

To my sister

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE PLAIN OF
ISSUS AND THE AMANUS RANGE

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of
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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the Hellenistic and Roman settlement patterns in the plain of Issus and in the range of Amanus, in Hatay, Turkey. The results of Dr. Katherine Wright and Dr. Timothy P. Beach and Ezgi Akpınar's archaeological and geo-morphological work in the area were combined to illuminate the aforementioned periods' habitation models. The Issus plain and the sectors of the Amanus Mountains facing it, initially a region of the Seleucid kingdom and then a province of the Roman Empire, were geographically similar to the other parts of Cilicia. As a result, the area was likely to have developed comparable trajectories in terms of settlement between the two periods. In conclusion, the settlement patterns of the Hellenistic and Roman times, obviously communicated something of the nature of the civilian peace in Cilicia during these two periods.

Keywords: Plain of Issus, Amanus range, Hellenistic and Roman settlement patterns.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Issus Ovası'nda ve Amanus Dağları'ndaki Hellenistik ve Roma yerleşimlerini, arkeolojik ve jeomorfolojik bir çerçevede incelemiştir. Dr. Wright, Dr. Beach ve Ezgi Akpınar'ın arkeolojik ve jeomorfolojik çalışmalarının sonuçları, ilgilenilen bölgedeki Hellenistik ve Roma yerleşim modellerini aydınlatmak için kullanılmıştır. Issus Ovası ve ona bakan Amanus Dağları, Kilikya'daki diğer coğrafik alanlara benzer olarak, öncelikle Selökid, sonra da Roma devletleri tarafından yönetilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bu bölgenin yerleşim düzeni birbirine benzer olup; bahsedilen iki dönemde gelişmiştir ve bu yerleşim düzenleri halk arasındaki barış ile yakından ilgilidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Issus Ovası ve Amanus Dağları, Hellenistik ve Roma yerleşim modelleri.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The coastal plain of Issus and the Amanus range in Turkey have been inhabited continuously since at least the Neolithic period.¹ The settlement patterns over the plains and the Amanus differ significantly for different time periods. The periods of greatest population density are from the Hellenistic to the Roman, the Medieval, and the contemporary period of the newly industrialized second half of the twentieth century. This M.A. thesis will deal with settlement from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman eras, the first major population peak in the region. The thesis focuses on this period to understand the chronology and geography of settlement.

In this study, the intention is to locate and pinpoint all the presently known and newly discovered settlement areas from Hellenistic to Roman times on a 1:100,000 map of the region: covering an area from the head of the Gulf of İskenderun to the town of Payas. This work is of special interest because until recently governmental restrictions and terrorism have restricted much-needed systematic archaeological survey.

The last decade of the 20th century proved a good period for the archaeology of the plain. For the first time scholars under the leadership of Prof. M.H. Gates of Bilkent University in Ankara, were able to start their own research projects there.

The main focus of her work has been on Kinet Höyük, the largest mound of Eastern Cilicia, which most scholars now believe is the ancient city of Issus (Hellenkemper & Hild, 1986: 102; Ozaner, 1995: 513-515; Gates, 1998b: 260). This study is a synthesis of all the endeavors of these scholars and the current work of the author.

Archaeological interest in the Issus plain goes as far back as the Medieval Ages; in the works of interested travelers, such as Marco Polo and Wilbrand von Oldenburg (Redford et al., 2001) the landscape, climate, and historical structures encountered in the plain and in the foothills of the Amanus are described. Beginning with the 18th century others such as Carsten Niebuhr and Pococke visited the plain and left invaluable memoirs of the region's ancient remains, which mostly date from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The 19th and the 20th centuries were the most prolific in terms of the number of people who visited the area. Scholarly societies such as the Royal Geographic Society, as well as the memoirs of European soldiers provide much useful information for understanding the region. This interest continues to the present in modern scholarly research that attempts to make sense of the empirical and ancient textual evidence that has been transmitted down to our day.

The first modern archaeological work began in the mid-20th century, initially by a Turkish scholar Prof. Remzi Oğuz Arık in 1944 (Arık, 1944) and then by Seton-Williams in conjunction with the British Institute of Archaeology in 1951 (Seton-Williams, 1954). Beginning with the early 1970s, research into and publications about this region became more frequent.² The 1990s was the decade that proved most significant for archaeological inquiries. The Bilkent University Project first started to survey this historically famous landscape with new discoveries and the

¹ M.H. Gates' 1998 unpublished account on the excavations at Kinet Höyük.

² Edwards' (1987) book on the Armenian fortifications mentions himself and Hellenkemper working in the area beginning with the 70s and publishing their results by the end of the decade.

systematic excavation of Kinet Höyük. The excavation, that started in 1992 and continues to the present, is significant because it covers a vast chronological range from the Neolithic-Halaf to the Medieval period, thus providing much necessary stratigraphical information to add to the other significant regional excavations at Al-Mina and Tarsus (Boardman, 1965: 5-15; Wooley, 1938: 1-30; Zoroğlu, 1998: 463-474).

The Issus Plain has evoked a great deal of curiosity archaeologically and historically because of the decisive ‘Battle of Issus’ that took place there between Alexander the Great and Darius III in the year 333 BC. This plain in actuality is called the ‘Issus Plain’ because of the fame of the city following the battle that occurred nearby. Prior to the ‘Battle of Issus’ during the first years of the 4th century BC, Xenophon described the town as “large and prosperous” (Persian Expedition, 1.4).

Thus, the goal of the thesis will be to understand the famous Hellenistic to Roman era settlement patterns in the region of Issus. The study will first give a detailed account of the landscape in question, as well as the history of the plain during these periods, which are intended to help the reader to make sense of all the discovered occupational patterns in the area. The main research forming this thesis, however, is contained in the chapters following the data on the natural landscape and the history of the region, that is the presentation of all the formerly and recently discovered sites of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These sites will be numbered and color-coded on a map. Then, a text following the chronological order of the numbered sites defining these archaeological areas will be given. Lastly, at the end of the thesis, an analysis combining the new archaeological data with the older, as well as the environmental and historical information will be represented to try to

understand the possible reasons for the specific settlement patterns, dated to the Greco-Roman periods.

CHAPTER II

The Natural Landscape

“>From the beach, a plain of great magnitude extends in shore, and as far as the eye could discern, consists entirely of dreary sand-hills interspersed with shallow lakes. The intervention of this swampy desert will in some measure account for the different routes by which Cyrus and Alexander proceeded from Tarsus to Issus.”
(Beaufort, 1818: 282)

The Issus Plain is situated in the Hatay region and extends to the northeast shores of the Gulf of İskenderun, an arm of the Mediterranean, in Turkey, due north of the ancient city of Antioch, the modern Antakya, and abuts the Amanus Mountains. The border between this range and the Issus plain separates two distinct landscapes and environments (Appendix A, fig. 1). Today these areas seem very different, and they were perceived in the same manner during antiquity.

The region of the plain and mountains starts from Toprakkale and runs southward to the NW of Jonah’s Pillar. Within this region the most northwesterly archaeological site is Muttalip Höyük near the Amanican Gates³ and the most southerly is 11 km north of İskenderun in the plain, at Jonah’s Pillar, where the plain and the mountains meet close to the seashore.

The Issus plain is actually made up of two different plains separated by the rocky ridge of Haydar Dağı —Erzin in the north and Dörtyol in the south, and measures 260 km² in size. The Amanus Mountains border these plains on the north

³ The famous gates of Amanus during the antiquity, also called the Iron Gates.

and east, and the Mediterranean borders them on the west and the southwest. The Erzin plain is connected to the Ceyhan-Osmaniye plain by the Kısık Boğazı, and as one moves southwards to the Dörtyol plain, it narrows to 4 kilometers in width around Payas, the ancient city of Baiae. The plains spread 29 km in length from north to south and their widest point (about 24.5 km in width) is south of İmraniye/Turunçlu between it and Kızlarçayı village. Around Dörtyol, the plain measures 7.5 km in width (Doyuran, 1982: 151).

The Amanus range begins approximately by the Domuz Burnu outcrop in the south and ends about the region of Maraş in the north. Constituting the mid-eastern part of the Gulf of İskenderun, the mountain is a late Alpidic folding and a southern outskirt of the Iranian mountain chain of the eastern Taurus range (Kehl, 1998: 27)⁴. The average heights of the peaks range between 1500 and 2000 meters. The Amanus embodies a variety of different characteristics in one, and according to the geologist Necip Tolun (1975: 47) displays “a strongly disturbed morphology.”

The main heights of the Amanus in the region of the Issus plain are: Ağse Dağ, east of Bahçe, composed mainly of schists (1810 m), Mıgır Tepe (2262m) situated between Hassa and Dörtyol-Payas, and Daztepe (1970 m) to the east of İskenderun, which, furthermore, forms an evident barrier ranging from north to south (Tolun, 1975: 48). One of the highest peaks of the Amanus is Döldül Dağı (2300 m), which was described justifiably as a sort of ‘knuckle bone’ between the Anti Taurus and the Amanus Ranges by the British Naval Intelligence report published in 1919 (BNI, 1919: 32).

⁴ One may also consult the German study’s English abstract at <http://www.agnos-online.de/e-f-abstract.htm>. The Lökät project focuses on the ecology and the environmental factors present in the Amanus. The study was led by Dr. Harald Kehl of TU-Berlin Institute of Ecology.

Haydar Dağı (226m) separates the two aforementioned plains. To the north of the Erzin Plain, are Delihalil Tepe (450m) and Hama Tepe (182m) formed as a result of volcanic activity. Basalt dominates the northern areas of the plains, however moving to the south around Dörtyol Plain, limestone and serpentine become the common type of formation. The lava remnants, basalt or, as it is called by the locals 'leçe', is widely used in the architecture of the plain. This material is both light in weight and also sought-after because its porous quality makes it easy to bind blocks together with mortar. Thus, basalt building blocks are frequently used in the foundations of buildings, in walls and in bridges both in the ancient and the more recent structures.

2.1 Climate

The climate of the area is an interesting one, as it does not display the characteristics of the general Mediterranean type; this is due largely to the presence of the Amanus range. Nevertheless, summers are hot and arid, while autumns, springs and winters pass warm and rainy. Periodical downpours occur during the summer in the region. Two stations, one situated in Erzin and the other one at Dörtyol have been measuring precipitation of the area for almost eighty years now.

The Lökat project (Kehl, 1998) provides the most recent information on the climate and other environmental data concerning the area. According to the results of the project, the coastal area up to the colline landscapes at the base of the Amanus Mountains show climatologically humid to per-humid, Meso- to Submediterranean conditions. Moreover, real Eu-Mediterranean characteristics are absent in the

Dörtyol region. The entire montane belt belongs to the per-humid non-mediterranean kind of climate.⁵

Heavy precipitation occurs mostly in October, February and April in the region. The highest rain occurrence was discovered in the middle montane belt, which has 50% of rainy days per year and the lowest in the sub-alpine area, with 29%. During the summer seasons, the area is subject to ‘Etesian winds with monsoonal character’⁶, which lead to the local phenomenon of cloudbank formations at the western slopes. The presence of humidity, which reduces global radiation by nearly 40%, and the influence of the cloudbanks on temperature engender the unique climatological conditions, and also the remarkable Euro-Siberian vegetation in the middle-montane belt of the region, which will be discussed below (p. 13).

The two government precipitation stations provide us with useful data about the climatological characteristics of the plains. According to the Dörtyol station, active since 1929, average heat for the forty years following that date was observed to be 19.3 °C. The highest heats were seen in the months of August at 32.2 °C and the lowest ones at 6.8 °C in January. Average annual precipitation between 1930 and 1978 was measured at 995.2mm. Moreover, comparison between annual graphs shows considerable yearly oscillation with rain levels falling in the 1940s and mid 1960s (Doyuran, 1982: 152-53)⁷.

2.2 Geomorphology and Geology of the Region

A scholar named Mülazımoğlu performed a detailed geomorphologic study of the region in 1979 for the purposes of a PhD thesis, as mentioned by S. Ozaner.

⁵ A type of climate that has humidity index values of +100 IM and above. It is the wettest climate type.

⁶ This information was gathered from the English abstract of the Lökät study at <http://www.agnos-online.de/e-f-abstract.htm>

⁷ Consult Doyuran’s article for the graphs.

According to Mülazımoğlu, the Issus plain is the result of the merging of alluvial cone deposits (caused by the hydrology of the area) and is further shaped by tectonic activity (Ozoner, 1992: 338). Ardos, who also worked in the area, moreover, characterized the plain as a typical piedmont one, shaped by fault lines that cause the area to subside and have depressions (Ardos, 1984: 127).

