ANAZARBUS[1]

By MICHAEL GOUGH

INTRODUCTION

THE site of the Cilician city known during the period of the Roman Empire as Caesarea, Caesarea by Anazarbus, or Anazarbus, is some 28 km. south of Kozan in the Turkish province of Seyhan. The place still retains its name as Anavarza, a hamlet built just outside the walls of the ancient city.

The choice of Anazarbus as a subject for research may seem to require some explanation. It was never one of the great cities of antiquity ; indeed it is not yet certain that it even existed before the 1st century B.C. It never received more than scant notice from ancient authorities, while modern travellers, hampered by bad communications, a difficult climate, and a lawless population, were unable to spend more than a day or two at the site and consequently could not give more than a general idea of its monuments.

In 1949, as Scholar of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, I had decided to study the Classical architecture of Cilicia, and at the same time to collect information on the many mediaeval castles in the district. Cilicia Tracheia had already received considerable attention, but from the standpoint of a Classical archaeologist Cilicia Pedias seemed relatively unexplored. The eastern half of the plain, which contained the sites of both Anazarbus and Hieropolis Castabala, was particularly attractive, and the difficulties which had beset earlier travellers had largely disappeared. Every help was afforded to my wife and myself by the Turkish General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities ; the villagers were co-operative and friendly ; and communications, at all events in spring and summer, were passable. The climate could not, of course, be changed, and was our only source of discomfort. As we were based on Adana, it seemed practical to make Anavarza the starting point for our researches. We spent six weeks there, and it soon became clear that something more than the common run of Roman provincial cities had occupied the site. In fact Anazarbus, though centuries younger than Tarsus, had played a comparable role in Cilician affairs for fourteen hundred years. Tarsus has indeed survived until the present day, but has paid the usual penalty for survival in the loss of nearly all her historic monuments. Anazarbus was abandoned nearly six centuries ago, but it has been possible to recover something from nearly every phase of her history. Inscriptions bear witness to the city's existence as early as the dynasty of the Roman client king Tarcondimotus, while the castle which winds along the spine of the

[1] The name Anazarbus is used only to indicate the ancient city. Elsewhere, for the site or the modern village, Anavarza will be found.

crag to which probably the name of Anazarbus was first given, seems even now fit to be some king's fortress capital as it was in the 12th century, in the days of the kingdom of Little Armenia. Anazarbus, it seemed, was almost a symbol of the troubled history of Cilicia, which until comparatively modern times played a vital part in the struggle between east and west.

In 1950 we spent a further ten weeks at the site, while in the summer of 1951 we returned for a few days to clear up some outstanding problems. Since we were not able to excavate, and the site required more study than we were able to give to it, even in the long period that we were camped there, the article which follows is necessarily incomplete. It will, however, I hope, be sufficient to show that Anazarbus, like its more famous neighbour and rival Tarsus, was in its time " no mean city."

GEOGRAPHY (See Figs. 1 and 2).

Cilicia to-day may perhaps best be described as being a country within a country. Bounded to the north and west by the Taurus, to the east by the Antitaurus, and to the south by the Mediterranean, it forms a compact territorial entity with a distinct and independent character of its own. Only once in its history, as the kingdom of Little Armenia, has it achieved

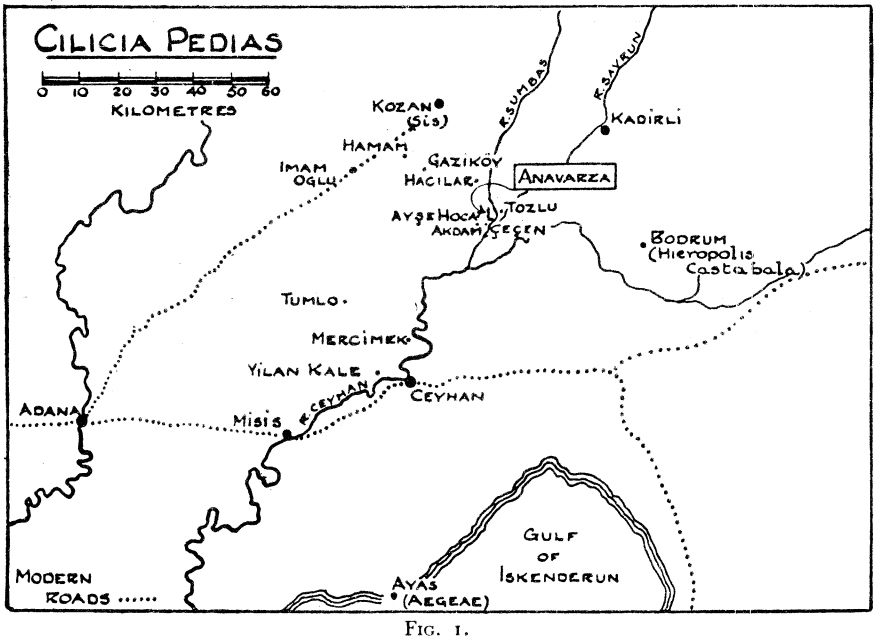

FIG. 1.

political independence, and Willebrand of Oldenburg, a German bishop who went there at the beginning of the 13th century to attend the celebration of the Epiphany at the court of King Leo II, gives a most fascinating account of the country as it then was, dwelling particularly on its natural strength. " This land is very strong, for it is girded by the sea on one side, while on the other it is defended by high and craggy mountains which have few passes, and those well guarded, so that a traveller, if he shall

have entered the land without the King's authority, cannot make his way out."

Of the passes mentioned by Willebrand, the Pylae Ciliciae, or Cilician Gates, has always been the most renowned. In antiquity great western conquerors passed through these Gates, while later, when the tide turned, the same Gates saw Moslem invaders on their way north into Byzantine territory. The Arab geographer Ibn Haukal describes the Taurus range as standing " like a barrier between the two worlds of Islam and Christendom," and even to-day the traveller from Anatolia into Cilicia cannot fail to be struck by the contrast between the two regions, particularly if he makes the journey through the Gates in early spring. He leaves behind a bleak and windswept plain to emerge into a new country essentially Mediterranean in climate and character.

The Cilician plain, most of which falls within the Seyhan province, is one of the most fertile districts of Turkey. Wheat, barley, oats and sesame are most successfully grown, and it is said that in an exceptional year as many as three harvests have been known. The Anavarza area is particularly suitable for rice. (It was a hotbed of malaria until the Turkish Government recently took effective steps against the mosquitoes.) The real wealth of the country, however, lies in its cotton production, with Adana the main centre of the industry. Three great rivers, the Tarsus Çay, the Seyhan and the Ceyhan, whose names in Classical times were Cydnus, Sarus and Pyramus respectively, water the plain and have, from the first, exerted the greatest influence on the progress of Cilicia. Tarsus on the Cydnus, Adana on the Sarus and Mopsuestia on the Pyramus have all survived until to-day, though Mopsuestia—modern Misis—is now little more than a village. The other great cities on the Pyramus—Megarsus, Mallus and Hieropolis Castabala—have all been deserted for centuries now ; indeed, the site of Mallus had been completely lost until its rediscovery in September 1950 by Professor Th. Helmuth Bossert of Istanbul University[2]. The reason for the decay of these cities on the Pyramus, which is, in fact, the largest of the three rivers, may be found in the contraction of the Cilician road system which took place after the Turkish conquest. The roads to the north and south of the river, which served such cities as Hieropolis Castabala and Mallus, seem to have been abandoned, and Mopsuestia survived solely because it lay at the river crossing on the main east-west route. Anazarbus, which, by virtue of its central position, had been one of the foremost cities of the eastern plain, never recovered after the fall of the Armenian kingdom in 1375. Bypassed to the north and south, it was soon forgotten.

To-day there are two routes which can be taken to Anavarza from Adana ; the first from the south-west via Ceyhan (the modern centre for the produce of the eastern plain), Mercimek, Akdam, Çeçen and Ayşehoca ; the other from the north-west via Kozan or İmamoğlu to Gaziköy and again to Ayşehoca, from which the site is about 4 km. distant to the east. During

[2] Bossert, *Belleten*, Vol. XIV, p. 665 ff.

the rainy season, which usually lasts from October until April, these roads are impassable to wheeled traffic, but a new metalled road which is to link Ceyhan with Kozan by way of Ayşehoca will make Anavarza much more easily accessible in future.

In the eastern plain of Cilicia there is only one dominating eminence, the crag of Anavarza, a limestone outcrop measuring some 4½ km. from north to south, which rises more than 200 m. above the surrounding countryside. Seen from the west it looks like an island with sheer cliffs rising from the plain, an impression heightened by masses of rock which have split off from it from time to time, and now lie at its foot. The southern part of the crag, which is separated from the main mass by an artificial cleft, is rather lower, and follows, as it were, the horizontal stroke of a capital L. North of this cleft, the vertical stroke of the L, the ground rises steeply to a maximum height of slightly more than 200 m. It is on this part of the crag that the castle is built. It is widest at its southern end, narrows to little more than 15 m. and then widens out again before finishing at an almost acute angle at its northern end. Beyond the tower at the north-west corner of the Second Enceinte, the ground falls away very rapidly and narrows to little more than 2 m. A single wall, projecting northwards from the castle, runs along this knife edge for about 400 m. The ground then gradually widens and rises to another peak, the northernmost part of the whole feature. The high platform on which the castle is built is unassailable from the west where the rock drops away sheer. The ground to the east is very steep, though not impossible to scale. On this side also flows the Sumbas Çay, a tributary of the Ceyhan which it meets some 8 km. further to the south. Defended to the west by its cliffs, and to the east by a very difficult ascent and a river line, the crag is a feature of tremendous natural strength and must have been used as a fortress from the time of the first settlers. Apart from the Sumbas Çay, there is also abundant water not far below the surface of the plain, a fact proved by the ease and speed with which the modern villagers sink their wells. The acropolis was almost certainly originally settled as a military stronghold, while later a city grew up on its western side in the plain below. Large stretches of the walls of this lower city still survive, but, although their foundations are Byzantine, the mass of the work is much later and belongs to the Armenian period. A triumphal arch, two Byzantine churches and the brick baths have survived time, earthquakes and stone-robbers, but in ruins. Elsewhere carved masonry blocks and column drums lie in confusion. Outside the city walls the remains of two aqueducts stretch out northwards ; while to the south the theatre, stadium, and amphitheatre, are to be found.

POPULATION

The present population of Anavarza and its neighbouring villages, together with the nomads who yearly pass through the region, illustrates, even to-day, the extraordinary position of Cilicia as a clearing house for different peoples. In a country so frequently invaded and counter-invaded,

it would in the past have been natural to expect a heterogeneous population. Willebrand certainly found one at the beginning of the 13th century. " It (Cilicia) is inhabited," he says, " by Franks, Greeks, Syrians, Turks and Armenians. There is, however, a preponderance of Armenians." Now, of course, it is the Turks who predominate : but even in a hamlet as small as Anavarza there are, besides the Turkish majority, a few Gypsies who have settled down and made their home there. The population of the village Çeçen, 1½ km. south of Anavarza, belongs to the Circassian tribe of that name, who originally migrated from the Caucasus region. These people resemble the Turks neither in language, physique nor behaviour. The Çeçens are very conscious of the racial differences between themselves and the Turks, though relations are just as friendly and normal as they are here between an Englishman and a Scot. In Akdam, 2 km. west of Çeçen, the inhabitants were Armenians until comparatively recently, but were replaced by Turks from Macedonia after the Turkish War of Independence. The nomads arrive at Anavarza in late spring. The Türkmen, who have spent the winter in the Cilician plain, are then moving northwards towards the Taurus uplands to find fresh grazing for their sheep and goats, as well as a refuge from the stifling summer heat. They have little or no wheeled transport, and travel with their tents and other belongings strapped to camels and donkeys. In contrast with the Turks they are rather reserved, and an invitation to their tents is an event. The other nomads are Gypsies, commonly called *davulcular*—drummers—who move from village to village providing music and entertainment. Unlike the Türkmen, they are garrulous and noisy. Not only the nomad tribes leave the plain during the summer : most of the " settled " population also moves northwards at this time to a *yayla* or summer resort, the people of Anavarza usually going to the area of Saymbeli in the Taurus, beyond Kozan and Feke.

CLIMATE

The climate of Anavarza is treacherous and, except in high summer, almost unpredictable. Even in mid-June the day may begin with a cold, driving rain, continue with intense heat, and then close with a thunder storm or a series of thunder storms for which the crag of Anavarza seems to serve as a magnet : indeed it is no rare experience to see from the castle ridge three or four such storms circling in the plain at one and the same time. The eastern plain of Cilicia not only has to contend with the weather, but with earthquakes too. Indeed, the history of Anazarbus handed down by ancient authorities is little more than a record of such disasters. They have continued down to our own day, which makes it surprising that so much has survived at the site, in however ruinous a condition.

EARLIER TRAVELLERS TO ANAVARZA

Until the 19th century the site of Anazarbus was virtually unknown to European scholars, and its antiquities consequently unrecorded. Indeed

Charles Texier, who was apparently the first to go there, states that in the Middle Ages and later, " *les géographes eux mêmes perdirent sa trace et l'on voit dans le dernier siècle les savants discuter si elle est sur l'Euphrate, dans l'intérieur, ou au bord de la mer.*" Texier himself stayed at the place for one day, during which he had time to examine the triumphal arch and the castle, both of which he described in some detail.[3]

Neither the members of the Euphrates Expedition,[4] nor William Barker, who next visited the site,[5] were able to add much to Texier's account, though Barker did attempt to reconstruct the history of the city from such evidence as was then available. It was Victor Langlois who, after spending ten days there in 1852, gave the first good description of the place in his *Voyage dans la Cilicie.*[6] An Armenian scholar, he was primarily interested in the castle and though, like Texier, he failed to penetrate into the Second Enciente, he copied and read two historically important Armenian inscriptions and recorded the state of the church of the Armenian Kings in the First Enceinte.

Langlois was followed by a series of travellers and archaeologists. The Reverend E. J. Davis, who travelled extensively in southern Turkey in the summer of 1875, took the basic measurements of the triumphal arch, and recorded for the first time the " Furies " funeral relief, which is carved on the face of the crag about 1 km. north of the city walls.[7]

Up to this time very little epigraphic material had come to light. There was, indeed a small collection of Anazarbene inscriptions in Le Bas.[8] These, however, were of little or no real value, and most of them were inaccurately transcribed. Towards the end of the century this defect was partly remedied. Sir Charles Wilson and Major (then Lieutenant) Bennet each published in 1882 two new inscriptions from Anavarza or its neighbourhood,[9] and were followed in this work by James Theodore Bent, the archaeologist and explorer.[10] Shortly afterwards, in 1891 and 1892, Professors Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm undertook a series of important journeys in Cilicia, in which was included a short visit to Anavarza.[11] They discovered the remains of the amphitheatre there and recorded a few more inscriptions. Franz X. Schaffer was at Anavarza in September 1900, and later published a general description of the antiquities.[12]

Hitherto no one, except Davis, had surveyed any of the buildings.

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[3] " De Tarse à Trebizonde, fragment d'un journal de voyage, juin 1836," *Revue française,* V, 1838.

[4] W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition,* I, London, 1888, pp. 121, 169, 174.

[5] *Lares et Penates,* London, 1853, pp. 54-56.

[6] pp. 434-443.

[7] *LIAT,* pp. 138-150 ; (for abbreviations used see p. 150 below).

[8] Nos. 1513-1518.

[9] Ramsay, *Journal of Philology,* XI, 1882, pp. 142-160.

[10] *JHS,* XI, 1890, pp. 231-233. For inscriptions, see pp. 238-242.

[11] *RK,* pp. 34-38.

[12] Schaffer, *Petermanns Mitteilungen Erganzungsheft,* Nr. 114, Gotha, 1903, pp. 5, 41-43.

Gertrude Bell, however, who left England in January 1905 to visit sites in Syria and Cilicia came to Anavarza with that object.[13] She produced ground plans of three churches, together with an accurate description of their architectural enrichment where this had survived.

At the beginning of the First World War, the late Professor Wilhelm published details of a second journey to Anavarza, this time in the company of Professor Josef Keil.[14] An important inscription was recorded, the dedication of a temple to the Emperor Domitian by two *demiurgi* of Anazarbus.

In 1936 Mr. E. H. King travelled extensively in Eastern Cilicia. His report, which deals with the Armenian history and antiquities of the area, is of interest from the point of view of the later phases of the history of Anazarbus.[15]

My own object in carrying out research at Anavarza was to survey the site, and whenever this was possible, individual buildings, including the castle ; next, to collect fresh epigraphic material ; finally, by the use of all available evidence, literary, epigraphic and archaeological, to attempt a reconstruction of the city's history. In this paper the history of the city is dealt with first. A description of the site and its monuments follows, while new inscriptions will be found at the end.

THE HISTORY OF ANAZARBUS

To write the history of Anazarbus is not easy. So little is known from literature that much of it must be reconstructed from the evidence of coins and inscriptions. Sometimes this is fairly comprehensive as it is for the earlier part of the 3rd century A.D., while sometimes (in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.), it fails almost completely.

Κωνσταντινιάδης 'Ασκλήπιος ἄστυ γεραίρων
γράψεν 'Αναζάρβου πάτρια κυδαλίμης.

writes an anonymous poet in the Greek Anthology.[16] It is a great pity that Asclepius' work has disappeared.

The earliest events recorded as having taken place at Anazarbus are two earthquakes, of which, according to Malalas, the first happened during the era of the Roman Republic, the other in the time of Julius Caesar.[17] Although the passage in which the reference occurs appears to be confused in other respects, there is no doubt that earthquakes, like war, famine and pestilence, tend to be long remembered, and the story cannot be rejected out of hand. Malalas also states—and is followed by Suidas—that the name of the city before the first earthquake was Kyinda. This Kyinda has been identified by Forrer with Kundu,[18] which with Sizu (Sis)

[13] *RA*, jan.-fév. 1906, pp. 12-29.
[14] *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Instituts*, XVIII, Beiblatt, 1915, pp. 55-58.
[15] King, *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXIV, 1937, pp. 234-246.
[16] IX, 195.
[17] *Chronographia*, X.
[18] *Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1921, p. 90.

and Sidon began a revolt, probably during Sennacherib's reign, which was put down in 667 B.C. by Esarhaddon.[19] He does not go so far as to identify Kundu with Anazarbus on the strength of Malalas' statement, and the identification of Kyinda with the city is, in fact, very doubtful, since Strabo, usually a reliable authority, writes : *ὑπέρκειται δὲ τὰ Κύινδα τῆς Ἀγχιάλης ἔρυμα.*[20] Now, Anchiale must be looked for to the west of Tarsus. If therefore Strabo's authority is accepted, the identification of Kyinda with Anazarbus is most unlikely. Also dubious is the possible identification with Anazarbus of Illubru, which in alliance with Tarzu (Tarsus) and Ingira (Anchiale) rebelled under Kirua in 696 B.C. against Sennacherib. Kretschmer identifies Illubru with Olymbrus near Adana,[21] and a dedication to Olybrian Zeus by a *stator* of Anazarbus[22] might seem to suggest an identification of Illubru with Anazarbus itself. Kirua of Illubru, however, apparently lived near the Cilician Gates, and an identification with Namrun, (Byzantine Lampron), 35 km. south east of the Gates is, as Forrer suggests,[23] more plausible.

The name Anazarbus itself may supply some clue as to the origin of the city. It is quite clearly not Greek, and ancient authorities explain it variously. Malalas[24] and Suidas[25] discovered or invented an eponymous founder called either Zarbus or Anazarbus who, in the reign of Nerva, was commissioned by the emperor to rebuild the city after its destruction by an earthquake. This story cannot be entertained, since numismatic evidence shows that the name Anazarbus was in use over a century before the principate of Nerva. Stephen states simply : *Ἀνάζαρβα, πόλις Κιλικίας · κέκληται ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου ὄρους ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀναζάρβα τοῦ κτίσαντος.* His first explanation must surely be the correct one, since so striking a feature as the acropolis crag must always have been named, even before it was occupied, by the dwellers in the plain. That the city took its name from the crag is also attested by the name which was current in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., *Καισαρεία πρὸς τῷ Ἀναζάρβῳ.* One possible derivation for the name of Anazarbus might be from the Persian ' *nabarza* '— invictus, *ἀνείκητος*, an epithet of the god Mithras which has not infrequently been found in Mithraic inscriptions.[27] Since, however, arguments for such a derivation, though not uninteresting, are no more than purely tentative and contain references to the later history and nomenclature of the city, they will form the subject of a separate note which I hope to publish later.

The only firm evidence for the existence of Anazarbus before the

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[19] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria,* II, Chicago, 1926, pp. 206, 212, 218.
[20] *Geography,* XIV, 10.
[21] *Glotta,* XXI, 1933, p. 235.
[22] *IGR,* I, 72.
[23] *Op. cit.,* p. 81.
[24] *Chronographia,* X.
[25] Lexicon, *Ἀνάζαρβος.*
[26] *De Urbibus, Ἀνάζαρβα.*
[27] F. Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra,* Brussels, 1900, pp. 54, 59.

