeutes«, conceivably an ambassador from that city to the king or an imperial legate (Bean – Mitford 1970, 95; Tomaschitz 2003, 133). In 47 C.E. Antiochus IV and Polemon II celebrated games in the vicinity (pap. Lond. 3, 1178; Smallwood 1967, 374; Sullivan 1977b, 919).

¹⁰¹ Together with Aristobulus and Agrippa II of Judea, Sohaemus of Emesa, and Pharasmenes of Iberia, he assisted Nero's efforts against the Parthians on the upper Euphrates between 54 and 60 C.E., and obtained portions of Lower Armenia in gratitude (Tac. ann. 13, 7; 37; Sullivan 1978a, 789). In 69 C.E. he sent his son, Antiochus Epiphanes, with an army to assist Vespasian and Titus with the siege of Jerusalem, impressing the latter with his strength and courage (Tac. hist. 5, 1; Ios. bell. Iud. 5, 11, 3).

¹⁰² s. *supra* n. 94.

¹⁰³ For convoluted explanations for the existence of two Polemon's contemporary with Antiochus IV, namely, M. Antonius Polemon of Olba (possibly the son of Pythodoris and Polemon I) and Julius Polemon (possibly identical with King Polemon II and likewise bearing the name M. Antonius Polemon, generally recognized as the grandson of Polemon I and Pythodoris via Antonia Tryphaena), s. Magie 1950, 548–549; Barrett 1978, 445 n. 48; Sullivan 1978b, 919; Sullivan 1979; Sullivan 1980a, 925; Braund 1984, 42. 49. Though the grandmother of Polemon II descended from M. Antonius, his father was presumably C. Julius Cotys VIII, King of Thrace. For his use of both the Antonian and Julian names, s. Sullivan 1980, 929, but questioned by Braund 1984, 43 and Barrett 1978, 445.

¹⁰⁴ Cass. Dio 59, 12, 2; 60, 8, 2. Ios. ant. Iud. 19, 338; 20, 145–146 likewise refers to a Polemon as »Kilikias Basileus,« whereas the M. Antonius Polemon at Olba is recorded as »archieros kai dynastos Olbeon tes hieras kai Kennaton kai Lalasseon« (Hill 1911,

Epigraphical and Archaeological Survey Evidence for the Location of Juliosebaste

The boundaries between these competing spheres of interest remain uncertain and they conceivably overlapped historically. For example, towns originally founded and/or supported by Archelaus I and Pythodoris may have fallen under the jurisdiction of Antiochus IV after 38 C.E., and adjusted their loyalties accordingly. Making things more complicated still, at least one Roman colony founded by the Emperor Augustus was resettled in the region at this time, demonstrating that the boundaries of Roman jurisdiction need also to be taken into account. This colony, Ninica/Colonia Julia Augusta Felix/Claudiopolis, is presumed to have been located at modern day Mut where an inscription making reference to *Claudiopolis* was recovered¹⁰⁵. In support of this identification, a series of Roman bronze coins, minted from the time of the Emperor Trajan (98–117 C.E.) to that of the Emperor Maximinus (310–313 C.E.), bear versions of an abbreviated legend, COL. IUL. AUG. FELI. NINIC. CLAUD., which is properly elongated as COLONIA IULIA AUGUSTA FELIX NINICA CLAUDIOPOLIS¹⁰⁶. These legends indicate that an Isaurian town originally named Ninica, was re-founded as a Roman colony by one Roman emperor (Augustus), and renamed by or on behalf of another (Claudius). The emergence of these coins in Silifke¹⁰⁷ combined with the linkage furnished by the inscription mentioning *Claudiopolis* at Mut seemed to identify the location of this settlement.

For decades, however, the location of this settlement at Mut has been questioned by those preferring to rely on surviving Late Roman/Christian documents that record the existence of a »bishopric« named Juliosebaste (or Heliosebaste) in the vicinity of Nephelion. This line of reasoning assumes that the Greek name, Juliosebaste, ultimately derives from the Latin, Colonia Julia Augusta, and that its place in the documents more properly situates this Roman settlement somewhere in the survey zone¹⁰⁸. This argument gained renewed vigor in 2000, when during the course of the pedestrian survey of modern Göçük Asarı, approximately 7.5 km from Nephelion, the survey team found a large, inscribed, *in situ* statue base, probably dating to the 2nd century C.E., that records a dedication by the »demos« of Juliosebaste for one of its native sons¹⁰⁹. Since many, including members of the survey team, presumed that the name derived from Colonia Julia Augusta, the location of this site, approximately 8 km north of Antiochia ad Cragum and none too far from Nephelion, raised important questions not only regarding the location of this Roman colony, but also regard-

194–196; Sullivan 1979, 8 n. 5). By one scenario the latter was imposed on the Olban dynasty by Tiberius in 19 C.E. (Sullivan 1979). For the argument that the Olban territory stood to the east of the Calycadnus River, s. Barrett 1978, 440. Recalling Strabo's report (12, 6, 1 [568]) that Polemon I ruled Lykaonia including Iconium, it stands to reason that Claudius' assignment of »certain lands in Cilicia« to his grandson, Polemon II, would have been in the same north Isaurian area. This is something possibly supported by the mention of Julius Polemon at Laertes (Bean – Mitford 1970, 95), as well as by the mention of joint games with Antiochus IV (pap. Lond. 3, 1178, supra n. 100). When his kingdom of Pontus was incorporated into the empire in ca. 63 C.E., Polemon II still held claim to possessions in Cilicia (Ios. ant. Iud. 20,145–146; Barrett 1978).

¹⁰⁵ s. Mitchell 1979, 426–430. In the late 19th c., a Greek inscription was found at the modern city of Mut (on the Calycadnus River in the hinterland of eastern Rough Cilicia) identifying it as the city of the *Claudiopolitans*, i. e., *Claudiopolis* (text in Kubitschek 1902/1903, 4). To this was added a coin from the time of Hadrian with essentially the same legend, KLAUDIOPOLITWN (Head 1911, 726; cf. Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 307).

¹⁰⁶ For the coins, s. Ramsay 1894; Kubitschek 1902/1903; Aulock 1964–1966, nos. 5763–577. Variant legends: COL.NINICA.CLAUDIOPOL; NINI.COL.CLAUDIOPOL.

¹⁰⁷ Ancient Seleucia, at the mouth of the Calycadnus River, and thus approximately 55 km from Mut/*Claudiopolis*.

¹⁰⁸ For Juliosebaste, s. Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 709, 4 and *Notitiae Episcopatum* 1, 835, where the place is called »Heliosebaste«, a corruption perhaps resulting from the similar-sounding prefixes »Julio« and »Heliou«; for texts, s. Honigmann 1939, with annotation; Parthey 1967. *Julio-/Heliou-Sebaste* is listed in the same order of bishoprics in both sources, namely between Antiochia ad Cragum and Kestros (s. Ramsay 1890, 362 f. insert). Making matters more complicated still, Ptolemaios appears to distinguish between two settlements, Ninica and *Claudiopolis*, just as the Christian itineraries distinguish between a *Claudiopolis* and a *Juliosebaste/Heliosebaste*; s. Ramsay 1890, 362 f. and *Notitiae Episcopatum* 1 and 3. However, in this instance Ptolemaios possibly engages in confused reduplication; at one place in his *Geographia* (5, 7, 7), he places a *Claudiopolis* together with *Dalisandus* in the Cataonian prefecture of Armenia Minor; whereas at Ptol. 5, 5, 8 he places Ninica in Cilicia, but likewise in the district of Dalassidis. Meanwhile, Jones (1971, 212) raised the possibility that Juliosebaste survives in the name *Sivaste* (today Karatepe) in the Bıçkıcı highland.

¹⁰⁹ Referred to as G. A. Inscription no. 1. This discovery formed the basis of a preliminary on-line publication by the survey team (Dillon et al. 2001; Rauh – Wandsnider 2002, 48. 56, photograph 10; Tomaszczak 2004a). Preserved height of statue base: 0.98 m; preserved length: 1.34 m. The inscription awaits definitive publication by M. Sayar. In translation the main text reads: »The people of Juliosebaste honor Rosis of Plous for his virtue and benevolence.«

ing the governance of communities more generally in the survey area during Roman times. Assuming that the Emperor Augustus actually did settle a Roman military colony in coastal territory – territory presumably governed for more than a century by client kings and queens, its presence at this location raised obvious questions about the degree to which Roman authorities influenced development in this region.

K. Tomaschitz has raised objections to the survey team's argument that the statue base at Göçük Asarı marked the location of an Augustan Colonia Julia Augusta¹¹⁰. Arguing in support of the equation of Colonia Julia Augusta with *Claudiopolis* at Mut, he has suggested instead that the *Juliosebaste* referred to in the statue base at Göçük (G. A. Inscription no. 1) recorded the foundation of an Augustan era client king, either Amyntas of Galatia or Archelaus I of Cappadocia, and named »Julio-Sebaste« in honor of Augustus¹¹¹. Moreover, given the meagerness of the architectural remains at Göçük, K. Tomaschitz prefers to identify the location of this royal foundation with the nearby settlement of Asar Tepe, an attribution first made in the 1960s by the British epigraphists T. Mitford and G. Bean¹¹². Recent work conducted on a third inscription found in 2000 at Göçük (G. A. Inscription no. 3) now appears to support to Tomaschitz's argument (fig. 11)¹¹³. G. A. Inscription no. 3, like G. A. Inscription no. 1, records a public decree and is also probably 2nd century C.E. in date to judge by the letter forms. It was recorded by the *Demos* and the *Archons* of a settlement called *Krauaos* or *Krauatoi*. Its preamble is dated according to the reigns of »great kings« and »queens«.



11 Göçük Asarı Inscription no. 3

¹¹⁰ Tomaschitz 2004a, 207–222. The main problem is that both *Ninica* and *Claudiopolis* are consistently located in the Isaurian hinterland near *Dalisandus*, i. e., *Mut*.

¹¹¹ Much like Archelaus' renaming of *Elaiussa* to *Sebaste* (for *Elaiussa-Sebaste*, s. Equini Schneider 2003). The latter settlement is cited by Tomaschitz (2004a, 221 f.) as a possible parallel to the *Juliosebaste* of the inscription and its independence from any association with the colony of *Julia Augusta*. As Suet. Aug. 60 points out, each of Augustus' client kings founded *Caesareas urbes* in his honor; cf. Braund 1984, 107. The presence of *Sivaste* (*Karatepe*) in the *Bıçkıcı* highland may thus have possessed a similar origin, as Jones (1971, 212) observed.

¹¹² G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford visited this region repeatedly during the 1960s and were largely responsible for identifying most sites in western Rough Cilicia. Although they noted one inscription at Göçük Asarı (Bean – Mitford 1970, 178 n. 45 [= G. A. Inscription no. 2]), in a rare oversight they missed both of those found by RCSP (G. A. Inscription nos. 1 and 3; for the latter, s. infra, following note). K. Tomaschitz, together with S. Hagel, has largely carried on the epigraphical work of Bean and Mitford. Important publications (in addition to Tomaschitz 2004a, already cited) include Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, Tomaschitz 1998, Tomaschitz 2003, and Tomaschitz 2004b.

¹¹³ G. A. Inscription no. 3 is a damaged limestone block, height 0.62 m; length 0.52 m, thickness, 0.26 m; letter forms approximately 0.022 m tall. It was found approximately 50 m northeast of the statue base on the northern slope of the site. The block was removed by museum authorities in 2000 to the Alanya Museum where it awaits publication by M. Sayar. A preliminary text, based on a squeeze, was produced for the survey team by S. Tracy. Relying on a high resolution photograph, N. Rauh has supplemented several additional words. We offer here a photograph and a preliminary English translation.

Preliminary Translation of Göçük Asarı Inscription No. 3

»In the reigns of the Great Kings
 .. Julius Antio[chos]..
 ... Friends of the Emperor
 Friends of the Romans
 And saviors ... benefactors
 ... of the city ... and
 ... And his son and co-ruler
 ... of themselves, Julia Iotap[e]
 ... Queen Philadelph[os]
 ... the wife of ... and also (in the reign of the)
 Friend of her mother¹¹⁴ Antonia
 Pythodora, Queen ...
 And wife of ... of the
 ... the statue ...
 Fourth after
 And wine cups
 Also lower (down from?) Armenia
 Those from the three sa...
 ... gods[?] ... the second
 ... the Demos of the Krauatoi and
 ...zous son of .arasetou and
 .Ing[eis?] ..nis son of Moton..
 son of Imbis the archon[s?]
 recorded this just so.«

The chief interest of this new inscription lies in the royal names that it mentions, including [Cai]us Iulius Antio[chos], i. e., Antiochus IV of Commagene, who along with other kings (whose names are not preserved) is described as »philokais[arios]« and »[phi]loromaios«, as well as »saviors and benefactors of the city«. As noted above¹¹⁵, the use of the expression »basileus megas« is demonstrable for both Antiochus IV and Polemon II of Pontus, possibly in connection to their respective claims to Armenia, a place actually mentioned by the inscription. Royal sons are mentioned, including one described as co-ruler (»sunbas[ileuontos]«), perhaps Antiochus' son Epiphanes. The inscription also mentions Queen Julia Iotape Philadelphos, wife of Antiochus, and Queen Antonia Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon I of Pontus and Archelaus II of Cappadocia¹¹⁶. Although the lines bearing the purpose of the decree are damaged¹¹⁷, the inscription closes by reference to the »Demos of the Krauatoi« and to a list of men who appear to have served as the town magistrates (»archont[es]«)¹¹⁸. The last line of the inscription reads »pepoiek[e]n apa[r]ti«, with the use of the perfect tense implying that the record thus inscribed had been recorded elsewhere, perhaps at an earlier time, »just so« (»aparti«).