Piedmont plains result from the merging of cone formations and fans, and these occur as sediment deposits heap on lower hills and connect with one another as they are extended by hydrological activity and by additional natural factors. Slopes in the piedmont plains lessen as one moves towards the lower areas from the higher sections, and terrain become flatter approaching the sea level. These landscapes consist of varying sedimentation units, as the deposits of various nature are not distributed evenly, and thus embody different kinds of deposits scattered on different parts of the plain. One can generally separate piedmont plains into three parts: a lower band or flatter areas with mostly agricultural activity, a mid-section with pastoral areas, or additional cultivation, and an upper band with forest or tree growing. Characteristics of the sediments also change as one finds mostly gravelly deposits in the higher parts, which become siltier and finer towards lower elevations (Tunçdilek, 1985:78). This description fits the properties of the Issus Plain and the Amanus mountains, thus we may confidently characterize the plain as a typical piedmont one.

The obvious land features around the plain are the Amanus Range in the east, the Misis Mountains to the west of the Gulf of İskenderun, the Mediterranean seacoast and the larger and smaller plains that are interspersed among them in the middle. It is believed that the plain initially was formed as a result of the alluviation process of the archaic bed of the Ceyhan river (the ancient Pyramus), which passed

through the Kısıık Boğaz in the north, and finally reached the sea somewhere on the Gulf of İskenderun (Göney, 1976: 14). According to the D.S.I (State Water Works Institution), the Issus plain consists of Pliocene deposits (more than 2000 m thick) in the bottom and Quaternary above them. The Pliocene level is a combination of calcareous and serpentine gravels cemented together, which result in a conglomerate cast. These surface generally around Yeniköy-Erzin and in the north of Kuzulucu village above Dörtüol (Ardos, 1984: 126-27).

The tectonic lines follow the natural outline of the Amanus, as their western part give the Issus Plain its sunk-in character and also are responsible for the formation of the İskenderun Gulf or Graben (Doyuran, 1982: 158). The Amanus range on the other hand is composed of two significant depression zones—Haruniye, Osmaniye, Dörtüol and İskenderun in the west and Hatay-Gölbaşı in the east, which were formed during the Miocene.

The Amanus' foundations are Paleozoic and its upper elevations consist of serpentine Mesozoic formations. These middle and northern sections are dominated by limestone, some 1000 m in thickness (Tolun, 1975: 48). Some of its hills are very steep and rocky. Nevertheless archeological verifications reveal that these characteristics never discouraged the habitants of the area, especially during antiquity, to settle in them. Tolun, furthermore, describes the topography in the following way as: “[the] morphology in the area is represented by steep, bare, inaccessible and isolated units (Tolun, 1975: 48)”.

Sediments brought from the mountains by streams and rivers in the Issus Plain fill the depressions mentioned above. In some areas, the forces of erosion have cut alluvial beds. Sondages go as far deep as 1600 m without even reaching the bedrock (Ozaner, 1992: 338). The down-cutting is thought to be a continuous process ever

since the Pliocene (5 million years ago) when, it is thought, the peak of Haydar Dağ was level with the surface of the plain, before the latter began to subside (Ozaner, 1992: 338). Quaternary alluviation averages between 10-60m in depth around the region; a study done in 1964 by Ertürk and Sözen measured the alluviation to be 20 m in the Dörtyol plain and 75 m in the Erzin plain (Doyuran, 1982: 151 & 156).

As already discussed, the fault lines played and still play a major role in shaping this landscape and its mountains (Doyuran, 1982: 158). Fault lines are located in front of the Paleozoic limestone and serpentine formations of the eastern border of Amanus and extend along a N-S axis (Jordan-Maraş fault basin), starting at the northeastern limit of the Amanus upfolding (Kehl, 1998: 28). The area lies also among three active belts that have been responsible for numerous destructive earthquakes from past to the present,—the southern end of the East Anatolian Fault (EAF), the northern end of the Dead Sea Fault (DSF) and the Cyprus Arc (Över et al., 2002: 649).

Volcanic eruptions, originating in the Misis Mountains to the North, also contributed sediments to the local geology until the beginning of the Holocene; such activity has not been seen recently, however (Ozaner, 1992: 338).

2.3 Hydrology

Hydrologically, the region is quite rich. The rivers and the streams or springs flow from the Amanus Range and create deep valleys extending from the mountains. This activity originating from the mountains and feeding the plain forms the backbone of the region, literally giving life to it. Drinking water is of high quality, as confirmed by the reports gathered from the municipality of Dörtyol, which obtains its water from the underground springs stemming in the Amanus.

The major rivers of the region from north to south are: the Mahirönü Dere, Sukarışan Dere, Erzin Çayı, Deli Çayı, Özerli Çayı, Rabat Çayı, and Kuru Dere. The Payas River is the southernmost river of the Issus plain. Only the Payas River is perennial while the rest dry up seasonally. Among them, the Mahirönü Dere, Sukarışan Dere, Erzin Çayı and Rabat Çayı provide the best examples of the alluvial cones mentioned above. Underground water, a significant part of this geography, accumulates in the depressions at the foot of the schist and in the basaltic aquifers, distributed across the land, resulting in an abundance of wells and providing the drinking water of the locals (Doyuran, 1982:152-160). Also, some of the streams, while reaching the sea, meet coastal dunes and swamps.

Historically, the hydrological characteristic of the area seems to be one of the foremost reasons why it was continuously inhabited since the Neolithic. Rich drinking water supplies, in addition to available water for agricultural purposes made the Issus plain an ever-attractive place to live in. Furthermore, these sources were most likely revered by the ancient populations using them, which must have been reflected in their belief systems. This was the opinion of Sayar, as he discovered inscriptions at a source of one of the water supplies to the city of Anazarbos, 25 km to the northeast of the area. The dedications were to the river god (Sayar, 1996: 116). Even though the religious beliefs of the region still remain enigmatic, maybe a careful study of inscriptions, possibly at the points where the water sources originate in the Amanus Mountains, may prove useful. Also, the most commonly practiced water management system in the Amanus during antiquity was possibly the usage of cisterns to collect water, and then its distribution among the several locations.

Furthermore, the sand dunes situated along the coast cover large areas; especially in the vicinity of Yanıkdeğirmen spring (in the north, Erzin Plain) where

they advance as far as 2-3 km inland. Immediately bordering the sea the dunes are young but as one moves landwards, they become older. Sporadic marshy and swampy areas going to the south, accompany these dunes, which become thinner. These formations indicate how close the water table is to the surface, since the swamps are mostly fed by underground springs and are not salty in nature (Doyuran, 1982: 152). Furthermore, ancient settlements were discovered along the dunes, for instance the site at Küçük Burnaz.⁸ Since swamps have proved to be the main source of malaria, the authorities have drained a large number since the nineteenth century.

In the end, water sources were important for the existence of the settlements of both the mountains and the plain, during earlier times, as they are now. The rivers or the streams of the region were utilized for a variety of reasons. Nowadays, the most important is for the irrigation of crops. At the moment, we do not have sufficient evidence available to allow us making certain comments on the systems of water utilization during antiquity. However, a systematic survey along the courses of streams or rivers should yield ancient settlements, as well as valuable knowledge on the ancient irrigation and water utilization systems, as agriculture was especially significant in the area during the Roman period.⁹

2.4 Soils

The soils of the region are of mixed character due to the plain being piedmontane. Highly developed soils are generally limited to areas that are difficult to reach by humans and grazing animals. Therefore, up to the middle montane belt of the Amanus developed soils are rarely found (mainly due to grazing and

⁸ See site (3) in the catalogue and Tobin 1995.

cultivation practices). Forest types and vegetation also differ in relation to the origin of the soil, and maybe depending on their parent rocks. Traditionally in landscapes with limestone or ultrabasic greenstones as parent rocks (e.g. serpentine) the variety of species is generally expected to be low. Such is not the case in the Amanus range, despite the fact that soils derived from serpentine contain high concentrations of heavy metals¹⁰. Interestingly, in the heavily overgrazed transition areas of both the limestone and serpentine series, the highest diversity of species and population density were found. Hence, the soils of the region are worth a geo-archaeological study to understand their peculiar characteristics in terms of possible human integration with the environment.

2.5 Vegetation

The vegetation of the region differs from location to location, and displays characteristics relating to the height above the sea level of each ecotope, and also depending on specific conditions around the settlement areas in the present. The westerly exposed lower slopes of the Amanus mountains (displaying major ceramic density), between Osmaniye and Dörtyol, are dominated by extrazonal Euro-Siberian floral elements of Euxinian origin, and a type of vegetation seen especially in South-European forests (Xero- Euxinians such as *Laurus-Tillia*).

Additionally, it is interesting that nearly 100% of the Euro-Siberian elements recognized in this area are identical with species of the Pontus Mountains. This peculiarity is said to be due exclusively to the macroclimate, providing the same kind

⁹ However, cereals being the most important product of the region during antiquity, we should note that dry-farming techniques were probably used for the cereal production as they are now, nevertheless much research is still needed to enlighten the landscape usage back then.

¹⁰ For instance, soils originating from serpentine contain a concentration of nickel and chrome, which does not reach toxic levels and is also constituted of high levels of the ‘interchangeable’ magnesium (Kehl, 1998: 54-56).

of conditions in both areas. Furthermore, according to Dr. Kehl (1998: 52-55) of Lökät, the ‘extrazonal vegetation’ of the Amanus is of Holocene origin.

Pinus and *Ulnus* are generally dominant in the Amanus, especially around the outskirts of the Deli Halil formation, where one observes maquis cover, as well. Maquis also seen on the colline belt of the Amanus is characterized by ruderal and segetal vegetation, which occur on soils with high nitrogen and phosphate content, and indicate past cereal growing.¹¹ The famous cedar trees of the Amanus, mentioned in the Bronze Age and Iron Age annals (Kehl, 1998; 21-22), are now seen only in the region of Ufacık, north of Dörtyol and cover a surface area of about 12 ha only.¹²

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, agriculture played an important role, as the availability of evidence for wheat growing and grain markets situated close to the city of Epiphaneia demonstrate¹³. Nonetheless, the area needs to be studied in a way that will illuminate how and where it was exploited agriculture-wise and will provide an understanding of human impact on the landscape and on the vegetation. This much-needed information is still sadly lacking and it is up to future research to reveal it.

Above the region of Dörtyol, on middle montane forest belts, the soil mostly derives from limestone, and the forest is dominated primarily by *Quercus cerris* and *Carpinus orientalis*. The middle to upper colline belts of the Amanus from Osmaniye to Dörtyol show anthropogenically engendered *Pinus brutia* mixed forests. From the *Pinus brutia* gradient, one might easily detect human influence on

¹¹ Personal communication with Dr. Kehl.

¹² During a personal interview with Dr. Kehl, he mentioned seeing cedars only above Dörtyol during his work in the Amanus, and these were in groups of three and four and scattered in the landscape.

¹³ Epigraphic evidence reveals a grain-market in the ancient city of Epiphaneia. Also, seed studies done in Kinet Höyük show barley, wheat, lentil and grape being cultivated throughout the habitation of the site including the Hellenistic period.

the vegetation of the middle to upper colline belt of the Amanus range, yet the real question is: when did this manipulation of the landscape begin in the first place?

Furthermore, in the higher areas, up to the timberline on Paleozoic sandstone formations, *Fagus orientalis* is the most abundant species (Kehl, 1998:58-60).

Additionally, orchards and orange groves are the major sources of income on the plain. Around Haydar Dağ, in the Erzin plain, dry farming is commonplace and mostly onion and cereals are being produced. In the plain of Issus nowadays, the most important products, in addition to the orange groves, are the grain related ones. Also, through utilization of the underground water, vegetables, cotton, peanuts, and sesame are obtained (Doyuran, 1982: 153).

The Ministry of Forestry in the town of Dörtyol informs us that the work on reforestation began in the early 1980s and has been continuing ever since. As a result, the lower and middle montane belts, which were quite barren more than two decades ago, because the cover could not regenerate on its own, are now thickly forested. British Naval Intelligence also informs us that much of the easy-access timber in the Amanus was cut beginning with 1914 to be used as fuel for the then new railway (BNI, 1919: 37). Finally, Seton-Williams adds that Arsuz used to be one of the trading centers of Amanus timber, but in the 19th century after the forest receded, the trade was no longer practiced (Seton-Williams, 1954: 126). Thus, the human impact is quite immense on the vegetation of the area. However, it is now up to more research to determine the cause and the date of the beginning of the deforestation, which has taken place in the Amanus for a long time, possibly as early as the Bronze Age.

In the end, besides the intense industrialization activities nowadays, not only the entire coast belt is subject to cultivation, but also the higher areas of hilly

landscapes and mountainous regions are being exploited for summer-housing. Because of this, rapid changes on the vegetation of the westerly slopes of the Amanus and in the coastal areas are being witnessed.

2.6 Fauna

The 1919 surveillance report of British Intelligence provides faunal information, which might more accurately represent the distribution during the Greco-Roman period, than present faunal data. The report states that the wild fauna, then, was mostly confined to the wooded areas. The forests contained black and brown bears, lynxes, wildcats, leopards, wolves, foxes, jackals, panthers, and bezoar goats, mistakenly identified as ibex. The chamois, the deer, and fallow buck were seen at the source of the Deli Çay and also in certain regions of the Amanus. Cattle, back then as it is now, were kept for the production of dairy products. Their flesh was not eaten as widely as that of the smaller animals such as sheep and goat. Transhumance was common as the locals took their flocks to the hills from June to the end of August (BNI, 1919: 33).