Roman Imperial period is provided by a few autonomous bronze coins of the 1st century B.C., with the legend ANAZAPBEΩN.[28] These are comparable with contemporary issues of other eastern Cilician cities, notably Adana, Mallus, and Hieropolis Castabala.[29]

It is not yet certain, though very likely, that Anazarbus was included in the native kingdom of Tarcondimotus, as it was first constituted in 52 B.C. after the death of Ariobarzanes II. (It is very unlikely that Tarcondimotus would have succeeded to the kingdom immediately after the death of Ariobarzanes I in 62 B.C.). The native king controlled a considerable territory, with his capital at Hieropolis Castabala ; but apart from his possessions in the Cilician plain, he must have had an outlet to the sea—possibly at Aegeae[30]—since he provided Pompey with a considerable fleet which fought against Caesar. Professor A. H. M. Jones thinks it likely that he also held a strip of coast between Soli and Seleuceia on the Calycadnus, and that this territory was forfeited to Archelaus of Cappadocia after the death of Tarcondimotus at Actium, and the suppression of his dynasty in 30 B.C. Two Tarcondimotid inscriptions have been found at Anavarza[31] and as nearly all other examples have been discovered at Hieropolis Castabala itself, it seems likely that the dynasty ruled Anazarbus also.[32] Well after the absorption of the kingdom into the Roman Empire the personal name Tarcondimotus seems to have enjoyed a certain vogue in eastern Cilicia, notably at Anazarbus and, later, at Flaviopolis (Kadirli), which possibly indicates a close attachment of the area to the old dynasty.[33]

In 19 B.C. Anazarbus began a new era as Caesarea or Caesarea by Anazarbus, possibly, as Professor Jones suggests, as an act of gratitude by Tarcondimotus II for his restoration to the throne by Augustus.[34] The death of King Philopator in A.D. 17 may have seen the end of the native dynasty, though this is not certain. His coins are, at all events, the last known to have been issued by the kingdom.[35] Conditions in eastern Cilicia were changing at this time, and the client kingdom had served its purpose, to control the hinterland of the plain in the Roman interest. That it had done this successfully is proved by the foundation in A.D. 20 and A.D. 51-52 respectively of two cities, Augusta and Irenopolis on the Pyramus, both of

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[28] *BMC*, ciii.

[29] For Adana, see *BMC*, xci, pp. 15-16, Pl. III, 4 ; Mallus ; p. 101, Pl. XVII, 10 ; Hieropolis Castabala ; ci, p. 82, Pl. XIV, 1-2.

[30] *CERP*, p. 203 ; but D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, p. 1241, suggests that Tarcondimotus' port was on the Gulf of Issus.

[31] *IGR*, III, 895 ; *Jahresh.*, XVIII, Beiblatt, 1915, pp. 57-58.

[32] The limits of the kingdom are not yet known. For a discussion of the problem, *CERP*, pp. 203-204. There is one inscription from Pisidian Antioch, *JRS*, 1912, p. 108.

[33] Flaviopolis did not, of course, exist under the native kingdom, but the area later occupied and controlled by the city may have been subject to the dynasty. For inscriptions bearing the name Tarcondimotus (as applied to those who were not members of the royal house), see *RK*, p. 36, no. 87 ; H. Th. Bossert and U. B. Alkım, *Karatepe, Second Preliminary Report*, Istanbul, 1947, XXXVI, no. 187 ; XXXVII, no. 202 ; below, pp. 142, 146.

[34] *CERP*, p. 205.

[35] *BMC*, p. 238, Pl. XXXIX, 9. I saw a very good specimen of one of these coins at Tozlu, 5 km. from Anavarza. It had been found in the village.

which were Roman colonies from the first.[36] When Anazarbus came under the direct rule of the Empire is not absolutely certain, though probably not later than the reign of Claudius.[37] Cilicia was not, of course, a province in her own right at this stage, and the eastern plain was still administered by the governor of Syria. In A.D. 74, however, when the Empire had settled down from the Civil War, Vespasian made Cilicia a province under a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, with the seat of administration at Tarsus, the traditional metropolis of Cilicia. At the same time Flaviopolis was founded to become the centre for the north-eastern part of the plain.

As regards the site of Flaviopolis, there seems very little doubt that it is to be identified with the modern Kadirli (previously Kars Bazar). This was the view of Theodore Bent[38] who recorded some inscriptions there,[39] though in his time the prevailing theory was that the city was to be identified with Kozan (previously Sis). Further inscriptions found by Heberdey and Wilhelm at Kadirli[40] and, more recently, the result of researches carried out there by Professor Bossert and Dr. U. Bahadır Alkım, and published by them in *Karatepe, Second Preliminary Report*, Istanbul, 1947, pp. 17 ff., prove that the site of Kadirli was once occupied by a large Roman city, whose chief magistrates, as at Anazarbus, Hieropolis Castabala and other Cilician cities, were *demiurgi*.[41] Though none of the inscriptions found has been pre-Flavian in date, nor has any, unfortunately, included the name of Flaviopolis.

According to the *Itinerarium Antoninianum*, Flaviopolis was the first city out of Anazarbus on the northern road to Cocussus (Göksun). If the claim for Kozan to be the site of Flaviopolis is to be entertained, some remains of Classical antiquity might be expected to have survived there. In common with Bent, I could find no trace of inscriptions,[42] and coins of an earlier date than the mediaeval kingdom of Little Armenia were a rarity. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the villages on the way to Kozan

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[36] The foundation dates of these two cities are established by the era dates on their coinage. There has been considerable controversy about the site of Irenopolis, and doubts have been expressed about there having been an Eastern Cilician town of that name. Henri Seyrig, "Irenopolis—Neronias—Sepphoris," *Num. Chron.*, 39-40, 1950, p. 288, n. 9 and Postscript, seems satisfactorily to dispose of such doubts.

[37] G. F. Hill in *BMC*, ciii, states that the attribution to Anazarbus of coins bearing the head of Claudius and the legend Καισαρέων is uncertain. The reverse type of Tyche sitting on a rock seems suitable enough however ; and the curious letter after the word ἔτους, which looks like an epsilon with four horizontal strokes, might possibly be a bungled attempt at a ξ. If it is, the date of the coin—60 of the Anazarbene era—would correspond to A.D. 41. *CERP*, p. 204, accepts it. Argument seems superfluous, however, in view of the coin published in *Num. Chron.*, XX, 1940, p. 240. This shows the head of Augustus on the obverse, and the legend Καισαρέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀναζάρ. on the reverse. There is no era date.

[38] *JHS*, XI, 1890, p. 233.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 236 ff.

[40] *RK*, pp. 32-33.

[41] Bossert and Alkım, *op. cit.*, Figs. 39, 45, 178a and b ; also *RK*, p. 32, nos. 74, 78 ; p. 33, nos. 83, 84.

[42] Two Greek inscriptions have been recorded there, but neither of them is of any great importance. See V. W. Yorke, *JHS*, XVIII, 1898, p. 310, no. 10 ; p. 311, no. 11.

(Ayşehoca, Hacılar Çiftliği, Hacılar and Gaziköy), produced less inscriptions the farther Anavarza was left behind. On the route of two newly discovered roads, described below on p. 99 and p. 101, the crop was plentiful, particularly at the village of Tozlu on the road to Kadirli.

Vespasian, who had profited by the discovery that an emperor could be made elsewhere than in Rome, encouraged urban life in the provinces. Unable to rely on Rome and Italy to the same extent as could his Julio-Claudian predecessors, he assiduously fostered the growth of a new provincial aristocracy, largely military in background, who could be trusted to secure his interests. Such centres as Anazarbus would have profited greatly from this policy, and two inscriptions, both dated to the principate of Domitian, reflect this new provincial activity in Flavian times. The earlier is the dedication to the Emperor in A.D. 90 of the *σεβαστὸν ὑδραγωγῖον*, the Imperial Aqueduct, some of whose arches still stand at the northern end of the city.[43] The construction of this great public work indicates that the population of the city was increasing at this time. The second inscription is another dedication,[44] this time by two *demiurgi*, of a temple to Domitian in A.D. 92 in which the Emperor is addressed by the unique title—unique, that is, for an Emperor—of Dionysus of the Goodly Crops. The cult of *Διόνυσος Καλλίκαρπος*, appears to have been fairly widespread in Cilicia, naturally enough, considering the fertility of the province ;[45] and both Dionysus and Demeter were frequently used as coin types for cities of Cilicia Pedias.[46] The title *Διόνυσος Καλλίκαρπος* in this inscription may, however, have some historical significance. In A.D. 91 the decree was passed whereby viticulture in the provinces was to be reduced by half. It was rescinded not long afterwards, and it may have been in gratitude for this imperial act of clemency that the citizens of Anazarbus addressed the Emperor by this flattering, but (in the circumstances) not wholly inappropriate title. Under Nerva, according to Malalas, the city suffered yet another devastating earthquake, which itself may be authentic, even though the author uses the event as a background to his incredible story of the Roman senator Zarbus.[47] The lettering of an inscription against earthquakes, found at Tozlu in 1950,[48] is very similar to that used in the two Flavian inscriptions mentioned above, and although lettering at this period can never be more than a very rough criterion of date, it is possible that this inscription may be connected with the earthquake under Nerva reported by Malalas.

There is only epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the history of Anazarbus in the 2nd century A.D., and it does not, unfortunately,

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[43] To be published in a forthcoming issue of *Belleten*. See Appdx. ' A,' no. 1.

[44] *Jahresh.*, XVIII, Beiblatt, Vienna, 1915, pp. 55-56.

[45] For epigraphic evidence, see *IGR*, III, 916, 923, 924.

[46] Adana, Aegeæ, Anazarbus, Augusta, Epiphanea, Irenopolis, Mallus and Tarsus all use either one or both. For refs., see *BMC*, Index II A, p. 251.

[47] See n. 24 above.

[48] See below, p. 148.

contribute very much. Apart from some dated gravestones, only two inscriptions have so far come to light which certainly belong to this century. One is the dedication of a statue to Hadrian in A.D. 136 by the guild of linen workers.[49] A considerable amount of flax must have been grown in Cilicia at this time, for there are references by Dio Chrysostom to a guild of linen workers at Tarsus also.[50] The other inscription is a dedication by the priestess Regina to the tutelary gods of the city, Zeus, Hera Gamelia and Ares, in A.D. 153.[51] This inscription was first seen and recorded by Theodore Bent " high up in an almost inaccessible cave in a mountain behind Anazarba." Zeus, particularly in his aspect of Ζεὺς καταιβάτης, was probably worshipped on the crag of Anavarza, as G. H. Hill suggested.[52] The head and bust of the god are used quite frequently on the city coinage, and once against the background of a fortress crowned rock.[53] A dedication to Ἥρα Γαμηλία in a cave is, of course, particularly appropriate.

At the end of the 2nd century or at the opening of the 3rd, the status of the city underwent a considerable change, which was reflected by the inscriptions and coins of the period. Until the reign of Septimius Severus, the pre-eminence of Tarsus in Cilician affairs had been unquestioned. She was the chief city, or metropolis, and this title appeared on her coinage from the early Imperial period onwards.[54] Mopsuestia did indeed style herself ἱερά, αὐτόνομος and ἄσυλος,[55] while Aegeae adopted the name of each successive emperor, good or bad, with a nice impartiality.[56] Anazarbus had, however, remained content to be one of many Caesareas, until she suddenly burgeoned forth with titles previously boasted by Tarsus alone, and one at least—Ῥωμαικοῖς τροπαίοις κεκοσμημένη—peculiar to herself alone.[57] The earliest known use at Anazarbus of the title μητρόπολις appears in an inscription of the year A.D. 207, during the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[58] The full title is μητρόπολις τῶν τριῶν ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας προκαθεζομένη καὶ δὶς νεωκόρος. The title μητρπόολις alone, occurs on an agonistic inscription which may date to the same joint reign.[59] By the time of the principate of Macrinus (for which a dated milestone supplies the evidence), the number of honours claimed had increased considerably, though it is likely that most of them were introduced during the reign of his predecessor. At all events,

[49] *JHS,* XI, 1890, p. 238, no. 4.

[50] XXXIV, 21-23.

[51] *JHS,* XI, 1890, p. 240, no. 8.

[52] *BMC,* cxi.

[53] *Ibid.,* Pl. V, 10 ; Pl. VI, 4. For the reverse type of Zeus in front of the acropolis rock, see Imhoof Blumer, *JHS,* XVIII, 1898, p. 162, no. 4.

[54] *BMC,* pp. 183-230.

[55] *Ibid.,* cxi.

[56] *Ibid.,* cxiv.

[57] See below, pp. 137, 143. The title is, of course, one which occurs in abbreviated form on the reverse of a coin of Diadumenian as Ῥωμ. τροπ. κ.ε.κ. See *BMC,* p. 34, no. 16 ; Pl. VI, 4.

[58] See below, p. 130, no. 2.

[59] See below, p. 128, no. 1.

Σεπτιμιανὴ Σεουηριανὴ Ἀντωνειναιανή must almost certainly have been added before Caracalla's murder.

An inscription from Tarsus, dated to the reign of Alexander Severus,[60] contains an almost exact repetition of the titles in use at Anazarbus under Macrinus, and suggest a modification of the long-held theory that Anazarbus simply assumed the titles of the older metropolis.[61] In the first place, there is no parallel in the Tarsian inscription to the Anazarbene title Ῥωμαικοῖς τροπαίοις κεκοσμημένη. While the exact significance of this title is not clear, it is probably connected with the Cilician campaign of Septimius Severus against Pescennius Niger. A biographer of Oppian does state that Severus paid a visit to Anazarbus[62]; if this visit of the Emperor was a historical event, it is possible that the new title was granted at this time, perhaps in commemoration of the battle of Issus. It is strange, however, that there is no record of the title until Macrinus' principate. It is possible, therefore, that all the titles, except μητρόπολις τῶν τριῶν ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας προκαθεζομένη καί δὶς νεωκόρος, which had been in use much earlier, were sanctioned by Caracalla on his fateful journey down to Edessa.

In A.D. 221 Elagabalus became one of the two demiurgi of the year, and a commemorative coin was struck to celebrate the event.[63] The office of demiurgus was in existence at Anazarbus in the reign of Domitian, and the claim of Tarsus to be μόνη τετειμημένη δημιουργίαις was therefore inaccurate.

For the rest of the 3rd century there is little literary evidence, though Anazarbus was involved in the catastrophe which followed Valerian's capture, when Shapur's general Spates invaded Cilicia.[64] The coinage of Valerian, significantly, marks the end of the city's semi-autonomous issues.

The *Acta Sanctorum* account of the martyrdom at Anazarbus of Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus is one of the only documents mentioning the place by name which could be assigned to the 4th century.[65] This account, until now considered spurious on what appear insufficient grounds,[66] shows an intimate knowledge of Anazarbene topography and climatic conditions. The " miracle " of a simultaneous earthquake and thunderstorm, against which objections have been raised, does not seem so miraculous after one has experienced daily thunderstorms over a period of weeks and seen the results of many earthquakes at the site. A dedicatory inscription to Fl. Valerius Severus,[67] to be dated between 1 May 305 and 25 July 306, is a curiosity, since it is hard to see why a dedication should

[60] *BCH*, VII, 1883, p. 282.

[61] For titles of Tarsus, see Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, Baltimore, 1938, p. 743.

[62] P-W, Supplement, Heft i, p. 79, under Anazarbus.

[63] *BMC*, p. 34, no. 20. For the *demiurgia* of Alexander Severus at Tarsus, see *BMC*, p. 202, no. 211. This was surely a reply in kind to the rival city.

[64] For Shapur's invasion of Cilicia, see Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, Princeton, 1950, p. 1569.

[65] Acta Sanctorum, Octobris, V, pp. 566-584.

[66] A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II, Leipzig, 1904, p. 479, n. 5 ; also see H. Delahaye, *Les Legendes hagiographiques*, Brussels, 1927, p. 114.

[67] To be published in a forthcoming issue of *Belleten*. See Appdx. ' A,' no. 2.

have been made in Cilicia to one who was first Caesar and then Augustus of the West. It may be explained, perhaps, by the close relations between Severus and the Augustus of the East, Galerius. The most easterly of Severus' territories was probably Pannonia.

According to Malalas,[68] Cilicia was divided during the reign of Theodosius the Younger (408-450) into two provincial areas, of which Anazarbus was the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. Two inscriptions, both recording restorations of the city walls, may tentatively be dated to the same century.[69] In the 6th century, in the reigns of Justin and Justinian, two earthquakes devastated the city, after each of which it was rebuilt, first as Justinopolis, later as Justinianopolis.[70]

In the troubled centuries which followed the rise of Islam, Anazarbus lay in a sort of no-man's-land between the empires of the Arabs and Byzantines, frequently changing hands in the struggles between them.[71] It was refortified in 796 under Harun al Rashid, while in the middle of the 9th century the Calif Mutavakil (846-861), who is known to have refortified Sis, appears to have been active at Anazarbus. A fragmentary Cufic inscription, found in the ruins of a tower outside the west gate, bears his name.[72] In the 10th century Ayn Zarba was still a flourishing Arab city, and it was at this time that the Hamdanid Saif al-Dawla refortified the place at the enormous cost of three million dirhams. It was then the turn of the Byzantines again, and Anazarbus was among many other important fortresses, including Tarsus and Mopsuestia, which fell into the hands of Nicephorus Phocas in his victorious campaign of 964.[73]

In the 11th century, after the occupation of their capital by Alp Aslan, the Armenians were driven south-westwards by the pressure of the Seljuk Turks, and established their rule in the Taurus region. They then gradually advanced into the Cilician plain, where Toros I chose Anazarbus to be his capital in 1100. Apart for a break of seven years, between 1137 and 1144, when the Byzantines under John Comnenus were again in control, the city remained the seat of government for nearly a century. In 1184 Tarsus, and later Sis, became the capital, but although Anazarbus remained an important fortress, it appears that the lower town fell into decay. Its final ruin was brought about by the Mameluke destruction of the Little Armenian kingdom in 1375, and the ancient site has never been occupied since that time.

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[68] Life of Theodosius the Younger, *Chronographia*, XIV.

[69] Not yet published.

[70] Procopius, *Hist. Sec.*, XVIII, 10 ; Malalas, *Chronographia*, XVII ; Cedrenus (Venice edition, 1729), p. 288 ; Theophanes (Venice edition, 1729), p. 117. At the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 553, Anazarbus was represented as Justinianopolis.

[71] My authorities for the Arab and Armenian periods at Anazarbus are unfortunately, but unavoidably, at second-hand. I have made use of G. Lestrange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 129-131, 140-141 ; *The Cambridge Medieval History* ; and E. H. King, " A Journey through Armenian Cilicia," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXIV, 1937, pp. 234-246.

[72] My thanks are due to Dr. D. S. Rice of the London School of Oriental and African Studies who read my squeeze of this inscription.

[73] Leo the Deacon, *Historiæ*, III.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE (See Fig. 2).

As might be expected, the existing monuments belong to every phase of the city's occupation. I shall not attempt to separate them according to their period of construction but rather to give a picture of the scene as a whole. Where individual buildings are to be described and discussed in the next section, they will, as far as possible, be arranged in chronological order.

The site can be divided into two parts ; the lower walled city of the plain, and the upper city on the Anavarza crag.

It is convenient to begin a description of the lower city from a point about 1 km. south of the city wall, where a short stretch of the ancient road to Mopsuestia (Misis) is still to be seen. (Fig. 2, ' o ') This road was built on a causeway, since the district floods every rainy season. One small, single-span bridge, which carried the road over a small stream near the city, is still standing. Peasants from Çeçen related that many years ago, near their village, there had been an old road, carried on arches, which

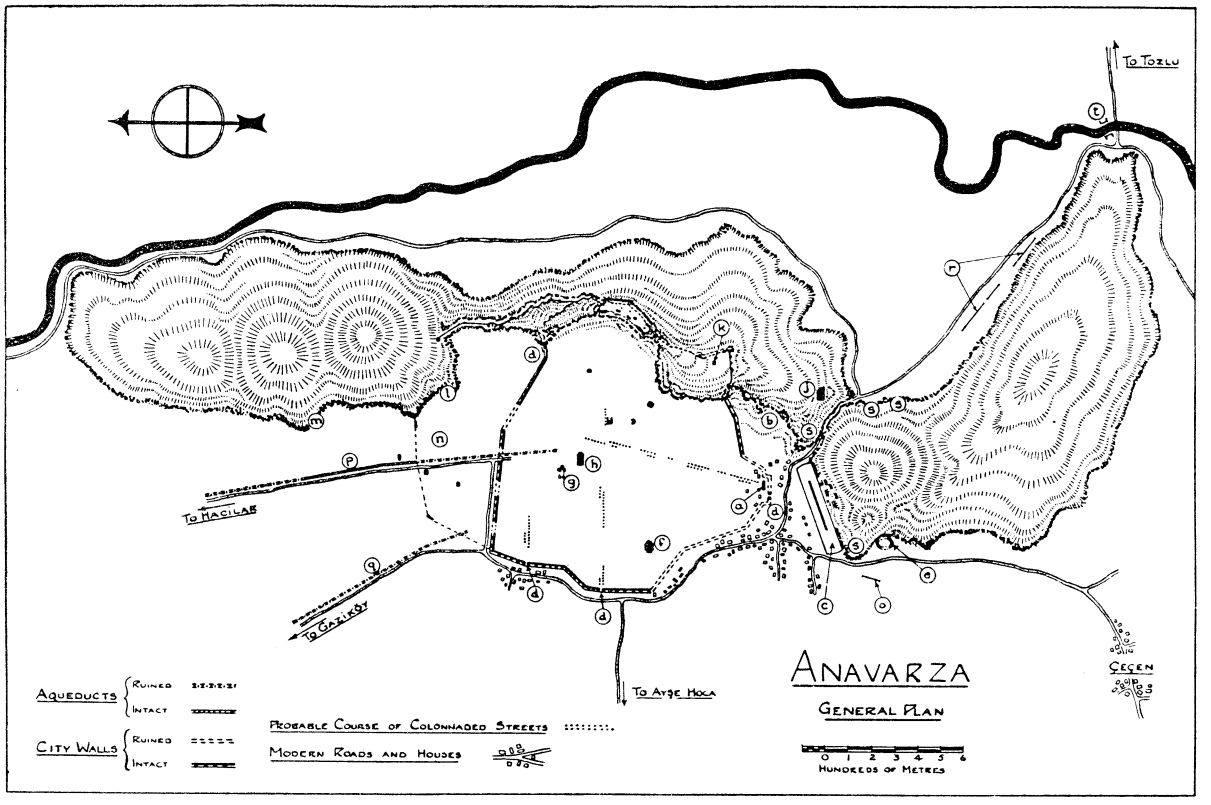

FIG. 2.

a Triumphal Arch.
b Theatre.
c Stadium.
d City Gates.
e Amphitheatre.
f South-west Church.
g Baths.
h Church of the Apostles.
j Rock-cut Church.
k Church of Armenian Kings.
l Cave with dedication to Zeus, Hera and Ares.
m " Furies " Tomb.
n Column foundations.
o Stretch of Roman Road to Mopsuestia.
p Main Aqueduct.
q Byzantine Aqueduct.
r Stretch of Roman Road to Flaviopolis (?)
s Sarcophagi.
t Roman Bridge.

ran south-west. (This statement was volunteered, not prompted, so that it may be relied on.) Ainsworth, who mentions the Mopsuestia end of the road, also describes it as a causeway.[74] The road almost certainly did pass close to the modern Çeçen, for several gravestones (some belonging to Roman legionaries), have been dug up by peasants in the area, just north of their village.[75] From north of Çeçen the road probably swung westwards, for two milestones which mark the first mile from Anazarbus, were found *in situ* about 600 m. north of Akdam.[76] A third milestone, found by Major Bennet " at Akdam," must have been taken from its former position and carried into the village. The earlier of the two milestones found *in situ* belongs to the principate of Macrinus, but that found by Major Bennet, if correctly copied, would appear to date from the 2nd century, to judge from the frequent use of the letter forms Σ and Ω in the inscription.[77] In every case of a 3rd century inscription of established date from Anavarza, forms are [or C, and a large ω. It is most unfortunate that this inscription appears to have been lost since Major Bennet's visit. The width of the road, where it is preserved near Anavarza, is about 4.50 m.