¹¹⁴ The word [philo]metro is restored; [poli]metro is also possible, but the word's proximity to the name Antonia Pythodoris argues in favor of the first emendation.

¹¹⁵ Supra n. 98.

¹¹⁶ Pythodoris is introduced oddly (and grammatically incorrectly) as »[philo]metro Antonia [Pyth]odo[ri]dos«, who is described apparently as queen and wife of more than one king (»tōn de«). For the spelling, s. Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 391, Sye 21, »metro[s] ka[s]trō[n]«, in an inscription referring to Julia Domna the empress. Her use of the title »philometora« is well documented: OGIS 376 (Athens); OGIS 377 = IGR IV 1407 (Smyrna); Sullivan 1978b, 920 n. 48. However, this is the first known recorded use of her name Antonia. Epigraphically recorded use of the name survives for her sons and daughter, Antonius Polemon, Antonius Zeno, and Antonia Tryphaena, however. As noted (supra n. 94), she appears to have ruled Pontus and portions of Rough Cilicia as a widow until at least ca. 23 C.E.

¹¹⁷ Mention is made of the territory of Armenia, of a statue (»eikonos«), and of drinking cups (»lekana«).

¹¹⁸ Their names and patronymics cannot yet be distinguished apart from the fact that they appear to be indigenous (Ingeis, Imbis, Moton). Mention of this office is rare in Rough Cilicia (Tomaschitz 2003, 132 [Laertes]).

Whatever may have been the purpose of this document, its import clearly lay with the dynasties of client kings, ›Great Kings‹ who were ›Friends of the Caesars‹ and ›Philo-Romans‹ with known associations in Rough Cilicia¹¹⁹. Moreover, there is mention here only of client kings, client queens, and a polis and/or demos ruled by archons bearing Luwian names¹²⁰. In fact, the preamble of the decree demonstrates that the demos and archons of the Krauatoi dated their decrees by and therefore showed deference to client kings and queens, not Roman emperors. This accords with the textual tradition for client kings and queens – Polemon I, Cleopatra, Amyntas, Archelaus I and II, and Antiochus IV – controlling the cities of this coast. There is nothing here to suggest that the origin of the document was a Roman colonial settlement. The fact that Queen Antonia Pythodoris is actually mentioned offers support, moreover, to the argument that the ›polis‹ in question, presumably Juliosebaste or the demos of Krauatoi, owed its inception or development to her era, that is, the era of her second husband, Archelaus I of Cappadocia, and hence that of Augustus¹²¹. Thus, the inscription supports K. Tomaschitz's argument that Göçük Asarı/Juliosebaste was founded and supported by Roman client kings, and not by the Roman Emperors Augustus and Claudius. This much seems to stand on solid ground.

The information furnished by G.A. Inscription no. 3 is complicated, nonetheless, first by its mention of a ›polis‹ as well as a settlement (›demos and archons‹) named the Krauatoi. Mention of the kings being saviors and benefactors of the ›polis‹ in the preamble may conceivably refer to Krauatoi, though it seems odd that nothing more is known about this polis. More significant is the inscription's apparent lack of reference to the ›demos of Juliosebaste‹, clearly the name of the settlement in G. A. Inscription no. 1 that was found roughly 50 m away. A ›polis‹ and two place names or ›demoi‹ (Juliosebaste and Krauatoi) thus arise at Göçük. Obviously the relationship of these terms, the settlements they represent, and their relative locations to one another, need to be determined to a greater level of satisfaction.

The archaeological data obtained by the survey in 2000–2002 offers some assistance in this regard. For instance, neither the ceramic nor the architectural data obtained by the survey team supports the notion that the surviving remains at Göçük Asarı date to the era of Augustus. The ceramic data processed at Göçük Asarı dates predominantly to the post-Augustan era, and thus fails to substantiate an Augustan date of origin.

As table 4 demonstrates, only 4.8% of datable sherds processed at Göçük Asarı date to the pre-Roman period (ca. 3rd–1st c. B.C.E.), as compared to 68% Early Roman (ca. 1st–3rd c. C.E.) and 27% Late Roman and Byzantine (ca. 4th–7th c. C.E. and later)¹²².

Table 4: Pottery totals at Göçük Asarı and Asar Tepe

Seasons	pre-Roman	Early Roman	Late Roman	Byzantine	Coarse Ware	Cooking Ware	Amphora	Uncertain	Total
Göçük Asarı									
2000–2001	9	127	46	4	266	86	150	0	688
Asar Tepe									
2001–2002	24	159	9	0	128	71	26	0	417

The architecture of Göçük Asarı likewise presents difficulty for its identification as an Augustan-era settlement. The buildings at the site at Göçük Asarı are singularly unprepossessing and hardly seem worthy of a colonial foundation honoring the emperor, its location in the backwater of Rough Cilicia notwithstanding¹²³. By contrast, the nearby site of Asar Tepe displays architecture that may well be the earliest in the

¹¹⁹ The reference to Armenia clearly ties in to this regard, since Antiochus IV and Polemon II both enjoyed claims to Armenia at stages in their careers.

¹²⁰ That is, indigenous names of Luwian origin, as opposed to Greek or Latin names, as one might expect in a Roman colony.

¹²¹ The pertinent dates: Polemon I died ca. 8 B.C.E.; Archelaus I, 36 B.C.E. – 17 C.E.; Pythodoris died sometime after 23 C.E.

¹²² 25% Late Roman and 2% Byzantine. Datable sherds represent a small fraction (186 of 688, or 27%) of the total processed.

¹²³ Apart from the ruined ›monumental precinct‹ enclosing the statue base itself, a bath and a rock-cut tomb with relief and inscription are essentially all that survive at Göçük Asarı. As noted by Dillon et al. 2001, local resident, Y. Erdoğan, reported seeing several additional building remains during his youth, fragments of which appear to survive.

Adanda river valley, and includes some of the finest¹²⁴. Moreover, the ceramic data collected at Asar Tepe suggests that it was settled earlier than Göçük Asarı. At Asar Tepe 12% of the diagnostic sherds date to the pre-Roman period, 83% are Early Roman, and just 5% Late Roman; no Byzantine pottery at all was found at this site¹²⁵. This could well have been an Augustan-era foundation. Was Asar Tepe then Juliosebaste (= Julia Augusta)? The small percentage of Late Roman ceramics, and the total lack of any sherds of the Byzantine period argue against such an attribution, indicating as they do that the site was no longer active at just the time textual references refer to the city as a bishopric. By contrast, Göçük Asarı, though settled later than the Augustan period, does seem to have continued into the Late Roman/Early Byzantine era and better accords with the testimony of Christian documents for Juliosebaste.

The evidence remains circumstantial, but its various strands can be woven into a coherent picture. One scenario would hold that Juliosebaste was indeed founded at Asar Tepe in the time of Augustus, perhaps by Archelaus I. Göçük Asarı emerged as a village dependent on Juliosebaste, namely, the so-named Demos of the Krauatoi mentioned in the inscription. Settled on a strategic pass to the highlands¹²⁶, the settlement conceivably functioned as a ›port of entry‹ to the city of Juliosebaste and its territory. This would accord with district (tribal) organization recorded generally in Rough Cilicia, namely of a metropolis and its surrounding territory (e. g., Lamos as the metropolis of the Lamotis, Selinus that of the Selinitis, Kelenderis that of Kelenderitis)¹²⁷. Rosis son of Plous, who was honored by the Demos of Juliosebaste with a statue base at Göçük Asarı, was conceivably a citizen of that city but resided in the dependent village of the Krauatoi. Dual citizenship of this genre is on record elsewhere in the region, including Side and Syedra, and was probably commonplace for residents of *poleis* and dependent *komai*¹²⁸.

At this point our discussion becomes more speculative. For reasons unknown, at some point Juliosebaste was possibly abandoned and relocated to the site of Göçük Asarı¹²⁹. Such an event seems indicated by the ceramic evidence, with datable sherds pointing to gradual abandonment of Asar Tepe but sustained habitation at Göçük during the Late Roman era. Similarly, G. A. Inscription no. 3, with its seemingly archival list of client kings and queens in the preamble and its use of the perfect tense (›pepoieken‹) in the closing line, seems to relate that the document was originally recorded elsewhere, and then copied and re-erected at its final location, namely, Göçük. The presence of Antiochus IV, his son, and his queen in this document may suggest that the transition was somehow related to the events of his reign, e. g., the violence provoked by the revolt of the Cietae in 52 C.E. But this is purely surmise. The answer to this question ultimately requires more detailed information than that recoverable from our surface survey.

Further archaeological investigation may one day settle the question of the foundation and location of Juliosebaste with complete certainty. For the time being the example of this settlement demonstrates how archaeological survey can be brought to bear on the nature of core/periphery relations at a micro-regional level. Identification of Mut/Claudiopolis with the colony Julia Augusta founded by Augustus and Juliosebaste as a city established by a client king in gratitude to the same emperor likewise reveals the complexity entailed in the merger of native and offshore systems. Juliosebaste (Asar Tepe) stood some 5 km from the coast, Julia Augusta (Mut) some 55 km. Within this narrow band existed a highly nuanced and varied social construct involving the pre-existing indigenous population, direct outside control from the imperial center, and between the two, the activity of client kings as intermediary political agents. What is revealed by this

¹²⁴ On the architecture at Asar Tepe, s. infra pp. 285–296.

¹²⁵ With datable sherds representing 46% of the total processed.

¹²⁶ Even today the saddle below Göçük Asarı offers the lowest, most accessible point along the ridge. Asar Tepe lies approximately 6 km west along the ridge from Göçük Asarı and 11 km west of the peak at Gürçam Karatepe (1,688 m).

¹²⁷ Note that Ptol. 5, 7, 2 places Nephelion in the Selinitis. The Lamotis is known to have included Charadros and even Antiochia in its territory during the Late Empire; s. supra n. 15. For district or tribal organization, derived primarily from Ptolemaios but demonstrable as well in coin legends and inscriptions, s. Jones 1971, 209 f.; Bean – Mitford 1965, 46. Ptol. 5, 7, 2. 5 furnishes Selinitis, Lamotis (Ptol. 5, 7, 6), and Ketis (Ptol. 5, 7, 3 and 6); Plin. nat. 5, 92 adds Celenderitis; cf. Tab. Peut. 10, 3. 4, ›Clenderitis‹ (for the text, s. Weber 1976).

¹²⁸ s. Bean – Mitford 1970, 41. 63. 69. 104. 107. 108. 110, inscription nos. 20. 35. 41. 90. 93–95; cf. CIG 4412.

¹²⁹ Although relocations of this sort are difficult to prove, that of Ephesos by Lysimachos from the hill above modern Selçuk to its current, more defensible location during the 3rd c. B.C.E. offers a useful reminder.

discussion is the speed by which this formula succeeded in urbanizing the region of western Rough Cilicia. The following two centuries represent unquestionably the region's most prosperous era.

IV. Urban Climax in Rough Cilicia: The Monumental Character of Rough Cilician Cities

For all practical purposes, the Roman era from the later 1st to later 3rd centuries C.E. represented the high water mark of cultural development in western Rough Cilicia. Although the inhabitants of western Rough Cilicia underwent a pronounced adaptation to mainstream offshore Greco-Roman habits and tendencies, such change was not simply ›Romanization‹ in the conventional sense of the word. The evidence of our survey reveals a complex relationship to Roman rule, one of give-and-take that created a distinctive urban environment, different from that of its neighbors either in Cilicia Pedias to the east or in Pamphylia to the west. The purpose of this section is to articulate briefly the character of this adaptation in the survey region, based on the evidence of monumental architecture and correlative epigraphical records.

Despite the fact that a continuous ceramic sequence in the survey zone begins in the Late Hellenistic period and sherds of this time are nearly ubiquitous¹³⁰, the number of settlements large and small that exhibit Roman era ceramic and architectural remains vastly outstrips that of any other period. There is also an increasingly nucleated settlement pattern of town and countryside at this time. Both these developments must be viewed in an economic context, one that saw the landscape attain its maximum utilization for specialized purposes of timber and wine production¹³¹. The epigraphical evidence supports the archaeological. As noted earlier, the limited impact of Hellenistic offshore influences in the region is demonstrated by a dearth of Greek inscriptions datable to that era vs. the hundreds that survive from the Early Roman era¹³². Second, nucleation of settlements is attested by Roman era inscriptions that allude to the existence of metropoleis such as Lamos dominating broader territorial units such as the Lamotis, as noted above¹³³.

To date, the architecture team, directed by R. Townsend and M. Hoff, has surveyed 14 sites classified according to three basic types – primary, secondary, and tertiary. In this paper only the primary sites will be described and discussed in detail (table 5)¹³⁴. All lie either along the coast or in the lower foothills of the Tauros Mountains. To date, no sites in the higher, steeper elevations of the hinterlands have been mapped¹³⁵. Four urban sites are located by the sea (Iotape, Selinus, Nephelion, and Antiochia), and of these only two are actually at sea level (Iotape and Selinus). The city of Selinus stands near the mouth of the Hacimusa River within a large coastal plain, roughly 36 km² in size. However, even with this broad flat area at their feet, the inhabitants of Selinus constructed their city in part on the slope of a steep promontory that juts out into the sea (figs. 12. 13). The city of Iotape is similarly situated: much of its public architecture is built upon a rocky peninsula and the coastline immediately adjacent, while the rest of the city's structures are placed inland well above the shoreline (fig. 14). Both Nephelion and Antiochia (figs. 8. 15) directly overlook the

¹³⁰ Supra p. 272.