The Kinet Höyük faunal evidence includes gazelle, wild goat (*capreolus*), wolf, hyena, fox, boar, and several different deer types from all the periods—Bronze Age to Medieval Age (Gates, 1998a: 6).

2.7 Major Routes in the Issus plain and the Amanus Range

Roads and routes in the region are quite important, as they were during antiquity, enabling communication among a wide network of settlements. The roads being used in the present differed little from the past ones in their locations. These modern roads are further marked in the map of the region (App. A, fig. 2).

Excavations at Kinet Höyük, proved the presence of a Roman road (site 24) passing by the mound and following a southwards path parallel to the coast.

According to Gates, another ancient route probably ran along the eastern edge of the Issus plain, i.e. the Amanus foothills, connecting the towns of the area. The newly constructed Adana-Gaziantep highway to İskenderun uses the same route (Gates, 1998a: 6). Historically, major roadwork in Cilicia can be dated to the reign of Vespasian in AD 72 (Sayar, 1993:146).

Additionally, the Amanus range was a significant part of the web of communications in the region providing access from the west to the east. Two major passes cross the Amanus, which were used throughout the human occupation in the region and are still now exploited: the Arslanlı Bel Pass, to the northeast, and the Bahçe Pass, by Belen to the south of İskenderun (Alexandria ad Issum). Their locations at both ends of the range render it quite difficult to cross. Of the two, Arslanlı Bel has always been more significant historically.

The Arslanlı Bel pass is mentioned by several classical authors: Ptolemy¹⁴ (late 1st and 2nd c. AD), Polybius (2nd c. BC) and Arrian (2nd c. AD) (Alkım, 1969: 280). Alkım states that Arslanlı Bel provided a shorter, easier, less roundabout and more suitable route for the armies coming from North Syria and Mesopotamia into Cilicia. Additionally, he mentions secondary routes, between these two major passes: track 5 (see App. A, fig. 2), provided access from Islahiye (ancient Nicopolis) to Osmaniye; tracks 3 and 4, to the south of 5, led from Islahiye again and ran to the Erzin and Dörtyol plains, the path bifurcated around the Başlamış village; finally, track 2 was the road which led from Hassa to Dörtyol (Alkım, 1969: 280). Roads and passes into and out of the Issus plain invoke E-W and N-S crossing patterns.

¹⁴ Kiepert during the 19th c. marked a road which passed over the junction of the two branches of the Amanus, running to Maraş, which he believed to be Germanicia. The pass Darius must have used should be the Amanicae Pylae of Ptolemy which he places 5" further south than Issus, and 10" east of Issus (Smith, 1878: 71). Darius probably came from the east through Arslanlı Bel or the Bahçe Pass to meet Alexander the Great in 333 B.C.

Moreover during the 2004 season, T. Beach discovered a possible Roman road by track 2, which was made obvious by gullying on its path. This road, as the others in the mountainous regions in Cilica, was likely constructed in the 3rd c. AD, when the Roman military gave great importance to easy troop movement across the regions.¹⁵

2.8 Conclusion

Deducing from the environmental information given in the sections above, we may safely conjecture that the settlement pattern in the Amanus range probably did not spread beyond the middle montane belt. Hence, in addition to searching the most environmentally impacted areas, i.e. from the shore to the middle montane belts, ancient settlement locations could also be looked for by water sources and along the major routes of the region.

Man-induced transformations of the landscape are especially observed on the vegetation of the Amanus foothills. Modifications of the environment occurring over a certain period of time cause changes in the habitat as best demonstrated in the valuable research by the Lökät team. As stated in that study, the human influence on the site conditions from colline to middle montane belt is spread widely in terms of openings in the forest canopy and under stocked forests. This is, furthermore, reflected in the structure of the slopes and in the soil deterioration of the impacted areas.¹⁶

¹⁵ See Sayar's research in the Karyağdı valley on the Roman roads mentioning their military significance. (Sayar, 1996: 118).

¹⁶ Consult the English abstract at <http://www.agnos-online.de/e-f-abstract.htm>

In the end, it is necessary to start an intensive archaeological survey, before it is too late in the fast-changing historically valuable, yet newly industrialized region of the “Issus plain”.

CHAPTER III

History of the Issus Plain

3.1 Hellenism

The Greco-Roman period in the Issus plain began with the 'Battle of Issus' that Alexander the Great fought against Darius III. The victory of Alexander over Darius III (336-330) brought great changes to these parts of Asia Minor and Syria and opened the way for acceptance of the Hellenic traditions more readily. The decisive battle (333 BC) took place between the Pillar of Jonah and the city of Issus. Many scholars now believe the two ancient armies deployed their forces along the banks of the River Pinarus, which is the modern River Payas, in the middle of the Issus plain (Ozaner & Çalık, 1995). The victory gave Alexander the chance to move southwards in Syria and spread Greek influence all the more. His greatest achievement was to be able to accelerate the fusion of Greek culture with the Orient's ideas and institutions (Hitti, 1951: 236).

After Alexander's death, one of his generals, Seleucus I (312-280 BC), founded his own kingdom in Syria. By 301 BC Seleucus I had gained possession of the entire eastern part of Asia Minor, which included the plain of Issus. The institutions of Seleucid rule were a mixture of Greco-Macedonian and Syro-Persian elements, and the latter dominated the former (Hitti, 1951: 262). The head of the state, the king, held all power. In the provinces, satraps, district governors, secretaries and overseers of taxes were appointed. The language of the court was

Greek; however we know that Aramean remained prominent in the area of our focus for a long time, even after Greek had risen in importance. The character of the Seleucid kingdom was defined by its military and by a provincial administrative system that followed Persian traditions strongly; however, little is known about the operating systems of the local provincial government (Hitti, 1951: 264-7).

In spite of Seleucid might, Cilicia in the third century BC was still a ground “disputed between the Seleucids and Ptolemies” (Jones, 1971: 197). According to Jones, furthermore, the Seleucids were not in full possession of Cilicia Pedias for long, because this vulnerable point of the empire housed the “one route which linked Asia Minor with Syria and the location was under constant threat” (Jones, 1971: 198). As a result, the Ptolemies, realizing the importance of the region, seized several coastal towns in flat Cilicia.¹⁷

The first time we hear the name Amanus is in 285 BC, while Seleucus I was organizing his Empire. He needed to campaign against the army of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was raiding Cilicia, apparently reclaiming his father’s lands on his way to meet Seleucus (Grainger, 1990: 132). Seleucus blocked the two main passes through the Amanus range, the Arslan Bel Pass by Bahçe in the north near Osmaniye and the Belen Pass, further south of İskenderun (Alexandria ad Issum), thus preventing the invasion of his lands in Syria (Grainger, 1997: 680).

Seleucus I’s successors were not as able as him and, as a result, lost much of the authority over their territory until the arrival of Antiochus III, the Great (223-187 BC), during whose reign Rome comes onto the stage of the Seleucid Empire’s

¹⁷ Antiochus III (197 BC) had to re-conquer many cities, which were occupied by Ptolemaic garrisons. In Pedias, these cities consisted of Soli, Zephyrium and Mallus, the last one being the closest to the Issus plain.

history for the first time.¹⁸ An embassy from Rome came to warn the king not to interfere with the affairs of Egypt (Hitti, 1951: 243). By 191 (the battle of Thermopylae¹⁹) and 188 BC, Antiochus III, as a consequence of defeats at the hands of the Romans, lost all his power beyond the Taurus range and was forced to pay a heavy war tribute.

Furthermore, the region of Cilicia is little mentioned until the reign of Seleucus VI (187-175 BC). Barker informs us of the extreme events, which took place at the time of Seleucus VI. The monarch fleeing from Antiochus Pius took refuge at Mopsuestia in Cilicia; however, as a result of trying to levy money from the people, he was burnt, together with his followers in his palace, by the revolted civilians (Barker, 1853: 25). Under the next ruler, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BC), the Cilicians again revolted against Seleucid rule; however, the king quelled the attempts (Barker, 1853: 24). Afterwards, he founded the city of Epiphaneia in the plain of Issus. In spite of his efforts, the years following his rule saw the Seleucid Empire lose much of its prestige. After the death of Antiochus IV, there was a series of ‘dynastic civil wars’, which progressively reduced the kingdom to anarchy (Jones, 1971: 200).

These events marked the weakening of central power and disseminated the seeds of piracy, which was to trouble the region dearly. Also, a significant event in terms of the control of the Amanus was beginning to occur “The growing anarchy was an opportunity not merely for the cities to throw off the royal supremacy, but for the dynasts of the interior, which the kings had kept in check, to embark on

¹⁸ Preceding the battle of Thermopylae.

¹⁹ This is the battle of Thermopylae against the Aetolians, who allied themselves with Antiochus III (Le Glay et al., 2001: 85). According to the war agreement made between the Seleucids and the Romans in 190 BC, the territories belonging to the Seleucids up to the Taurus range were to be given to the Roman Empire.

conquests. It must have been during this period that the ancestors of Tarcondimotus, native chieftains in the northern Amanus, built up the little kingdom in which Pompey confirmed him, after his defeat of the pirates” (Jones, 1971: 201). So from that time on, we witness a separate rule for the northern part of the Amanus, which was to last till the early Roman Empire.

By 100 BC, the Roman Empire was able to overcome the difficulties faced at home and directed its attention to Asia Minor. In 101 BC the region of Cilicia was on its way to be a part of the Republic as a result of Rome’s involvement against piracy in the region (Le Glay et al., 2001: 90). With the beginnings of the 1st century BC, the piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Cilicia Tracheia, presented a threat for the collective peace of the Mediterranean basin, and thus to Roman Imperial endeavors. Moreover, the Seleucid’s considerable loosening of control over Eastern Cilicia, fed the pirates’ activities even more, especially since they were supported by Tigranes and his father-in-law Mithradates VI, Eupator, kings respectively of Armenia and Pontus, whose goal was to expel the Romans from Asia Minor (Ener, 1990: 74-5). The cities of Cilicia Pedias suffered the attacks the most. Their trading activities were greatly diminished and many of them became depopulated because of the activities of the slave-raiders (Jones, 1971: 201).

In addition to favoring piracy in the region, beginning with 83 BC, Tigranes was ambitiously expanding his empire through Parthian lands in Mesopotamia and Seleucid lands in Northern Syria and Cilicia. Mithradates on the other hand was interested in the lands of Asia Minor, some parts of which belonged to the Roman Republic. As a result, the Roman authorities ordered a military campaign launched against the piracy-infested regions, and against the two kings. After several unsuccessful attempts, the Roman Senate sent Pompey to Cilicia in 67 BC, who

subjugated the pirates and destroyed not only Mithradates, but also defeated Tigranes. Pompey annexed Cilicia and reorganized it as a Roman province under a Proconsul, while the coastal towns received city-state status (Jones, 1971: 202).

The year 64 BC marked the beginning of the real Roman dominion in the Eastern part of Cilicia and thus the Issus plain, as well as other parts of Asia Minor. Many pirates and their families were brought down from the mountains and resettled in cities such as Epiphaneia in the plain of Issus, among others. The re-population of some of the cities of the Pedias was necessary because many of the coastal sites had been left in a decrepit state due to the turbulent civilian unrest of the years of piracy (Jones, 1971: 202). Eastern Cilicia flourished under several centuries of uninterrupted Roman rule with agriculture as the most significant economic activity. Thus ended the Seleucid-Hellenic old order, and began the Romanizing process in the region of the Issus plain.

3.2 Roman Era

Cicero's proconsulship in Cilicia during 51-50 BC provides significant knowledge about the settlements in the plain of Issus, especially the parts of the Amanus then belonging to his province. The following excerpt is a translation of one of Cicero's letter (XVIII. to M. Porcius Cato), utilized here to inform the reader about the settlements in the region during a politically chaotic time in Cilicia and Syria²⁰:

Meanwhile, I was informed by dispatches and messengers from many sides, that the Parthians and Arabs had approached the town of Antioch in great force, and that a large body of their horsemen, which had crossed into Cilicia, had been cut to pieces by some squadrons of my cavalry and the praetorian cohort then on garrison duty at Epiphaneia. Wherefore, seeing that the forces of the Parthians had turned their backs upon Cappadocia, and were not far from the frontiers of Cilicia, I led my army

²⁰ Cicero's XXVII Letters to Friends, Books XIII-XVI. W.G. Williams (trans.)

to Amanus with the longest forced marches I could. Arrived there, I learnt that the enemy had retired from Antioch, and that Bibulus was at Antioch. And as my intention in coming had been to relieve both provinces, should occasion rise, so now I proceed to do what I had all along made up my mind was greatly to the interest of both provinces, namely, to reduce Amanus, and to remove from that mountain an eternal enemy. So I made a feint of retiring from the mountain and making for other parts of Cilicia: and having gone a day's march from Amanus and pitched a camp, on the 12th of October, towards evening, at Epiphaneia, with my army in light marching order I effected such a night march, that by dawn on the 13th I was already ascending Amanus. Having formed the cohorts and auxiliaries into several columns of attack—I and my legate Quintus (my brother) commanding one, my legate C. Pomptinus another, and my legates M. Anneius and L. Tullius the rest—we surprised most of the inhabitants, who, being cut off from all retreat, were killed or taken prisoners. But Erana, which was more like a town than a village, and was a capital of Amanus, as also Sepyra and Commoris, which offered a determined and protracted resistance from before daybreak till four in the afternoon—Pomptinus being in command in that part of Amanus—we took, after killing a great number of the enemy, and stormed and set fire to several fortresses. After these operations we lay encamped for four days on the spurs of Amanus, near the Arae Alexandri, and all that time we devoted to the destruction of the remaining inhabitants of Amanus, and devastating their lands on that side of the mountain which belongs to my province.