Some 200 m. east of this stretch of road is the amphitheatre, (e). Judging from the position of two piers which stand erect and the traces of others at ground level, its lower part seems to have consisted of twenty-two evenly spaced piers, with intervening arches, which formed an elipse measuring 62 m. by 83 m. To the east, where the amphitheatre backed on to the crag, the piers were discontinued and the curve was completed by a concrete structure built on to the face of the rock itself. In the centre of the west side there is an opening to a subterranean passage leading inwards and now almost completely blocked, which was presumably used for the introduction of wild beasts into the arena. The amphitheatre was solidly built of stone, and seems to have been systematically robbed in antiquity to provide material for other buildings.

Three hundred metres north-east of the amphitheatre, and separated from it by a projecting spur of rock, is the two ended stadium, (c). It lies on a north-east to south-west axis, and measures 410 m. (just over two stadia) in length by 64.00 m. in width. At the south-west end it was entered by a large ornamental gate of which the only remains are some broken cornice blocks and part of an Ionic pilaster. There was also a smaller entrance near the middle of the long north-west side. The road leading to this entrance from the city may have been flanked by columns, for there are some half-dozen erect column drums which would suggest this, though their bases are now hidden by a rise in the ground level. The concrete *spina* in the centre of the track is one stade long and is well preserved. At widely spaced intervals along it were columns of the Corinthian order, presumably *metae*. Accommodation for spectators on the south-east side consists of two rock-hewn stands, one with eight, the other with nine,

[74] *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I, London, 1888, p. 121.
[75] See below, p. 140.
[76] See below, p. 137.
[77] *Journal of Philology*, XI, 1882, p. 157, no. 18.

tiers of seats which were approached by small flights of steps. Along the front of the south-western stand runs an inscription which is now very badly weathered. The lettering appears to be that of the late 3rd or 4th century.[78] Behind the top row of seats, the face of the crag was cut away sheer, and holes in the rock face, slightly higher than head level, suggest sockets for beams over which awnings might have been spread. Between the two stands, where the slope of the crag is gradual, steps were cut, apparently almost at random, to provide further standing—or sitting—space. On the north-west side the accommodation must have been constructed of wood. At all events, there is no sign of it to-day. At the south-west end of the track itself, the uneven rocky surface was levelled and smoothed to provide better going for the competitors. On the crag, above this end of the stadium and extending southwards almost as far as the amphitheatre, is part of the necropolis. Many of the sarcophagi bear inscriptions, but the majority of these are illegible.

About 50 m. north-east of the stadium, the crag is divided by an artificial cleft. The Moslems of the neighbourhood call this Hazreti Ali's Cutting, and relate that the Prophet's son-in-law, whilst being pursued once by his enemies, drew his sword and with it cut a path for himself and his horse through the rock. It seems, however, that the work was undertaken in the Roman or First Byzantine period to allow the passage of the road from Anazarbus to Flaviopolis and/or Hieropolis Castabala, (r). This road, of which traces still remain, runs slightly south of east for about 1,700 m. as far as the Sumbas Çay, where are the ruins of a small Roman bridge, (t). The road was then continued to the north-east, this direction being fixed by the discovery in 1950 of two 3rd century milestones *in situ* which marked the second mile from Anazarbus.[79] The road may have forked at some point near here, (perhaps near the modern village of Tozlu), the eastern branch leading towards Hieropolis Castabala, the northern towards Flaviopolis. There seems to have been a small Roman settlement at Tozlu, since dressed stone and several inscriptions have come to light there. Foundations of buildings have also been discovered by peasants digging in their fields in the vicinity. Near the middle of the village, a Roman bridge crosses the Savrun river, and indicates that the road to Flaviopolis should be looked for beyond the northern bank of this stream.

A much mutilated inscription on a rock at the west end of the cleft seems to refer to the cutting and is dated A.D. 536.[80] Heberdey and Wilhelm believed this to be the original date of the work, but it appears to me much more likely that the inscription records a re-cutting, probably after the earthquake which razed the city under Justinian. The two 3rd century milestones on the Flaviopolis road mark only the second mile from Anazarbus, and had the road not taken a short cut through the rock, the distance involved would be considerably greater. Furthermore, on the eastern side

[78] See below, p. 137.
[79] See below, p. 143.
[80] *RK*, p. 36, no. 86.

of the defile, and to the south of the road, are rock-cut sarcophagi which do not seem later than the 4th century ; there are also some vaulted Byzantine tombs.

The cleft is 250 m. in length and varies between 4.00 m. and 15.00 m. in width. On either side of the path the rock rises to a height of about 50 m. At one point a huge mass of stone has split off, probably as the result of an earthquake and has blocked part of the passage. As the traveller to the east emerges into the sunlight from the darkness and shadows of the cleft, there is something particularly appropriate and touching in the Christian inscription carved high up on the rock face.[81] The words, *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις* form the opening phrase of the 46th Psalm, which continues :

Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.
Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled,
though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

The theatre, (b), lies between the cleft and the south-east corner of the city wall. Partly free-standing, partly built into the slope of the hill, it is in a ruinous condition, and it is impossible to obtain any idea of the seating arrangements. Round the top ran a paved promenade, backed by a retaining wall parallel to the curve of the *cavea*. The free-standing part of the theatre is on the south side (where the level of the ground is lower than it is to the north), and was arranged as an arcade. There was an inner and an outer series of concrete piers with arches opening between them. Between the two sets of piers ran a vaulted passage, which, with the piers, gradually diminished in height as the ground rose towards the north and gave a more symmetrical appearance to the whole structure. This arrangement can be seen on a much bigger scale in the case of the Roman theatre at Orange. At the extremity of either wing of the *cavea* were vaulted side entrances, each of which was roofed with a platform of concrete, which could have been used for additional seating. The *scaena* has fallen, and most of the material has been removed, but fragments suggest that the *scaenae frons* had a façade of red granite columns and a frieze of garlands suspended between nude male and female figures. The diameter of the *cavea*, including the orchestra, is roughly 58.00 m.

Above the theatre are more sarcophagi, again frequently inscribed, (s). Most of them are otherwise plain, though there are one or two decorated with garlands and Amores, or Gorgoneia. In the same area are two interesting reliefs. One of these has already been accurately described by Bent.[82] It is a *palaestra* scene, consisting of four nude athletes, one of whom is doing a handstand assisted by a friend, while in the centre is a clothed figure holding a wreath and a palm branch, presumably the gymnasiarch. The other relief represents a winged figure, probably a male god, standing on a dolphin. The figure's hands, which are raised high above his head,

[81] First recorded by Bent in *JHS*, XI, 1890, p. 240, no. 7.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

hold a small, framed funerary inscription now almost completely obliterated through weathering. Who the winged figure may be is not at all clear. It has a distinctly Asiatic appearance, and is reminiscent of similar subjects portrayed in Late Hittite art.[83]

Apart from its southern and south-western sections, outside which the modern village of Anavarza now stands, the city wall is in a very fair state of preservation. Its average thickness is just under 2 m., while in places it is over 6 m. in height. Much fragmentary Roman building material is to be seen in the lower courses, but above, the rubble and mortar filling is faced with ashlar. This work is reminiscent of much of the Armenian masonry in the castle. So are the cantilevered staircases on the northern stretch which led up to the top of the wall. It is likely, as Heberdey and Wilhelm suggested, that the foundations of the wall are Byzantine, the rest being Armenian. The wall was defended on its outer side by small rectangular towers, entered from the inside by small doorways, most of which are now blocked. The towers, set at intervals of 33.70 m., measure 5.60 m. by 5.90 m., their height being the same as that of the wall. This was separated from the outer defence wall and a fosse by a passage some 9.00 m. wide. The fosse, which is 7.45 m. wide, is now filled with earth and fallen masonry, so that its depth cannot be determined. It appears to be rectangular in section, and is lined with masonry on each face. On the city side this masonry was buttressed to prevent subsidence, and then continued as an outer defence wall to a considerable height above the level of the passage way. On the outer side, the wall of the fosse rose no more than a metre or so above the level of the plain. Most of the blocks from this wall have been robbed, so that the many column drums which were used as ties, but are to-day of no use as building material, are left in view. Most of the material which lines the fosse was taken from the ruins of Roman and early Byzantine buildings. Architraves, frieze and cornice blocks, column drums, even Corinthian capitals were employed, a wealth of architectural ornament sufficient in itself to give some idea of the magnificence of Anazarbus in antiquity. A number of inscriptions were also incorporated, and in this way were preserved from damage.

There are five gates in the city wall, all marked (d). At the north-west corner and in the middle of the western section, these take the form of strongly fortified single arches set into the walls. On the inner side the width of these arches is 4.00 m., but the door space is narrowed by two heavy jambs to 3.15 m. The thickness of the wall for a distance of 6.12 m. on either side of the arch was increased to 4.00 m. To add strength, two towers, each 5.50 m. x 3.80 m., flanked the arches on the outer side of the wall, while a third and more massive tower was set plumb in line with the gate and set some 15 m. to its front on the same side. It was amongst the debris of one of these towers that the Cufic inscription of the

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[83] Cp. a fragmentary relief of a figure standing on a sphinx published by U. Bahadır Alkım, "Karatepe: Third Campaign," *Belleten*, Vol. XIV, no. 56 (October, 1950), Pl. LXX.

Calif Mutevakil was found. Although it is impossible to judge, in its present state of ruin, whether the tower dates from the 9th century or whether the inscription was in secondary use as building material, it does seem probable that the position of the gates themselves remained unchanged from at least the First Byzantine period. At all events, rows of columns which bordered two east-west streets lead directly from these gates. The north-east gate is far more elaborate and very much resembles the intricate entrance systems to be met with in Armenian castles in Cilicia. Very hard of access, since defenders could have covered the 1 m. wide entrance passage not only from the walls but also from the rising ground to the east, just below the sheer cliff of the crag, the passage takes a right-angled turn within the fortifications before the gate proper, less than 2 m. wide, is reached. In the centre of the northern stretch of wall there appeared to have been a large gate, which had been deliberately blocked. The outer wall of the fosse stopped short of it on either side, and an entrance way had been prepared for it by filling up the fosse and paving it with ancient building material. The gate itself is no longer visible, but can be discerned in a photograph taken some twenty years ago. The south gate is another massively built archway : the door space is 4.70 m. wide and is flanked by towers, each measuring 6.50 m. in width by 7.00 m. in depth. It is to be noted that the wall bulges slightly to the south here to take in the triumphal arch, which actually stands about 15 m. inside the later walls, (a). Originally, the arch seems to have been the main gate of the city, for there are still remains of a good ashlar wall abutting on its west side. The triumphal arch, to be described more fully below, p. 110, may date from the late 2nd or early 3rd century. It is of the three arched type with six free-standing Corinthian columns of black granite on its southern facade. The entablature was carried round the central opening on both its faces. On the northern facade there was a statue niche on either side of the main arch.

The main north-south street runs straight from the arch for a distance of 800 m. As can be seen from Fig. 2, its direction is slightly east of north, but it very probably represents the cardo of the original Roman town plan. At the southern end are some large flags still in position, and the street must have been in use for centuries, for the level of the ground on either side of it has risen considerably. It was flanked by a continuous colonnade, an arrangement found frequently in Cilicia and Syria. The colonnade at Anavarza is now, unfortunately, in a ruinous state, and not one of the columns stands to capital height. The lower diameter measurement can only be estimated, since in every case the lower part of the column is buried. It must have been approximately 0.90 m. The intercolumniation measurement is 3.50 m. The shafts are of a red and blue conglomerate which weathers to a mottled, rusty brown, and resemble some of those to be seen in the colonnaded street at the neighbouring Bodrum (Hieropolis Castabala). Many of them also have a socket cut into one of their drums (probably about halfway between base and capital), into which brackets were fitted as at Pompeiopolis. While, however, the majority of the brackets at Pompeiopolis are inscribed and were used to

carry statues, the only two brackets so far found at Anavarza are uninscribed, though their function was presumably the same. The course of the street is quite level, so that there can be no question of their having been used to support a new level of entablature as was the case at Jerash and Hieropolis Castabala. Of the entablature itself there is, as yet, no trace, though some of its blocks may have found their way into the city walls. The capitals, to judge from a few fragments found near the street, were of white marble, with the lower part of the bell decorated with acanthus leaves, the upper part, below the abacus, being fluted. It is a surprising fact that though the number of column drums inside the city runs into several hundreds, very few intact capitals are to be seen. Most of them have probably been broken up or removed to adorn modern buildings. Davies, whilst staying at a village near Maraş, was shown a large number of marble capitals by his Armenian host, who said that he was planning to use them for a new church. The capitals had been brought from Anavarza.[84]

Running from the west gate almost as far as the foot of the crag, is the main east-west street. It also appears to have had a continuous colonnade, but few of the original columns—if those like the columns of the north-south street are such—are still in position. After the earthquakes of the 6th century it is likely that much of the old material would have been used for rebuilding, and new columns substituted for those destroyed. Whatever the reason, they are not homogeneous as they now stand.

It is only from the castle ridge, which commands an almost aerial view of the city, that the courses of subsidiary streets can be guessed at. They seem to have conformed to an axial scheme, but the frequent rebuilding of the city has probably obscured most of the original plan. In the south-west corner of the lower city is a church, (f). Its situation, close to the modern hamlet, has made it attractive to stone-robbers, and there is little left of it above ground level, which accounts for the fact that it was not noticed by any of the earlier travellers. For a Byzantine church its plan is unusual, since it is truly cruciform with transepts to the north and south. The floor was originally decorated with a coloured mosaic, now almost completely destroyed. This church is rather more fully described below, p. 113.

Of many ruined buildings near the intersection of the main streets, only two can be identified for certain. These, marked (g) and (h) on Fig. 2, are a bath and a church respectively. The baths, mistaken for a church by Heberdey and Wilhelm, are built of brick.[85] Individual bricks measure 0.24 m. or 0.35 m. square by 0.040 m. in height, with an intervening course of mortar of 0.030 m. This comparative economy in the use of mortar and the fine finish of the work suggest that part of the building at any rate was constructed before the Byzantine period. The bricks

[84] *LIAT*, p. 91.
[85] *RK*, p. 35.

0.35 m. square may belong to a Byzantine repair. Although very badly ruined, it can be seen that the baths covered an area of approximately 40 m. by 25 m. To the west the vaulted main hall with cold plunges took up appreciably more than half the available space. It was entered from the south and west. A door in its east wall led into the tepidarium, which occupied the south-eastern part of the building. North of the tepidarium, and consequently at the north-east corner of the baths, was the calidarium, heated from a furnace room which projected eastwards from the main structure. The church, described below, p. 116, is a basilica, whose architectural enrichment, including interesting early Christian motifs in relief, which decorated the exterior of the apse, suggests a First Byzantine date. An inscription, noticed first by Gertrude Bell, shows that the church was dedicated to the Apostles of Christ.

North of the city wall are two aqueducts. One, the Imperial Aqueduct, (p), runs by way of Hacılar Köyü to the headwaters of the Sumbas Çay. This aqueduct, an exceptionally fine construction (see Pl.XIb) is of stone throughout, except for the brick water channel. It may have been originally built in the principate of Domitian. The other, (q), which can be followed to Hamamköyü, 15 km. north-west of Anavarza, is of Byzantine date. The building technique employed is that of four or five courses of squared stones alternating with a rather higher number of courses of bricks. No single arch stood intact when first we visited Anavarza. It was on a smaller scale than the Imperial Aqueduct, and the distance between piers is 3.50 m. as compared with 6.00 m.

Again to the north of the city wall is the cave in the crag, in which Bent discovered the dedication by the priestess Regina to the guardian deities of Anazarbus, (l). The ascent is steep, but by no means difficult. Descent is a different matter, for the cave is about 30 m. above the plain, and footholds used on the way up seemed to vanish into thin air on the way down. The outer cave is spacious, with a fig tree growing in the middle of it. High on the rock face on its southern side is the inscription. The inner part of the cave can only be reached by clambering up several large, smooth boulders, with barely a foothold. I saw nothing of interest in this inner cave.

Further north still, with one of its ends abutting on the crag, is a wall, now badly ruined, which runs westwards as far as the Imperial Aqueduct and then turns slightly southwards in the direction of the north-west corner of the city walls. The function of this extra wall must have been to afford extra protection to the city, but when it was built is not clear. Since much of the material is in secondary use, and since the wall cuts the course of the aqueduct exactly at the point where a new series of arches was added to it in Byzantine times, it may be contemporary with these newer arches. The most interesting feature of this wall, however, is the material re-used in it. At the eastern end it is largely built of entablature blocks and column drums belonging to an order of far greater size than any to be seen elsewhere at the site. It is indeed larger than any order

which I saw in Cilicia except that of the temple of Zeus Olbios at Uzuncaburç. Below are some of the relevant measurements.

Dimensions of base plinth	1.33 m.
Lower diameter of shaft	1.25 m.
Diameter of base of capital	1.04 m.
Height of architrave	0.95 m.
Depth of architrave	1.00 m.
Height of frieze block	0.63 m.
Depth of frieze block	1.00 m.

The column bases, together with the square plinths on which they rest, are 0.65 m. in height. Capitals, of which there is one fragmentary example, were of the Corinthian variant which substitutes fluting for the upper row of acanthus leaves. The total height of the columns, assuming nine to ten lower diameters as a normal proportion for Roman Corinthian, must have been about 12.00 m. The architraves are of the usual three fascia Ionic type, but are rather elaborate in having a moulded course above each fascia ; egg and dart surmounting the first, and a course of bead and reel above the second and third respectively. The underside of the architrave is also decorated, with a scroll ornament that springs from two handled vases. The frieze blocks which survive are, unfortunately, badly weathered. Along the top ran a convex egg and dart moulding, while the main frieze consisted of garlands suspended between Amores and Bucrania(?). In the loop of each garland was a female head. The relief is up to 0.10 m. deep, and the Amores are carved half in the round. A pointer to the position of at least some of the columns is provided by nine large, evenly spaced blocks, 1.20 m. square, which lie parallel to the aqueduct at intervals of 2.50 m. (n). These blocks, which are barely flush with the ground, clearly acted as foundations to the columns. The intercolumniation measurement was, therefore, 3.70 m.—almost exactly three diameters. It is also interesting that the vertical measurements of column base, architrave and frieze blocks are roughly proportional to the lower diameter measurement ; a half in the cases of the column base and frieze, threequarters in the case of the architrave. It is unfortunate that so little remains of what must surely have been a large and important building. It may have been a temple, in which case the nine column foundations represent the position of one of the short sides ; but if this is the case, there must have been ten columns originally, and decastyle temples are not frequently encountered, though the temple of Jupiter at Baalbek in Syria was, of course, decastyle. It may, however, be significant that temple facades with ten columns are shown on the reverse of Cilician coins of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Examples from Tarsus bear the legend KOINOC KIΛIKAC, indicating that the temple was that of the *κοινὸν Κιλικίας* ;[86] the other, from Anazarbus, was struck in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius

[86] *BMC*, p. 185, nos. 137, 138 ; p. 191, nos. 165, 166.

and Lucius Verus, and has no legend except for the simple ethnic name.[87] Tarsus was the chief city of the κοινόν in the 2nd century, and Anazarbus did not apparently claim an ἐλεύθερον κοινοβούλιον until the beginning of the 3rd century ; so, although it might be attractive to imagine that Anazarbus had her own temple of the κοινόν, the early date of the coin is against such an assumption. On the other hand, if the remains north of the city wall are those of a temple, its proximity to the cave with Regina's dedicatory inscription might suggest that it was dedicated to the chief guardian deity of the city, Zeus. Unfortunately the evidence is insufficient, and more is needed to convert speculation on the subject into anything approaching certainty.

Just over 1 km. north of the city wall is the rock tomb of two eunuchs of Queen Julia the Younger, sister of the King Philopator who died in A.D. 17, (m). The " Furies " relief above the tomb has been described by Davies[88] and Bent,[89] and various attempts, notably by Heberdey and Wilhelm,[90] have been made to read the inscription below, which has been deliberately scored out with a chisel. It appears to be a curse on anyone violating the tomb. To the description of the relief itself, I can add nothing to that of Davies. To take a squeeze of the inscription is very difficult indeed. It is cut on the face of an overhanging rock, about 4.00 m. from the ground, which itself slopes away from the base of the rock.