¹³¹ Supra pp. 264–267. Evidence exists also for products such as honey (based on the identification of large quantities of interior grooved ceramic vessels at highland sites such as Göçük), textiles (based on abundant finds of loomweights, usually stamped) and locally produced coarse and common wares (more than 150 locally produced forms). For textile production in Cilicia generally, s. IGR III 896; Colum. 26; Plin. nat. 8, 203; Varro rust. 2, 11, 12; Jones 1971, 206; Hopwood 1991, 307; Pleket 1998, 122 f. For locally produced ceramic forms in the survey area, s. the project's Preliminary Ceramics Study Collection: Rauh 2001a, <https://engineering.purdue.edu/~cilicia/SC_etc.>.

¹³² Supra n. 58.

¹³³ Supra nn. 15. 127.

¹³⁴ 11 of the 14 sites have been thoroughly mapped and documented. The architectural team has comprehensively surveyed Selinus, Kestros, Lamos, and Asar Tepe/Juliosebaste; surveyed and studied selective buildings at Iotape and Antiochia; and has conducted a preliminary examination of Nephelion. Karamut – Russell 1999, first identified the site and furnish a general description and sketch plan. Similarly, Antiochia, Iotape, and Selinus were investigated and partially mapped by a survey team in the 1960s (Rosenbaum et al. 1967); in each case the RCSP architectural team has attempted to correct and expand the earlier plans. For a brief description of the methodology used to acquire architectural data, s. Townsend – Hoff 2004, 251–253. The pedestrian survey has discovered numerous more sites, but logistical considerations and time constraints severely limit the number that can be mapped architecturally. Classification of unmapped sites continues, particularly those in the upland areas of the Bıçkıcı and Kaledran Rivers.

¹³⁵ For the geographical division of western Rough Cilicia into three basic zones, s. supra p. 261 with n. 18.

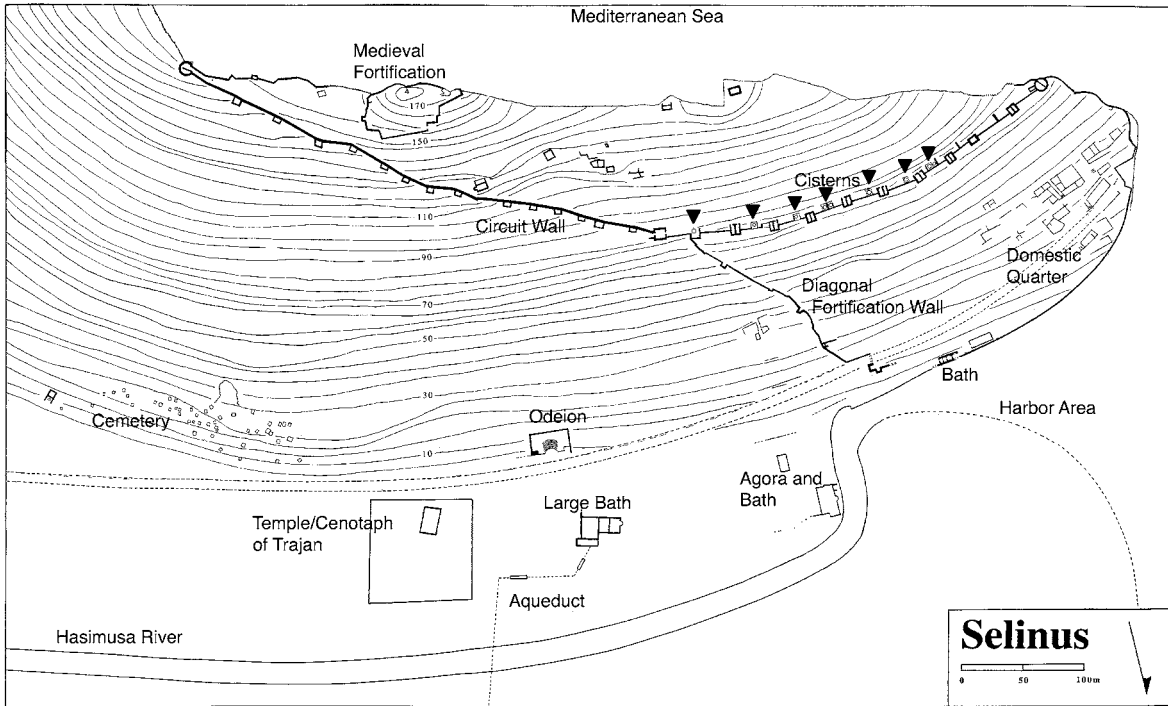


12 Selinus, viewed from Kestros

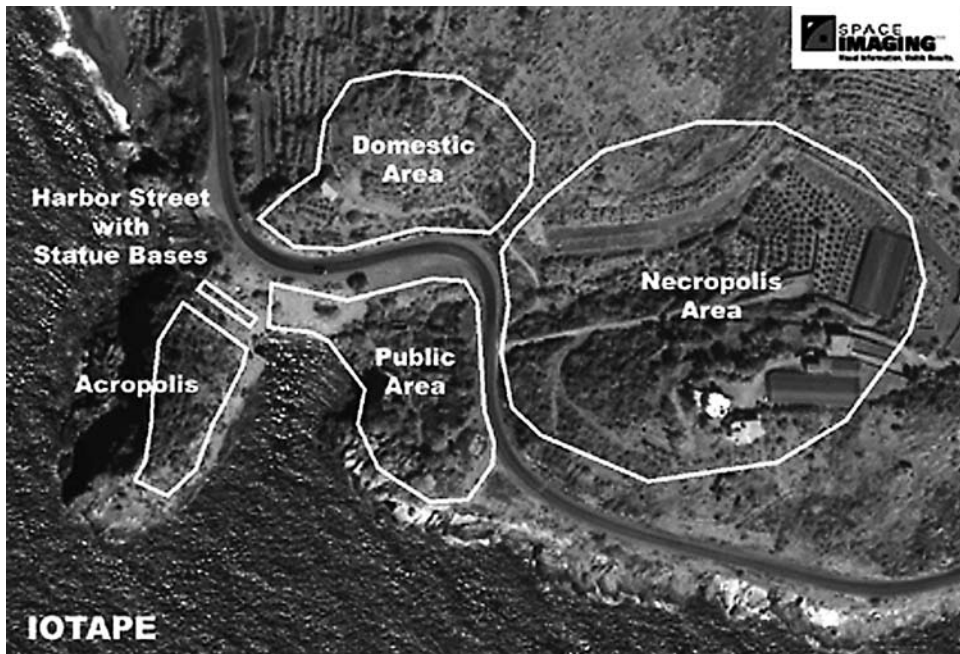
sea from high outcrops. The other primary sites stand farther removed from the water's edge. Kestros (fig. 16), e. g., is situated at the crest of a coastal mountain approximately 1.4 km from the shore and 376 m above sea level. Asar Tepe (figs. 4. 17) and Lamos (figs. 4. 18) both lie at higher elevations and farther inland. In general, sites tend to occupy the high points of a hill, with the architecture following the slopes with the gentlest grade. The settlements do not impose any strict orientation in respect to compass direction but rather follow the natural topography. Although remains can be found on almost every peak in the survey area, the more substantial sites tend to occupy high, fairly narrow spines, one side of which tends to be very steeply sloped, the other a little less so. With the exception of Selinus and a few isolated farmsteads, the low-lying river valleys and the Gazipaşa basin appear to have been avoided¹³⁶. One likely reason for this is the seasonal flooding of the rivers swollen from the spring thaw. In addition, hill top occupation will have offered natural protection, not only from marauders, but also from insect-borne pestilence in the moist low-lying areas. Historical evidence suggests that the Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor were affected with outbreaks of malaria during the Roman period as a result of geophysical change to the environment¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ It is possible that some may lie hidden beneath the alluvium deposited by the region's rivers.

¹³⁷ Deforestation, e. g., is regarded as a prime cause for malarial outbreaks along the south coast during the Roman era (de Zulueta 1973; Grmek 1994; McNeill 1992, 85–91. 158. 290. 312. 344 f. 350). Even in more modern times malaria has been a major problem in the southern region of Turkey; the World Health Organization (2000–2001, <<http://www.euro.who.int/document/E73499.pdf>>) indicates that from 1990–1999 over 400,000 cases of autochthonous malaria were reported in Turkey, mostly in the south.



13 Selinus, plan



14 Iotape, satellite image

Table 5: Primary, secondary, and tertiary sites

Sites	Area (ha)	Temple	Bouleuterion	Area or Enclosure for public display	Agora	Bath (no.)	Monumental Tomb	Coinage
Primary								
Antiochia ¹³⁸	24.0	×	?		×	× (1)	×	×
Asar Tepe	3.7	?	×	?	?	× (1)	×	
Iotape ¹³⁹	17.9	×	?	×		× (2)	×	×
Kestros	2.9	×	?	×	?		×	×
Lamos	37.4	?		×	×	× (2)	×	×
Nephelion ¹⁴⁰	1.8	×	×		?			
Selinus	41.4	×	×	?	×	× (2)	×	×
Secondary								
Güzelce Harman Tepe	0.8							
Guda Tepe	1.5							
Göçük Asarı	2.7			×		× (1)	?	
Govan Asarı	1.5							
Koru Dağı	0.7							
Tertiary								
Alaca Dağı	0.2							
Kocas Tepe	0.3							

The seven sites categorized as primary are historically attested as poleis: Iotape, Selinus, Kestros, Nephelion, Antiochia ad Cragum, Asar Tepe/Juliosebaste, and Lamos. Among the sites not mapped architecturally, Charadros and Sivaste (= Karatepe) both furnish textual references to their status as poleis. Thus, there are at least nine poleis in the survey region; of these, six are known to have issued their own coinage, an indication of the high degree of autonomy they possessed¹⁴¹. The urban character of these poleis demonstrates itself further through the architectural structures they display, which emphasize and enhance the community's reputation in aspects of religion, civic affairs, and culture. Table 5 indicates the specific types of public monuments identified at each primary site that have been surveyed architecturally: temples or other cult venues, civic offices, agoras, baths, and monumental tombs.

Temples are common architectural features of western Rough Cilician poleis. Architectural remains of structures identified as temples are found at Antiochia, Iotape, Kestros, and Nephelion. Recently, it has been suggested that foundations at the end of a colonnaded street at Lamos may be that of a temple, although the identification has not been confirmed¹⁴². In addition, numismatic evidence documents a temple to Trajan at Selinus; it is very likely to be identified with a marble-clad structure, located on the river plain below the acropolis and often referred to as a ›cenotaph‹ to Trajan, who died in the city in 117 C.E. Later its original form was altered to create a Seljuk hunting platform¹⁴³. The temples at Kestros were dedicated to the imperial

¹³⁸ Iotape and Antiochia have been preliminarily examined by RCSP. Site areas are calculated from plans of these sites in Rosenbaum 1967.

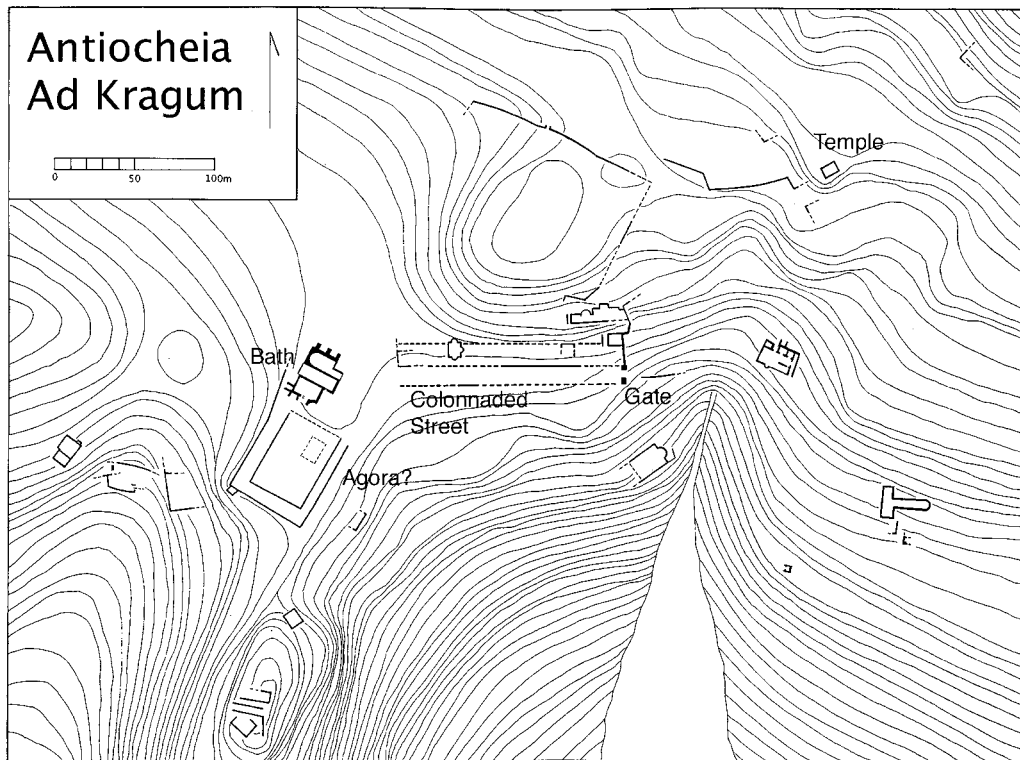
¹³⁹ s. supra previous note.

¹⁴⁰ Area calculated from sketch plan in Karamut – Russell 1999, 358 fig. 5.