This account provides information about the settlement patterns in the Amanus range, part of which belonged to the province of Cilicia. Cicero mentions several types of Roman settlements in the Amanus Range: fortresses, cities and even a capital town called Erana.²¹ Another historically important structure he talks about is the Arae Alexandri²², which were supposedly the altars that Alexander placed on the banks of the River Pinarus, where the famous 'Battle of Issus' had taken place. Thus, we gather that Cicero, having ascended the mountains across Epiphaneia by Erzin, descended down by the Payas, since the River Payas is strongly believed by many scholars (Hammond, 1997: 83-90) to be the River Pinarus mentioned in the

²¹ None of the cities mentioned by Cicero in the Amanus (Erana, Sepyra and Commoris) could have been discovered so far.

²² Quintus Curtius stated that this commemorative monument was erected on the banks of the Pinarus to Jupiter, Hercules and Minerva. Bing further says that, although no other account talks about the occurrence, Quintus Curtius could be relied upon as providing an accurate detail. Cicero was also

annals of Alexander's battles. As a result, we may infer that there were many settlements in the parts of Amanus towering over between the towns of Erzin and Payas.

The northern part of the Amanus, then, as mentioned above (see p.21), was subject to the rule of the kingdom of Tarcondimotus, a client prince. His rule extended to the port town of Aegaeae until 47 BC, and also included northern cities (e.g. Anazarbus), in addition to the city of Castabala Hieropolis. We also know this man, whom Cicero actually addresses in an official report after 53 BC not as a king yet, but as a prince; he is actually known to have circulated coinage as king Tarcondimotus Philantonius after Cicero's time (Jones, 1971: 202).²³ Strabo further informs us that the Amanus that lies above Cilicia in the east was always ruled by a number of kings or chiefs, who had strong forts; and in his day, a man of mark was set over all of them, and called king Tarcondimotus, by the Romans for his merits (Strabo, 676.18).²⁴ The Roman policy at the time concerning mountainous parts such as the Amanus that were not easy for a governor to control was to leave them to native princes to rule (Smith, 1878: 621-22).

At the battle of Actium (31 BC) among the kings who supported Anthony, was Tarcondimotus king of Amanus, who contributed a fleet to the general. However, he died during the battle. Following his victory, Augustus apparently did not want Philopator, son of Tarcondimotus, as king; he removed him and placed his younger brother to the office (Barker, 1853: 29). Around AD 17, when the last king of the dynasty died, the kingdom went under the Roman rule (Jones, 1971: 203).

saluted as *imperator* by his soldiers camping by the Three Altars after a campaign in the Amanus (Bing, 1991: 161). The location of this structure remains unknown, as well.

²³ The title of king was possibly given to him by Anthony twenty years later (Jones, 1971: 202).

²⁴ We are not sure if this is the same king Tarcondimotus that Cicero mentions. The name given by Strabo indicates it is probably this king's son.

After AD 17, the Romans seem to be the sole rulers of Cilicia Pedias, this time including the Amanus range.

Later, during Vespasian's rule, the province was reorganized under the aim of urbanizing the region, especially Cilicia Pedias (Sayer, 1993: 142).

The Parthians, after the pirates of Cilicia, were the most formidable enemy of Rome in the East. Eastern Cilicia was most certainly under the constant threat of their forces until the mid-3rd c. AD. However, the battles taking place between the two empires came to a brief halt in AD 1, as peace was established (Ball, 2000: 15). After the Augustan peace, Rome's borders in the Near East more or less stayed the same for over a century and a half.

The next confrontation took place between the years AD 161-165 and proved again how vulnerable Rome was in the east against the Parthian threat, when king Vologeses III, launched an attack against both Syria and Armenia. In AD 163, Armenia was regained by the Romans who also drove the Parthians out of Syria (Le Glay et al., 2001: 289). These events further convey the discord and uneasiness, which must have been felt by the nearby region of Issus.

The following major event to occur in the Issus plain was the battle between Septimus Severus and the governor of Syria Pescennius Niger in AD 194 for the control of the Roman Empire. The battle took place almost on the same grounds as the 'Battle of Issus', almost half a millennium earlier (Smith, 1878: 71).

The Parthian threat ended as a forceful new Persian dynasty from the same area as the Parthians, emerged under the name of 'Sassanians' in the mid-3rd century AD (Ball, 2000: 19). Around AD 260, the Sassanid king Shapur I invaded and destroyed most of the cities in Eastern Cilicia, including Epiphaneia and Castabolo

(site 1). The following is a translation of an inscription revealing these events

(Dodgeon, 1991: 57):

On this third campaign we also conquered from the Empire of the Romans their city of Samosata with its surrounding territory, the city of Alexandria (İskenderun) with its surrounding territory, - Katabolon, -Aig (e)ai, - Mallos, - Adana, -Tarsus, Zephriion, Sebaste, Korykos, - Agrippiada, - Kastabala, -Neronias, -Flavias, -Nicopolis, -Kelenderis, -Anemorium, -Selinus, -Myonpolis, - Antiochia, - Seleucia, -Dometioupolis, -Tyana, -Meiakarire, -Comana, -Kybistra, -Sebastia, - Birtha, -Rhakoundia, -Laranda, -Iconium; all these cities together with their surrounding territories are thirty six (in number).

We led away into captivity men from the Empire of the Romans, non-Iranians, and settled them into our Empire of Iranians, in Persia, in Parthia, in Susiana and in Asorestan (= Assuristan) and in every nation where our own and our fathers' and our forefathers' foundations were.

This textual evidence informs us of the destruction and possibly de-population of the plain of Issus by the Sassanians. Emperor Aurelian regained these territories twelve years later, in AD 272, and they remained under the Empire's rule until the end of her presence in the region in the 7th century AD (Tobin 1996: 155).

Thus, during the next four centuries Cilicia was still in the rule of the Empire that is until the final evacuation of Rome's Near Eastern provinces due to the Muslim Arabic attacks in the 7th century (Ball, 2000: 21). However, we take the mid-fourth century AD as our final point, for the purposes of illustrating the Hellenistic and Roman settlements in the plain of Issus and the westerly slopes of the Amanus, since it marks the division of the Roman Empire, the beginning of the Byzantine era, and an irrevocable shift in power from west to east.

Finally, studying the development of the Hellenistic and Roman settlement patterns, one should note especially the effect of the turbulent history of the region. Troubled times in the Hellenistic, followed by long periods of peace and prosperity (1st century AD to mid-3rd century AD) must both be reflected on the ground. The following chapters will examine the settlement pattern of the area in chronological

perspective, beginning with a catalogue of sites, followed by an analysis of the field results.

CHAPTER IV

Catalogue of Sites

The Hellenistic and Roman sites presented in this chapter were discovered between the early 90s and the field season of 2004. The sites are numbered sequentially following a north to south axis and are color-coded according to the eras they belong to, and placed on a 1:100,000 map of the plain of Issus and the westerly slopes of the Amanus range (App. A, fig.2).

The two differing landscapes, meaning the plain and the mountain range, seem to have complemented each other even more so than today during Hellenistic and Roman times. In my opinion, they should be studied together. Furthermore, the web of paths and routes will also be marked on the map to provide clues about these connections.

The settlements in the hills of the Amanus are many in number and, according to a personal communication with Dr. Kehl, most of the colline belt of the Amanus was possibly occupied in earlier times.²⁵ The settlements in the higher land were located there, most probably to avoid direct contact with foreign invaders, starting with Hellenistic times. Another premise for the settlements in the higher landscape may lie in the fact that the inhabitants wanted to utilize directly and trade the rich resources of the Amanus. This was possibly the case during the Roman era.

²⁵ The lower belt of the Amanus is scarcely settled at the moment. Additionally, a forest ranger (A. Kaşmer) who has been walking in the region for the past twenty years says that throughout his observations he has come to believe that most of the Amanus was probably inhabited during ancient times.

The settlement trends changed from the Hellenistic to the Roman times and these will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The research below includes the survey work of the author, as well as the valuable additions provided by Dr. Katherine Wright of U.C. Kings College of London, who surveyed predominantly in the plain in 1994 and discovered numerous, specifically Roman, farmsteads and settlement areas, mostly in the area of Erzin.²⁶ The two researches supplement each other quite clearly, as the author of this text focused more in the Dörtyol region and above it, while Dr. Wright worked to the north of it.

The number of sites discovered by Dr. Wright result from the intensive survey techniques utilized by her team. Her work is important, since it is the first and only intensive survey done in the plain of Issus. She is also significant in providing clues on how the landscape (especially the Erzin plain) was settled during the Roman era. The work of the author done in conjunction with Dr. Timothy Beach of Georgetown University, however, did not incorporate systematic field walking. Our work was geomorphologic rather than archaeological in nature, and mainly based on identifying sites through ceramic evidence, when surveyed. The sites were found either through local informants or were discovered by chance.

Fortunately, in Eastern Cilicia, Hellenistic and Roman pottery is among the most easily recognized.²⁷ The excavations in Tarsus initially provided the stratigraphy for the region, however the ceramic data from Kinet Höyük is also available to provide verification of dates.

²⁶ None of her results were published before this study.

²⁷ For further information on the Hellenistic and Roman pottery seen in the region of Cilicia, one may consult Seton-Williams, 1954: 121-160.

The following are the Hellenistic and Roman sites discovered in the Issus plain and the westerly hills of the Amanus range facing this plain:²⁸

1. **Muttalip Höyük Anc. Catabolo**, [Chalcolithic, Late Hellenistic, Roman and Islamic].

References: [Quintus Curtius, History of Alexander I: III. vi. 19-vii. 6; Ainsworth, 1842: 90; Barker, 1853: 265; Leake, 1874: 218; Ruge, 1919: 2336; Gates, 1991: 390; Sayar, 1991: 210; Hellenkemper & Hild, 1986: 102; Gatier & Sinclair, 2000: 67 B3]

At the confluence of two streams, Karanlıkkapı and Boğazdere, c.5 km S. of Davul Tepe and 6 km S.E. of Turunçlu.

The coastal settlement overlooks a valley that rises towards the northern part of the landscape. The mound is today enclosed on the grounds of the Toros Fertilizer and Chemical factory. Gates, who surveyed Muttalip Höyük during August of 1991, mentions basalt building blocks on the surface of the mound. The collected pottery extends in date from the Chalcolithic to the Hellenistic period; the site appears to have been abandoned before the end of Hellenistic times, however. (Gates, 1993: 392). This location was apparently quite significant during the Roman period and many scholars further recognize it as the ancient city of 'Catabolo' (Hellenkemper & Hild, 1986: 102; Sayar, 1991: 210; Gatier & Sinclair, 2000: 67 B3). A bathhouse and a city gate, several kilometers to the west of the mound proper, are also worth mentioning (Gates, 1991: 390).

Sayar, stating that Muttalip Höyük was probably the ancient city of Catabolo, identifies it as one of the road stations in the region, prominent during Late Antiquity

²⁸ Some of these locations are published, but they are given here for the sake of understanding the settlement patterns in the area. The sites discovered by Dr. Wright are identified her initials (e.g. KW50).

(Sayar, 1991: 210). Hence, Muttalip Höyük or Catabolo was located at a busy junction of major roads. The city is seemingly more prominent during the Roman era, when the population of the region was possibly much higher than during the Hellenistic period (pl. 1).

2. **Turunçlu/İmraniye** [Hellenistic, Roman].

Reference: (Wright, 1994: 30, 31)

c. 8 km S.W. of Epiphaneia, 6 km N.E. of Muttalip Höyük.

The site was an extension of the ancient city of Epiphaneia. The remnants of an aqueduct are still visible close to the site. Dr. Wright did the only survey in the location in 1994.

2a. **KW 30** [Roman/Byzantine and Medieval].

The site was found 1 km S.W. of the village of Turunçlu. It measured from north to south and east to west, 49 m and 72 m, respectively. Alluvium and colluvium currently bury the site. The local landscape is characterized by low rolling hills with basalt outcrops. Dr. Wright's team, through communication with the villagers, discovered the location. Ancient walls, made of local basalt are still visible. Some of them stand almost 1.5 m in height in some places. There was also a robbed-tomb in the corner of one of the walls (Wright, 1994: site 30). The sherds were relatively evenly scattered at a rather low density on the surface of the site. The ceramic remains were mostly non-diagnostic. Dr. Wright believes the site possibly belongs to the Roman/Byzantine period (on the basis of architecture); she notes additional Medieval occupational evidence, as well, as shown by the reddish tiles collected outside the walls. Also one of the walls was observed to be composed of courses of tiles alternating with basalt (pl. 2).