Apart from the mediaeval castle, (k), which stretches for well over a kilometre along the spine of the crag, I could identify only one building in the upper city. This is the large Byzantine church, (j), discussed on p. 115 below, of which the apse and part of the east end of the nave are cut out of the living rock. The church is dated by an inscription, probably to the year 516.[91]

The most obvious approach to the castle is a flight of steps cut in the rock which leads from the level of the lower city, just north of the theatre, to a gate at the south-west corner of the first enceinte. On the way up is a small Byzantine shrine. The frescoes on the roof have almost disappeared, but part of a head of Christ can still be made out. The inscription in the centre of the shrine is completely defaced. Though it is quite clear that there was a fortress on the acropolis during the Roman period, there is very little or nothing to be seen of early work in the castle as it now stands. Badly weathered inscriptions in Greek (one probably pre-Christian in date), and a charming cantharus carved half in the round by the side of the steps, confirm the early date of the original fortress. The castle, as it now stands, consists of three distinct parts; the First Enceinte, the Second Enceinte and a three-storied tower. This tower, standing on a narrow platform

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 33, nos. 12, 13. A later coin of Julia Mamæa which makes use of the same reverse type, might suggest that Anazarbus had a temple of the κοινόν during the 3rd century ; but there is no title of the Tarsian type in the legend of the coin in question, and Anazarbus was never backward with her claims at this time.

[88] *LIAT*, pp. 149-150.

[89] *JHS*, XI, 1890, p. 232.

[90] *RK*, p. 35.

[91] See below, p. 137.

between the two enceintes, is separated from them by two artificial clefts in the rock, which must have been spanned by drawbridges. At either end of each cleft is an almost sheer drop to the plain, 200 m. below. Most of the south wall of the first enceinte is Armenian, while the east wall is largely of Byzantine construction ; a large gate tower, roughly in the centre of this east wall, is Armenian however. Since the cliff on the west side is sheer and unscalable, no wall was ever built there. The Armenian church in the First Enceinte, which was described by Langlois,[92] Davies,[93] and again by Gertrude Bell[94] in some detail, has fallen into ruin during the last half century. Adjoining this church is part of the walls of its Byzantine predecessor. Where the First Enceinte narrows to some 15 m. at its northern end, is the first cleft which separates it from the tower. This tower is very massively built, and almost completely covers the rocky platform on which it stands. The Second Enceinte is reached by crossing the second cleft. In this enceinte Byzantine work predominates, though the south-west corner, where the building technique differs strongly from what is certainly Byzantine or Armenian in the rest of the enceinte, may date from the Arab occupation. It is strange that the Armenians did not re-fortify the vulnerable eastern side. They seem to have relied on the old Byzantine walls, probably fatally, since they were breached at many points. Within the enceinte are a number of buildings, including another chapel. The north-west tower and part of the north wall are of Armenian date. The castle proper ends at this point, though a walled defence with block-houses defends the northern approach.

The Main Aqueduct. (See Fig. 2, (p) ; also Pl.XIb)

North of the city walls and running slightly west of north is the aqueduct which supplied water to Anazarbus from the headwaters of the Sumbas. At its southern end 21 arches remained intact in 1950, but further north it is almost completely in ruins. The piers which carry the arches are set just under 6.00 m. apart, and consist of two superimposed members, of which the dimensions of the lower are 3.00 m. x 3.00 m., the height varying with the level of the ground. The upper member is 2.60 m. square x 2.00 m. high. The material used for these piers was a strong concrete core faced with large rectangular blocks of local stone. The core of the arches themselves is of a lighter material and is faced with smaller stones. Further to lighten the superstructure, to avoid wastage of materials and, of course, to add strength, the masonry above each pier is pierced by a small relieving arch about 2.00 m. high by 1.00 m. wide. The brick-faced water channel is lined with a plaster of pounded brick and lime, and is held into position by stone clamps on either side, one clamp being fixed over each second pier. The total height of the aqueduct at its southern end is approximately 6.10 m. The action of water has had a curious effect on the inner facing of the arches, and has caused the formation of what look like large stalactites of stone.

[92] *VC*, pp. 440-443. [93] *LIAT*, p. 148. [94] *RA*, jan.-fév. 1906, pp. 24-28.

After running straight from its *prise d'eau* to a point 550 m. north of the city wall, the aqueduct changes course. Not only its course, but its construction too changes. It is no longer nearly so solidly built, and much resembles, at this point, the second aqueduct (marked (q) on Fig. 2), described on p. 106 above. The incorporation of two fragmentary cornice blocks in its core also points to a comparatively late period of construction. A building, close to the point where the change of course takes place, was probably the earlier distribution point for the water, before it was decided to take the aqueduct into the city itself.

The date of the older and more finely built portion of the aqueduct may be that given by an inscription found in a field adjoining it. This inscription records the dedication to Domitian of the σεβαστὸν ὑδραγωγῖον by the people of Caesarea during the year 90 A.D. While the water channel was certainly repaired and renewed from time to time, it seems possible that the main construction may date back to the 1st century A.D.

The Triumphal Arch. (See (a) on Fig. 2 ; also Fig. 3 and Pl.XIa)

The three doored triumphal arch, at the southern end of the lower city, consists of a main central opening flanked by two smaller ones. It

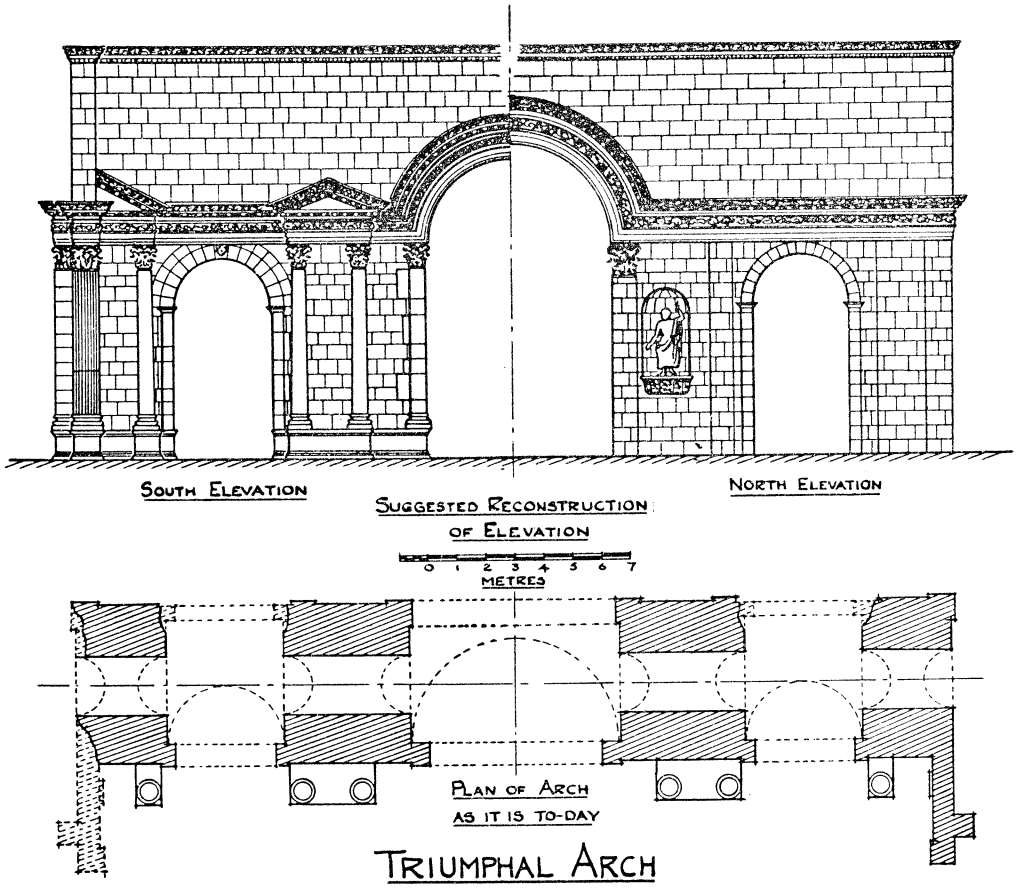


FIG. 3.

is also pierced laterally throughout its length by a vaulted passage. The overall ground measurements are 30.30 m. x 9.25 m. (including two side walls which project from the southern facade). The height of the central arch is approximately 10.50 m., and its width 7.15 m., while each of the side arches is about 7.00 m. high and 4.00 wide. The keystone of each of these smaller arches was originally decorated with a head in relief, but these have been obliterated. The interior vaulted passage is 6.23 m. high and 2.12 m. wide. The whole structure is massively built of concrete faced with ashlar, though in the upper part much tufa was used for lightness. The main arch springs from Corinthian pilasters of a finer and paler limestone than that used for the rest of the structure, and the junction of the two varieties of stone has been rather awkwardly effected, as will be seen from Pl.XIa. Apart from the entablature, which decorated both the north and south facades, the whole facing was left plain, at least to the height of the main arch. On the southern side the entablature was alternately engaged at the height of the two side arches, and carried out on to six freestanding, black granite columns of the Corinthian order. There were two of these columns on either side of the central arch, (i.e. between it and each side arch), and a further one between each side arch and the end of the facade. These columns stood on podia, the mouldings of which were continuous for the length of the facade. The horizontal entablature was also engaged along two short side walls which projected from either end of the southern facade, and formed something like a very shallow entrance court. A Corinthian pilaster in each side wall, (0.56 m. from the facade), received the entablature from the outer free-standing column of the facade. Both side walls ended with another Corinthian pilaster cabled to about a quarter of its height and fluted above. In the centre, the entablature was carried round the central arch, an arrangement recalling arched entablatures at Baalbek, Spalato and, to a lesser degree, at Uzuncaburç. Fragments found indicate that this arched entablature was probably associated with miniature pediments over each of the pairs of columns as shown in the suggested reconstruction of Fig. 3. There was

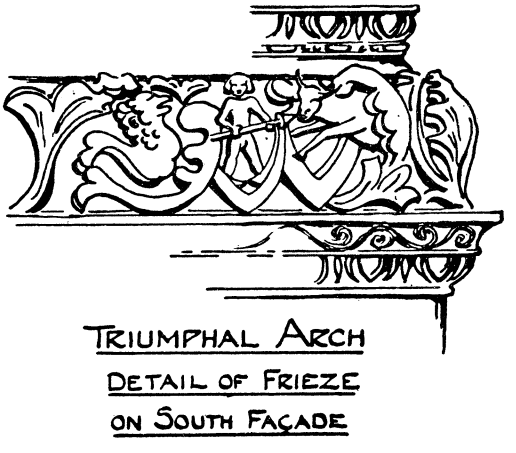


FIG. 4.

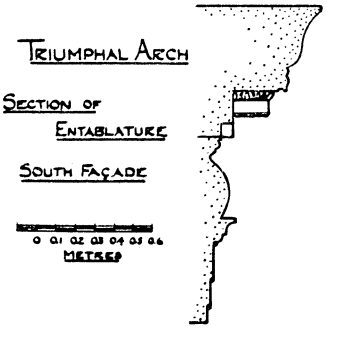


FIG. 5.

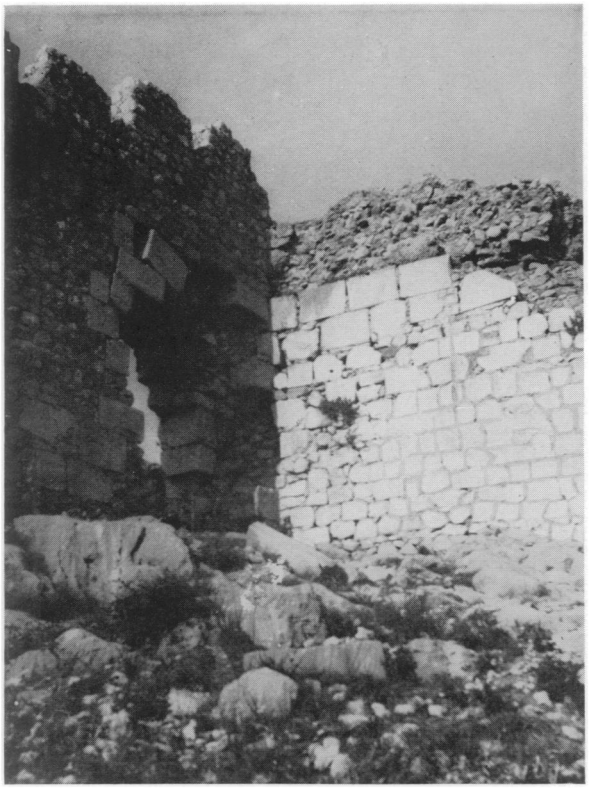
also a miniature half pediment at either end of the facade, as there was on the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Aspendus.

The state of ruin of the northern facade is worse than that of the southern. All the entablature has fallen, but, as there were no columns on this side, it is certain that this must have been engaged throughout its length. It was certainly carried round the central arch in exactly the same manner as on the southern side. On either side of the main opening is a niche just over 3.00 m. in height and 1.65 m. wide, below which is a wide, projecting, acanthus decorated console designed to carry a statue.

On the southern facade (Fig. 5) the entablature below the cornice blocks consists of an architrave and frieze carved as a single unit. The architrave, of which the total height is 0.38 m., is carved in three fasciae, and its underside decorated with a flowered scroll where it was carried out over the free-standing columns. Above the architrave are consecutive mouldings of bead and reel, egg and dart and a simple running scroll. The frieze proper (height 0.29 m.), is the Roman acanthus scroll. Much of it is comparatively simple, with flowers filling the centre of the spirals. Elsewhere it is enlivened by the introduction of small figures emerging from the foliage. One group, shown on Fig. 4, is particularly attractive. An Amor stands between a lion and a bull which he is repelling with his spear. Animals appearing elsewhere in the frieze are deer and horses. The relief is sometimes above 0.05 m. deep, and the carving is above the average level of competence. Above the frieze is an astragal and a band of egg and dart, separating it from the dentils. Then follows the usual course of horizontal consoles, of which the underside of each is decorated with an acanthus leaf. Between each pair of consoles is a four petalled flower. The corona is, rather unsuitably, carved with yet another band of egg and dart. Above this is a bead and reel course. The sima is decorated with alternate acanthus and anthemion motifs, a design also employed on the sima of the colonnaded street at Pompeiopolis. The execution at Anavarza is, however, far superior.

On the northern facade, the entablature is practically the same in detail, though on a slightly larger scale. The total height of the combined architrave and frieze block is 1.05 m. instead of 0.87 m. on the southern facade. The Roman scroll work of the frieze is plainer. There are sometimes flowers in the centre of the spirals, but that is all. There is no difference in the cornice blocks.

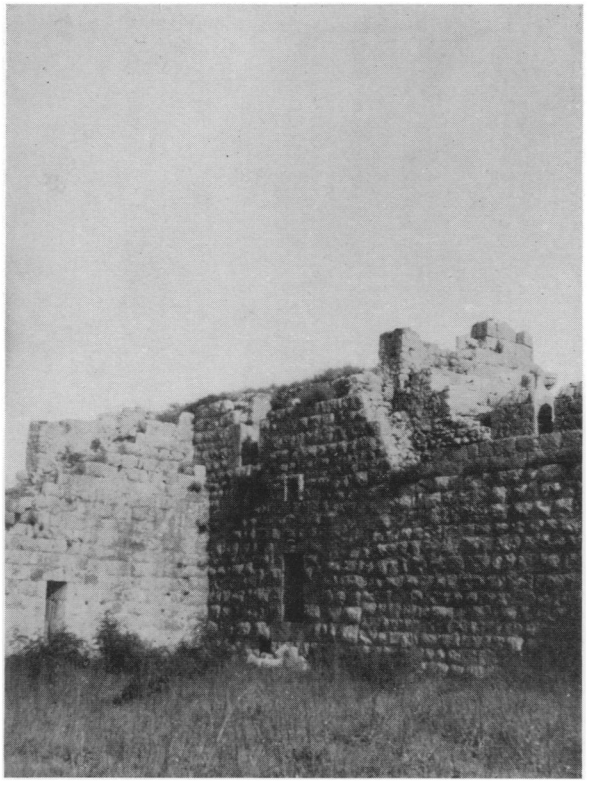
The appearance of the attic cannot be known, since the entire facing of the arch above the level of the central opening has fallen. In the course of time these blocks have been removed or become buried, so that very little evidence remains. There are, however, one or two cornice blocks, larger and of a different type from those already described. They are also carved in deeper relief, a fact consistent with their probably having been intended to be viewed from a greater distance. It was probably this cornice that crowned the whole structure, as is shown in the proposed reconstruction of Fig. 3. From the bottom upwards, the mouldings of this cornice are as follows : first, the dentils and an egg and dart course on a



(*a*) Anavarza Castle. South West Gate of First Enceinte showing wall of Arab Tower.

(*b*) Anavarza Castle. Byzantine Walls at North West of Second Enceinte.

[*Facing p.* 112]

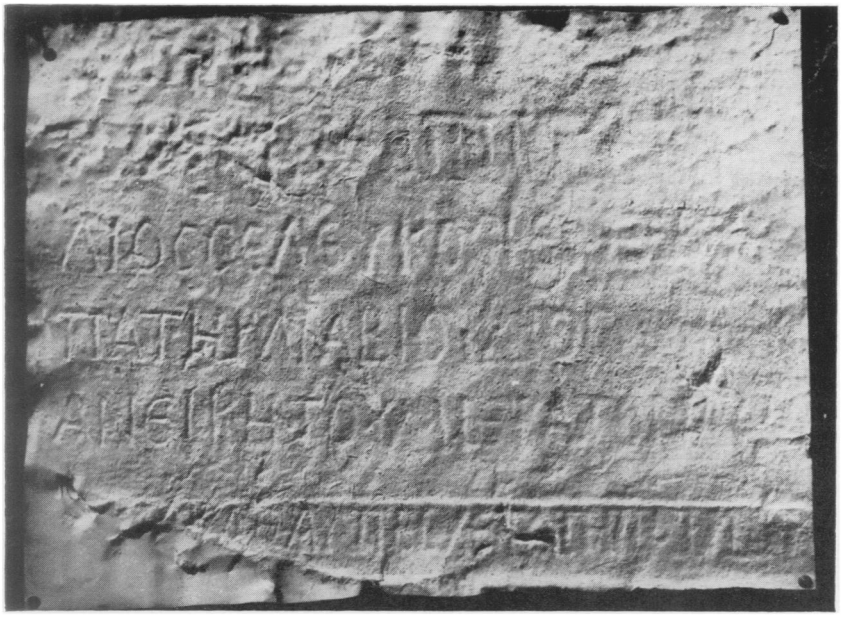


(*a*) Anavarza Castle. Armenian Walls and inside of Corner Tower of First Enceinte.

(*b*) Anavarza Castle. Main Gate and Three-storied Armenian Tower.

(*a*) Anavarza. The Triumphal Arch, Part of the South Façade.

(*b*) Anavarza. The Main Aqueduct.



(*a*) Anavarza. Dedicatory Inscription by a Priest of Mithras (p. 131 No. 3).

(*b*) Anavarza. Dedicatory Inscription for a Statue of Caracalla. (p. 130 No. 2).

convex moulding ; second, the horizontal consoles ; third, the corona, which this time is vertical and decorated with flutes ; fourth, a bead and reel course ; and finally the sima, which is of exactly the same type as that used elsewhere on the arch and is decorated with alternating anthemion and acanthus motifs.

There have been various estimates made as regards the dating of this arch. Davies decided on the 2nd century A.D.,[95] but Bent refers to "Justinian's Arch" as if a 6th century date were an accepted fact.[96] Heberdey and Wilhelm, supporting this view, write, " Byzantinisch sind die Fundamente (i.e. der Stadtmauer) und das grosse dreibogige Prachtthor im Suden, das wohl mit Recht Justinian zugeschrieben wird,"[97] but they give no reasons for their statement. Apparently, too, they did not notice that the arch is inside the city walls, and that traces of an earlier wall abutting on the arch's west side are still visible.

Neither the architecture nor the details of the enrichment appear to be Byzantine. Indeed its design is purely Classical, within the limits of the eastern Roman provincial style. Arched entablatures were fairly early an architectural feature in the East, and triumphal arches with free-standing columns began in the 2nd century A.D. The Roman scroll decoration with animals and figures creeping in and out of the acanthus leaves was apparently a feature of the Severan age, though it must be admitted that the examples from Lepcis Magna are considerably richer than on this arch at Anavarza. Without further evidence there can, of course, be no certainty, but in view of the prosperity and importance of Anazarbus early in the 3rd century, a Severan, or slightly later date, seems to me as likely as any.

The suggestion of a Byzantine date by Bent and Heberdey and Wilhelm is probably due to a too literal acceptance of the reported total destruction of the city during the reign of Justinian. There is no reason to suppose that every building was destroyed, particularly in view of the fact that there have been many earthquakes at Anavarza since the 6th century (including a particularly severe shock in 1945), and that the arch has survived them all.

The South-west Church (See Fig. 6a)

Of this building it is difficult to give any fuller description than an idea of the ground plan, since the walls nowhere stand higher than a metre or so above ground level. It measures 51.80 m. from the east of its tiny apse to the west wall, and 24.20 m. in width. There was no narthex, and internally it was probably divided into a nave and two aisles, the dimensions of which can be assumed from the position of a single pilaster plinth abutting on to the west wall. This plinth and a Corinthian pilaster capital are all that now remain of internal longitudinal supports. Very

[95] *LIAT*, p. 145.
[96] *JHS*, XI, 1890, p. 231.
[97] *RK*, p. 35.

slightly east of centre, on either side of the main body of the church, are the transepts, 23.80 m. long and 6.70 m. wide. A pair of pilaster plinths in each transept, one on either side of the central door, indicate the axis of columns or other supports. At the west end of the south transept are remains of a floor mosaic in red, blue and white tesserae ; the only part of the pattern surviving is a border of the running scroll type, but it certainly once covered all the floor of this transept, since odd tesserae are found all over this area. There also appears to have been a plain white tessellated pavement outside the south-eastern end of the church.

There are eleven doors in all, three at the west end and four each on the north and south sides. The east door on either side led directly into the apse, which was at a higher level than the main body of the church : there must have been steps up to it, but there is no sign of these now. A small room on the north side of the apse may have served as the priests' vesting room. The main door is in the centre of the north transept. The door posts and lintel have simple mouldings with acanthus decorated consoles on either side of the lintel. How the church was lit it is impossible to say, though there were probably three windows at the east end. The roofing is also highly problematical. It must almost certainly have been of wood, since it has not left a trace.