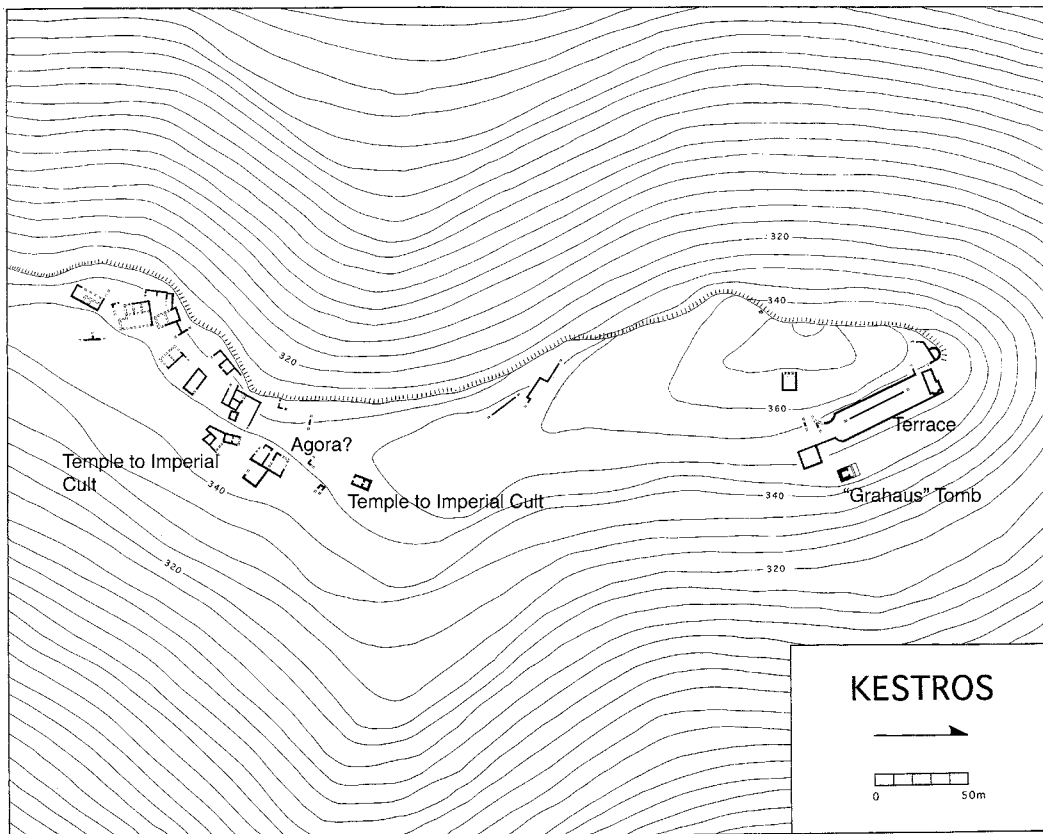
¹⁴¹ For references to textual, epigraphic, and numismatic testimony demonstrating the urban character of these sites, s. supra pp. 255–257 with nn. 6–15.

¹⁴² Townsend – Hoff 2009. A coin of Severan date from Lamos shows a tetrastyle temple (BMCRE Cilicia 39, no. 1).

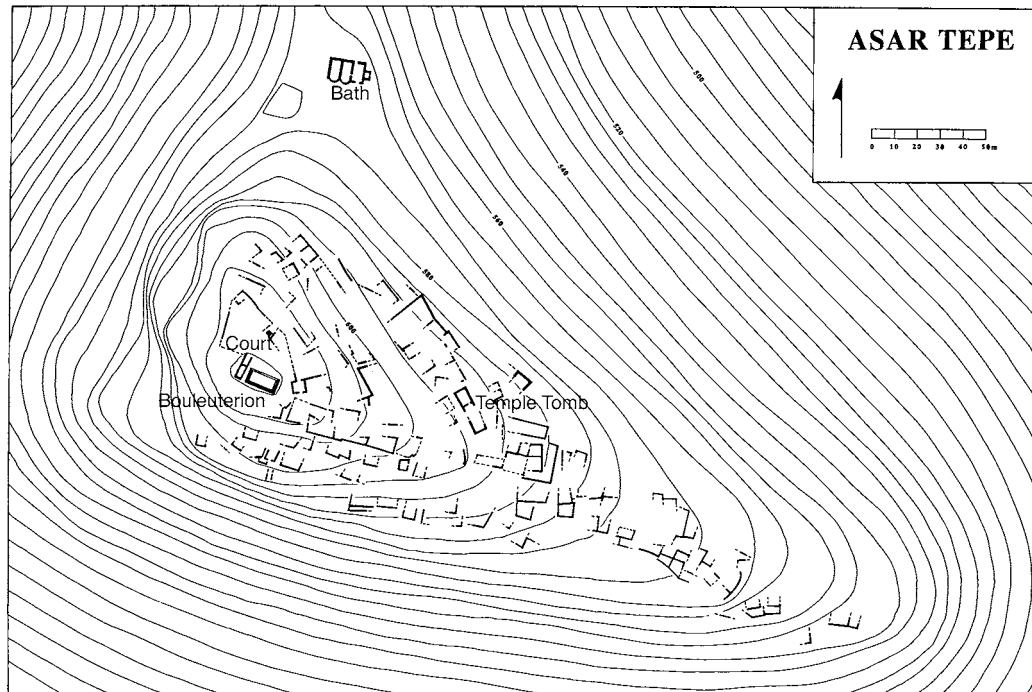
¹⁴³ A coin from Selinus (BMCRE Cilicia 143, nos. 1, 2) depicts a temple façade with the name of Trajan within the pediment. Beaufort 1818, 181 apparently originally suggested the idea of the building as a cenotaph; Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 150 f. rejected this notion, claiming instead that the building's construction dates wholly to the medieval period. The Roman origin of the building is undeniable, however. For current archaeological work on the structure, s. Türkmen – Demir 2006; s. also Redford 2000, 43 f. 156–160 for its use in the medieval period.



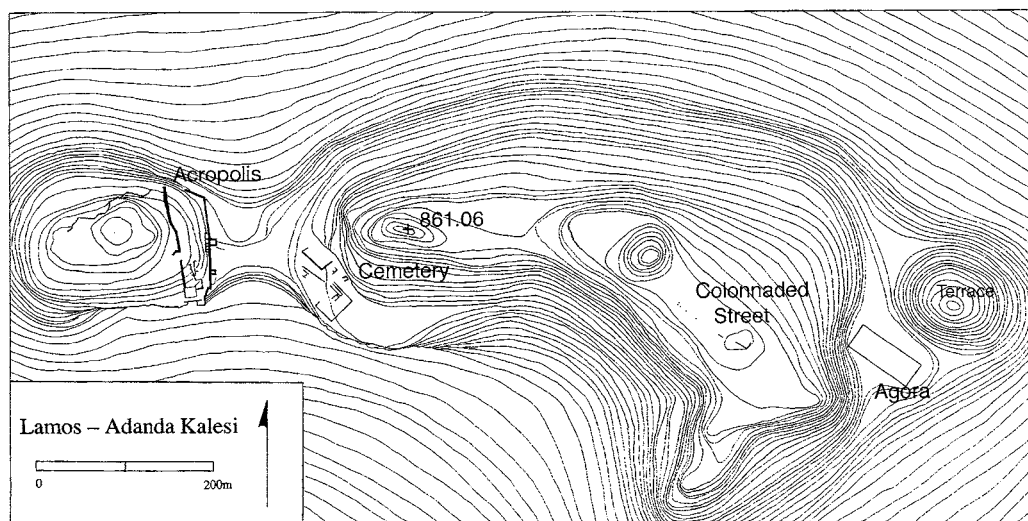
15 Antiochia ad Cragum, plan



16 Kestros, plan



17 Asar Tepe, plan



18 Lamos, plan

cult; that at Iotape, too, according to G. Bean and T. Mitford. To whom the temple at Antiochia was dedicated is not known for certain; that at Nephelion has been attributed to Tyche¹⁴⁴. Epigraphical references provide ample confirmation of the presence of the imperial cult¹⁴⁵, and additional evidence from inscriptions

¹⁴⁴ For the temples at Kestros, s. Bean – Mitford 1962, 212 f. nos. 36. 37 (= Kes 2 and 3): dedications to Antoninus Pius; and Bean – Mitford 1970, 155–160 nos. 158–164 (= Kes 12–19): dedications to Vespasian. (N. B.: In this and all notes *infra*, epigraphical references cited by a lettered prefix and number are to the catalogue of Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998.) The temple at Iotape was first identified by Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 148 who noted a base inside with a dedication to Trajan; s. further Bean – Mitford (1965, 27–29 with no. 31 [Iot 18]). Bean – Mitford 1965, 34 call the building at Antiochia a temple; it certainly has all the appearance of one, but it may be noted that Erdemgil – Özoral 1975, 55 f. describe the structure as a temple tomb. It is currently being studied by R. Townsend, M. Hoff, and E. Erdoğmuş. For the attribution of the building at Nephelion, s. Karamut – Russell 1999, 359.

¹⁴⁵ Numerous inscriptions in the region refer to imperial priests, e. g., at Antiochia (AntK 14a. 15), Asar Tepe (AsT 2), Iotape (Iot 1a. 3a. 3d. 4a. 9. 11b. 23a), Kestros (Kes 3. 26a), Korakesion (Krk 18), Laertes (Lae 3. 5), Syedra (Sye 35). Cf. Bean – Mitford 1970,

demonstrates other forms of imperial dedications. For example, at Lamos G. Bean and T. Mitford found an inscribed block mentioning a dedication to the Flavian emperors. They associated the inscription with a temple-like structure nearby, and while this attribution has now been refuted, the inscription records an imperial dedication of some sort nonetheless¹⁴⁶. Elsewhere at Lamos, on the crest of a conical hill overlooking the agora to the northeast, in 2002 the survey team found a statue base whose inscription records that it was dedicated to (and bore a statue of) a Roman emperor¹⁴⁷.



19 Terrace, Kestros

The statue base rested on stone paving that belonged to a monumental rectangular enclosure crowning the hill. Built with ashlar walls over 1 m thick, the dimensions of the enclosure are 32 by 24 m. There is no evidence of roofing, and most likely the west side of the structure facing the agora was left open, thus furnishing an impressive sight for those looking up from below and providing a commanding view itself of the agora and areas of the city both east and west.

Imperial dedications in western Rough Cilicia, then, reflect an effort on the part of the local gentries to accommodate Roman authority in the region. But acclamation was not aimed solely in the direction of external rule. Architectural and epigraphical material demonstrate that local elites received at least as much attention as did their supposed Roman ›overlords.‹ The display of honorific sculpture within an architecturally enclosed setting such as that found at Lamos occurs at other primary sites as well where the honorands are local. At the hilltop city of Kestros, the most prominently preserved feature is a long terrace, 85 m by 14 m, situated just below the summit on the east side of the mountain (fig. 19). Set into the back wall of the terrace and high above the floor survives a series of niches that once contained statuary. Two rows of statue bases are visible on the terrace floor as well. One line of statues apparently stood on the stylobate of a colonnade that divided the length of the terrace in two. A second line of statues embellished the front edge of the terrace and thus commanded a prominent view from below. None of the inscribed bases bear imperial dedications; the honorands were instead local individuals¹⁴⁸. At Iotape the inhabitants created space for a similar display. There, statues were erected along opposite sides of a paved road that joined the city's two harbors¹⁴⁹. A walled enclosure for the honorific display of statuary is visible as well at Göçük Asarı. The long side of this enclosure measures 18 m or more (width unknown). Column fragments closely associated with it indicate that at least one side exhibited a colonnade. As noted earlier, within the enclosure the pedestrian team

96–98; Quass 1993, 218–220; Tomaschitz 2003, 135, 141.

¹⁴⁶ Townsend – Hoff 2004, 256 f. and 259 fig. 8. For the discovery of the inscription, s. Bean – Mitford 1962, 208 no. 32. Bean – Mitford 1965, 33 also identified a structure at Asar Tepe as a temple, but it, too, is a temple tomb; s. Townsend – Hoff 2004, 265–268.

¹⁴⁷ Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 129.

¹⁴⁸ Bean – Mitford 1962, 212–216 with nos. 38–45 (= Kes 4a–11).

¹⁴⁹ Bean – Mitford 1970, 152. The 18 inscriptions on seven large bases that line this road at Iotape provide some of the richest epigraphical testimonia anywhere in the survey region.

found a statue base honoring a local citizen of Juliosebaste; another inscribed block bearing the fragmentary inscription that records mention of Roman client kings and queens (and very likely originating from within the enclosure) was recovered slightly downhill¹⁵⁰. Given the architectural similarity of the enclosures at Lamos, Kestros, and Göçük Asarı, as well as the varied history of this region during the Early Roman era, ruled for a century by client kings and then by governors of Rome, there is little reason to associate the enclosure above the agora at Lamos, or the display areas at any of the other sites exclusively with the imperial cult, that is, as *kaisareia*¹⁵¹. It is just as likely that imperial dedications at Lamos, Kestros, Iotape and elsewhere in the region were displayed in conjunction with and alongside statues honoring local officials and dignitaries. The presence of these ›enclosures‹ and their probable mix of local and foreign dedications represent a ›signature‹ feature of the architectural landscape in western Rough Cilicia¹⁵². The merging of indigenous and foreign elements occurred at the personal level as well. Inscriptions attesting the presence of veterans of local origin indicate that native elements joined the Roman military, that they served in various military theaters, including those local, and that they returned to the region to retire¹⁵³. At the same time, two or three inscriptions record the settlement of non-native, Latin speaking Roman military officers in the region¹⁵⁴.

Native adoption of external religious cults other than that of the emperor appears to have been minimal. A temple-like structure at Nephelion has been identified as a Tycheion, and Tyche features prominently in the coinage of several cities¹⁵⁵. A cult of Apollo appears to have existed at a few sites¹⁵⁶, Demeter at Kestros¹⁵⁷, and a few others. The observance and maintenance of indigenous Luwian cults were far more pronounced, however, particularly that of the Luwian mountain/storm god, Tarhunt. He is referred to in epigraphical texts by various local epithets, such as Zeus Megistos, Zeus Megas, Zeus Keraunos, Zeus Aneiketos, Zeus Epekoos, and Zeus Androclas. References to festivals in honor of this local deity are commonplace¹⁵⁸. It appears that cults of imported deities occur primarily in coastal cities where foreign influences were more prevalent, while Luwian cults become more prominent as one moves inland¹⁵⁹. The monumental tomb type

¹⁵⁰ For discussion of these two inscriptions in relation to the identification of the site, s. supra pp. 282–285.