2b. **KW 31** [uncertain date]

This site is located ca. 2-3 km to the E. of Botaş compound. It is called the Turunçlu mound. The modern village of Turunçlu spreads on top of the ancient site, which makes it difficult to survey or map. This substantial höyük revealed walls of basalt jutting out of its sides; pottery was abundantly seen all over the surface. No collection was made on the site.

3. **Küçük Burnaz** [Late Hellenistic, Early Imperial Roman, Middle-Late Roman and Islamic].

Reference: (Ozener, Özgen & Gates, 1993: 357-67; Özgen & Gates, 1993: 391, Tobin, 1996: 151-64)

c. 3 km S.E. of Muttalip and about 500 m inland from the present coast.

The site is a settlement, situated between Epiphaneia and the coast of the Gulf of İskenderun and is bordered by the K. Burnaz stream to the east. The site connects the ancient coast to the town of Epiphaneia, and was also positioned on an ancient route that is still visible today (Sayar, 1991: 210). It is the most significant site in the region, because it is of Roman date and almost completely preserved under the coastal sand dunes. The site was visited in the early 90s, and was fully surveyed by Tobin in 1995.

Before the exploration of the area, only three standing buildings, a city gate, and parts of an enclosure wall were documented, attesting a North-South grid and a consistent urban plan (Gates, 1991: 391). The greatest danger threatening the ancient settlement at the time, was the illicit sand-digging activity, which was done for commercial purposes. Tobin's survey was able to document at least twenty buildings, covering an area of 1/2 km square. The main building technique featured a facing of black local basalt laid in concrete, a mixture of basalt chips and concrete forming its

core (*i.e. opus caementicum*). Bricks were also incorporated to the architecture as facing and as string courses (Tobin, 1995:153). Some of the buildings were identified, additionally, as storage quarters or granaries, and others were observed to be bathhouses or facilities for water storage from their plastered water-proof walls. Among the other architectural elements that may indicate Roman preferences and connection with the resources of the landscape, were the several basalt columns (one was plastered and painted in imitation of marble), piers and arches also of basalt, large fragments of marble revetment, and red stucco, a green marble pediment block, as well as some vestiges of red and yellow paint still visible on some of the vaulting. The three distinct ceramic types found on the site could be matched with Late Hellenistic, Early Imperial Roman, middle-late Roman and Islamic wares (Gates, 1991: 391).

Tobin infers that there is strong historical evidence that this site might have been founded in the mid-1st century BC, after Pompey's reorganization of Cilicia, adding that the ceramic remains mostly indicate an occupation in the Late Republican period (e.g. Late Hellenistic). The architecture, on the other hand, displays characteristics of the 4th, 5th and 6th c. AD. This may be due to rebuilding activity during the lifespan of the site. In the end, she further states that even though the settlement may have been founded in the 1st c. BC, it flourished during the Late Roman era, as a result of the continuous military activity of the empire in the region (1995:164)²⁹ (pls. 3 & 4).

²⁹ For more detailed information about the site, see Tobin 1995.

4. **Gözeneler** Anc. Oeniandos-Epiphaneia [Roman, Late Roman, Byzantine and Islamic].

References: (Appian's Roman History: mi.96; Pliny, Natural History:V.91; Leake, 1874: 218; Ramsay, 1892: 386; Ruge, 1907:192;Gough, 1954:104-118; Seton-Williams, 1954: 155; Chesney & Murphy, 1969: 408; Jones, 1971:202; Sayar, 1991: 210; Grainger, 1997: 717;Gatier & Sinclair, 2000: 67 C2)

C. 6 km to the E. of Turunçlu, W. of the town of Erzin.

The ancient city is located on the edge of low-running foothills. Pliny mentions that the original name of the city was Oeniandos, before it was renamed by Antiochus IV (Ramsay, 1892: 386). Although today no doubts remain as to the location of Epiphaneia, by the end of the 19th century the city was still not satisfactorily identified and, just as Baiae, was confused with the ancient city of Issus. Appian further informs us that Pompey settled the captured pirates from his campaign in Cilicia here. The city began issuing coins after this resettlement, beginning with 68 BC (Grainger, 1997: 717). Seton-Williams, describing the area in 1951, said that the castle-walls in the ancient city were rapidly disappearing as a result of stone-robbing (Seton-Williams, 1954: 155)³⁰. She further noticed columns, bricks and tiles scattered widely, but no Hellenistic material was observed; she supposed it was buried by subsequent deposits.

Epiphaneia became the most important city of the plain of Issus beginning with the Roman era. The city included a colonnaded street, and a theater, as Heberdey and Wilhelm observed towards the end of 19th century (Hellenkemper & Hild, 1986: 103). Also, in a house in Yeşilkent district in Hatay, Sayar and his team discovered a marble sarcophagus with depictions of a garland, musical instruments, a

³⁰ Hellenkemper & Hild (1986: 103) state that the scholar confused these structures with castle walls.

grape cluster and a Pan flute in relief, brought from the ruins of Epiphaenia (Sayar, 1991: 210). The city must have served as a regional center for the other settlements in the Issus plain and the Amanus during the Roman era³¹ (pls. 5 & 6).

5. **Kara Höyük** [E.B.A., Hittite, Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman].

References: (Seton-Williams, 1954: 159; Gates, 1991; 1998: 392, 11)

ca. 7 km Southeast of Erzin station, near the Toprakkale-İskenderun railway.

It is described as a medium sized mound by Seton-Williams and about 15 m. high. There is a house, today built on top of the hill and architectural structures jut out throughout the mound. Gates' 1991 report noted the presence of a dense Roman pottery scatter on the mound and on the surrounding fields (Gates, 1991: 392), which leads her to point to a significant Roman occupation, "no doubt linked to the growth of nearby Epiphaneia" (Gates 1998: 11) (pl. 7, 8).

6. **KW 41** [Roman].

c. 1 km to the N. of Başlamış village.

The topographical setting of this site includes the immediate foothills of the Amanus and orange groves. The area measures 100 m from north to south and 90 m from east to west. The clearly Roman site is on a ploughed area and it shows a dense sherd distribution (>5 to 8 per m square). Active erosion is evident at the location and rounded stream stones were observed in the vicinity of the site (pl.9).

7. **KW 35** [Roman, Medieval].

c. 3 km S. of Erzin, 900 m S.W. of the Erzin/Dörtyol road.

The site measures 104 m from north to south and 220 m from east to west. Tiles and pottery are abundantly scattered over its surface, and Dr. Wright identifies it as a Roman villa, mostly Roman in date, with some medieval pottery. The density

³¹ Epigraphical evidence attests the presence of a grain market in the city (Sayar, 1991: 210).

of material is higher in the center of the site, and thins out towards the edges. Some possible murex shells were encountered, too. Additionally, there is evidence for flowing water near the site.

8. **KW 38** [Roman, Medieval].

Near the Başlamış village, c. 580 m E. of the Erzin road.

This site measuring 50 m x 50 m lays amidst the fields of the Erzin plain, and again suffers from the practices of modern agriculture. Surface examination yielded a wide variety of ceramics from (unspecified) pre-Roman, Roman and Medieval dates. No specific Hellenistic material was identified, unfortunately (pl. 10).

9. **KW 46** [Hellenistic, Medieval].

c. 3 km S.W. of Başlamış village

This tumulus (as KW suggested) is circa 25 m x 25 m The site is 100 m to the south of the Başlamış road. It was located on aerial photography of the region and remains relatively undisturbed. The presence of Eastern Sigillata A indicates a Hellenistic date of occupation. Additionally, evidence of a Medieval presence was confirmed (pl.11).

10. **KW 27** [Roman].

c. 6 km S of Erzin, 700 m to the W. of Dörtyol-Erzin road.

Site KW 27 is situated by Kirazlı Dere, and is about 174 m x 162 m. It is in the midst of ploughed fields on the low rolling Erzin plain; it is the largest farmstead discovered by Dr. Wright's team. The site was located due to information collected from villagers. It is a low mound, containing mainly tiles, some of which display designs in relief. The architectural debris is believed to be the remnants of only one house by Dr. Wright. The pottery is not very dense on the mound, yet as one descends from the mound and moves in a southwesterly direction, the sherd density

becomes higher. For the rest of the site, the sherd scatter becomes thinner to the north and south of the mound. Also stream activity is evident, as observed from the boulders on the very rocky soil of the ploughed area (pls.12 & 13).

11. **KW 40** [Roman].

c. 4 km S.E. of Erzin, 1.6 km E. of the Erzin-Road.

The site is situated on the low hills on the edge of the Erzin plain towards the Amanus range. It measures 100 m from north to south and 150 m from east to west. It was a Roman cemetery / necropolis of rock-cut and masonry tombs. However, the site was already robbed when the team recorded it. The robbed tombs contained glass and additionally diagnostic pottery. Ploughing also disturbed the site. A low-density scatter of pottery was observed (pls.14, 15).

12. **KW 36** [Roman].

c. 4 km S. of Erzin, 1.1 km W. of the Erzin-Dörtyol road.

This site is believed to be another Roman villa. The topographical setting consists of low rolling hills and fields planted in wheat. The site is nearly a perfect square measuring 100 m x 100 m, which appears to be very similar to Site 27. A very dense sherd scatter covers its surface.

13. **Sarnıç Tepe** [uncertain date-Roman?].

c. 1300 m.a.s.l. in the Amanus, by Sırıpınar village.

This site is situated high in the Amanus range (at 1300 m), in the southernmost section of Osmaniye. The author could not visit it personally. However, M. Sayar in 1992 had a chance to see the location and observe remains of walls in addition to eight cisterns. Furthermore, 3 km to the east of the site, in Gavurören, he also noted rock-cut tombs, which he believes belong to the site of Sarnıç Tepe (Sayar, 1993: 144). Sayar did not provide dating for the site, however it

is possibly Roman, as the description fits the description of the other mountain sites in Cilicia.

14. **Örencik** [Roman]

c. 400 m.a.s.l. in the Amanus, S. of Kuyuluk.

This is a Roman village situated in the Amanus, above Kuzulucu and south of Kuyuluk. The site was not visited by the author, and there is no available information concerning its size. Furthermore, according to Gates, there were chamber tombs cut into bedrock by the site (Gates, 1998: 13).

15. **KW 51** [Roman].

c. 1.5 km to the N.E. of Yeniyurt.

The double circular mounds measured 100 m from north to south and 150 m from east to west; rising 1.5 m above the level of the surrounding ground. A very dense scatter of tiles and ceramics was noted. The area is smaller but apparently quite similar to the site KW 50 (see below, no 16). Like most of the previous sites discussed, ploughing disturbed this location. Dr. Wright states it is probably a Roman villa, with possible later occupation periods.

16. **KW 50** [Roman, Byzantine, Medieval/ Ottoman].

c. 1.5 km N.E. of Yeniyurt.

Site KW50's setting is characterized by low rolling hills above the valleys. It measures 280 m along a north-south axis and 200 m from east to west. It was possibly a mound before ploughing disturbed it. Tiles and pottery are very densely scattered over the land. Its date is certainly Roman with possible occupation during the Byzantine, Medieval and Ottoman eras, however, no glazed Medieval Sgraffito sherds were found. Roman and Byzantine coins were found by the locals in previous years (pl. 16).

17. **Tüm Çay** [Roman]

c. 2-3 km E. of Kocaboz location.

T. Beach's team discovered a Roman farmstead on the upper terrace at the confluence of the Tüm and the Deli Çay during the working season of 2000.

However, we do not have information on the sherd scatter or on the size of the site.³²

18. **KW 37** [Roman]

c. 4 km E. of the Erzin-Dörtyol road, c. 2-3 km N. of Kuzulucu.

The landscape of this site is very similar to the preceding. The location is again close to being a square in shape, with measures of 50 m x 50 m. As described by Dr. Wright, the site had very high densities of pottery (> 10 artifacts per m square) dating to the Roman period; she identifies it as a Roman villa. No architectural remains were seen except tiles. The site was badly disturbed by ploughing activities. No photo is available.

19. **Kuzulucu** [Roman].

Near the foothills above Kuzulucu in the Amanus.

There is possibly quite an extensive Roman necropolis in Kuzulucu, mostly of rock-cut tombs. Locals showed us some of the grave goods they keep in their houses (pl. 17). The area needs substantial research, in terms of understanding the funerary practices of the region better. The necropolis may or may not have been connected to a settlement close to the area of Kuzuculu or Yeşil village.

³² This information was gathered from the reports of Dr. Beach working in Kinet between 1998 and the present, and was made available through Dr. Gates.

20. **KW 43** [Roman?].

c. 1 km S. of the Cumhuriyet district.