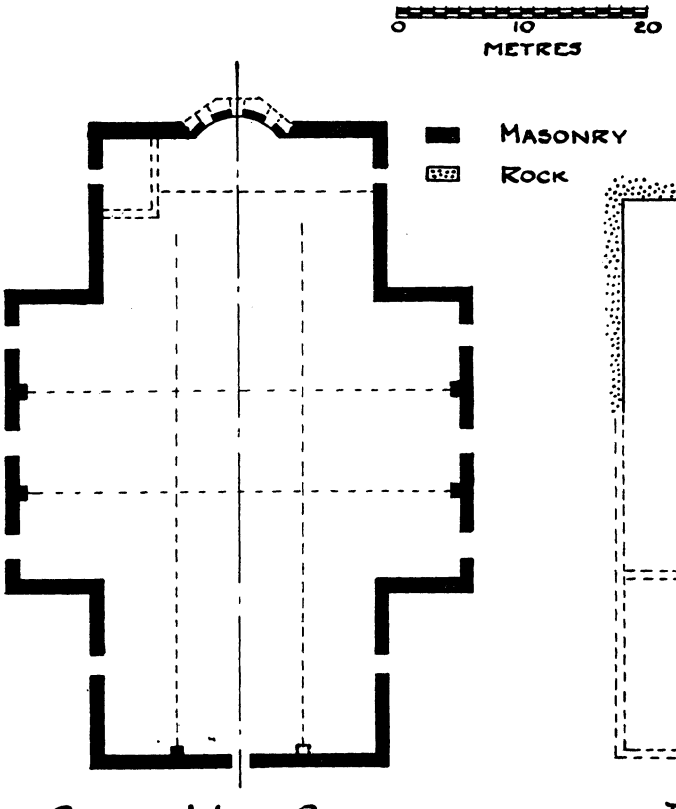


Fig. 6 (a).

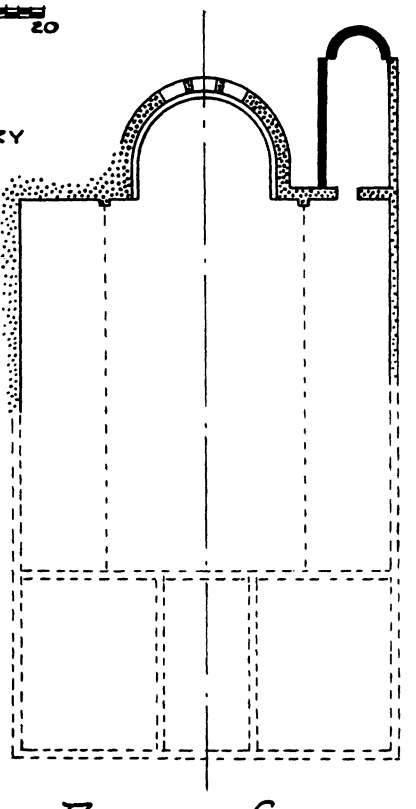


Fig. 6 (b).

The Church in the Upper Town (Fig. 6b.)

Apart from its rock cut eastern end, the remains of this church are extremely scanty. Its length is not less than 43 m., its interior width certainly 29.20 m. The exterior of the apse, unlike that of either the south-west church or the Church of the Apostles, is rounded, and a stone bench 0.50 m. wide ran round its interior. Above this bench is a double row of small sockets, the top row 0.62 m. below the level of the window sill, the lower about 1 m. These sockets may be connected with attachments to take curtains round the apse. The exact position of the three windows at the east end is certain from cuttings made in the rock to receive them ; their dimensions and appearance can be accurately reconstructed from fragments of piers and window arches found in and near the apse. The windows measured 3.0 m. high by 1.85 m. wide, and stood 1.80 m. above the level of the stone bench. Each of the two piers which enclosed the central window, and from which the two side windows also sprang, was capped by an acanthus member, and the spandrils of the arches were decorated with crosses. A small chapel, 12.0 m. by 5.0 m., is entered from the south-east of the main building. It is built of masonry, not rock-cut. This church was divided into a nave and two aisles, the dimensions being assured by traces on the east wall of two pilasters, each standing 0.95 m. to either side of the apse opening, itself 11.45 m. in width. Apart from a single Ionic pilaster capital, however, there is no sign of any interior supports, and the column base described by Gertrude Bell has apparently disappeared.[98] The church must once have been decorated with a brilliantly coloured mosaic of glass, since small fragments and many individual tesserae are to be found amongst the grass and weeds which now grow inside the walls. The pattern cannot unfortunately be ascertained, since the fragments are too small and frequently covered by a hard crust of lime.

The dating inscription, seen by Gertrude Bell and copied by her as ετουσελϛϕ, is on one of the window blocks.[99] Her transcription was inaccurate, since she failed to see a further sign after the ϕ. This sign was a cross, and the inscription should read ετουσελϛϕ†. The letters are in relief, and there is no trace of another after the cross. In fact, the inscription is complete as it stands. Ramsay, relying on Miss Bell's copy, conjectured that the reference was to the 35th year of Justinian's reign. He read ϛ as a punctuation mark and, according to him, the inscription would then have read ἔτους ϵλ′ ϛ Φ[λ.Ἰουστινιανοῦ].[100] The existence of the cross after the ϕ makes this impossible. Even if further letters after the cross were possible (and there is some sort of parallel in the inscription from the Church of the Apostles),[101] the only place where they could have been found would be on the next window block, 1.85 m. away. This is certain, since there is no room for further letters after the cross on the

[98] *RA*, jan.-fév. 1906, p. 21.
[99] *Ibid.*, and also her Fig. 19, which does not, however, show the whole inscription.
[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
[101] See below, p. 117.

inscribed block. In view of this, it may be reasonable to take the inscription as a simple date formula with ς corresponding to *καί*. If so, assuming 19 B.C. as the start of the Anazarbene era, the church would be dated to the year A.D. 516. It has been objected that to find a city era still in use in the 6th century is contrary to normal practice, but there is another example from Anavarza itself, from an inscription in the cleft north-east of the stadium. Here the expression used is ἔτους ϵν̄ κ(αι) φ̄ τῆς πολ[εως], which must mean " in the 555th year of the city," i.e. A.D. 536[102]

The Church of the Apostles (See Figs. 7 and 8.)

This building has been recorded with a ground plan and photographs by Gertrude Bell.[103] Although there is very little now standing except the southern part of the apse, by a lucky chance the south wall fell in flat, probably as the result of an earthquake, and its stones still lie in the same relative positions as when it stood upright. A side elevation, as well as the ground plan of the walls, can therefore be reconstructed. Only the position and details of the door nearest to the east end are doubtful.

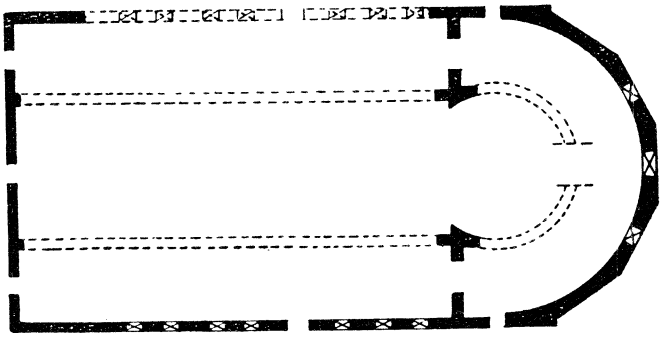


FIG. 7.

The church, which is without a porch or narthex, measures 56.20 m. long by 28.10 m. wide. It is constructed of stone throughout, some of the blocks being in secondary use, at all events in the interior of the apse where they would not have shown. Externally the apse takes the form of five sides of a polygon, each side being, of course, tangental to the interior curve. Each of the four angle stones, which were probably just below the level of the window sills, was decorated. Three of them bear a wreath enclosing a cross, with various motifs filling the segments of the circle thus made. In one case there are fish, in another small birds, in a third lambs. The fourth described and photographed by Gertrude Bell[104]

[102] *RK*, p. 36., no 86.
[103] *RA*, jan.-fév. 1906, pp. 15-19.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 19, Fig. 15.

was again decorated with a wreath, but in this case two peacocks, perched on a cup, stood one on either side of the cross. The peacock is a common Christian motif in Byzantine art, and another unrecorded example from Cilicia is on a column capital from the northern church at Bodrum (Hieropolis Castabala). In the centre of the exterior of the apse, probably in the course just below the angle blocks, is another cross inside a wreath, with the letters A and Ω above the horizontal member of the cross. An inscription, which follows the upper curve of the wreath, reads, ΩNAΠOCTO†ΛΩNTOYXϒ. This must be the dedication stone of the church, and, since symmetry requires a single letter only before the first Ω, it should read, [T]ΩN AΠOCTO†ΛΩN TOϒ X[PICTO]ϒ.

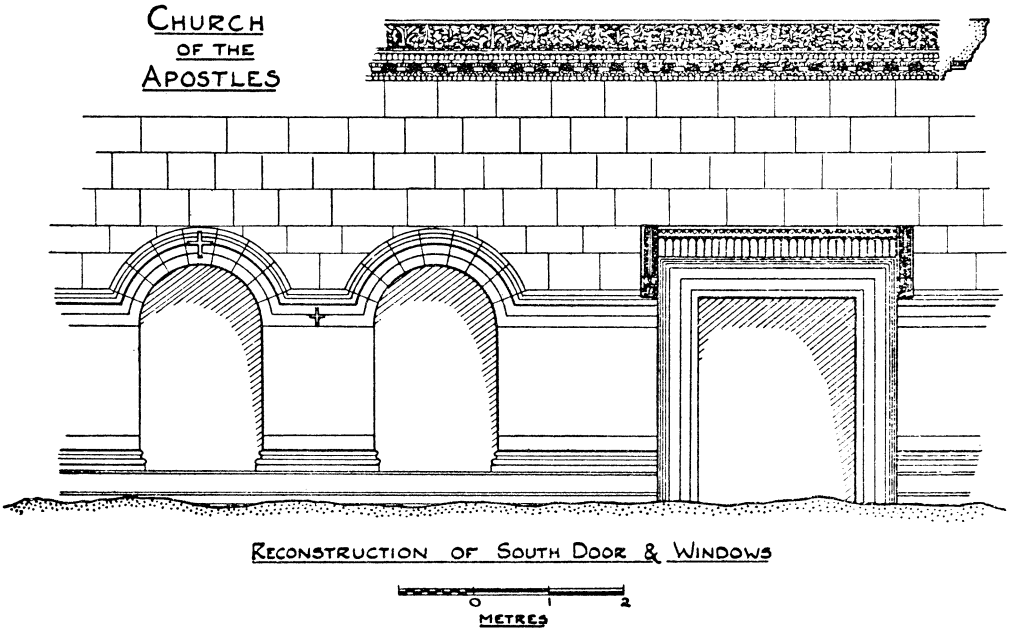


FIG. 8.

There were three arched windows at the east end, of which the central one was particularly ornate. The enrichment round the arch was carved in bands, the two lowest being decorated with running scroll motifs, one of vine leaves, the other of four petalled flowers. These bands are separated by a course of bead and reel. Above is another, narrower scroll of leaves. The ovolo moulding, where the voussoirs swelled outwards, is decorated with an egg and dart, each dart being crossed by two short horizontal bars. The crowning band is carved with a scroll of alternate vine leaves and grape clusters. Small birds perch on the tendrils or pick at the grapes. The two side windows of the apse were also decorated, but more sedately, and only on the crowning band of the voussoirs. One has a shallow vine leaf scroll, the other a running pattern of leaves which appeared, at first glance, to be ivy, but later proved to have been copied from a plant with convolvulus-like flowers which still grows in profusion at the site.

Exact evidence for a side elevation exists at the south only, though

the position of doors and windows on the north side very possibly corresponded. Just west of the apse there was probably a door. Part of a doorpost is to be seen (unfortunately not *in situ*), and the presence nearby of voussoirs decorated with acanthus leaves suggests an arched door. (It must be noted, however, that this would be unusual, since all the other doors were trabeated.) Following the wall westwards, there is a pair of plain arched windows and then the main door, 2.00 m. wide, of which both posts are *in situ* and the lintel block not far away. There are also two acanthus consoles, one of which was on either side of the lintel. West of the door are two more pairs of windows. The simple mouldings of the string course are continuous along the south side, and are incorporated in the window arches. Round the apse, however, it runs at a higher level, due to a corresponding increase in the height of the windows. The change is effected by raising it up vertically 0.90 m., just before the beginning of the apsidal curve. The church was crowned by a cornice resembling the lower cornice of the triumphal arch, but less well executed. There are lions' heads at intervals along the sima. This decorated cornice was not carried round the whole church, but stopped short at the north-west corner. Its continuation up the north side as far as the apse had the same profile, but is without decoration of any kind.

Two large piers, just west of the apse opening, and two pilaster plinths which project from the west wall and are exactly in line with the two piers, show that the interior division was into a nave and two aisles. It would also appear that the central apse was set forward of the aisles, and that a vaulted ambulatory, entered from these, ran round it. This conforms with Diehl's remark—*Dans les basiliques de Cilicie et d'Isaurie, à Budrun, Anazarbe, Korikos, etc., la pierre a remplacé le brique, et l'atrium a disparu pour faire place au porche largement ouvert par deux ou trois arcades ; parfois, en outre, l'abside centrale est, par une disposition assez particulière, menagé en avant des deux absides latérales, et un passage vouté entoure et contrebute cette abside centrale.*[105] The opening into the apse was flanked by a pair of black granite columns, which lie across the opening, probably exactly as they fell. These two columns, apart from the piers, are all that remains of interior supports. Large holes, made by treasure hunters, indicate the position of the altar and reliquary. The hole beneath the site of the reliquary is very deep, and in it can be seen the remains of a wall of good masonry, which perhaps belonged to a building which antedates the church.

How the church was roofed it is now very difficult to say, though almost certainly it was half-domed at the east end.

To judge from the Classical style of the architectural enrichment, and the lettering of the dedicatory inscription, a First Byzantine date for this church is virtually certain. The reign of Justinian has been suggested by Gertrude Bell and others,[106] and seems a very reasonable estimate.

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[105] C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris, 1910, p. 91.
[106] *RA*, jan.-fév. 1906.

The Castle (See Fig. 9 ; also Pls.IXa and b, Xa and b).

For purposes of description the castle can conveniently be divided into three parts ; the first enceinte, or barrack area, with a small, three-aisled church (the burial place of some of the earlier rulers of Little Armenia) at its southern end ; the three-storied tower, built on a rocky platform between the two enceintes ; and the Second Enceinte itself, with its complex of communicating rooms, storage chambers and water tanks.

The entrance to the First Enceinte is at the western end of the south wall and is approached by the rock-cut steps which lead up from the plain near the theatre. This gate is singularly unelaborate and appears, at first glance, to be inadequately defended (see A on Fig. 9). Its distinctive masonry is clearly of a different period from that used in the short stretch of Byzantine wall which adjoins it to its west, or in the regular system of walls and towers to its east, which dates from the Armenian period. It perhaps belongs to the Arab rebuilding, which took place after the capture of Anazarbus in 796 by the Abassid Calif Harun ar-Rashid. In any event, the gate appears to have been in use during the Second Byzantine and Armenian occupations. Its position explains its almost unfortified character. To the west the ground drops away sharply and soon becomes sheer, so that from this quarter the gate was almost unassailable. From the south or south-east an attacker would have had to advance over jagged, rocky ground under observation, and probably archery fire, from the battlements, and would at last have been forced to assault on ground of the defenders' own choosing with a precipice behind him. The short stretch of Byzantine wall, running westwards from the gate, is no more than 30 m. in length, for no more was necessary. As for the sheer west side of the enceinte, it was never walled at any time. Immediately adjoining the gate on its eastern side a small stretch of wall, in which a hollow square tower is incorporated, may also belong to the Arab period, for the masonry is homogeneous with that of the gate. (Pl.IXa).

The rest of the south wall is largely of Armenian construction, though remains of Byzantine fortifications behind the most westerly of the semi-circular towers suggest that there was once a large gate at this point, flanked on either side with a small rectangular tower measuring 5.00 m. x 3.00 m. (See B on Fig. 9).

The three remaining Armenian towers are all of the same type, though the one at the south-east corner is slightly larger than the others, (C) (See Pl.Xa). Each is semicircular, and is entered by a doorway, of which the threshold is about 1 m. above present ground level. Inside is a large barrel-vaulted room, lit by three arrow slits—four in the case of the angle tower. The wall thickness of the towers is 2.3 m. The arrow embrasures are 1.00 m. wide by 1.62 m. high, the slits themselves being 1.16 m. high by 0.07 m. wide. About 3.50 m. above the floor level of each room are evenly spaced beam holes, which suggest that there was once an upper floor, (presumably approached by a wooden ladder), in which stores and equipment would have been kept. In the case of the south-east tower and its neighbour to the west, there is a hole some 0.50 m. square in the centre of the floor.

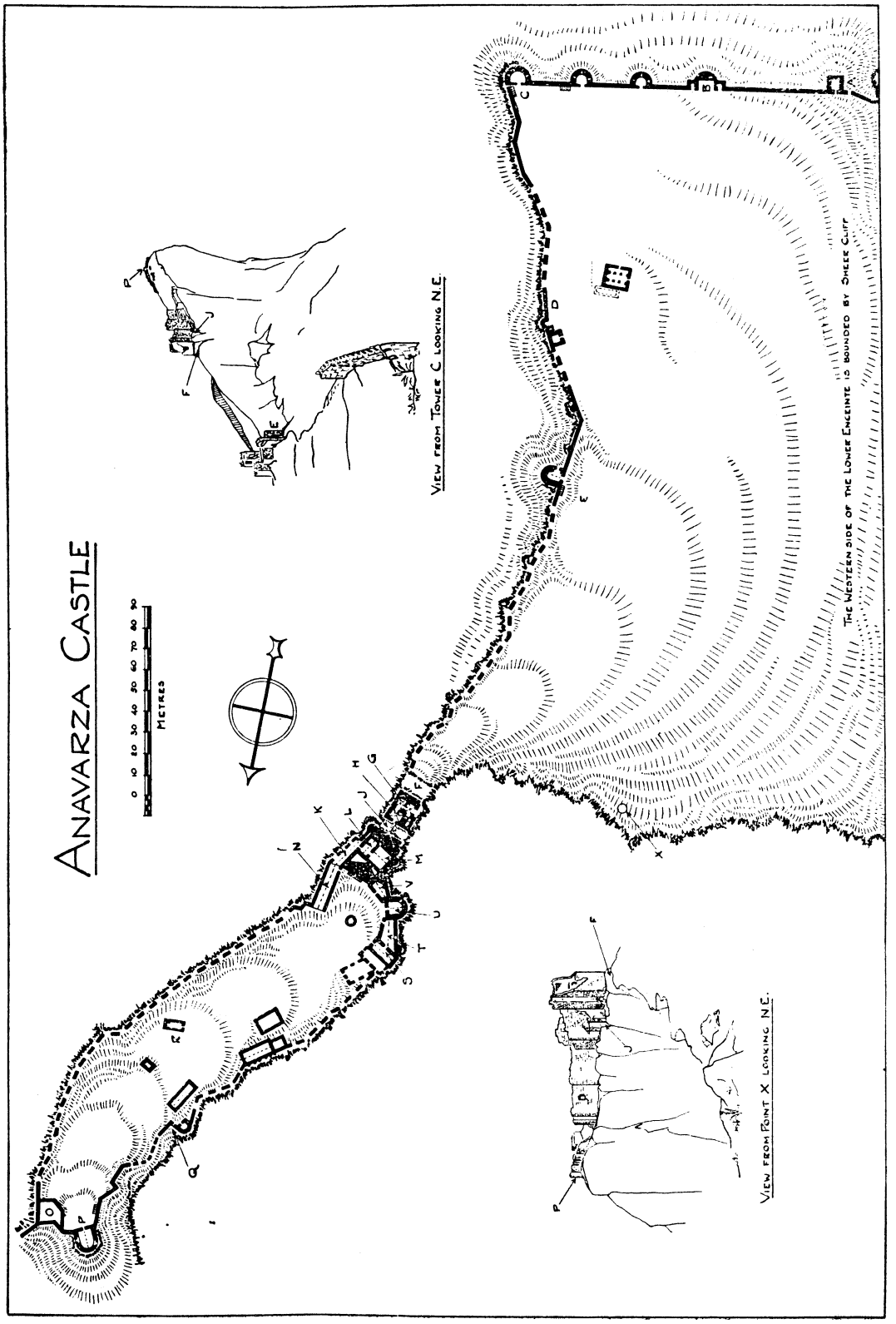

ANAVARZA CASTLE
METRES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90
VIEW FROM TOWER C LOOKING N.E.
VIEW FROM POINT X LOOKING N.E.
THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE LOWER ENCEINTE IS BOUNDED BY SHEER CLIFF

FIG. 9

This hole provides light and ventilation for a lower chamber, which was entered by a shaft-like entrance considerably below the level of the main-door threshold. It has been suggested that this chamber was used for water storage, but shelter for sheep or goats appears to me a much more plausible explanation. Between the two most south-easterly towers is a simple privy with a runaway to the south. The outside measurements of the towers vary slightly in diameter, and considerably in height ; this latter variation is, of course, due to the nature of the ground outside the castle. The diameter of the corner tower is 7.70 m. and its height 15.30 m. Its two neighbours to the west are both 5.60 m. in diameter and about 12.00 m. high.

Flights of steps, arranged cantilever wise, lead to the battlements. The parapet is 1.15 m. wide, and is protected by a curtain wall 0.80 m. high and 0.73 m. thick. The total wall thickness between the towers is, therefore, 1.88 m. The curtain wall is crowned by evenly spaced, round topped merlons, which were continued round the towers. Most of these tower merlons have fallen, but it appears that some of them were pierced with arrow slits.