¹⁵¹ The designation of *kaisareion* (or *sebasteion*) generally is applied to a variety of structures such as colonnaded halls or porticoes, in which statues and altars to emperors would be housed and would therefore serve as a focus for the imperial cult. But the presence of imperial dedications should not automatically imply that a structure containing them is a *kaisareion* (e. g., an enclosure at Iasos in Caria that was identified by its excavators as a *kaisareion* on the basis of imperial statue bases found inside; s. Mellink 1974, 122). Although *kaisareia/sebasteia* are attested epigraphically at several sites in Asia Minor, including one at nearby Laertes, no inscription from the RCSP survey zone mentions such a structure; for Laertes, s. Bean – Mitford 1970, 96 f. no. 74; Price 1984, 273).

¹⁵² A similar rectangular, terraced structure is also noted at Selinus; its prominent vantage over the ancient harbor area would have offered a suitable position for an honorific statuary assemblage. No statue base is preserved from the structure, however, so its identification must remain speculative.

¹⁵³ M. Aurelius Neon at Ilica Kale (Bean – Mitford 1965, 30, no. 33; Russell 1991a, 293, no. 3); M. Lollius Lolli f. Neon and Aurelius Neon Hierax at Laertes (Russell 1991a, 294, no. 16; 296, no. 1); two additional military diplomas found at Laertes (Lae 42a and b; Russell 1991b, 470 f.); L. Domitius Valentis f. Valens at Selinus (Russell 1991a, 296, no. 2); Cn. Antonius Tuae f. Gnaea at Selinus (Russell 1991a, 296 no. 3). Russell (1991a, 290) rightly observes that several of these served with the Roman navy; cf. Russell 1991b.

¹⁵⁴ Russell 1991a, 288 regards some of these as natives: C. Herennius Maximus and family at Syedra (Sye 22a. 22b; Bean – Mitford 1962, 192 f., no. 8; Bean – Mitford 1970, 106, no. 92; Russell 1991a, 293, no. 6); C. Julius Celer at Selinus (SIT 2; CIL 225 = 1230; Russell 1991a, 291 and 296, no. 7); C. Munatius Vales, »palai stratiotes« at Kestros (Kes 24; Bean – Mitford 1970, 163, no. 169; Russell 1991a, 293, no. 3). Bean – Mitford 1970, 83 f. speculate that veterans such as these were possibly assigned to regional posts as *stationarii* and eventually settled locally on retirement.

¹⁵⁵ For the attribution of the temple to Tyche on the basis of the inscribed block found with the structure at Nephelion, s. Karamut – Russell 1999, 359. A priestess of Tyche is recorded at Lamos (Ada 14; Bean – Mitford 1970, 173, no. 189). Tyche appears within a temple on coins of Kestros and Antiochia (Mitford 1990, 2146), and possibly as well in the coinage of Iotape (Mitford 1990, 2144).

¹⁵⁶ This assumption is based primarily on the basis of coinage, where Apollo appears on coins struck at Iotape, Selinus, and Lamos (Mitford 1990, 2144 f.). Fines for tomb violations at Direvli were likewise paid to Apollo, indicating that a temple to this god may have existed there (Dir 10; Bean – Mitford 1970, 180, no. 201; Mitford 1990, 2145).

¹⁵⁷ Kes 26a and 29; Bean – Mitford 1970, 164, no. 172 and 166, no. 175; Mitford 1990, 2146.

¹⁵⁸ For references, s. Mitford 1990, 2145 n. 65. For Zeus Androkles, cf. Strab. 14, 5, 3 (669); Bean – Mitford 1962, 215; Bean – Mitford 1970, 175. Strabo and the Stadiasmos associate this deity with a specific mountain behind Charadros. A potential candidate is Bozkaya (elevation 1,556 m) on a bench below which the survey team located a cliff-top settlement with the remains of a temple or temple tomb, namely, Hisar Asarı; s. Rauh 2006, 232.

¹⁵⁹ Mitford 1990, 2149 f., an exception being the cult of Sarapis (s. supra p. 272 with n. 62 for references).

demonstrates a similar pattern of acculturation. In a recent article, R. Townsend and M. Hoff have identified two basic types of monumental tomb in the survey zone, the temple tomb and the ›Grabhaus‹¹⁶⁰. The latter, utilizing techniques of strong Italian character, is restricted to the coastal cities where Roman presence was more dominant. The former, making conscious use of Hellenistic techniques, is more commonly found inland at sites associated with the Cilician peoples who originated in this area. Furthermore, such tombs were erected within city limits in order to stress the social status of the owner over any religious association; in the process of course they conflicted directly with Roman law prohibiting burial *intra muros*.

Politically, the urban communities of western Rough Cilicia were organized according to the Hellenized system of the polis based on a political hierarchy of councils and assemblies (*boule kai demos*)¹⁶¹. Minimal evidence of offices is recorded, usually in connection with some instance of cooperation with external Roman authorities. For example, *dekaprotoi* were local dignitaries responsible for ensuring the collection of Roman taxes and requisitions¹⁶². Within the councils or above them in hierarchy are mentioned various local executive officials. *Probouloi*, usually presided over by an *archiproboulos* (2 sites) or *patroboulos* (1 site), appear to have run their respective city councils¹⁶³. Recorded magisterial offices include *demiourgos* (6 sites), *archon* (3 sites), *agoranomos* (2 sites), *oikonomos* (1 site), *sitonomos* (1 site), and possibly *limenarchos* (1 site)¹⁶⁴. *Eirenarchoi* (1 site), also referred to as *paraphylakes* (2 sites), appear to have been responsible for mobilizing local militias to deal with lower threshold civil disturbances¹⁶⁵. These officials, generally documented as members of the urban councils, performed this duty as a ›liturgy‹ frequently in association with ›gymnasiarch,‹ during which they were honored by the urban *neoi*. Building on this information K. Hopwood argues that the eirenarchs organized the local *neoi* into urban militias who kept the peace by intimidating renegade elements of the rural hinterland¹⁶⁶. Precisely how such officials were appointed is not explained; most likely they were co-opted from within the council in a manner commonplace throughout the Roman world¹⁶⁷.

Civic architecture for the exercise of this political system is found in the form of bouleuteria that have been identified at three sites: Asar Tepe, Nephelion and Selinus. More than any other institution, the civic council manifestly denotes an urban polity, one whose authority over civic matters would be recognized by

¹⁶⁰ Townsend – Hoff 2004; cf. Mitford 1990, 2155.

¹⁶¹ s. Tomaschitz 2003 and Quass 1993.

¹⁶² *Dekaprotoi* are recorded at Asar Tepe (AsT 2), Iotape (Iot 1a. 3c. 5b), and Laertes (Lae 6a1. 6a2. 6b1). *Dekaprotoi* were very common in Lycia; their principal function seemingly was to ensure the payment of taxes and levies due to the imperial fiscus. Bean – Mitford 1962, 17; Quass 1993, 177 f.; Tomaschitz 2003, 132.

¹⁶³ *Probouloi* were to be found in various parts of Asia Minor comprising panels of 12 councilors with the *archiproboulos* who may also have been eponymous at their head. Bean – Mitford 1962, 17; Quass 1993, 177; Tomaschitz 2003, 129. »Probouloi« are recorded at Korakesion (Krk 18), Laertes (Lae 5. 30), Lamos (Lam 8), and Syedra (Sye 25); a »patroboulos« at Antioch (AntK11), »archiprobouloi« at Laertes (6a1. 7b). At Iotape there are also several references to a »prytanis« (Iot 1a. 5b. 11a. 21) and a »grammateus« (Iot 5b).

¹⁶⁴ »Demiourgoi« are recorded at Antiochia (AntK 6), Iotape (Iot 1a. 1b. 3c. 5b. 9. 11a), Kestros (Kes 2. 3. 27), Korakesion (Krk 18), Laertes (Lae 6a1), and Nephelion (Karamut – Russell 1999, 369). For their possibly eponymous function, s. Tomaschitz 2003, 132. »Archontes« are recorded at Göçük Asarı (G.A. Inscription 3), Laertes (Lae 5), and Hamaxia (Ham 23?); on which, s. Tomaschitz 2003, 132. »Agoranomoi« are recorded at Iotape (Iot 1a. 5b. 11a. 21), and Syedra (Sye 35). An »oikonomos poleos« is found at Laertes (Lae 39). A »sitonomos« is mentioned several times at Iotape (Iot 3c. 5b. 21), not surprising given its mountainous hinterland (Bean – Mitford 1970, 151). »Limen[archos]« is a restored reading at Kestros (Kes 30). Note as well references to multiple offices held by distinguished individuals at various towns: »tas archas«, »tas loipas archas«, »pasas tas archas«, »encheiristheias archas« (e. g., Ham 23; Iot 1b; Lae 5. 6a1).

¹⁶⁵ For the restored »[eirenarch]os (?)«, s. Lae 29a; »paraphylax« at Iotape (Iot 3c), and Syedra (Sye 35); note as well a »stratelates« at Laertes (Lae 15); Quass 1993, 379 f.; Tomaschitz 2003; Hopwood 1989; and s. further infra pp. 296–299.

¹⁶⁶ s. Hopwood 1983, 177 for the »eirenarchike taxis« of Magydus in Pamphylia and his discussion of the use of »diogmitai«; Zosimus (5, 15) for the landowner in 399 who raised a troop from among his dependents who had been trained in many battles with neighboring bandits (Hopwood 1990, 176); cf. Hopwood 1989; Hirschfeld 1891. »Gymnasiarchoi« are recorded locally at Antiochia (AntK11b), Asar Tepe (AsT 2), Iotape (Iot 1a. 1c. 3d. 9. 23b), Kestros (Kes 3. 19), Laertes (Lae 5. 6a1. 21. 27), Lamos (Lam 13), Nephelion (Karamut – Russell 1999, 369), and Syedra (Sye 30). In addition, the performance of games is recorded at Antiochia (AntK 3. 11. 18 [Leonidia]), Korakesion (Krk 3. 8. 17), Laertes (Lae 2. 11. 12. 36), and Syedra (Sye 3–20. 26. 28. 30–32).

¹⁶⁷ Evidence for any form of popular election of local magistrates is lacking; likewise evidence of a system of annual eponymous magistrates.

provincial administration¹⁶⁸. Two of the three bouleuteria, at Nephelion and Selinus, are of the traditional type consisting of a series of curved seat emplacements built into the natural slope of a hill. The bouleterion at Selinus was apparently covered within a rectangular hall, a common feature for these structures and similar in plan to the bouleterion at Anemurium¹⁶⁹. The structure at Nephelion has been identified as a theater¹⁷⁰, but its remains, both in terms of size and character, would match those of a bouleterion equally well. The bouleterion at Asar Tepe is the best preserved of the three (fig. 20). Located at the very peak of the hill on which the site is located, the remains of the structure were first encountered by G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford who identified the function of the building as a council-house¹⁷¹, despite its unusual design. The building is rectangular, enclosed on three sides, and furnishes access through a colonnade on one of the long sides. A continuous bench made from limestone blocks and carved with simple moldings lines the three closed walls. A special seat was placed at the center of the back wall, interrupting the bench along this side and placed so as to look out through the entrance opposite. The rectangular plan with one open side closely resembles a Roman-period meeting hall in Cyrene, although in that example the interior was outfitted with two banks of curved steps, flanking an open middle¹⁷². The only other civic meeting hall with similar bench seating is the curia or bouleterion in Roman Corinth¹⁷³. It may be estimated that the bouleterion at Asar Tepe could have accommodated between 55 and 60 citizens.

Agoras were commonplace in the civic urban landscape of the Greco-Roman world. In the survey area remains of agoras at three of the larger sites have been positively identified: Antiochia, Lamos, and Selinus. In all three cities, the agora consists of a large square or rectangular area, bounded on all sides by colonnades. The agora at Lamos is the largest of the three with a court measuring 85 by 29 m¹⁷⁴. Agoras at the smaller urban sites so far have escaped detection. At Nephelion İ. Karamut and J. Russell posited the remains of an agora in the low-lying area north of the temple¹⁷⁵. A large, roughly triangular open court is discernible immediately in front (i. e., to the north) and set at a slightly lower level than the bouleterion at the crest of Asar Tepe. This court was accessible by means of a stairs and monumental entryway approximately centered on its northern side. Although remains specifically associated with an agora do not survive, this space would be appropriate as both a monumental entry court to the bouleterion and as an agora. At Kestros G. Bean and T. Mitford suggested that the agora stood in the short saddle between the two imperial temples¹⁷⁶. The design for an open space between the two temples (whether for an agora or not) may reflect the original layout of this section of the city; certainly provision for such formal, hierarchical setting is typical of Roman design. But such special treatment through the reservation of primary space for the imperial cult could not have been long lasting. Several ruined structures, one bearing distinct traces of industrial activity, stand between the temples, clearly showing that the open area filled with non-monumental structures in an ad hoc fashion. The temples date a century apart (Vespasian, 74 C.E.; Antoninus Pius, 162 C.E.). The site itself is single era, Early Roman (1st–3rd c. C.E.). Thus, any inviolability the area may have held did not last for long: either it fell apart even before the temple to Antoninus Pius was constructed or soon thereafter. The imperial presence quickly lost its importance, an indication of the tenuous nature of Roman acculturation in the region.

¹⁶⁸ Poll. 9, 28–46; cf. Paus. 10, 4, 1. s. also McDonald 1943, 127 f. 147; Balty 1991, 430.