This possible Roman tomb was located close to the base of Haydar Dağ. It was located initially through aerial photography and local informants. The find is an open rock cut tomb, 4 m x 4 m in size, dug to a depth of 1.5 m below the ground surface. The tomb is ca. 640 m to the east of the Hasandaş road. The tomb, already robbed when the survey team discovered it, possesses three chambers cut into caliche. Dr. Wright also adds the possibility that this might have been a Byzantine tomb, since there was not enough evidence to date it without doubt to the Roman era (pl. 18).

21. **Yeşil Village district** [Roman].

c. 2-3 km E. of İcadiye, S.W. of Kuzuculu.

Evidence of Roman utilization of the area is corroborated by Prof. Gates, who mentions (in a 1998-unpublished report) late Roman burials that were found around two meters below the surface in an orchard at the eastern boundary of Yeşil, near the foothills of the Amanus (Gates, 1998: 4). No photo available.

22. **Harnıplı Kel** [Roman?].

c. 1.5 km E. of İcadiye, in the Amanus.

This possibly Roman site is situated about 100 m.a.s.l. in Amanus. It is called Harnıplı Kel because of the presence of a carob-tree on a barren hill-top. A dense sherd scatter, in addition to walls and possibly other structures (tombs?) are noted. Presently, the area is under cultivation; and the locals also mention a chrome mine (exploited during antiquity?), which was closed off some time ago³³ (pls. 19 & 20).

³³ Gates on a comment said that the material was used only as coloring agent until the 19th c.

23. **Kinet Höyük Anc. Issus.** [Neolithic, E.B.A, M.B.A, L.B.A., Iron Age, Hellenistic, Medieval]

References: (Xenophon, Persian Expedition: 1.4; Strabo: XIV.19. 676; Quintus Curtius, 1946: III. vii. 7-11; Arrian, 1999: 6.4-7.2; Leake, 1874: 218; Ruge, n.d.: 2247; BNI, 1919; Dussaud, 1927: 441; Jones, 1971:196; Gatier & Sinclair, 2000: 67 C3; Gates, 1991, 1998a, 1998b (unpublished), 2000.)

c. 500 m inland from the coast, c. 7 km N.W. of Dörtyol.

The mound is the largest of Eastern Cilicia (27 m high), and has been excavated by Gates for the past ten years. It is situated by the coast and is surrounded by orange groves and propane gas storage tanks. It measures ca. 150 m north to south and 200 m east to west (3.3 ha at its base). It was abandoned after 50 BC, the reasons for which have not been determined presently. Issus, as emphasized by Jones (1971: 202), lost much of its significance after the Persian period. This is certainly conveyed by the differences between the accounts of the “large and prosperous” city of Xenophon’s (Persian Expedition: 1.4) and “the small town” of Strabo’s (XIV.19. 676). The excavation campaigns, which started in 1992 and continuing to the present, proved the extensive relationship the site had with the surrounding regions through trading. Kinet was most probably the most important Hellenistic settlement at the beginning of the era, in the Issus plain. Its abandonment during the Roman era is most probably closely linked with the shift of the Deli Çay’s mouth, from the side of the mound to ca. 2 km south of the site (Ozaner, 1995: 513-27).

24. **Roman Road**

Immediately E. of Kinet Höyük’s base.

This was possibly the coastal road, which linked Antioch to Constantinople. It was uncovered by Prof. Beach’s Georgetown University team

in 2002 while excavating features that had appeared in a magnetometer survey by Dr. Varonese in 2000. The alluvium between an upper and lower road produced three Roman coins, one dateable to late 4th century AD. River stones were used in its construction. The road connected with a Roman bridge (site 26), which is about 2 km to the south of this location (Claasz-Cooockson, 2003: 5-9).

25. Palmiye Holiday Village [Hellenistic].

c. 1 km S. of Kinet Höyük

The site was discovered to have contained early Hellenistic vessels, seen when foundation trenches were dug recently (Gates, 1998: 7).

26. KW 47 [Roman].

c. 2 km S. of Kinet Höyük.

The 48 m bridge, namely the 'Roman Bridge', is thought to have been used between the 4th and the 11th c. AD. Bilkent University's excavation team under the leadership of B. Claasz Cooockson, worked at the location during the summer season of 2004. The bridge was probably repaired and had parts added to it during the course of its usage. It was built on top of the former bed of the Deli Çay, but dating is quite uncertain at the moment. However, a Roman road (site 24) ultimately connecting with the bridge may be helpful for dating it (pl. 23, 24).

27. KW 49 [Roman].

By the coast, 150 m E. of the mouth of the Deli Çay.

This site was encountered amidst a cornfield, and measures 50 m north to south and 56 m east to west. The irregularly shaped dense scatter (> 7 sherds / m square) and the small elevation observed by the survey team indicated that this was a

razed down mound. Additionally, the density of the sherds, which include Roman wares, seems the greatest in the center of the cornfield (pl. 25).

28. **Karakise "Cinninin Bağı"** [Hellenistic, Roman]

c. 2 km into the Amanus above Karakise, first 1-3 km of the Topaktaş-Hassa road.

There are several ancient settlement areas in Karakise. The two settlements found immediately contiguous to one another on the road to Hassa through the Topaktaş yayla, represent the Hellenistic and Roman periods, respectively. The first site, as well as the second one, can be easily accessed off the asphalt road.

28a **Site A** [Hellenistic and Roman].

This area was subject to major soil movement and gulying on its chipped serpentine base. The colluviation covers the ancient soil level, and many sherds buried by it are easily observed on any soil profile in the site. Cisterns and canals, possibly ancient, were encountered in the interior of site A. The ground is full of what seem to be the building blocks of many of the structures of the ancient site. Several fields surround the site, immediately to the west of it below, and may have been utilized as cultivated land during antiquity. Geomorphologist Beach also identified possible terracing activity on these fields.

Among the many architectural elements such as building blocks and tiles, we also came across mosaic pieces. However, the archaeological visibility is considerably impeded by the maquis cover, which has now spread throughout the site.

The abundant Eastern Sigillata A ware showed clearly the Hellenistic date of the site and additional ceramic evidence suggests a direct transition to the Roman

period. Iron objects were also encountered during the extensive survey in the working season of 2004 (pls. 26, 27 & 28).

28b Site B [Roman].

c. 1-2 km N. of Site A.

The gullies between the weathered serpentine formations in the landscape, characteristic of this site make it almost identical to site A in geomorphological terms. The archaeological visibility was made difficult due to the forest regeneration. The site may have served as a necropolis to Site A, since we encountered many chamber-tombs (pl. 29). However, tiles and cut-stones, in addition to marble column and other marble pieces, as well as large fragments of mosaic floors and glass tesserae (pl.30, 31) do not allow us to define the site as a necropolis with certainty. Yet interestingly, the lack of Hellenistic sherds was baffling, in connection with Site A. However, this may be the result of the area being only used during the subsequent period.

29. Rabat [Roman, Mediaval].

c. 500 m N. of Karabıyık Dede Türbe.

The site is situated on a presently cultivated field. Although the site is quite large, a systematic survey is needed to determine its precise size. A dense ceramic scatter dating to Roman and Medieval times was observed. Interestingly, metal slag were found in abundance throughout the location, as well (pl. 32, 33).

30.Gür Levik Yayla [uncertain date].

c. 2.5 km N.E. of Rabat, situated in the Amanus.

Through this yayla flows a stream called the Rabat Çay, which is irregular and has a number of springs associated to it. The stream cuts through limestone. Along its canyon walls, there are roofed and unroofed caves, which may contain

evidence of human use and occupation. The chief anthropogenic feature we encountered along the stream valley was a post and lintel structure built of hard limestone but without any associated ceramic.

Rock cut tombs, close to the bed of the Rabat Çay were mentioned by the locals. There were also walnut trees, some of which were half a meter in diameter or more. Interestingly the survey team did not encounter any sherds at all. The area was particularly interesting because the presence of the walnut trees, as it is known that these trees were introduced to the Mediterranean during Roman times (Wilkinson, 2003). However, a palynological study is needed to find out about the time span these walnuts were present in the area. (pl. 34, 35 & 36).

31. **Çağlalık** [Hellenistic,Roman? and Medieval]

The foothills of the Amanus flank the area. Two sites mentioned below were discovered in the field season of 2004. Locals, additionally, informed the Hatay museum in Antakya of the presence of a possible necropolis here, but its precise location and nature have not been determined at the moment.

31a **Site A** [Roman?].

c. 600 m N.E. of an elementary school, above a lime-kiln 1.5 km E. of the Adana-İskenderun road.

The hill side above the elementary school shows a few unconnected ceramic scatters. The density of material, however, is insufficient to consider this location as a settlement. The sherds may have originated higher up slope, but we were unable to confirm such a hypothesis since we could not climb to the top of the hill. The dating of the site is possibly Roman (pl. 37).

31b **Site B** [Hellenistic and Medieval].

c. 3-4 km E. of the Adana-İskenderun road, between Rabat and Çağlalık.

The location is characterized by barren hills with a great view of the plain. The size of the site is not determined. A dense Hellenistic and Medieval sherd scatter was observed, with many diagnostic fragments. However, no structures were visible on the site.

32 **Unnamed Höyük or “Harabe”** between Dörtyol and Payas

The mound was located on 1:50,000 and 1:25,000 maps.

This anonymous höyük, near the foothills mid-way between the towns of Dörtyol and Payas, was leveled during roadwork by the summer of 1991. The stratigraphy it contained is not known, unfortunately (Gates, 1998: 11).

33 **Payas Anc. Baiae** [Hellenistic, Roman]

(Leake, 1874: 218; Ruge, 1896: 2771; Seton-Williams, 1954:166; Chesney & Murphy, 1969: 409; Gatier & Sinclair, 2000: 67 C3)

c. 19 km N. of İskenderun and 10 km S of Dörtyol.

This was a harbor site during antiquity. The ‘battle of Issus’ took place on the banks of the River Payas, which now runs through the town. Seton-Williams, visiting the area in 1951, mentioned the presence of numerous fallen columns, dressed stones, and remnants of a large square building with cement foundations (1954: 166). The city gained prominence during the Roman era because of the harborage it offered (pl. 38, 39). After the decline in Issus’ position, Aegaeae and Baiae probably served as the centers of maritime trade.

Unvisited Sites in the Region of Amanus

All of the sites mentioned below were identified through local sources, however none of them could be visited or their position confirmed, due either to the restrictions imposed by government officials or lack of time during the working

season in the summer of 2004. However, for some we do have photographs taken by a local man, which will be provided for the relevant location. It is unfortunate we could not date these sites, however we hope to do this in the future. On further note, most of the sites enumerated below are situated in the vicinity of water or along the course of a stream or a river.

1. Kabak tepe

c. 4 km S. of Haydar Dağ.

Kabak Tepe is situated on private property in the Erzin plain to the north of Dörtüol. It is a widely talked about site, consisting of an underground chamber with columns supporting a ceiling. The team did not have the chance to visit the area.

2. Kızılkaya Tepe

c. 6 km N.E. of Mount Mıgır.

There is possibly an ancient settlement in the location, as stated by locals.

3. Küllü

The site is 4 km N.E. of Sarnıç Tepe.

Locals mention the presence of cisterns at this location.

4. Koscak

The presence of walnut trees was mentioned. It is situated above the Dörtüol stream.

5. Çat Köy

c. 5-6 km to the S. of the previous site.

Locals mention an ancient settlement area in this location.

6. Kapulu

c. 6 km N.E. of Koca Pağ.

Plastered structures were seen by the locals, who also report inscriptions. There are possibly some rock-cut tombs, since many structures looking like 'cave-houses' were described by the informants. Locals also state that the water was brought to the area through terra-cotta pipes (pl. 42).

7. Bülke

C. 5 km N.W. of Kocapağ.

Possibly rock-cut tombs as locals describe these structures as 'house-like churches' in general.

8. Ericek-Chrome

3 km N.W. of Kara Fenk

Apparently a major area to extract chrome. Also a possible settlement site according to the descriptions of the locals..

9. KaraFenk

3 km N. of the Topaktaş-Hassa road.

Locals speak about the presence of epigraphical material here.

10. Domuz Damı

Furthermore, a location ca. 1-2 km west of Domuz Damı, houses an ancient settlement area, its date is uncertain, however. Reportedly gold mining was done in Domuz Damı. Since confirmation of such could not be obtained, we consider the information as suspicious (pl. 40, 41).

11. Kocapağ

c. 3-4 km N.E. of Topaktaş yayla.

Locals say that Roman coinage, engraved signs of crosses and ancient tombs are known around the site however the location needs to be examined further to confirm (pl. 43, 44 & 45).

12. Fındıklı Yayla - (Kale) Fındıklı Höyük.

c. 3 km to the south of Çağlalık.

The site was reportedly 86 meters in height and called a höyük, but is not seen in the 1:25000 maps of the region after the 1990s. It seems quite too high to be an archaeological formation or a mound, however before making any certain statements the area has to be visited. No information could be gathered about it from the locals. More research is needed to identify the mound.

In addition to all the unvisited sites mentioned above, rock-cut tombs or other possible rock-cut structures are reported down by the hills towering over the Payas River, which is the southernmost limit of this study.