The east wall of the first enceinte is largely in ruins and consists in the main of Byzantine work, though at its southern end there is a short continuation of the Armenian type of wall just described. Here there is another privy, this time with a stone seat. The Byzantine part of this eastern wall, like all the masonry of that period in the castle, presents a great contrast with the Armenian. Generally speaking, it consists of small, roughly rectangular stones bonded together with a liberal use of mortar, which presents a rather rough and unfinished appearance. Armenian masonry, on the other hand, consists of larger, regular squared blocks, with no mortar visible at the joints. The face of the stone, when it forms part of an outer wall surface, is only roughly worked, but is smoothed off when used inside rooms. Masons' marks are frequent. (Good examples of this type of Armenian masonry are to be seen in the castle of Namrun in the Taurus region north-west of Tarsus, and at Silifke, 90 km. west of Mersin.) The Byzantine wall which stretches northwards from the south-east corner of the first enceinte differs from the Armenian fortifications not only in constructional details, but also in its dimensions and the shape of the merlons. The parapet is 1.60 m. wide and the curtain 0.75 m., making a total wall thickness of 2.35 m., while the merlons are flat topped and have no arrow slits. Slightly to the north-east of the Armenian church, to be described on p. 125 below, there is a series of arrow embrasures in the thickness of the wall, D. These cover the southern approach to the castle, which, though rocky and steep, is not impossible. The series ends just south of a square tower with an internal barrel-vaulted room. From this tower the wall continues northwards in a ruinous state until further Armenian work is encountered, including a large gate tower, E. (See Pl.Xb). This tower, which is three-quarter circular and 7.0 m. high, communicates with the eastern side of the acropolis rock by means of a gate in its southern side. The gate, which is 3.25 m. high and has an opening of 2.25 m., was

closed on its outer side by a huge door, the top of which fitted into a stone housing which projects from the top of the tower. The inner door was double and bolted home by a massive beam. The wall thickness of the tower is 2.55 m. The interior is taken up by a single barrel-vaulted room, 6.40 m. x 5.90 m., which has neither windows, arrow slits nor even a light-well. The tower opens onto the First Enceinte by means of another gate of the same dimensions as the other, closed by a double door and beam.

North of this gate tower the wall has been breached and little remains of it as far as the cleft in the rock, F, which separates the first enceinte from the three-storied tower, G. The width of the enceinte at this point is no more than 15 m. The breach in the east wall north of the tower and the virtually complete destruction of the Byzantine section here proves that the Armenians did not pay sufficient attention to the defence of the castle's vulnerable eastern side. This is also clear in the Second Enceinte, where the eastern wall was breached at many points. The ground in the First Enceinte rises steadily from south to north. No attempt was made to level the surface, and jagged rocks make the going difficult. A certain amount of coarse grass provides rough grazing nowadays for goats and cattle, as perhaps it did at the time when the castle flourished. The total area of the first enceinte is about 6.40 hectares.

The three-storied tower and other rooms associated with it are built on an isolated platform between the First and Second Enceintes. Architecturally this is the finest part of the castle, and dates from the 636th year of the Armenian era (1188 A.D.).[107] The 15 m. cleft which separates the tower from the First Enceinte must originally have been spanned by a drawbridge, but nowadays it must be crossed without such aid and the lower part of the tower climbed, before a narrow ledge is reached from which access to the lowest storey is possible. The tower, which is built of excellent drafted masonry, stands about 15 m. high, but is very narrow in proportion in its upper storeys, which are no more than 5.0 m. in depth. Inside are three superimposed vaulted rooms, each of which was approached by an interior staircase. The bottom flight has, however, been destroyed, so that the two upper storeys cannot now be reached. Soon after its erection the tower must have been considered top-heavy and dangerous, since much of the lowest room was solidified with concrete, and part of another room just behind it was blocked in the same manner. A passage which goes northwards to the back of the tower leads to a small smoothed ledge of rock with a low parapet. At the northern end of the ledge a bench has been carved into the side of the parapet. From here there is a wonderful panoramic view, covering the fortresses of Yılan Kalesi and Tumlo Kalesi to the south and west respectively, Kozan and its castle to the north, and the whole Taurus range stretching away to the south-west. The room immediately behind the tower is partly blocked, and its remaining width is only 3.0 m. Its original width, however, to judge from the vaulting, must

[107] *VC*, p. 43. Also see V. Langlois, *Inscriptions grecques, romaines, byzantines et armeniennes de la Cilicie*, Paris, 1854, pp. 16-17.

have been about 5.50 m. Its length from east to west is 12 m. At its western end a large arched opening, closed by two doors, leads to the ledge and stone cut bench. In its east wall is an arrow embrasure now partially blocked. The ceiling is lofty and cross-vaulted. This room is by far the most imposing of all those in the fortress, and it seems likely that it was originally planned as the main hall. A small rectangular room which communicates with it at its north-west end may have been a pantry. North of the hall (if such it was), and entered by an arch, is another cross-vaulted room, H. Its width is 3.20 m., but its length is only 6.80 m., since the western end is occupied by a staircase which leads up to the roof. The northern wall of this room is largely destroyed. The whole area covered by the tower and its adjoining rooms is no more than 165 sq. m.

The artificial cleft between the tower group and the second enceinte is a formidable hazard, J. It measures no more than 4.0 m. across, but its floor has been cut to slope away to the sheer precipice on the west and the steep drop on the east. It therefore resembles a roof gable, along which the modern visitor is obliged to make his way. A short scramble up the wall in front of him takes him into the Second Enceinte.

This is certainly the oldest part of the castle, and occupies the highest ground on the whole crag. Gertrude Bell claimed to have seen Greek masonry in the lower courses of the wall at the southern end, though nothing that I saw appeared to be earlier than Roman, and in secondary use at that. A major part of the architecture of the enceinte is, in fact, Byzantine and apparently the Armenians had simply re-used the buildings, modifying and re-facing them where necessary, and had themselves built one corridor, some short stretches of wall and a large tower at the north-west corner. There is also some Arab work to be seen at the south end, built on to First Byzantine period foundations. As there is rather complicated group of rooms at this end of the enceinte, and since it forms a reasonably compact entity, it can perhaps best be described by itself.

Immediately to the north of the cleft a vaulted passage of Byzantine date runs northwards, K. Its east wall has collapsed, but a door on its western side opens into a small room, L, lit by a single light-well. Leading out of this room, and to the west of it, is another larger one, M, measuring 9.20 m. by 6.60 m. About 4.0 m. above floor level is a series of holes for beams which presumably supported a second storey. The height of the vault is about 9.0 m. In the centre of it is a light-well, but the room was virtually unlit, since a window in the west wall was blocked. At the south-west corner there is a breach in the wall, which reveals the remains of a brick vault of probable First Byzantine date. As can be seen from Fig. 9 the southern part of the room formed a triangle, with two small pent-house roofed attachments on the western side. These are the portions of the building which rest on First Byzantine period foundations, and may very well be of Arab date, particularly as their masonry differs from any Byzantine work in the rest of the castle. The southern triangle, together with the two projections, was later completely blocked, either in the Second Byzantine or the Armenian period. North of rooms L and M is

a walled rectangular area, partly filled with a triangular structure. It has no entrance, but its roof is accessible by means of a staircase up its north wall.

North of the Byzantine passage which gives access to the rooms just described, is a corridor of Armenian construction, N. It is 22.60 m. long. Two of the blocks of the inner facing at its northern end are decorated, one with acanthus leaves, the other with a grotesque human bust. The whole of the eastern wall of the Second Enceinte is Byzantine in date, and is almost completely ruined. At the north-east corner there is a large water cistern, O, of the same period, but the north-west corner, including a three-quarter circular tower, P, is purely Armenian. At this northern end of the enceinte there is a great difference in the thickness of the Byzantine and Armenian stretches of wall. The Byzantines were satisfied with no more than 1.30 m., while the Armenian section is 2.15 m. thick. The vaulted room inside the north-west tower is lit by two fine windows which were barred by an iron grill and closed with shutters. Beam holes above head level suggest that there was a loft. From this tower, looking south-westwards, a fairly long stretch of Byzantine wall remains intact (see Pl.IXb), including a staircase which gives access to the battlements and the north-west tower. At the south-west end of this section of wall is a small gate, deliberately blocked in antiquity, followed by a breach in the fortifications. On the far side of the breach is a small postern gate, Q, which opens on to the walled area which defends the northern and north-eastern approaches to the castle. This postern is flanked by a semi-circular tower of which the entrance is now blocked, though two light-wells in the roof prove that the inner chamber was once used. The wall of the enceinte continues in a south-westerly direction along the top of the cliff until it reaches a large Byzantine water cistern, the west wall of the cistern being the wall of the enceinte and having six external buttresses. Inside, along each of its longer walls, are five arched recesses. A pipe enters the building from the east. Adjoining this building, to the south, is another smaller cistern, while to the south-east is yet another and larger one, 12.0 m. x 11.50 m. It was sunk into rising ground, but some idea of its capacity can be gained from the fact that where the ground is lower, towards the south, the height of the cistern is only just under 4.00 m.

The rest of the rooms on this side of the enceinte form part of the complex at the southern end. All of them appear to be of Byzantine date, with various additions and changes made by the Armenians during their period of occupation. The most northerly of these rooms are in a state of ruin, and it is impossible to have more than a rough idea of their ground plan. The first of the intact rooms, S, is entered from the enceinte, and is of the usual vaulted type with beam-holes just above head level. The level of the ground has risen so much both inside and out, that it is now impossible to see what was the purpose of two arched doorways in its northern wall. Possibly they opened into a set of rooms now collapsed, or, alternatively, into two passages which led downwards to chambers cut in the rock. There is a door in the south wall which leads into a long

room, T, measuring 12.00 m. x 7.00 m. In the west wall of this long room is a very large window. Its sill is at the same level as the present floor. It is an altogether terrifying window, as the cliff overhangs slightly at this point, and there is nothing to be seen between it and the plain, except the eagles below, circling about their nests in the rock. At the south end of this room is a patch of lamp black on the vaulting, the only evidence of the castle having been artificially lit. Adjoining this room is a large three-quarter circular tower, U, lit by a single arrow slit. The beam-holes in this chamber have stone brackets just below them to give additional support to the floor of the upper storey which was lit by a large window opening on to the enceinte. The next room to the south-east is very curiously shaped, as it simply fills up the space between the neighbouring tower and the solid triangular structure mentioned above, p. 124. This part of the enceinte has clearly been altered frequently, and two blocked arrow slits high up in the north-west corner of this room, show clearly that the outer wall was once a part of the fortifications, until the Armenians linked the tower and the solid triangular building with an inner wall and produced a new room.

There are three buildings within the enceinte at its northern end, of which one is another water cistern, a second whose purposes is not clear, and lastly a simple rectangular chapel with no internal divisions, belonging to the Armenian period.

The Church of the Armenian Kings (See Fig. 10).

At the south of the First Enceinte is the Church of the Armenian Kings, the best preserved building at Anavarza. At the beginning of the present century its condition was even better, but since then a great breach has been caused in the south wall, probably by an earthquake. As a result, the finely decorated south door has been completely destroyed. Fortunately a description and photograph of it were published by Gertrude Bell.[108]

The church, which measures 13.05 m. by 9.60 m., had two doors, one at the west end, which is in fair condition, the other, now destroyed, in the centre of the south side. The east end, which has no exterior apse, is pierced by three narrow windows, whose positions correspond to the three internal divisions of the church. Externally, the arch of each of these windows is filled with a type of scallop decoration, an ornament also to be seen above the lintel of the west door. On either side of the central window is a niche.

The only window in the south wall is high up, to the west of the door. The arch of this door was formed of voussoirs taken from an older, Byzantine building, possibly from the small apsidal chapel just north of the church. As Heberdey and Wilhelm point out, the voussoirs were too many for their new position, with the result that the inscription εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, formerly to be read round the arch, became contracted to εὐλογεος.[109]

[108] *RA*, jan.-fév. 1906, p. 26, Figs. 21, 23.
[109] *RK*, p. 37.

The mouldings of these voussoirs is in a pseudo-Classical manner, and the carving harsher and more mechanical than in the case of the Church of the Apostles.

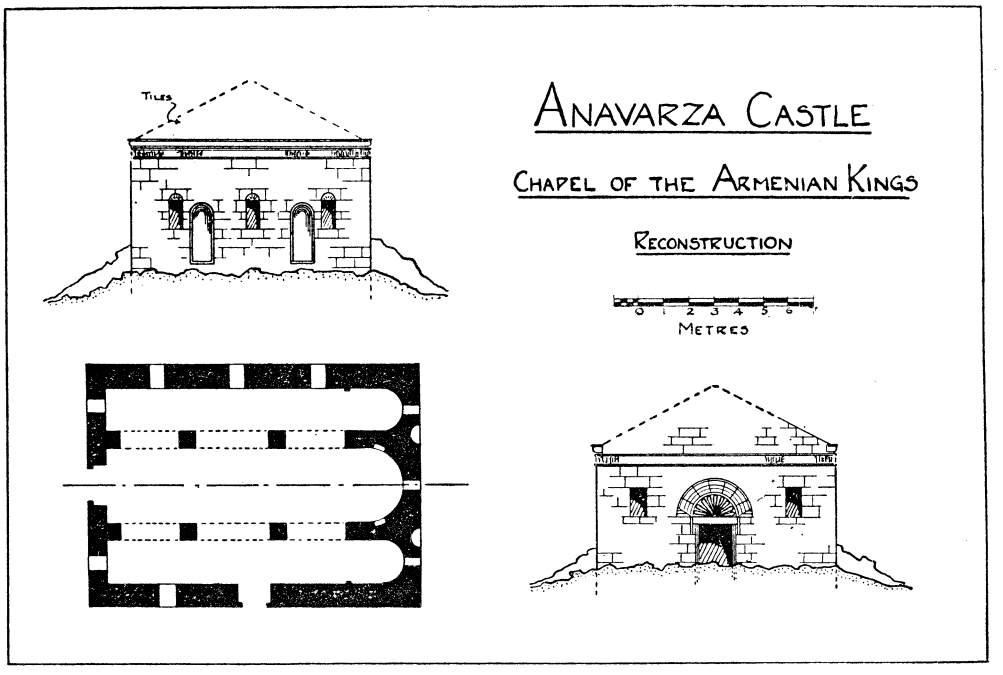


FIG. 10.

At the west end there is a small window on either side of the door. This door is not elaborate, though above the scallop decoration which fills the arch, is a set of voussoirs, obviously in secondary use, whose simple mouldings recall the arches of the north and north-west gates of the lower city. There were three windows in the north wall, but no door.

Round the whole building, along the top of the wall, ran an Armenian inscription, much of which has now fallen. Langlois made a translation of it, and it appears that the church was used as a burial place for the earlier rulers of the country at the time when Anazarbus (or Anavarza, as it was called by then), was the capital. A very simple cornice surmounted this inscription. Some of the tiled roof still remains. It was gabled and low pitched. At the east end it was hipped.

The interior of the church was divided into a nave and two aisles by two pairs of stone pillars, one of which, on the north side, has fallen. All the stonework was plastered and much of it painted with frescoes. These have weathered badly, as well as having been deliberately defaced. The figures of Armenian saints round the central apse are now almost obliterated, but the general outline of the Christ Pantocrator which covers the half dome can still be made out. He is represented seated on a throne of many mansions flanked by seraphim. These figures (of seraphim) prove how much Armenian ecclesiastical art at this time was indebted to Byzantine inspiration, for they are of the orthodox pattern, to be seen, for example,

in St. Sophia at Constantinople. At the corners of the design in circular frames are the four evangelists in their characteristic guise of the Apocalypse. At the west end of the south aisle a figure on horseback is depicted, perhaps St. George, or St. Gregory, patron saint of Armenia.[110]

To the south-west of the church is a vault, probably once used for burials. On entering it I discovered it to be completely empty.

A metre or two to the north of the church are the remains of a small apsidal building—probably the remains of the earlier Byzantine chapel. Where the south wall of the Armenian church has fallen, a small painted basket capital of typical Byzantine workmanship has been laid bare in part of the filling of the wall. This suggests that the church was partly built of material taken from the chapel.

INSCRIPTIONS

The following inscriptions are among those found at Anavarza and neighbourhood during 1949, '50 and '51. I hope to publish further examples from this and other Cilician sites in the near future. Appendix " A " contains the texts, without commentary, of two inscriptions found at Anavarza and to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Belleten*. I include them, since I have had occasion to refer to them in the main body of the text.

The era of Anazarbus began in 19 B.C., and all dates will, where necessary, be given in terms of this era. It is to be noted, however, that the lettering of dated stones from Tozlu sometimes appears later in type than in the case of similar examples from Anavarza. It is just possible that the ancient settlement at Tozlu employed the era of Flaviopolis which began in A.D. 74, though this is unlikely since the village is no more than 5 km. from Anavarza. The month, where this is recorded, is always according to the Sidonian Calendar.

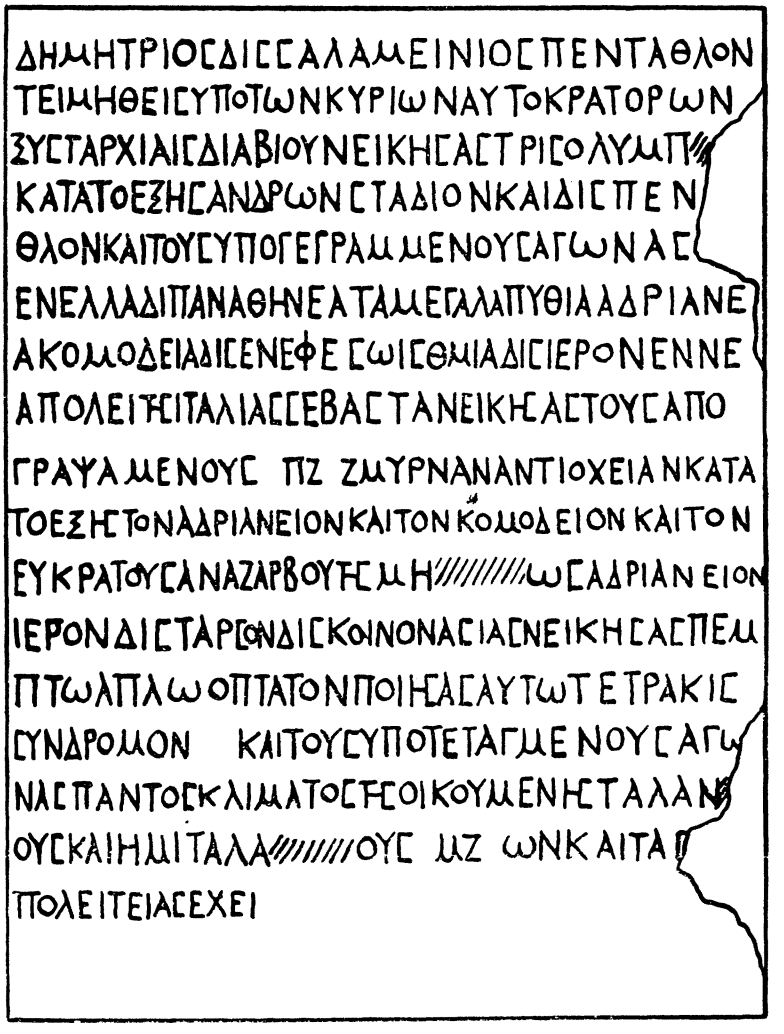
Squeezes of most of the inscriptions are available at the Museum of Classical Archæology at Cambridge. Where no squeeze was taken, the words " hand copy only " will be found after the description of the stone.

1. Anavarza. In fosse, about 200 m. west of north gate. Bomos with projecting mouldings at top and bottom. One face only inscribed. H. 1.14 ; w. 0.55 ; th. 0.60 ; letters. 0.023-0.018. Slightly chipped at sides. L. 11 badly weathered.

This inscription presents a number of difficulties, not the least of which is the problem of punctuation. I have had the privilege of consulting Mr. Tod about the interpretation of the inscription in general, and am deeply grateful for the help and advice which he has so generously given me. There may be—and probably are—several points of interpretation with which he will disagree, since though I have followed his suggestions in very many cases, I have not done so invariably.

Demetrius son of Demetrius in L.1 must be a citizen of Salamis in Cyprus. Communication between Cilicia and the island was constant, and Σαλαμείνιος is unqualified. The verb to be understood in the same line I take to be ἐνίκησε. The victory in question would have been won at Anazarbus.

[110] I am indebted to Mrs. Seton Lloyd for pointing out this fresco, which had never before been noticed or recorded.



Δημήτριος δὶς Σαλαμείνιος πένταθλον·
τειμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων
ξυσταρχίαις διὰ βίου · νεικήσας τρὶς Ὀλύμπ[ια]
κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ἀνδρῶν στάδιον, καὶ δὶς πέν[τα-]
θλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους ἀγῶνας ·
ἐν Ἑλλάδι Παναθήνεα τὰ μεγάλα, Πύθια · Ἀδριάνε[ι-]
α, Κομόδεια δὶς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ · Ἴσθμια δὶς ἱερόν · ἐν Νεα-
πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας Σεβαστὰ, νεικήσας τοὺς ἀπο-
γραψαμένους πζ΄. Ζμύρναν, Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ
τὸ ἑξῆς τὸν Ἀδριάνειον καὶ τὸν Κομόδειον καὶ τὸν
Εὐκράτους · Ἀναζάρβου τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀδριάνειον
ἱερὸν δὶς · Ταρσὸν δὶς · κοινὸν Ἀσίας νεικήσας πέμ-
πτῳ ⟨ὅ⟩πλῳ Ὀπτᾶτον ποιήσας αὐτῷ τετράκις
σύνδρομον · καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ἀγῶ-
νας πάντος κλίματος τῆς οἰκουμένης ταλαντ[ιαί-]
ους καὶ ἡμιταλα[ντιαί]ους μζ΄ · ὧν καὶ τὰς
πολιτείας ἔχει.

L.2 suggests that D. was honoured by two co-regent Emperors. Anazarbus in L.11 is styled ' metropolis ', a title which, so far as is known, was not current until the beginning of the 3rd century (see below, p. No. 2). Furthermore, no festival with an imperial title later than that of Commodus is mentioned. Severus and Caracalla may be the Emperors in question.