¹⁶⁹ Rosenbaum et al. 1967, 3; Russell 1975, 125; Russell 1976, 10; Balty 1991, 458–462; Türkmen et al. 2006.

¹⁷⁰ Karamut – Russell 1999, 361.

¹⁷¹ Bean – Mitford 1965, 33.

¹⁷² Stucchi 1976, 279; Balty 1991, 587–589. Bench seating in lieu of risers for stepped seating within bouleuteria is rare.

¹⁷³ Morgan 1936, 479–481; Broneer 1954, 129–132. Balty 1991, 587 disagrees with its identification as a bouleterion as it would have accommodated too few citizens along its bench for a full-fledged council house; instead, he suggests that it served as an exedra or something similar. The civic function of the building at Asar Tepe seems fairly certain, even if the number of seats is limited. The existence of a boule is attested epigraphically (AsT 1). The evidence therefore suggests a small boule, membership in which would have been open to only the most highly placed members of the community, on which s. further infra pp. 295–296.

¹⁷⁴ This was first mistakenly identified as a stadium by Bean – Mitford 1970, 172. Neither the size nor the shape of the court is appropriate for a stadium, however, and the fact that the court is stone-paved confirms that it would not have been used for this purpose; s. Townsend – Hoff 2009.

¹⁷⁵ Karamut – Russell 1999, 358 fig. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Bean – Mitford 1970, 156.



20 Bouleuterion, Asar Tepe

If the godliness of Roman culture did not make an overly strong impression in western Rough Cilicia, Roman ideas about cleanliness certainly seem to have fared better. One of the more common forms of public architecture at the sites of western Rough Cilicia is the bath. Monumental bath buildings are preserved at five of the urban sites; in fact, only Kestros and Nephelion lack identifiable bath buildings. Iotape, Lamos and Selinus all have multiple baths. Even one of the secondary sites, Göçük Asarı, was endowed with a bath building. The prevalence of baths in the communities of the survey zone attests to the vitality and desirability of this particular aspect of *romanitas* within the indigenous Cilician culture. These bath buildings can be large and extravagant such as the large bath at Selinus, which exhibited a nymphaeum, an aqueduct to supply it with a continual flow of water, and possibly a palaestra¹⁷⁷. Other baths were fairly modest in scale and appearance. For example, functionality and economy, rather than grandiosity, governed the construction of the known baths at Asar Tepe, Lamos, and Göçük Asarı. The baths of Asar Tepe and Göçük Asarı are similar in dimension and form, almost as though the same architect designed them. Overall the designs of the baths demonstrate some common traits with those from nearby Lycia and Pamphylia¹⁷⁸.

On the whole the primary urban sites of western Rough Cilicia adopted several of the prevalent forms of architecture found in mainstream Greco-Roman cities. The public architecture of a typical urban community in western Rough Cilicia included a temple dedicated to the imperial cult or another structure which could house statuary honoring both imperial and local elites, a council house for the administration of civic affairs, probably an agora for the city's commerce, and at least one, if not more, baths. With few exceptions, however, these features were quite modest in scale, particularly when compared to cities east and west of the region. It is equally significant to note elements of Greco-Roman urban culture that either are corrupted or are absent in this model. Impressive tombs are hardly foreign to Roman culture, but their construction within the confines of the city marks a departure from western religious constraints. At no site within the survey zone do remains of large theaters, odeia, gymnasia or stadia appear. Conceivably these forms have escaped detection, their size notwithstanding. Others have suggested that the bouleuteria at Nephelion and Selinus

¹⁷⁷ Remains of substantial baths survive as well at Antiochia and Iotape.

¹⁷⁸ s. Farrington 1995, 3; Yegül 1992, 301–304.

served the dual function of theaters and odeia¹⁷⁹. Regardless, the lack of extant examples of theater-style buildings solely dedicated to cultural performances within the survey area seems significant. At nearby Anemurium, close to the eastern extremity of Rough Cilicia, two separate structures – one a bouleuterion, the other a theater – present themselves. Similarly, the lack of theaters in western Rough Cilicia is noteworthy by comparison with the great number of truly monumental theaters in the regions to the west, at sites like Aspendos, Perge, Sillyon, and Side in Pamphylia, and at Termessos in Pisidia. Equally strange is the lack of any obvious remains of a stadium, gymnasium, or other building suitable for agonistic festivals at any site in the region. The absence is particularly odd in this instance because epigraphical texts mention the office of gymnasiarch as well as festivals and athletic games, including a local festival known as the Leonideia¹⁸⁰.

The converging points of epigraphical and architectural evidence suggest that the dominant social group in the region was the land-holding element that presided in the councils. This element will have generated the *decaproti*, the *probouloi*, the eirenarchs, the gymnasiarchs (whatever actual duties they may have performed), and the imperial priests who populate the bulk of our inscriptions. They leave their local imprint in the bouleuteria, in the temples, in the structures for civic display, in the funerary memorials that are conspicuously placed at the center of communities, and in the baths that will have served as an important hub for elite social interaction. The absence of theaters, traditionally associated more with the masses than with the privileged, seems to confirm the inordinate influence of the council vis-à-vis the ›demos‹ in western Rough Cilicia. This in turn suggests that the traditional west Cilician social hierarchy, however romanized in appearance, survived intact. Local council members, themselves heads of native families, appear successfully to have transformed their social status as the living embodiments of Cilician (and ultimately Luwian) ancestry into symbolic power, thereby producing their desired effect without having to expend energy¹⁸¹.

V. Coast/Hinterland Relations and Late Roman Transition in Western Rough Cilicia

Coast-Highland Interaction

If the Cilicians who lived in the semi-peripheral region of the coast and areas immediately inland negotiated a mutually advantageous relationship with their Roman ›overlords,‹ how then did this indigenous element interact with their native cousins, the Isaurians, living in the hinterland of the Tauros, on the plateau and deep river gorges on the far side of the range? Did the west coastal Cilicians serve as agents of cultural transmission, carrying some form of Romanization to these remote Isaurian tribes¹⁸², or did the inhabitants of coastal western Rough Cilicia go their own way, leaving the mountain elements isolated and autonomous? Alternately, did the coast and foothills immediately inland create a cultural buffer zone, mediating between mainstream offshore influences and the native traditions of the hinterland? Preliminary examination of the evidence from the RCSP suggests that in the 200 years between the later 1st and later 3rd centuries C.E. this zone absorbed elements from both sides of the divide, acting as a kind of cultural ›Green Line‹ between center and periphery, a middle ground where Rome's trusted internal organizational network mixed with the largely uncooperative, external network of the hinterland Isaurian tribes.

¹⁷⁹ Nephelion: Karamut – Russell, 1999, 361; Selinus: Rosenbaum et al. 1967, 31; Türkmen et al. 2006.

¹⁸⁰ s. supra n. 174, refuting the identification of a stadium at Lamos. For records of gymnasiarchs in the survey area: Antiochia (AntK 11b); Asar Tepe (AsT 2); Iotape (Iot 1a. 1c. 3d. 9. 23b); Kestros (Kes 3. 19); Lamos (Lam 13); Nephelion (Karamut – Russell 1999, 369). For the office: Quass 1993, 317. The only games recorded in the survey area were at Antiochia (AntK 3. 11. 18, the Leonideia); however, numerous games were recorded at Syedra (Sye 3–20. 26. 28. 30–32), Korakesion (Krk 3. 8. 17), and Laertes (Lae 2. 11. 12. 36).

¹⁸¹ Raatgever 1985, 272.

¹⁸² These are the Homonadenses, Cietae, Lalasseis, and Cenneteis of the Hellenistic era, referred to more generically as the Isaurians during the Roman era; s. supra p. 262 with n. 19 for the general nomenclature of these tribes and more specific locations that each inhabited.

Traditional textual sources are unclear regarding the mechanisms by which this three-way relationship worked, and consequently historians have read the evidence in sharply contrasting ways¹⁸³. In an extensive review of literary testimonia, B. Shaw has argued that the tendency towards brigandage was endemic to Isauria and that no imperial authority, including Rome, ever exercised real control over the region. K. Hopwood, while accepting this basic thesis, investigates possible means by which relations were negotiated between the Isaurian highlanders and their cousins who lived along the lower slopes and coast. He has posited that the conflict was essentially that of an upland pastoralist society continually at odds with a lowland sedentary urbanized people. Although the two were mutually dependent on each other economically, the tendency of the former to turn to banditry was kept in check only with effort. As noted above, Hopwood points to epigraphical records for ›eirenarchs‹ and ›phylakes‹ in the region as evidence of the existence of ›military police‹ forces drawn from elite members of the lowland urban communities. These authorities ›kept the peace‹ by intimidating renegade elements of the rural hinterland¹⁸⁴. The eventual breakdown of this system, beginning in the later 3rd century and culminating in the abolition of the eirenarchate in the early 5th, contributed significantly to the collapse of urban society more generally.

N. Lenski has interpreted the evidence quite differently. He argues that the Isaurian hinterland underwent its own process of Greco-Roman urbanization and that the inhabitants formed urban elites, joined in councils, promoted gymnastic education, and otherwise behaved like the populations dwelling along the coast. Once urbanized, it was not until the invasion of the Sassanid Persian Emperor Shapur in 260 C.E., together with the increasing failure of Roman central authorities to guarantee safety, that Isaurian elements were prompted to take matters into their own hands and return to banditry and brigandage. According to Lenski, such differences as existed between the hinterland and coast were not those ›between town and country, pastoralist and sedentary, or mass and elite, but between those who dwelt in the Taurus and those who surrounded it: in the distinction between highland and lowland‹¹⁸⁵. In other words, the difference was cultural.

Archaeological evidence collected in the survey brings new evidence and perspective to the conundrums of the literary testimonia. First, there is little doubt that the two native population elements – the west coastal Cilicians on the one hand and their hinterland relatives on the other – remained ethnically close, whatever may have been their quarrels.

Epigraphical records from sites either on the coast or immediately inland in the general region of the survey demonstrate that the population remained predominantly autochthonous until the end of antiquity. Table 6 illustrates¹⁸⁶ that at the sites within the survey zone, purely Luwian (that is, native) names predominate, and if the Greek names within Luwian families (Greco-Luwian) are counted with them, over 90 % of the individuals named belong to the Luwian speaking population group. Pure Latin names are quite uncommon; it has been asserted in fact that the inscriptions of our region preserve possibly the purest remnants of Luwian-based culture along the entire south coast of Anatolia¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸³ For Cilician banditry, s. Shaw 1990; Shaw 1984; Hopwood 1991; Hopwood 1990; Hopwood 1989; Hopwood 1986; Hopwood 1983; Lenski 2001; Lenski 1999a; s. also, *inter alia*, Desideri 1991, 299–304; Lewin 1991; Russell 1991a; Syme 1986.

¹⁸⁴ s. *supra* with n. 166. K. Hopwood argues that the eirenarchs organized the local *neoi* into urban militias who kept the peace by intimidating renegade elements of the rural hinterland. As the example of the Isaurian bandits who were fed to wild beasts at the games at Iconium in 353 C.E. demonstrates, the eirenarchs commonly resorted to violence as a means to intimidate antisocial behavior in the hinterland. An imperial edict of 408 C.E. encouraged these officials to ›examine‹ Isaurians even on holy days such as Easter: *ne differatur sceleratorum proditio consiliorum, quae per latronum tormenta quaerenda est* (Cod. Theod. 9, 35, 7; cf. Bean – Mitford 1970, 39 f., no. 19 for the eirenarch Aurelius Mandrianus Longinus of Side, who organized performances of wild beasts and gladiators).

¹⁸⁵ Lenski 2001, 419; cf. Tomaschitz 2003, 145. Jones 1971, 212, argues that some of Antiochus IV's foundations in Isauria were military colonies whereas the native cities probably grew out of the various clans into which the Cietae were subdivided.

¹⁸⁶ Information in the table is drawn from Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998. In compiling the data, each instance of a name in the epigraphical record is counted as a separate individual. Undoubtedly, the same person may be mentioned more than once, but, overall, it seems more likely that multiple occurrences of a name refer to separate persons. Names are organized into four categories: those with pure Luwian (Cilician) names, those designated as ›Greco-Luwian‹ on the basis of patronymics demonstrating that Greek names were frequently adopted by Luwian families; Greek names; Roman names. In counting pure Latin names, the names of emperors and the relatively few magistrates mentioned have been ignored.

¹⁸⁷ Houwink ten Cate 1961, 44. 190; Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 99; cf. Bryce 1986, 167–171. 203.