There are still many possibly Hellenistic and especially Roman sites and necropolises in the plain of Issus and in the hills of the Amanus that remain to be discovered. These settlements are all most likely to be situated near a water-source, as that was the case for the sites mentioned above. In the end, much research awaits to be done to bring light into the settlement patterns of the area, specifically that of the Amanus range.

CHAPTER V

Hellenistic and Roman Settlement Patterns in Cilicia

Current archaeological research, both in Cilicia Tracheia and Pedias, reveals that the region was more densely inhabited during the Roman era than during the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, most evidence from the region of Issus being provided by Dr. Gates, Dr. Wright, Dr. Beach and myself, support a similar conclusion. One witnesses the beginning of small settlements in the mountainous regions by the Issus plain in the Hellenistic period, but an increase in the number of settlements both on the plain and in the highlands of the Amanus, during Roman times. Hence, subsequent to Rome's annexation of the area, the continuous period of peace until the Sassanian invasion (AD 260) surely impacted the region most positively, both in terms of population and settlement density. This was certainly the case for the neighboring regions, such as Syria, where a major shift from nomadic to sedentary life can be easily observed (Tates, 1997: 58).

The Issus plain and the sectors of the Amanus Mountains facing it were geographically similar to the other parts of Cilicia (Tracheia and Pedias), which was initially a region of the Seleucid kingdom and then a province of the Roman Empire. As a result, the area was likely to have developed comparable trajectories in terms of settlement between the two periods.

The following sections will present data gathered mostly from the studies in Cilicia, in order to reveal the nature of the settlement patterns in our region on the basis of other scholarly research. The approach is beneficial, since the settlements of the region were ruled together and also exhibited quite similar characteristics in the types of terrain they occupy. The archaeological inquiries done in our region will be integrated to the conclusion of the thesis.

5.1 Characteristics of Hellenistic Settlements in Cilicia

Settlements were initially confined to the coastal areas of Cilicia in the Hellenistic period; more and more people, however, began to settle in the higher regions as time went on. Rauh states that generally the mountain settlements seen in Cilicia started during the Classical and the Hellenistic ages (Rauh, 1998: 340). Work by Zoroğlu (1988), Sayar (1995) and Rauh (1998) provides substantial information concerning the settlement patterns of this period in the mountainous regions of Cilicia.

Population during the Hellenistic period was most definitely not as dense as in the Roman era, and this premise could further be corroborated with the lack of substantial epigraphical evidence throughout Cilicia.³⁴ The archaeological work in the region of our focus provided similar results: with lesser Hellenistic period settlements in comparison with numerous Roman-era occupied sites. However, we did detect a few Hellenistic settlement areas on the hills of the Amanus, but nowhere close to the density of Roman settlements in the same area. The Issus plain most likely was also inhabited more densely during the Roman period; however, at several

³⁴ Sayar did significant work in locating and recording epigraphical evidence in the region of Cilicia starting with the early 90s. He reported small numbers of Hellenic period inscriptions in contrast to Roman.

settlements on the coast, in addition to some parts to the interior, there was evidence of Hellenistic occupation.

Moreover, most of the Hellenistic mountain settlements in Cilicia include fortifications. I would like to propose that Hellenistic inhabitants readily chose to occupy higher terrain because of the constant threat they felt, living on the plains. It seems they moved to the mountains initially to protect themselves from external forces, but the trend seemingly shifted in Roman times when more economical reasons prevailed.

However, we should also note the habitation of these higher landscapes by pirates and their families during the 1st century BC, as indicated in chapter III. They chose to live in these high elevations, as it was difficult to control and subjugate them. Nevertheless, the Hellenistic settlements in these regions owed their existence to the needs for defense and protection of its inhabitants.

5.2 Characteristics of the Roman Settlements

A long period of peace and the attentive administration in Roman times, beginning with the annexation of the region until the Sassanian invasion in AD 260, in my opinion, allowed the most important settlement density in the history of Cilicia until the later Medieval Ages.

Settlement patterns were researched widely in Cilicia Pedias and Tracheia. According to Sayar, Cilicia Pedias was extensively occupied and agriculture was the main activity. Cities such as Anazarbos, Hierapolis Castabala, Tarsus and Epiphaneia were regional centers, where most of the trading activities took place. These cities were further surrounded by farmsteads. Sayar, working in and around the capital city of Anazarbos, covered much ground in terms of illuminating the settlement patterns in the plains of Cilicia and uncovered abundant epigraphical

evidence, which came mostly from the necropolises (1991; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999). For mountainous regions, also much research is available.

Zoroğlu has discovered an architecturally well-preserved Roman villa in Asar in the Silifke's mountainous region to the east of the Şeytandere stream. (1988: 395).³⁵

Sayar (1994) also mentions a dense settlement of the Roman and Byzantine periods in the Taurus range to the north of Cilicia Pedias. Furthermore, to the south of the Kapız valley by Tarsus, near Ören, he mentions a Roman-Byzantine settlement with remnants of a church, and also structures to produce wine in addition to cisterns (Sayar, 1994: 40-6)³⁶.

Durugönül, additionally signals the presence of towers³⁷ in the mountainous region for protection of agricultural land. She thinks that some of these settlements were temporary and established for economical reasons in the mountains, and that most of the population moved to the plains during winter and spring (Durugönül, 1996; 1997). Lastly, the mountain sites of Roman times mentioned above were more likely to have served an economical purpose, rather than focus on defense as in the Hellenistic period.

The study of Tate (1997: 57-8) about the settlement patterns in Syria during the Roman period supports this hypothesis:

We see a great contrast in the rural outlay of the region. The vast amount of territory was sedenterized. At the same time it began to extend outward, the territory of sedentary peoples also grew in density. In the north, the east, and the south, marginal regions-so defined by their low rainfall or the relative infertility of their soils-began to be developed. This was the case with the limestone massif in northern Syria, as well as with the mountains northeast of Palmyra and those of southern Syria.

³⁵ Unfortunately no picture is available.

³⁶ Photos are provided with the text of Sayar.

³⁷ These were likely to have been utilized during the Hellenistic period into the Roman era.

This case may suggest that one of the reasons for people moving into the Amanus during the Roman era could well have been to relieve the growing density in the landscape of the plain (Tates, 1997: 59). Tates, additionally, observed the direct relationship between settlement growth and the peaceful period brought about by the Romans from the late 1st century AD to about AD 250 in Syria. This argument further strengthens the hypothesis of this thesis, as well (1997: 59).

Accordingly, the Roman settlement period in Cilicia could be characterized with high population densities, some of which had to reposition themselves towards the mountainous areas. The major towns, being higher-order settlements, were centers of religious³⁸, trading and other socially important activities. Lower-order settlements, most in rural areas flanking these cities, and in the highlands, however made up a significant part of the sustenance system for these major cities. Highlands in addition, were preferred most likely because of readily available resources, such as timber and metal and good pastureland. In consequence, they were essential to the economy of the plains. Their relationship was of a symbiotic nature, rather than being simply defensive as it was the case during the Hellenistic period.

In conclusion, the settlement patterns of the Hellenistic and the Roman times, obviously communicated something of the nature of the civilian peace in Cilicia during these periods. The hypothesis could be further supported with archaeological evidence from the surrounding settlements, that is of Cilicia Pedias, Tracheia and Syria.

³⁸ Sayar's articles (1991; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999) provide much important information on the belief systems of the occupants of Cilicia, which showed differences in the deities of the plain and of the higher elevations. The dedications made to the gods, found on the plain, mostly dwelled on the locals' desire for fertility and the good produce of their products, while mountains were sacred ground for river and mountain deities.

CHARTER VI

Conclusion

The patterns of settlement in our area, between the Hellenistic and Roman periods, are not as enigmatic as before. The numerous sites listed in chapter IV provide an understanding of the location of occupation during the two periods. There is no question that, beginning with the Hellenistic era following the Iron Age, the settlement trends began shifting from the plains to the mountainous regions. This was due possibly to the need of protecting and defending oneself against invading forces during the lax rule of the Seleucid kings. Additionally, the characteristic of higher areas, being difficult to access and control, was infamously exploited by the pirates of Cilicia in the 1st century BC, prior to Roman dominion.

However in the Roman period, the mountainous regions were densely settled just as the other parts of Cilicia. The population, when density was high, expanded from the plain to the foothills and mountains more likely to take advantage of the additional resources of the higher lands, such as wood, metal, water and pasture. Such a conclusion is supported by Rauh (1998: 341), as mentioned already, who speaks of the settlements of Cilicia beginning as small towns (at least in the mountainous regions) in the Hellenistic period. These then grew during the Early Roman period, and declined towards the Late Roman period, when finally, by AD 650, city life itself collapsed. Further confirmation is provided by the epigraphical and surface survey work of Sayar (1991; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999) in Cilicia.

This thesis is a compilation of the results of the surveys done by Dr. Wright, in addition to Dr. Beach and myself between the years of 1994 and 2004. Dr. Wright intensively surveyed some parts of the Erzin plain, to the south of the ancient city of Epiphaneia, while our team focused on the parts above the town of Dörtyol, i.e. the higher landscape of the Amanus. Our surveys differed fundamentally in methodology and in focus (ours being geomorphological), also took place in different sorts of archaeological landscapes. This means that, on the one hand, the survey of the plain area, done by Wright, provides a densely settled picture of the landscape because of her application of intensive survey techniques (such as field walking in cultivated areas where smaller concentrations of artifacts and structures are more readily visible on the nearly bare ground), while, on the other hand, both the style of coverage (extensive survey) and the nature of the terrain, encumbered by sometimes dense vegetation cover, prevent the same sort of detailed knowledge in mountainous areas. In the end, the study may only provide a glimpse to the settlement patterns in our region during the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, and much work still needs to be done to confirm our current results.

Dr. Wright's research provides much valuable data, in terms of corroborating our belief that during the Roman times the region was much more densely occupied, and furthermore, agriculture characterized these settlements. Her work mainly focusing on the Erzin plain, below the ancient city of Epiphaneia (App. A, map fig. 2 no 1), revealed many individual small to large-sized Roman villas clustered in the vicinity of the city (fig.2, nos 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15 & 16). Epiphaneia was the regional center³⁹ during the Roman period, with extensive settlement around it and a port,

³⁹ The city of Issus (Kinet Höyük) declined in importance during the Roman era, as archaeological data has confirmed (Gates, 1998: 8). The ports by Aegaeae, Epiphaneia and Baiae probably took over after this city had lost its significance.

Küçük Burnaz (fig. 3, no 3), while the rest of the landscape to its south was given over to agriculture and animal husbandry; the epigraphical evidence from Epiphaneia informing us of a grain market there (Sayar, 1991: 210) confirms its status as a service center.

To the south of the Erzin plain, the prominent Hellenistic site of Kinet Höyük, occupied until 50 BC (Gates, 1998: 14) with two harbors (Gates, 1998: 7), was another regionally important center. It seems the mound was abandoned for two reasons. First, the shift of the mouth of the Deli Çay almost 2 km to the south of the mound by the Roman era rendered the harbors of Kinet useless.⁴⁰ The demise of the harbors of Kinet probably resulted in the development of the towns of Epiphaneia and Baiae, and took away its earlier significance. Then, one has to consider the disrupting piracy activities of the 1st century BC.

Through our research with Dr. Beach, in addition to site 27, mentioned by Dr. Wright along the present course of the Deli Çay, there seems to be evidence of extensive Roman settlements in the Dörtyol plain, as well.⁴¹ The intensive surveys of Dr. Wright did not detect many Hellenistic sites around the Erzin plain, the same conclusion would possibly be drawn from the Dörtyol plain, if a survey was to be made here. However, one must reconsider the fact that some of the Hellenistic sites reported on the catalogue were discovered below the ground surface (e.g. fig. 2, no 25). Other Roman sites were also found several meters below the surface level, as well (fig. 2, nos 21 and 24). Since the plain is piedmontane and is irregularly

⁴⁰ The harbors of settlements during the Hellenistic period were situated almost always in estuaries of the mouths of rivers as was the case at Kinet Höyük (Gates, personal communication)

⁴¹ Remains scattered in the fields in the vicinity of Kinet demonstrate the presence of Roman settlements there. For instance, passing through the town of Dörtyol during the field seasons of 2003 and 2004, Dr. Beach and I encountered a possibly Roman column capital on the side of the road. As we inquired about the column, locals indicated that many objects such as this have been surfacing as long as they have been living in Dörtyol. Hence, the town of Dörtyol, about 5 km. S.E. of Kinet, was

covered with patches of sediment deposits, the archaeological visibility of additional Hellenistic and Roman settlements may be largely impeded, and different approaches in determining the locations of additional sites are necessary to arrive at more certain results. Nonetheless, in conclusion, the number of Hellenistic settlements in the plain and in the range of Amanus would most likely be lesser than the Roman settlements in the area.