Table 6: Luwian nomenclature in Western Rough Cilician inscriptions

Site	Luwians	Greco-Luwians	Greeks	Romans	Totals	Luwian and Greco-Luwian (%)
Adanda	41	11	2	0	54	96.3
Antiochia ad Cragum	35	23	5	5	68	85.3
Arslan Tepe	5	1	0	0	6	100
Asar Tepe	7	1	0	0	8	100
Çaltı	1	0	0	0	1	100
Charadros	0	0	0	0	0	0
Direvli	66	7	2	0	75	97.3
Güney Kalesi	24	8	6	0	38	84.2
Güney Koprü	6	3	0	0	9	100
Hamaxia	230	69	0	2	301	99.3
Hocalar	4	0	0	0	4	100
Iotape	51	9	3	5	68	88.2
Kestros	71	15	1	6	93	92.4
Korakesion	14	10	8	0	32	75
Laertes	50	19	4	1	74	93.2
Nepheleon	0	0	0	1	1	0
Selinus-Trajano-polis	16	25	5	7	53	77.3
Sivaste	10	0	0	0	10	100
Syedra	13	60	4	7	84	86.9
TOTALS	644	261	40	34	979	92.4

Despite such ethnic ties, it is nevertheless clear that to some degree coastal and hinterland Rough Cilicia followed different paths towards development. Topographically the westernmost tributary of the Gevne (Calycadnus) River cuts an 800 m deep gorge directly behind the range of the Tauros, physically separating the coastal settlements from the hinterland communities of the interior. The material record recovered by RCSP points to a progressive, if subtle, bifurcation between romanized and native cultural elements the farther one moves inland. Remains of sites of the immediate Isaurian interior are more modest, e. g., and exhibit limited monumentality¹⁸⁸. Their most striking survivals are funereal, ›larnakes‹ (ossuaries, osteothekai), funeral altars and pedestals, and magnificent rock cut tombs often carved with detailed relief in an indigenous style that is very distinct from Greco-Roman fashion. These contrast with the ›Grabhaus‹ and temple tombs of the coastal strip and lower foothills of the Tauros¹⁸⁹. Along the coast, only Selinus has shown any evidence for the use of larnakes¹⁹⁰, but they appear frequently at places higher in the mountains such as Sivaste, Kenetepe, and Ilıca Kale in the Bıçkıcı river basin, thus indicating infiltration of cultural influences from the Isaurian highland into the survey zone. Another example of indigenous Luwian-based culture in the survey area survives in Roman era relief sculpture. While classical Greco-Roman style is visible along the coast¹⁹¹, it disappears inland where the primitive forms of indigenous sculpture proliferate. The late date of these reliefs indicates a deliberate choice by the native population to maintain its archaic artistic style¹⁹². At

¹⁸⁸ Mitford 1990, 2132, the Isaurian interior »... was a region not of cities but of tribal areas, the *klimata*, and of semi-autonomous villages such as Astra and Artanada.«

¹⁸⁹ Supra p. 293.

¹⁹⁰ Rosenbaum et al. 1967, 53.

¹⁹¹ E. g., the bronze statuette of Herakles found at Demirtaş, and the marble sculptural fragments that have emerged from the Alanya Museum's excavations at the cenotaph of Trajan in Selinus: s. Karamut 2003, Türkmen – Demir 2006, and photographs available at the Alanya Museum.

¹⁹² For Isaurian relief style: Bean – Mitford 1970, 121. 125–127; Mitford 1990, 2155–2157; Er Scarborough 1991; Er Scarborough 1998.

Kenetepe in the upland area of the Bıçkıcı watershed, a relief discovered in the 2003 season carved into a massive bedrock outcropping and more than 5 m tall, provides an example (fig. 21). At the left, standing atop a very high, narrow pedestal or stele, a male figure faces front clutching his sword, an eagle standing at his side. Above him and to the right is a bust of a figure whose drapery crosses in folds over the chest. Below the bust is a panoply of armor consisting of a sword and shield, and another object immediately to the right (a hanging medallion?). Below this is a second bust, of a woman whose cloak is drawn over her head. To her left (viewer's right) stands a male figure clutching a long spear; above his head appears a bird in profile. Below this a horse-riding male figure advances right, holding his shield in his left hand, his sword in his right¹⁹³. Obviously military in import, the unexplained narrative of this relief combines a number of figural motifs – eagles, the shrouded woman, horsemen, and panoplies of armor – commonly found in isolation in Isaurian grave reliefs throughout the interior¹⁹⁴. Similar to the sculptural evidence, inscribed Greek texts in the Tauros hinterland are fewer and briefer than they are along the coast, suggesting that the use of Greek, promulgated by Roman authorities as the official language of the region, progressed more slowly in the mountains. By contrast, Christian inscriptions, as well as the appearance of Christian iconographic symbolism, suggest that the hinterland Isaurians adapted to Christianity earlier, perhaps even before the period of Constantine (324–337 C.E.), than did the population of the coast where very few Christian inscriptions and motifs have surfaced¹⁹⁵. In the Tauros hinterland where Isaurians adhered to a renegade mentality that kept them squarely at odds with the Greco-Roman oikumene of the Mediterranean coast, a nonconforming cult such as Christianity conceivably could have taken hold earlier than the more entrenched Greco-Roman culture of the coast where staunchly pagan attitudes would persist for a longer time.

The Emerging Need for Fortifications and the Spread of Christianity

The cultural ›Green Line‹ between coast and mountains proved effective for two centuries, but its inherent fragility eventually gave way to a fortified, military zone of demarcation. RCSP has revealed a significant number of upland fortified sites exhibiting Late Roman remains along the south slope of the Tauros Mountains. These extend from Çokele Kale¹⁹⁶, a fortified settlement on a peak 1,700 m above the Dim Çay (River) behind Alanya to Laertes, where G. Bean and T. Mitford¹⁹⁷ observed the construction of a cross wall blocking access to the settlement, to Ilıca Kale and Kenetepe looming high above the Bıçkıcı, to Direvli Kale¹⁹⁸ at the head of the İnceağrı Canyon, to Lamos (fig. 22), and to Fregez Kale in the Karasın tributary of the Charadros River¹⁹⁹. At Ilıca Kale the team mapped a fairly substantial rectangular citadel, with walls one 1 m thick and 6 m tall. The site, which actually sits on the western ›outer‹ slope of the Karatepe promontory that extends from the crest of the Tauros, also exhibits a funeral inscription of a Roman legionary veteran²⁰⁰. Climbing to

¹⁹³ For the likely association with Isaurian gods, s. Er Scarborough 1991; and Mitchell 1993. The accompanying inscription is too worn to read.

¹⁹⁴ s. Mitford 1990, 2155–2157.; Er Scarborough 1998; Er Scarborough 1991.

¹⁹⁵ Historians are as divided on the question of the relative dates for the appearance of Christianity along the coast and in the Isaurian hinterland as they are in regard to the general nature of the relationship between the two areas. Mitchell 1993, II 38–43 argues that Christianity appeared earlier in Isauria; Lenski 2001, 420 takes the opposite stance, arguing that it first took hold along the coast. The preliminary results of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project support S. Mitchell's view. Possible early Christian motifs have been found at several sites in the upper Bıçkıcı basin, at Ilıca Kale, Sivaste, and Kenetepe (for an example from Sivaste, s. Rauh 2001a, <https://engineering.purdue.edu/~cilicia/rc2003_etc>). These finds contrast with the lack of early signs of Christianity at the coastal sites in the survey region. For Christian inscriptions recorded elsewhere, s. Mitford 1990, 2157 n. 162, who states that early Christian inscriptions were identified predominantly in the Isaurian hinterland: Casae, Carallia, Yunt, Seleucia, Claudiopolis, Alahan, Coropissus, Adrassus, Philadelphia, Germanicopolis and Eirenopolis. Cf. Bean – Mitford 1970, 66, no. 39; 126–128, nos. 116, 117; 196, nos. 216, 217; 198, no. 219; 200 f., nos. 222, 223; 206, no. 232; 219, nos. 250, 251; 223, no. 254.

¹⁹⁶ Bean – Mitford 1970, 105 f.; Rauh 1993, 183.

¹⁹⁷ Bean – Mitford 1970, 99.

¹⁹⁸ Bean – Mitford 1970, 175.

¹⁹⁹ For Ilıca Kale, Kenetepe, and Fregez Kale, s. Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 131; and Rauh 2006, 233. All mentioned fortifications have been investigated to some degree by the survey team.

²⁰⁰ M. Aurelius Neon, *II legio Parthicus*, Bean – Mitford 1965, 30, no. 33; Russell 1991a, 293, no. 3; and supra n. 153.



21 Relief Sculpture, Kene Tepe



22 Lamos, acropolis fortifications

the top of this same ridge at 1,500 m and not far from the modern fire tower, the team investigated a fortified refuge that looms directly above the site at Karatepe/Sivaste. This small outcrop, protected by a massive wall, is accessible by means of a very narrow saddle on one side²⁰¹. Direvli presents itself as a completely enclosed castle of Late Roman character; likewise Frengöz Kale, with its walls standing 6 m in places and exhibiting slitted windows for missile defense. All of these sites are situated high in the mountains, atop spurs that appear to serve as control points to strategic elements below – roadways, settlements, and river basins²⁰².

The identification of so many fortified sites arguably forms an extended bulwark against Isaurian infiltration from the interior. But when did this occur? An inscription carved above the narrow door to the massive fortification walls of Lamos informs us that the fortress was constructed during the reign of the Emperor Gallienus during the 260s C.E.²⁰³. This impressive system of double cross-walls, one inside the other, closed off the only accessible route to the acropolis of Lamos descending from the ridge of Gürçam Karatepe. The walls stand some 15 m tall and 3 m thick, forming a seemingly impenetrable barricade (fig. 22). As if the defenses of Lamos itself were not sufficiently imposing, the survey team found walls forming a fortified refuge on the crest of the 1,000 m tall knife's edge of Bozkaya Mt. directly west of the Lamian acropolis (fig. 4). The jagged nose of Bozkaya forms the last spur of the ridge beginning at Gürçam Karatepe prior to a descent to the valley of the merging Adanda and İnceağrı Rivers below. In the long string of fortifications extending from Çokele Kale above Alanya, the walled acropolis at Lamos and the fortified refuge at Bozkaya appear to have represented the last line of defense before the coastal cities. An author in the »Scriptores Historiae Augusti« points specifically to the need for such an imposing array of defenses at this time. He tells of an Isaurian *dux* named Trebellianus who mounted a rebellion from his bastion in the mountains, eventually gaining control of ›Cilicia‹. This prompted Gallienus to send in a general who ultimately suppressed the rebellion and then, according to the SHA, enclosed the highlands of Isauria within a defensive ring of fortified places (*loci*)²⁰⁴. Historians have disagreed about the meaning of the passage. Some have taken it to mean that Gallienus, through fortifications such as Lamos, attempted to create ›interior limes‹ essentially to circumvallate and to cordon off troublesome elements of the interior, but others have dismissed this notion or have gone so far as to question the historicity of the event itself²⁰⁵. Though conclusions remain preliminary, the evidence that RCSP has collected for just such a string of fortifications supports the underlying assertion of the SHA.

Along with this ring of inland fortifications, the cities of the coast came to need their own walled defenses. Lacking epigraphical testimony or other reliable chronological indicators, these could have been built to confront several phases of violence, the sources for which were not necessarily one and the same. Disturbance resulting from the collapse of centralized Roman authority is on record in coastal Rough Cilicia as early as 192 C.E., as demonstrated by the recently discovered inscription at Syedra, recording a letter from the Emperor Septimius Severus in that year²⁰⁶. By the 260s C.E., however, threats to peace and stability became more acute. After defeating and capturing the Emperor Valerian in 260 C.E., the Sassanid Persian Emperor Shapur conducted a *razzia* along the coast of Rough Cilicia, pillaging numerous settlements including Antiochia ad Cragum and Selinus. Many point to this emergency as the explanation for the hastily constructed fortifications systems found at Selinus and elsewhere²⁰⁷. Whether this is the case or whether such defenses

²⁰¹ Conceivably it served an emergency refuge for laborers working in the timber zone (Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 131).

²⁰² For the road segment identified between Sivaste and Kenetepe and the one between Frengöz and the logging camp at Gürçam Karatepe, s. Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 131; Rauh 2006, 233. Although investigated in 2002 the road segment near Lamos heading in the direction of Gürçam Karatepe remains unpublished.

²⁰³ For the inscription, s. Paribeni – Romanelli 1914, 168 f., no. 116; s. also Bean – Mitford 1962, 207 with n. 40.

²⁰⁴ S.H.A. trig. tyr. 26: *etenim in medio Romani nominis solo regio eorum novo genere custodiarum quasi limes includitur, locis defensa non hominibus*.

²⁰⁵ Isaac 1988; Isaac 2000 and Hopwood 1989, 195 f., following R. Syme, deny the historicity of both Trebellianus and the Probus account; Lewin 1991, 173 accepts the ancient tradition.

²⁰⁶ In this communication Severus commends the townspeople of Syedra for resisting elements of the garrison that had been stationed there, ostensibly for their protection, only to engage in wholesale abuse of the community, including kidnapping some of the inhabitants. All this occurred during the civil disturbance that marked the emperor's conflict with Pescennius Niger. The emperor promises that these renegades would be brought to justice. The inscription is on display in the Alanya Museum; cf. Magie 1950, 678 for evidence of Severus punishing supporters of Pescennius Niger elsewhere in Asia Minor.

²⁰⁷ R. Gest. div. Saporis 2, 27–31 (for the text, s. Maricq 1958); Lewin 1991, 175; Lenski 1999a, 445.



23 Circuit wall and tower, Selinus

were constructed more specifically to respond to Isaurian threats from the hinterland cannot be determined. What is certain, however, is that such efforts became increasingly desperate. At Selinus, where RCSP has studied the defensive system in most detail, the upper area of the acropolis is protected by a Circuit Wall, over 700 m in length, that is well fortified with projecting square towers at more or less regular intervals between two round bastions that guard either end (figs. 13, 23)²⁰⁸. Dating is difficult, but preliminary analysis, based on comparison with the masonry of the fortifications at Lamos, suggests a similar date, i. e., mid-3rd century C.E.