The field seasons of 2003 and 2004 proved very valuable in terms of documenting the magnitude of settlements in the Amanus range. Working with local informants, we were able to detect the presence of necropolises and settlement areas in these highlands. The area covered the hills of the Amanus above the towns of Kuzulucu and Çağlalık. The thirty-three sites reported in the catalogue (ch. IV) were mostly Roman in date. However, we noticed some Hellenistic settlements in the immediate foothills of the range facing the Issus plain: sites 28 and 31 (fig. 2). Many of the sites listed could not be visited due to the restrictions imposed by the military police; however we hope to visit the area sometime in the upcoming years.

Our archaeological work confirmed Dr. Kehl's statement based on a purely environmental analysis, that most of the colline belt of the Amanus was inhabited in earlier times (p. 29). Hence, in the light of Dr. Kehl's most significant work, ancient settlement locations should be sought mostly in the areas where human impact on the environment has already been recognized, i.e. from the shore to the middle montane belt. Furthermore, many more ancient settlements will almost certainly surface through a careful study along the banks of the water sources of the region, as well as along the path of the major mountain roads mentioned in chapter II (p. 11, 17).

probably widely inhabited during the Roman era. However, more evidence is needed for any definite statements to be made on the subject.

Dr. Beach and I came upon cisterns, possibly ancient dams and barren hilltops immediately below sites 28a and 28b in Karakise. Also, the presence of pieces of mosaic floors and a marble column led us to think these sites were occupied not seasonally, but year long during Roman times. We had the impression that there were many Roman rustic villas in these hills. These settlements were possibly extensions of the towns on the plains. In contrast, the sites reported to us, but unvisited, and located higher up, if Roman in date, most likely prospered from the rich resources of the Amanus such as metal, pasture land and timber, rather than from agriculture. Mining in the Amanus was probably another significant activity during antiquity, as indicated by the many instances of slag we saw, scattered through the landscape.⁴² However, one must not disregard seasonal settlements, in addition. Some of the population might have been residing in the mountains for several months out of a year for transhumance, as well as, escaping the heat of the plains, as it is practiced today. The malaria infested swamps of the region, as mentioned before, were progressively dried up only after the 19th century, and could have been an annoyance for the habitants of antiquity, hence providing another reason to migrate to the higher elevations.

The synthesis of the information provided so far on the Hellenistic and Roman settlement patterns in Cilicia and the region of the Issus plain, along with historical sources, convey the idea that the Hellenistic settlements in the mountains were established as a result of the need for safety.⁴³ In contrast, the prosperity

⁴² We do not know what types of ores were exploited (iron, most likely). However, extensive evidence of mining comes from the Taurus range in Cilicia (Wilkinson, 2003: 202).

⁴³ Examples of Hellenistic settlements in Cilicia were provided in Ch. IV; Durugönül's work (1996, 1997) in Cilicia Tracheia mentions extensive Hellenistic fortifications in the mountains, along with smaller sites such as towers for the protection of crops. Her work was mentioned with the Roman settlements; however these sites were founded during the Hellenistic period. In contrast, our work revealed only two Hellenistic settlements in the mountains, sites 28a and 31b, but with no visible structures.

provided by Roman rule, was reflected upon the settlement patterns of that period, as the population increased and new settlements in the mountains were founded to utilize the available agricultural land and to exploit the resources and comforts of these higher areas.

In conclusion, the settlements of the two periods differed in density, in purposes and in choice of location, as available archaeological and historical data demonstrates. The settlement patterns relate directly, it seems, with the political situation and the civilian peace in our region, possibly more so than with the resources of the landscape or the potential for agriculture. As a result, the key to understanding the settlement patterns in the Issus plain and the westerly slopes of the Amanus lies unequivocally in the history of the region, as they do in Cilicia.

Abbreviations

<i>AnatSt</i>	Anatolian Studies.
<i>ANES</i>	Ancient Near Eastern Studies.
<i>Arch</i>	Archaeology.
<i>ArkST</i>	Arkeometri Sonuları Toplantısı.
<i>AST</i>	Arařtırma Sonuları Toplantısı.
<i>GJI</i>	Geophysical Journal International.
<i>HGK</i>	Harita Genel Komutanlıđı.
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<i>JP</i>	Journal of Philology.
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology.
<i>KST</i>	Kazı Sonuları Toplantısı.
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>TJKB</i>	Türkiye Jeoloji Kurumu Bülteni

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Based on CIA/RSR (A01410) 4-83



plate 1



plate 2



plate 3



plate 4



plate 5



plate 6



plate 7



plate 8



plate 9



plate 10



plate 11



plate 12



plate 13



plate 14



plate 15



plate 16



plate 17



plate 18



plate 19



plate 20

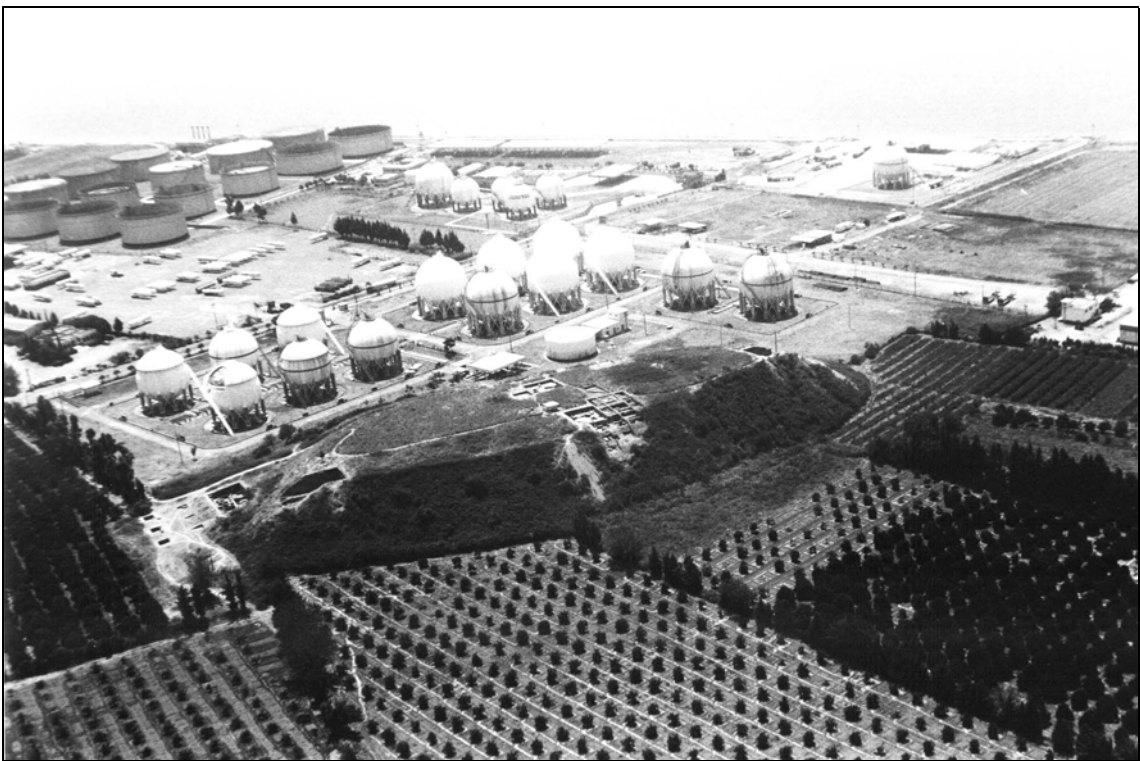


plate 21



plate 22



plate 23



plate 24



plate 25



plate 26



plate 27



plate 28



plate 29



plate 30



plate 31



plate 32



plate 33



plate 34

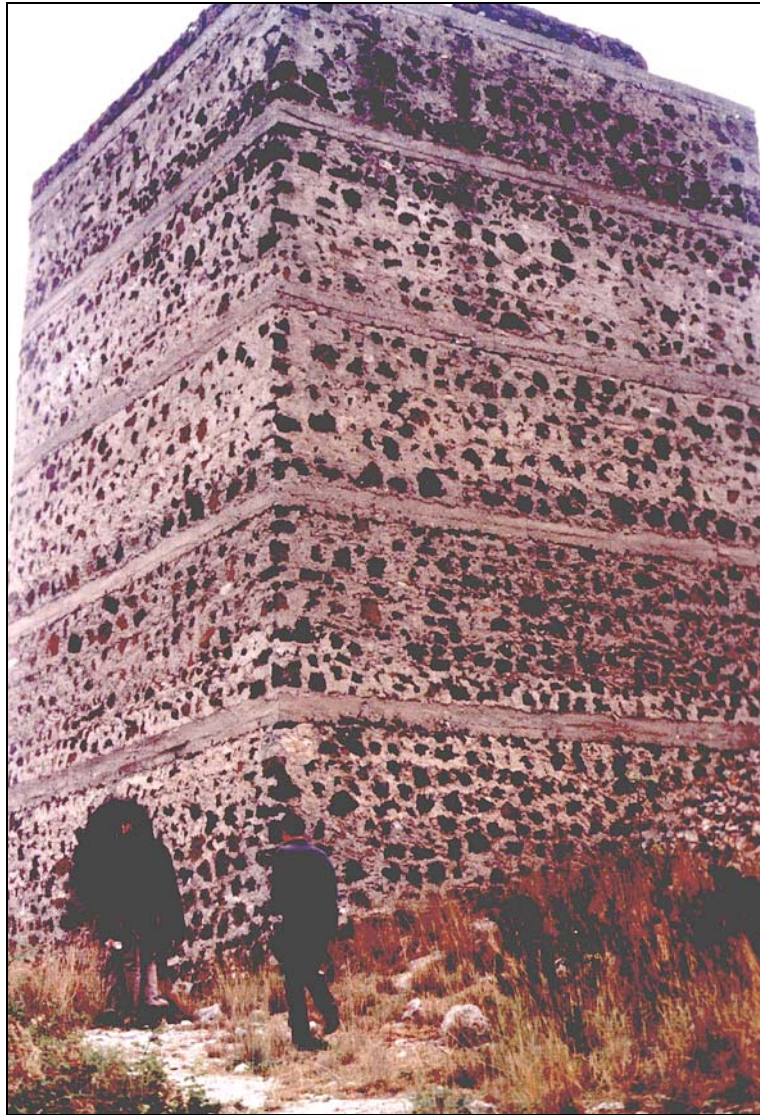


plate 35

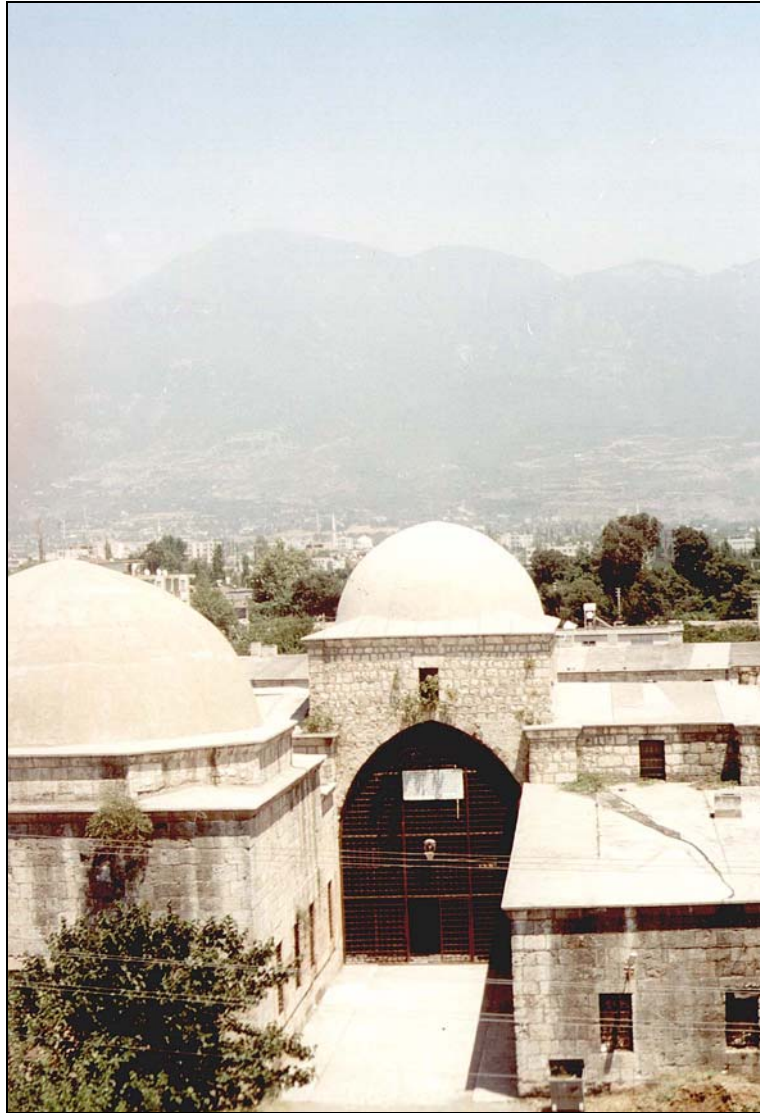


plate 36



plate 37



plate 38



plate 39



plate 40



plate 41



plate 42



plate 43