Later, an additional fortification wall was built on a diagonal line running approximately north-south from a point on this Roman Acropolis Wall to the mouth of the river, segregating and enclosing the domestic quarter of the city (fig. 13). Approximately 170 m long, it is fortified with four towers, three of which are squared or angular, the other rounded. At the point of juncture, the Diagonal Fortification Wall overlays the Roman Circuit Wall, a clear indication of its later construction date. Other evidence of a later date includes differences in masonry technique and overall design. The wall appears to have been hurriedly built as if in preparation for siege. Cisterns constructed against the uphill face of the eastern half of the Roman Circuit Wall would have supplied water to the houses below (fig. 24). The quarter was further protected by a wall that ran along the very edge of the seaward side of the promontory. This sea wall was very likely constructed at the same time as the Diagonal Fortification Wall, perhaps the 5th century C.E., to judge from a medalion made of ceramic tiles in the form of a cross within a circle, inset into the outer face of the wall where it overlooks the mouth of the river (fig. 25). These manmade fortifications joined the already considerable natural defenses of the site itself, but to no avail, as we learn from one Late Roman source, the »Miracles of Saint Thecla«, in the mid-5th century: »This Selinus is a small coastal city which was at one time very important and once knew prosperity in peace ... Around this city the sea forms a belt, enveloping Selinus like a natural moat, and a sheer cliff, which surrounds it like a helmet on a head, protects the city by denying any incursion and permits the inhabitants to live without fear. Nevertheless, this city so sure and especially so impregnable, was delivered to its enemies by the action of a deadly demon.«²⁰⁹

The »Miracles« do not identify the »deadly demon« by name, but Selinus, along with many similar sites, eventually were seized by Isaurian »bandit« forces and converted into pirate bases. The resurgence of Isaurian uprisings can be plotted along a fairly consistent curve beginning with the rebellions of Trebellianus and Lydus (who seized Cremna) in the 260s and 270s C.E.²¹⁰. Under Diocletian the province of »Isauria« was reorganized to encompass coastal Rough Cilicia as well as the hinterland, and from then to the end of the 5th century C.E., the entire region would appear to have become the power base of Isaurian leaders. N. Lenski has identified four Isaurian uprisings between 260 and 343 C.E., three more uprisings between 353 and 368 C.E., an eighth uprising in 375 C.E., a ninth in 382 C.E. (Balbinus), several massive rebellions between 404 and 408 C.E., and the five-year rebellion of Longinus of Selinus against Anastasius during the 490s

²⁰⁸ E. Rosenbaum's survey of the 1960s included no discussion of the defences at Selinus; the site plan indicates some walls, but these are no more than sketches, both incomplete and inaccurate.

²⁰⁹ *Miracles de Ste. Thècle* 2, 17 (Dagron 1978, 358–361).

²¹⁰ Assuming that the tradition for these rebellions is authentic.

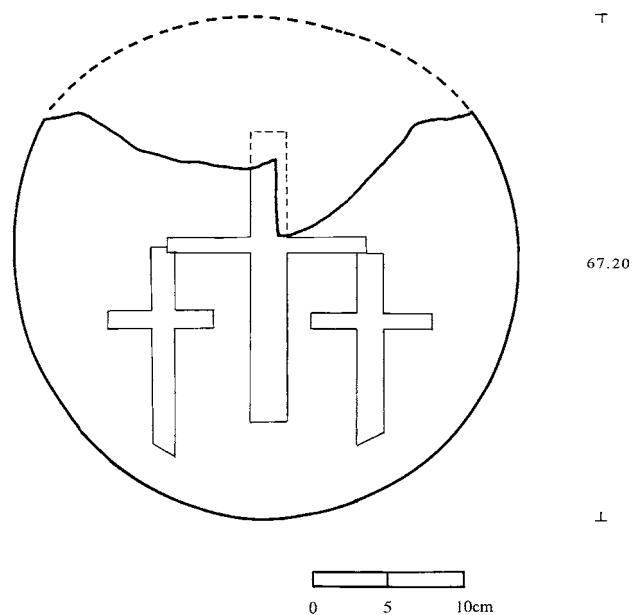
C.E. Though defeated by Anastasius, Longinus and his allies retreated into the Tauros and were able to hold out for five years primarily due to their ability to dominate the sea lanes and to import foodstuffs through Selinus²¹¹. By this date Isaurian warlords, referred to in some instances as *archipiratae*, attacked and/or seized maritime settlements from Pamphylia to Seleucia on the Calycadnus and conducted maritime raids as far removed as Lycia, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Syria²¹². The Emperor Zeno (474–491 C.E.) used



24 Cistern, Selinus

the region to seize control of the empire at large. So entrenched had Isaurian control become that one must allow for the possibility that at least some of the fortifications constructed at maritime settlements such as Selinus, reflect not defense against Isaurian incursion but rather these cities' incorporation into baronies controlled by Isaurian warlords themselves.

Whether to protect the Isaurians or to protect against them, none would dispute that such defense systems mark a rising crescendo of assaults and conquests and that they signal the end of Roman influence in western Rough Cilicia. At the same time, Christianity became an officially recognized state religion and made inroads among the coastal settlements of western Rough Cilicia. In 325 C.E. Isauria, the province to which our coast belonged, sent no fewer than 15 bishops and five *chorepiscopoi* to the Council of Nicaea, including bishops from Syedra and Antioch along the coast²¹³. The extant remains of churches have been investigated by the survey team and past researchers at no fewer than 13 sites in the survey area: from west to east along the coast these



25 Christian medallion, Selinus

²¹¹ Lenski 1999a, 428 f. N. Lenski demonstrates that following the death of the Emperor Zeno in 491, attempts to eradicate the Isaurian influence at the capital were met by stiff resistance. Opposing Anastasius stood a confederation of Isaurian warlords banded together and plotting to retake the throne, including Zeno's brother Longinus.

²¹² Note the law of Anastasius from ca. 492 C.E. (OGIS 521), which collects lower tariffs from shippers of Cilicia than those of other regions. Scholars have long assumed that this was meant to compensate Cilicians for the effects of Isaurian piracy: Durliat – Guillelou 1984.

²¹³ 125 years later, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 C.E., bishops were present from no less than seven coastal cities: Charadros, Antiochia, Nephelion, Selinus, Iotape, Syedra, and Coracesium: Mitchell 1993, II 59; Ramsay 1890, 362–364. 415.

include Iotape, Halil Limanı, the Bıçkıcı Monastery, Selinus, Kestros, Güzelce Harman Tepe, Nephelion, Antiochia; in the Bıçkıcı Canyon, İlica Kale and Sivaste; in the Adanda Canyon, Lamos; in the Kaledran (Karasın) Canyon, Gökçebelen, and Frengöz Kale²¹⁴. Juliosebaste was the seat of a bishopric, so a further church should be posited either at Asar Tepe or Göçük Asarı, though no such remains have been identified²¹⁵. In many instances these Christian edifices crowded in on and appear deliberately to overshadow preexisting monuments that defined Roman urbanism in western Rough Cilicia. The tiny chapel at Lamos sits just a few meters from the ruined structure that displayed the statue of the Roman Emperor²¹⁶; near the acropolis the Christian builders at Lamos imposed their church amid the majestic temple tombs and sarcophagi of that city's pagan necropolis as well. The churches at İlica, Frengöz, and Sivaste appear similarly situated in pagan necropoleis. The placement of those at Antiochia, Nephelion, Kestros, and Selinus, meanwhile, occurs at the heart of the respective monumental centers of these cities. At Sivaste R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm reported seeing a church incorporating into its walls the large inscribed exedra making mention of the locality's »polis«²¹⁷. If this is true then in this instance a church actually supplanted and consumed the emblems of polis society at this location²¹⁸.

While scholars have been hard-pressed to explain this strange juxtaposition of »old *versus* new« in Late Roman Rough Cilicia, a few observations seem warranted. In neighboring Pamphylia, H. Brandt has observed that high levels of public construction continued; only its form and the character of land use in the surrounding hinterland appear to have changed²¹⁹. Churches acquired wealth and land through imperial exemptions, and these same exemptions induced wealthy people to channel their former impulses of euergetism into churches that now furnished charity for the poor. Churches assume prominent places, therefore, as the new foci of economic and social order and authority in the Late Roman world. Concerning Christian reuse of pagan monuments, S. Mitchell observes that churches possibly encroached on the monumental »seats« of pagan authority in part because the importance of pagan authority, the polis with its boule and demos, had itself declined in this era²²⁰. In short, the incorporation of an exedra into the wall of a church at Sivaste could logically occur in an age when the importance of the council and the *probouloi* ceased to matter. As cities transformed themselves into »de-urbanized« settlements organized with Christian institutions at their center and rural landowners on their perimeter, church leaders simply and quite logically arrogated the locations and deteriorating emblems of power that had once belonged to the polis. This is not to say, however, that population in western Rough Cilicia declined in the Late Roman era. On the contrary, the pottery evidence would indicate that despite the mounting violence, the decline of polis institutions, and the transition from polis-based to church-based social ordering, the level of settlement remained significant at least until the time of the Arab invasions that swept across the region in the 630s C.E. As table 2 indicates, the count of processed ceramics for the Late Roman period drops considerably from those of the Early Roman era; however, their totals remain significantly higher than those of the pre-Roman era. The decline in urban density in the Late Roman era might safely be described as a »slow burn« until such time as it was cut off midstream by later disturbances.

Even then, external empires never lost sight of the valuable resources in the Gazipaşa hinterland. Early Byzantine fortresses and monasteries – on the Antikragos, at Nephelion, at Selinus, at the Bıçkıcı Monastery, on the promontory at Iotape, at Sivaste and İlica Kale in the Bıçkıcı, and Frengöz Kale in the Kaledran

²¹⁴ For the church at Güzelce Harman Tepe (referred to as »Church Site« in previous publications), Rauh 2001b, 262; for the complex at İlica Kale, Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 132; for the church constructed around the exedra at Sivaste, s. infra; for the churches at Lamos, s. Townsend – Hoff 2004, 257 n. 21; for the likely church structures at Gökçebelen and Frengöz Kale, Rauh 2006, 233.

²¹⁵ s. Hild 1984; Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 259. For the relationship between Asar Tepe and Göçük Asarı, s. supra pp. 280–285.

²¹⁶ s. Rauh – Wandsnider 2005, 129.

²¹⁷ Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 131 f.; Bean – Mitford 1965, 29; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 284 Siv 2a. The church is now destroyed.

²¹⁸ Brandt 1992, 181 suggests that the tendency toward reuse of ancient buildings by Christian builders may have helped to attract more pagan conversions. Pagans may have been more willing to convert if they saw their principal monuments thus adapted.

²¹⁹ Brandt 1992, 172–181. Pamphylia displayed a transition from municipal construction and euergetism to Christian based construction and philanthropy. This later form of organization left less epigraphical evidence, but on the basis of public construction, he points to numerous churches as well as abundant references to church officials from this region.

²²⁰ Mitchell 1993, II 119 f. Two structures defined the organization of the Greco-Roman world since its inception, the city with its political organization and the household based on kinship structure. Both showed signs of serious disintegration in this period; s. Trombley 1985; Bowersock 1990.

furnished the rulers of Constantinople with minimal strongholds along the coast as well as near the tree line and demonstrate not only the attraction forestry resources generated but also the extent to which distant rulers would go to attain to them. When the Selçuk ruler, Ala'ud-Din Keykubad, seized this coast ca. 1350 C.E., he established his winter fortress in Alanya. The surviving Selçuk era shipsheds in the modern harbor of this city recall the strategic nature of timber resources to the world of wooden warships and commercial transports. As late as 1572, Ottoman archival records demonstrate that the survey region was still furnishing timber for purposes of warship construction in distant Antalya²²¹. In other words, the interest and the demand for cedar trees from western Rough Cilicia can be demonstrated textually until the very moment that the survey's evidence indicates that the forests were exhausted. The exhaustion of natural resources by urban societies is hardly a modern phenomenon, accordingly. The depleted forests and the densely packed archaeological remains of this narrow coast testify to the demands imposed on the environment by past civilizations. In addition, in much the same manner as the Iron Age era of Cilician kings, Selçuk and Ottoman nobles received titles to extensive tracks of unutilized land in the survey area, organizing these estates into gardens, hunting preserves, and pavilions. In the process they reorganized the indigenous labor force and gradually made it sedentary²²². In the final analysis, the process of state formation and resource utilization in western Rough Cilicia forms a remarkably circular pattern.

Conclusion

To return to the questions raised at the outset of this discussion, over the long-term urban development in the semi-peripheral and peripheral regions of western Rough Cilicia appears to have progressed in fits and starts. Cultural and material influences appear to have come from four directions (Cilician, Cypriot, Aegean, and Near East), though the indigenous Luwian-based Cilician influence seems to have persisted throughout. Empire after empire attempted to impose its authority along this coast in order to utilize its valuable timber resources. For various reasons, the uncooperative behavior of the native inhabitants being foremost, prior to the Roman era these efforts went for naught. The archaeological evidence suggests preliminarily that urban development in this region occurred late and that it was possibly spurred by the emergence of pirate enclaves in the natives' midst. When urban civilization did ultimately attain its peak in the Early Roman era, apparently as a result of sustained effort by Roman client kings, the monumental remains exhibit telltale characteristics to indicate that however ›Romanized‹ the inhabitants seemed on the surface, native Luwian-based values remained staunchly in place. The cultural identity of local hierarchies continued to focus on descent from ›noble‹ families, erecting temple-like tombs to commemorate ancestors in the heart of the communities. Council houses and small baths predominate over theaters and stadia. By all appearances the subordinate elements of the population remained subservient. By the end of the Roman experience the Luwian-based attributes of the Isaurian interior, rather than those of the Greco-Roman oikumene appear restored to ascendancy. Granted, western Rough Cilicia was a small, minimally populated region on the margin of the sea. The resiliency of its local culture, nonetheless, offers a useful model for the importance of considering local diversity before generalizing about the impact of core-periphery relationships in the ancient world²²³.

²²¹ Mühimme Defteri (5 Şevval 979H/AD 1572) no. 10, doc. nos. 203. 216. 222. 265; archival records published in the on-line report of N. Üçkan Doonan at the project website (2001): »Ten galleys (kadirga) were ordered from the Antalya tersane. Mehmed Çavuş is the overseer. Three galleys will be paid for by Mustafa Paşa. One rower is needed from every seventh house from Teke, Alaiyye (Alanya) and Hamid. Cut lumber (kereste), hemp (kendir), cannon balls and guns should be collected from the same areas.« (5 Şevval 979 H/AD 1572).

²²² s. Redford 2000, 53–90.

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