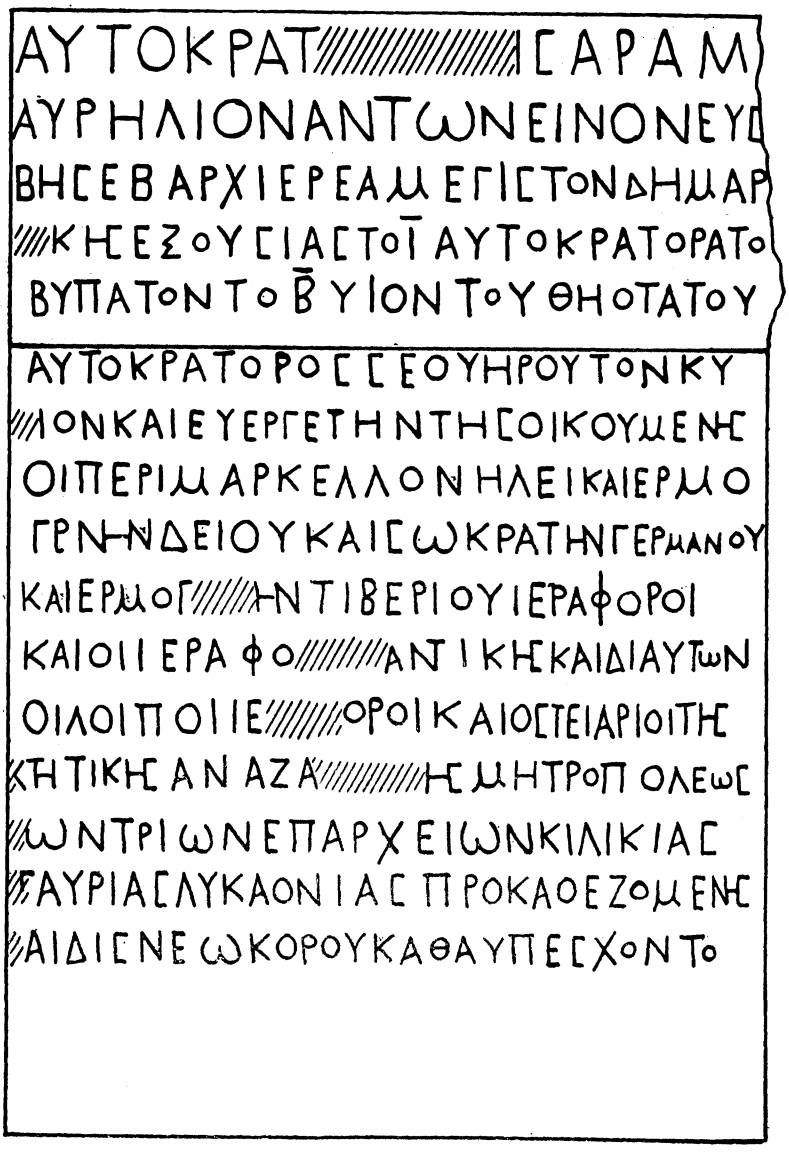
Dittenberger, *SIG*, 1073 and note, explains the granting of *ξυσταρχίαι* by the Emperors. The honour was quite commonly held *διὰ βίου* (see *IGR*, I, 153, 155, 156). *'Ολύμπια* must almost certainly be the great Olympia. A victory in the games there is always stressed in agonistic records, and had one of the lesser festivals of that name been intended, it would surely have been qualified by the place-name, as it is in *IGR*, I, 444. The fact that D. won the men's sprint three times at Olympia shows that he must have been an outstanding athlete, for the career of a short distance runner is not usually a long one.

In L.6 the question arises as to the number of festivals to be considered as governed by the opening words *ἐν 'Ελλάδι*. I prefer to confine these to the Athenian Panathenaea and the Pythian festival at Delphi, since if *'Αδριάνεια, Κομόδεια* are included it must be supposed that there was an Isthmian festival at Ephesus for which I know no evidence. There was, indeed, a *'Αδριάνεια* at Athens (see *IGR*, I, 444) ; but equally there was one at Ephesus (see *IGR*, I, 162, 444 ; III, 370). The *"Ισθμια*, unqualified by any place-name, is presumably the Corinthian festival. The Neapolitan *Σεβαστά* in L.7/8 is very well attested (see Louis Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 144 ; *IGR*, I, 153 ; III, 370). The number of competitors—eighty-seven—seems high.

L.9 is puzzling. The *'Αντιόχεια* was, as Robert, *EA*, p. 92, states, " *la fête principale de Smyrne.*" There is, however, no doubt about the final *ν* of the word *'Αντιόχειαν*, and the city itself must be intended. In that case, can one assume that *Ζμύρναν* is to be taken by itself, on the analogy of *Ταρσὸν δίς* in L.12, and that D. there won some unspecified *ἀγών* ? If so, D.'s victories in the *'Αδριάνεια* and *Κομόδεια* were won at Antioch. *καὶ τὸν Εὐκράτους* in L.10/11 is probably also dependant on *'Αντιόχειαν* (see Robert, *EA*, p. 144 on the evidence for " *le concours d'Eukrate à Antioche*). If so, the next entry in L.11/12, *'Αναζαρβου . . . ἱερὸν δίς* reads harshly, but to omit the colon after *Εὐκράτους* would lead to the assumption that there was a *Εὐκράτους ἀγών* at Anazarbus, and for such a festival there is as yet no evidence.

I can make little of *πέμπτω ΑΠΛΩ* in L.12/13. *ΑΠΛΩ* must surely be an error, since *πέμπτω* requires a noun to make up the sense. Can *ὅπλω* be intended ? *ὅπλον* can mean *ὁπλίτης δρόμος* (see Robert, *Hellenica*, II, 6, 31. *'Οπτᾶτον ποιήσας αὐτῷ τετράκις σύνδρομον* in L.13/14 is also obscure. Perhaps D. made Optatus his pacer four times or, alternatively, tied with him four times. *ὑποτεταγμένους* in L.14 must bear the same meaning as *ὑπογεγραμμένους* in L.5, and this implies that D. intended to list the *ἀγῶνας . . . ταλαντιαίους καὶ ἡμιταλαντιαίους* events of less importance than those mentioned above—on another side of the bomos. This intention was not carried out, since only one side was inscribed. *ὧν* refers vaguely back to the cities of which D. held the *πολιτείαι*.

2. *Ibid.* In the fosse, slightly to the west of the north gate. Statue-base with projecting mouldings at top and bottom. H. 1.45 ; w. 0.60 ; th. 0.60 ; letters. 0.033-0.023. Somewhat chipped at the sides. L.8/13 very badly weathered, but legible. (See Pl.XIIb).



Αὐτοκράτ[ορα Κα]ίσαρα Μ(ᾶρκον)
Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Εὐσ[ε-]
βῆ Σεβ (αστὸν) ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρ-
[χι]κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ί, αὐτοκράτορα τὸ
β′, ὕπατον τὸ β′, υἱὸν τοῦ [θ]ηοτάτου
αὐτοκράτορος Σεουήρου, καὶ κύ-
[ρ]ιον καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς οἰκουμένης,
οἱ περὶ Μάρκελλον Ἡλεί(ου) καὶ Ἑρμο-
γένην Δείου καὶ Σωκράτην Γερμανοῦ
καὶ Ἑρμογ[έν]ην Τιβερίου ἱεραφόροι
καὶ οἱ ἱεραφό[ροι μ]αντικῆς καὶ δι' αὐτῶν
οἱ λοιποὶ ἱε[ραφ]όροι καὶ ὀστειάριοι τῆς
[κτ]ητικῆς Ἀναζα[ρβην]ῆς μητροπόλεως
[τ]ῶν τριῶν ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας
[Ἰ]σαυρίας Λυκαονίας προκαθεζομένης,
[κ]αὶ δὶς νεωκόρου, καθ' ἃ ὑπέσχοντο.

This statue-base must have been inscribed in A.D. 207 before 10 December, since from that date Caracalla had entered on the eleventh year of his *tribunicia potestas*. He began his third consulship on 1 January 208.

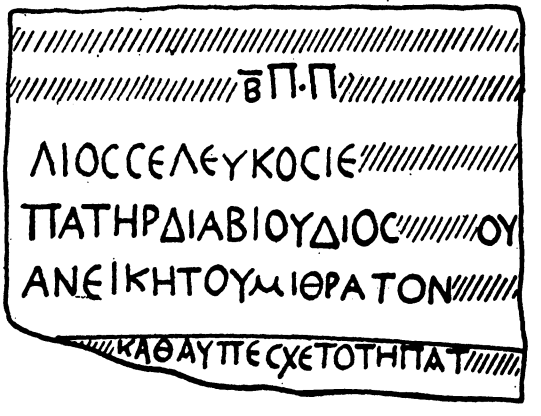
Ηλει in L.8 appears to stand for the genitive case of a name *Ηλειος*. *Ηλος* occurs on an incsription from Arabia (see *IGR*, III, 1219). A collateral (?) form, *'Ηλεις*, is known from *RK*, p. 33, while *Ηλις* has been noted at Şar (Comana in Cappadocia) and Konya (see *JRS*, XIV, 1924, p. 49).

The use of an irregular accusative in *ην* for nouns of the 3rd declension terminating in *ης*, which occurs three times between L.8 and L.10, is not infrequently found in inscriptions of the Imperial period (see *IGR*, III, 622, 1, *et passim*). The name after *Σωκράτην* in L.9 appears to be *Γερμανοῦ*.

'Ιεραφόροι in L.10 is an uncommon word. In its best known context (Plut., *De Iside et Osiride*, 352B) *ἱεραφόροι* and *ἱεροστόλοι* are described as follows :— *οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον περὶ θεῶν πάσης καθαρεύοντα δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ περιεργίας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες ὥσπερ ἐν κιστῃ καὶ περιστέλλοντες . . .* Unfortunately it is impossible to say what mysteries were practiced at Anazarbus, and *μαντικῆς* in L.11 offers no more than a general clue.

There is room for no more than two letters at the beginning of L.13, and one of these probably ligatured. There seems to be a horizontal stroke ligatured to the top left hand vertical stroke of the first *η*, and Professor Calder, after a very careful examination of my squeeze, was able to make out the remains of a *κ* immediately to the left of this. The word to be read is, therefore, *κτητικῆς*, a very appropriate epithet for the city during the first part of the 3rd century A.D. The titles of Anazarbus in L.13/15 are here met with for the first time in a dated inscription.

3. *Ibid.* At south-west end of stadium. Bomos with projecting mouldings at top and bottom. H. 1.37 ; w. 0.47 ; th. 0.45 ; letters. 0.04-0.025. Smaller letters in last line only. Apart from the almost total erasure of the first 6 lines, the inscription is very badly worn. (See Pl.XIIa).



1–5. [[- - - - - - - -]]
[[*ὑπάτου τὸ*]] *β', π(ατρὸς) π(ατρίδος)* · [*M. Αὐρή-*]
λιος Σέλευκος ἱε[*ρεὺς καὶ*]
πατὴρ διὰ βίου Διὸς [*'Ηλί*]*ου*
ἀνεικήτου Μίθρα τὸν [. .
10. . . .] *καθ' ἃ ὑπέσχετο τῇ πατ*[*ρίδι*].

L.1/5 are totally erased in conformity with the *damnatio memoriae* of the Emperor whose name originally appeared on the stone. I have restored *M. Αὐρη-* at the end of L.6. Seleucus, to judge from the office which he held, must have been a man of some eminence. As *πατήρ* shows in L.8 he belonged to the seventh and highest grade of Mithraic initiates. Plutarch, (*Vita Pompeii*, XXIV), writing of the Cilician pirates, states :—*ξένας δὲ θυσίας ἔθυον αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐν 'Ολύμπῳ, και τελετάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ἐτέλουν ὧν ἡ τοῦ Μίθρου, καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο διασώζεται καταδειχθεῖσα πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων.* It is interesting, therefore, that of the very rare relics of Mithraism in Asia Minor two should have a Cilician origin. The first is the inscription published here, while the other is a coin of Tarsus with the head of Gordian III on the obverse, and the effigy of the god on the reverse.

Such is the paucity of evidence of Mithraism in Asia Minor that the statuette of an initiate with the rank of *leo* purchased by the late Sir William Ramsay at Konya, and published by him in his *Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey*, pp. 214 ff., 306 ff., would be of great importance if genuine. Unfortunately it is almost certainly a modern forgery. Not only is it a clumsy and unconvincing piece of work, but the story of its antecedents published by W. M. Calder, "Missak *ΛΑΤΥΠΟΣ*?", *JHS*, XLVII, 1927, pp. 178/179, makes it virtually certain that the statuette is a fake. Professor Calder, referring to the " coating of fine dust " covering the statuette at the time that Sir William bought it, mentions that in 1912 while scrubbing a small relief for an impression " a light brown substance with which it was coloured washed off, disclosing a white, sparkling marble, which looked as if it had been freshly carved ", and that this convinced him that the relief was a forgery, since he had never known the natural discoloration of marble to disappear in this way. It may be of interest, therefore, that when in 1950 in Cilicia I was shown a collection of appallingly bad statuettes which were certainly forgeries, all of them were coated with the " light brown substance " described by Professor Calder.

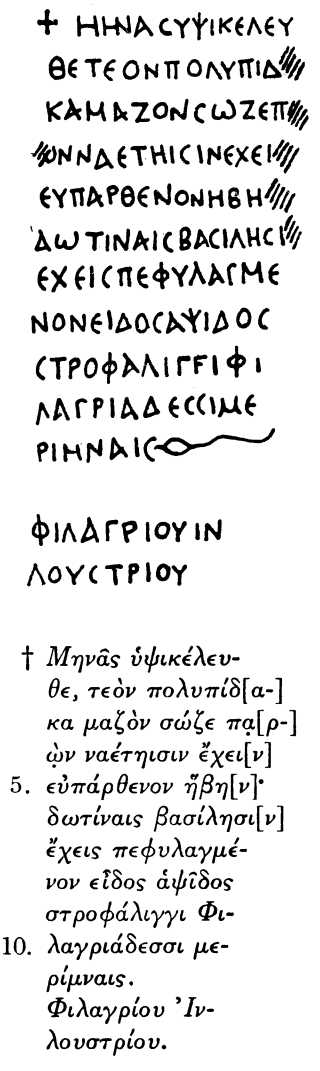
4. *Ibid.* On a sarcophagus south of the stadium. H. 0.32 ; w. 0.47 ; letters. 0.029. Dimensions are of inscribed surface only. Very worn in several places.

ΔΑΟΥCΔΙC ΗΛΙΟΔΩ
ΡΟCΕΑΥΤΩΖΩΝΤΗ
ΝCΟΡΟΝΚΑΙΚΥΡΙΛΑΤΗ
CΥΝΒΙΩΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΩ
ΤΩΑΔΕΛΦΩΕΑΝΔΕ
ΤΙCΜΕΤΑΗΜΑCΑΝΟΙ
ΞΗΑΠΟΔΩCΗCΤΟΝ
ΦΙCΚΟΝΔΗΝΑΡΙΑΧΙΛΙΑ

Δαους δὶς 'Ηλιόδωρος
ἑαυτῷ ζῶν τὴν
σορὸν καὶ Κυρίλα τῇ σ-
υμβίῳ καὶ 'Ηλιοδώρῳ
τῷ ἀδελφῷ · ἐὰν δέ
τις μετὰ ἡμᾶς ἀνοί-
ξῃ ἀποδώσῃ ⟨ει⟩ς τὸν
φίσκον δηνάρια χίλια

The name *Δαης*, and its collateral form, *Δαος*, is quoted by J. Sundwall *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 65. *Κυρίλα* in L.3 is, of course, more usual with a double λ. In L.7 the use of the verb *ἀποδίδοναι* followed by *εἰς* can be assumed to be due to the provincial Greek of the lapicide.

4a. Anavarza. Large, oblong, limestone block, incorporated in the masonry of the northern entrance gate. H. 1.40 ; w. 0.63 ; letters. 0.060-0.048.



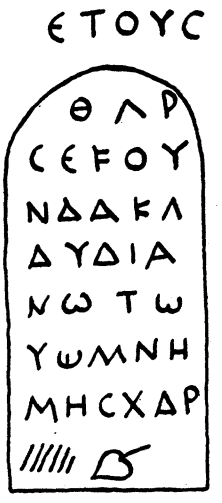
† *Μηνᾶς ὑψικέλευ-*
θε, τεὸν πολυπίδ[α-]
κα μαζὸν σώζε πᾳ[ρ-]
ὢν ναέτησιν ἔχει[ν]
εὐπάρθενον ἤβη[ν]·
δωτίναις βασίλησι[ν]
ἔχεις πεφυλαγμέ-
νον εἶδος ἀψῖδος
στροφάλιγγι Φι-
λαγριάδεσσι με-
ρίμναις.
Φιλαγρίου Ἰν-
λουστρίου.

Menas is said to have been a soldier who was martyred in Phrygia under the persecutions of Diocletian at the end of the 3rd century. He was held in particular reverence in Egypt, and a huge basilica was dedicated to him at the oasis of Abu Mina Karm. In Christian iconography he is frequently represented between a pair of camels.

τεὸν πολυπίδακα μαζόν in L.2/3 seems to refer to the crag of Anazarbus, though *πολυπῖδαξ* would appear a rather exaggerated epithet to apply to the place. *Ὑψικέλευθε* in L.1 is more likely to mean "ranging aloft", i.e. on the crag, rather than "in heaven." The image, "guarded by a curved arch" was presumably

set up in a church. The rock-cut church in the upper city may have been dedicated to St. Menas, in which case this inscription would have been set up some time after A.D. 516.

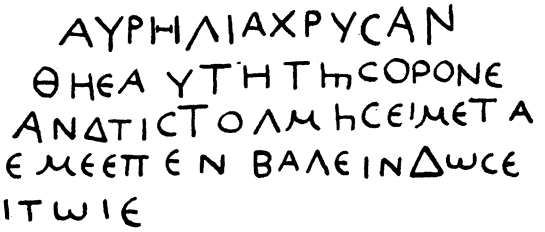
5. *Ibid.* Built into a modern wall. Gravestone. Main inscription in a panel, only the first five letters being inscribed above it. H. 0.39 ; w. 0.24 ; letters. 0.022-0.015.



Ἔτους
θλρ΄
Σεκοῦ-
νδα Κλ-
5. *αυδια-*
νῶ τῶ
ὑῶ μνή-
μης χαρ[ιν]

The year corresponds to A.D. 120. Letter forms appear late, but in the case of gravestones especially they offer little clue to dating. Cp. below, no. 32.

6. *Ibid.* From a sarcophagus south of the stadium. H. 0.35 ; w. 0.74 ; letters. 0.060-0.038. Hand copy only.



Αὐρηλία Χρυσάν-
θη ἑαυτῆ τὴν σορόν · ἐ-
ὰν δ⟨έ⟩ τις τολμήσει μετὰ
ἐμὲ ἐπενβαλεῖν δώσε-
5. *ι τῶ ἱε [ρωτάτω ταμείω δηνάρια . . .]*

Χρυσάνθη in L.1/2 is not a common name. *Χρύσανθος* is found in a Palmyrene inscription. See *IGR*, III, 1539.

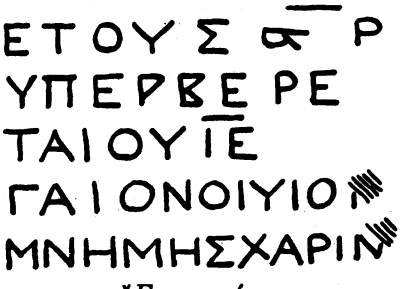
There is no break or erasure at the end of L.5. The lapicide apparently tired of his task, and left his client's directions unexpressed. Letter forms are untidy and late in appearance.

7. *Ibid.* About 200 m. south of the north wall of the city, and just east of the north-south colonnaded street. Upside-down and originally deeply buried. Cylindrical gravestone with projecting mouldings at base. H. 0.75 ; circumf. 1.48 ; letters. 0.070-0.050. Hand copy only.

Πώλλη
ἡ θυγάτηρ
Διοκλεῖ
τῶι πατρὶ
5. *μνήμης*
χάριν.

The name in L.1 is very badly damaged. The only suggestion that I can make is that *Πώλλη* should be restored. The 3rd and 4th letters might well be two λs, and the two uprights at the end of the line might belong to an η. *Πώλλη* is known as a collateral form of the very common *Πώλλα* (Paula). The iota adscript in L.4, coupled with the rounded form of μ and σ suggest a 2nd century A.D. date.

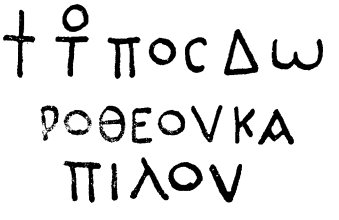
8. *Ibid.* Built into a modern wall just south-east of the triumphal arch. Gravestone. H. 0.405 ; w. 0.30 ; letters. 0.025. Hand copy only.



Ἔτους sρ'
Ὑπερβερε-
ταίου ιε'
Γάϊον οἱ υἱοὶ
5. *μνήμης χάριν.*

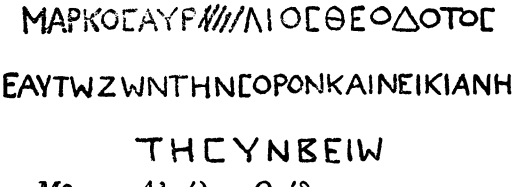
The year corresponds to A.D. 87.

9. *Ibid.* On the face of the crag, behind the south-west stand of the stadium. H. 0.31 ; w. 0.62 ; letters. 0.08-0.055. Dimensions are of inscribed surface, and a hand copy only was taken.



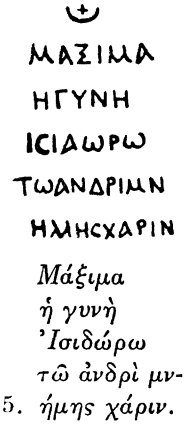
† *Τόπος Δω-*
ροθέου κα-
πίλου.

10. *Ibid.* On a sarcophagus about 100 m. east of Hazreti Ali's cleft. H. 0.51 w. 0.975 ; letters. 0.038. Hand copy only.



Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Θεόδοτος
ἑαυτῷ ζῶν τὴν σορὸν καὶ Νεικιανῇ
τῇ συνβείω.

11. *Ibid.* Shown to me by a shepherd near no. 11. Small gravestone. Hand copy taken in haste.

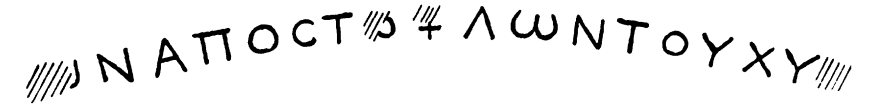


Μάξιμα
ἡ γυνὴ
Ἰσιδώρῳ
τῷ ἀνδρὶ μν-
ήμης χάριν.

12. *Ibid.* In a private house near the triumphal arch. Gravestone. H. 0.22 ; w. 0.14 ; letters. 0.02. Hand copy only.

Δικαίω.

13. *Ibid.* From the Church of the Apostles. Dedication stone. Letters enclosed in an ornamental band following the curve of a wreath. H. of band, 0.06 ; letters. 0.046-0.042.



[τ]ῶν ἀποστό † λων τοῦ X(ριστο)ῦ.

14. *Ibid.* In relief on a window block from the Rock-cut Church. Letters. 0.055.

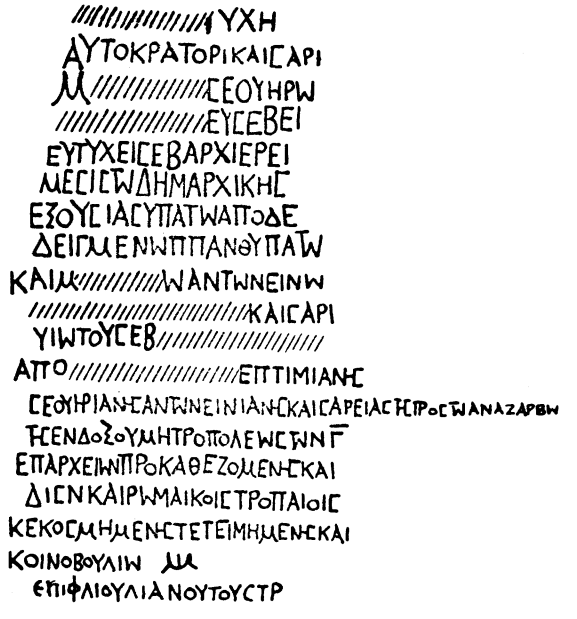
Ἔτους ελ′ ς φ′ †.

According to my interpretation (explained above p. 116) the year corresponds to A.D. 516.

15. *Ibid.* Inscribed along the lowest rock-cut step of the south-west stand of the stadium. Total length of the inscription is 105 m., but the letters at either end are illegible. Letter heights vary between 0.20 and 0.11.

. . . Ἀλεξανδρο̣υ̣ Μᾶρ. Ἡλιοδώρου κ(αὶ) Ποπλίου κ(αὶ) Γαΐου . . .

16. Akdam. In a rice field north of the village. *Miliarium in situ.* H. 1.36 ; circumf. 1.86 ; letters. 0.061-0.025.



[Ἀγαθῇ Τ]ύχη ·
Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι
Μ. [[Ὀπελλίῳ]] Σεουήρῳ
[[Μακρείνῳ]] Εὐσεβεῖ
Ευτυχεῖ Σεβ(αστῷ) ἀρχιερεῖ
μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς

ἐξουσίας, ὑπάτῳ ἀποδε-
δειγμένῳ, π(ατρὶ) π(ατρίδος), ἀνθυπάτῳ
καὶ *M.* [['Οπελλίῳ]] 'Αντωνείνῳ
10. [[Διαδουμενιανῷ]] Καίσαρι
υἱῷ τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) ·
ἀπο [[Μακρεινιανῆς Σ]]επτιμιανῆς
Σεουηριανῆς 'Αντωνειναινῆς Καισαρείας τῆς πρὸς τῷ 'Αναζάρβῳ
τῆς ἐνδόξου μητροπόλεως τῶν γ'
15. ἐπαρχειῶν προκαθεζομένης, καὶ
δὶς ν(εωκόρου), καὶ 'Ρωμαικοῖς τροπαίοις
κεκοσμημένης, τετειμημένης καὶ
κοινοβουλίῳ. M
ἐπὶ Φλ(αουίου) 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ στρ(ατηγοῦ).

The date of this inscription can be determined to within a few months. Macrinus had had time to be recognised by the Senate as Emperor in succession to Caracalla, (assassinated on 8 April 217), and to have been granted the usual magistracies and titles. It is clear, however, from the fact that no consulship is mentioned and that ὑπάτῳ ἀποδεδειγμένῳ only is inscribed in L.7/8, that 31 December 217 is the latest date for the inscription. It is also to be noted that the name of the Imperial Legate, Fl. Julianus, in L.19 occurs on another *miliarium* found *in situ* on the road between Anavarza and Tozlu. The date on this milestone is the year ϛλσ' of the era of Anazarbus (A.D. 217). There is little that is not already known in the titles of Anazarbus which are recorded between L.12 and L.18. The style Μακρεινιανή in L.12 appears for the first time as applied to the city. 'Ρωμαικοῖς τροπαίοις κεκοσμημένης in L.15/16 is of greater interest. The title does indeed appear in abbreviated form on an Anazarbene coin of Diadumenian (see above, n. 63), but I know of no example of its use earlier than the principate of Macrinus. Nevertheless, the trophies in question can hardly be those won by that emperor in his abortive Parthian campaign. Apart from the fact that this war did not end on anything like satisfactory terms for the Romans—and only at the price of a huge indemnity—it is probable that peace was not concluded until the spring of 218. But if the 'Ρωμαικὰ τροπαῖα were not won by Macrinus, it is curious that the first mention of them occurs during his reign. There is a possible explanation, though it cannot be checked until further evidence is forthcoming. Anazarbus, so far as is known, claimed in A.D. 207 the titles of μητρόπολις τῶν γ' ἐπαρχειῶν and δὶς νεωκόρος only ; yet ten years later the number had grown to far larger proportions. Unless Anazarbus had performed some signal service for Macrinus—and there is no evidence to support such a supposition—it seems very likely that the new titles, including 'Ρωμαικοῖς τροπαιοῖς κεκοσμημένη, were granted to the city by Caracalla during the Asian expedition which ended with his murder at Carrhae. He must have been in the vicinity of Anazarbus while en route for Syria, and the gravestone of a member of the 2nd Parthian Legion, of which some elements accompanied him East from Italy, has been found at Çeçen (see below, no. 19). The 'Ρωμαικὰ τροπαία could be the trophies won by his father Septimius Severus at the Battle of Issus against the rival Emperor Pescennius Niger. (In any case the new importance of Anazarbus seems to have begun in Severus' principate.) Tarsus—we know from her coinage—was already celebrating Severan Epinicia ἐν κοδρίγαις ὄροις Κιλίκων, in commemoration of the victory, and the Anazarbene title would therefore have been a belated, though adequate, riposte to the pretensions of the rival city.

17. Ayşehoca. From a private house. Gravestone, broken at top and bottom. Chips off the sides. H. 0.25 ; w. 0.26 ; letters. 0.030-0.027.

[Ἔτ]ους δμρ′ [μ-]
ηνὸς Ξανδ[ι-]
[κ]οῦ β′ Διο⟨υ⟩νύσι[ος]
Διοδότου Τ[υ-]
5. [αν]ε̣ὺς καὶ π.
. . . . . τει - - - -

The year corresponds to A.D. 125.

After Διοδότου in L. 4 Τυανεύς seems a likely restoration. The initial *T* is a virtual certainty, since the crossbar extends too far to the left of the vertical stroke for a Π to be likely. The crossbar of the certain Π in L.5 extends only a very short distance on either side of the two uprights. The first fragmentary letter in L.5 appears to be an ε. Following the καί in the same line, the name of a second person or, perhaps, a second citizenship of Dionysius is to be expected.

18. Çeçen. From a private house. Lower half of a gravestone. H. 0.23 ; w. 0.275 ; letters. 0.035-0.030.

CIVLIVSSABI
NVSHEREDES
EIVSMEMORI
AECAVSA

C. Iulius Sabi-
nus heredes
eius, memori-
ae causa.

There is a clean break above the first line of the inscription as it is now, so that there is no possibility of restoring the names which went before.

19. *Ibid.* Outside the new mosque. Bomos. Projecting moulding at bottom. Top broken off. H. 0.39 ; w. 0.31 ; letters. 0.045-0.030. Dimensions are of inscribed surface only.

[D(is)] M(anibus) S(acrum)
Sept(imii) Dizae
mil(itis) leg(ionis) II
Parth(icae),
5. Sept(imius) Cot-
tius he-
res.

The Second Parthian Legion was raised, along with the First and Third, by Septimius Severus. It is noteworthy that both the deceased and his heir had adopted the *praenomen* Septimius. The name *Δίζας* is known from an inscription from Panticapaeum (*IGR*, I 874). After its formation the Second Parthian was quartered for a long time—and contrary to precedent—in the neighbourhood of Rome itself. Caracalla, however, took elements of the legion with him when he set out for the East in A.D. 215 (Dio, LXIX, 2). These troops later played their part in the conspiracies which led to the assumption of the purple by Macrinus and, later, by Elagabalus. At the time of the latter's accession, men of the Second Parthian were quartered at Apamaea in the valley of the Orontes (Dio, LXXVIII, 34). It is not really surprising that a legionary's gravestone should have been found at Çeçen, close to the site of Anazarbus. There may well have been a barracks near Çeçen, for there seems to have been a military cemetery in its vicinity. Only five Latin inscriptions have so far been found in Anavarza and its neighbourhood, and three of these were at Çeçen.

20. Gaziköy. Gravestone used as the threshold of a private house. Hand-copy only. No dimensions taken.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣΜΟΥΣΑ
ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΝΗ
ΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Σωκράτης Μούσα
τῇ γυναικὶ μνή-
μης χάριν.

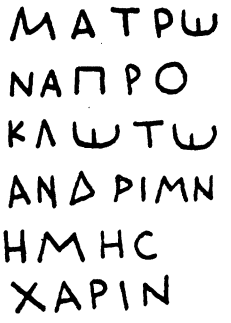
Letter forms are good, and suggest a date not later than the end of the 1st century A.D.

21. Hacılar Çiftliği. Gravestone. H. 0.33 ; w. 0.30 ; letters. 0.035-0.016.

Εὐοδία Δείω
τῶ ἀνδρὶ μνή-
μης χάριν.

For the name *Εὐοδία* see *IGR*, I, 157. For Δειος see above, no. 2 ; also *IGR*, III, 13, 402.

22. *Ibid.* Gravestone. H. 0.55 ; w. 0.20 ; letters. 0.027-0.021.

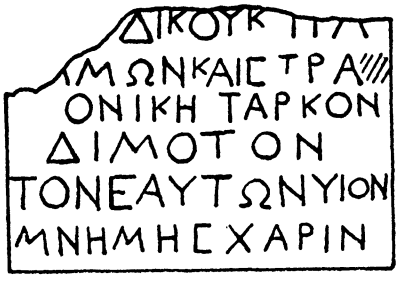


Ματρῶ-
να Πρό-
κλω τῶ
ἀνδρὶ μν-
ήμης
χάριν.

23. *Ibid.* Gravestone, moulded top and bottom, with a central panel for the inscription. H. 0.96 ; w. 0.43 ; letters. 0.038-0.035.

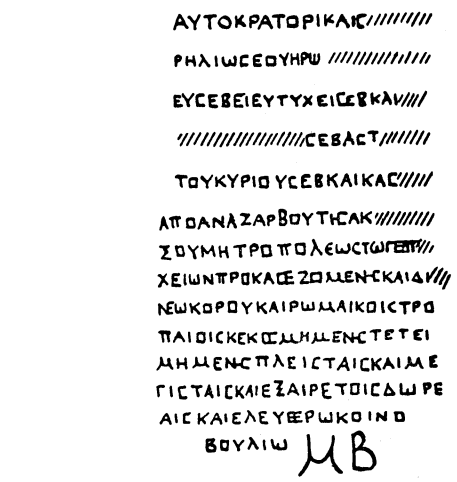
Λούκιος
Μέμμιος
Μακεδών.

24. Hacılar. Gravestone used as the threshold of a private house. Stone is broken at the top and chipped at the sides. H. 0.21 ; w. 0.30 ; letters. 0.026-0.021.



[*Ἔτους . . μηνὸς*]
[*Ξαν*]*δικοῦ κ*[. .]
ᾳμων καὶ Στρα[*τ-*]
ονίκη Ταρκον-
δίμοτον
τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν
μνήμης χάριν.

25. On the road between Anavarza and Tozlu, in a field belonging to Ibrahim Buyukcicek. *Miliarum in situ.* H. 1.45 ; circumf. 1,76 ; letters, 0.125-0.035.



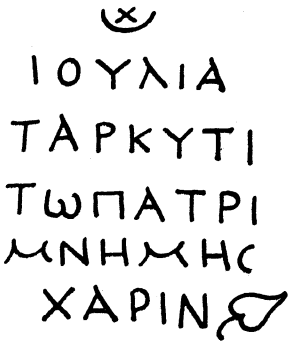
Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσ[*αρι Μ. Αὐρ-*]
ηλίῳ Σεουήρῳ [[*Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*]]
Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ(*αστῷ*) *κα*[[*ὶ Ἰουλ-*]]
[[*λία Μαμαία*]] *Σεβαστ*[[*ῆ, μητρὶ*]]
τοῦ κυρίου Σεβ(*αστοῦ*) *καὶ κάσ*[*τρων*] ·
ἀπὸ Ἀναζάρβου τῆς α.κ.[*μ. καὶ ἐνδο-*]
ξου μητροπόλεως τῶν γ' ἐπ[*αρ-*]
χειῶν προκαθεζομένης, καὶ δι[*ς*]
νεωκόρου, καὶ Ῥωμαικοῖς τρο-
παίοις κεκοσμημένης, τετει-
μημένης πλείσταις καὶ με-
γίσταις καὶ ἐξαιρέτοις δωρε-
αῖς καὶ ἐλευθέρῳ κοινο-
βουλίῳ, Μ.Β'.

It is by no means unusual to find the name of Julia Mamaea, the domineering mother of Severus Alexander, linked with that of her son on public documents. On a miliarium from Hadrianopolis in Thrace (*IGR*, I, 772), she is styled *μήτηρ κάστρων*, and her name, together with Alexander's, has been obliterated. She is given the same title in *IGR*, I, 1143, but neither of the names has been erased.

For the rest, the chief interest of the inscription is the great similarity it bears to two contemporary documents from Tarsus (*IGR*, III, 880, 881). In L.6 the letters *α.κ.μ.* stand for the words *πρώτη, καλλίστη, μεγίστη*, which appear written in full in the Tarsian inscriptions. *Ῥωμαικοῖς τροπαίοις κεκοσμημένης* in L.9/10 is a title peculiar to Anazarbus, and has been discussed above, p. 138, no. 16. There is no other example from Anazarbus of *τετειμημένης πλείσταις καὶ μεγίσταις καὶ ἐξαιρέτοις δωρεαῖς*, and this seems to have been borrowed directly from Tarsus. It is strange—considering the similarity between the three texts—that Anazarbus does not make the claim to be *τετειμημένη μόνη δημιουργίαις*, particularly as the Tarsian title is inaccurate. Two *δημιουργοί* of Anazarbus are named on the inscription published by Keil and

Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, 1915, Beiblatt, p. 55-56, and Elagabalus himself held the δημιουργία of the city in A.D. 221. (See above, p. 97, and n. 63.)

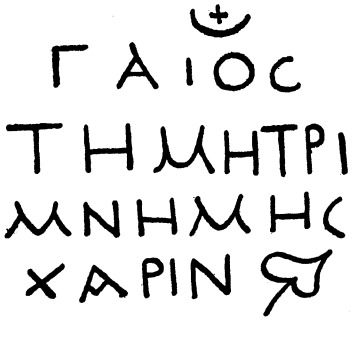
26. Tozlu. From upper village. Gravestone. H. 0.35 ; w. 0.19 ; letters. 0.032-0.023.



Ἰουλία
Ταρκυτι
τῷ πατρὶ
μνήμης
5. *χάριν.*

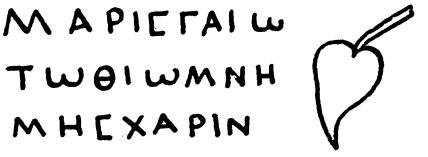
The name of the deceased may have been either *Ταρκυτι* or *Ταρκυτιτος*. I incline to the former, since if the name is read as *Ταρκυτιτος*, the word *πατρί* in L.3 is left without the article. Whichever reading is adopted, there is, it seems, no other recorded instance of the name. It is clearly connected with the many local Cilician names of similar formation, and which are to be found collected on pp. 214, 215 of J. Sundwall's *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier.* The best known are such names as *Ταρκονδίμοτος*, *Ταρκονδημος* and *Ταρκονδας*.

27. *Ibid.* Gravestone. H. 0.24 ; w. 0.20 ; letters. 0.025.



Γάϊος
τῇ μητρὶ
μνήμης
χάριν.

28. *Ibid.* Gravestone. H. 0.015 ; w. 0.30 ; letters. 0.038-0.020. Dimensions are of inscribed surface only.



Μάρις Γαΐω
τῶ θ⟨ε⟩ίω μνή-
μης χάριν.

Μάρις occurs as the name of a Lycian in Homer, *Iliad*, XVI, 319. See also *CIG*, 9238. Here it may be the Latin Mari(u)s.

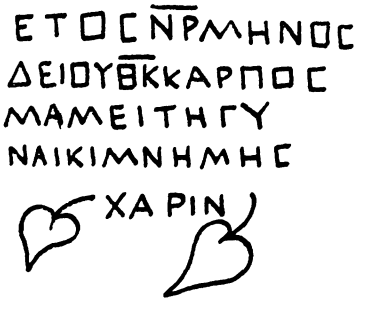
29. *Ibid.* Gravestone. Hand copy only. No dimensions.

ΓΑΙΟCΜΟΝ
ΤΑΝΩΤΩ
ΑΔΕΛΦΩ
ΜΝΗΜΗC
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Γάϊος Μον-
τανῶ τῶ
ἀδελφῶ
μνήμης
5. *χάριν.*

For *Μοντανός* see *IGR*, IV, 643.

30. *Ibid.* H. 0.48 ; w. 0.28 ; letters. 0.026-0.023.



Ἔτους νρ' μηνὸς
Δείου θκ' Κάρπος
Μαμει τῆ γυ-
ναικὶ μνήμης
5. *χάριν.*

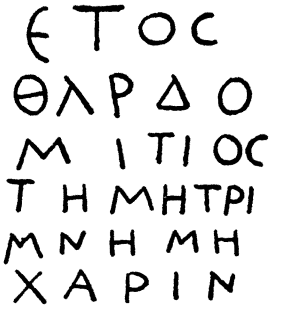
The year corresponds to A.D. 131.
The name *Κάρπος* in L.2 is to be found in *IGR*, III, 675 and 962.

31. *Ibid.* In the lower village, in the forecourt of a private house. Gravestone. H. 0.40 ; w. 0.26 ; letters. 0.030-0.028.

Ἔτους ειρ'
μηνὸς Περο-
τίου δ' Ταρ-
κονδιμότω
5. *τῶ πατρὶ οἱ υ-*
ιοὶ μνήμης
χ[άριν].

The year corresponds to A.D. 96.

32. *Ibid.* Outside a private house in the upper village. Gravestone. H. 0.30 ; w. 0.23 ; letters. 0.040-0.022.



Ἔτο⟨υ⟩ς
θλρ' Δο-
μίτιος
τῆ μητρὶ
5. *μνήμη[ς]*
χάριν

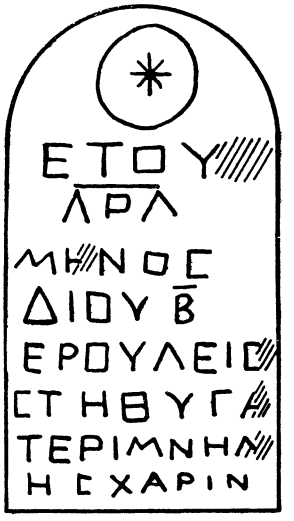
The year corresponds to A.D. 120, reckoned by the era of Anazarbus. The lettering is very crude and late in appearance for such a relatively early date.

33. *Ibid.* From a sarcophagus outside a house in the lower village, near the banks of the Savrun. H. 0.140 ; w. 0.34 ; letters. 0.040-0.027. Dimensions are of inscribed surface only.

ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟCЄΑΥ
ΤΩΖΩΝΤΗΝ
CΟΡΟΝ

Διονύσιος ἑαυ-
τῶ ζῶν τὴν
σορόν.

34. *Ibid.* From the lower village. Gravestone. H. 0.43 ; w. 0.22 ; letters. 0.027-0.020.



Ἔτου[ς]
λρ′⟨λ⟩
μηνὸς
Δ⟨ε⟩ίου β′
5. *Ἐρουλεῖο-*
ς τῇ θυγα-
τέρι μνήμ-
ης χάριν.

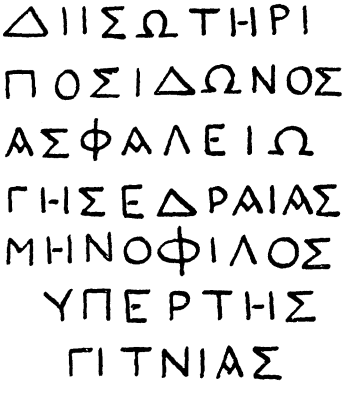
The year corresponds to A.D. 111.

The numeral following the word *ἔτους* must surely be *λρ′*. The normal order for numerals on inscriptions in this area is digits, tens and hundreds. The second *λ* must therefore be considered an engraver's error.

35. *Ibid.* From a private house in the lower village. Mouldings at top of stone. Gravestone. H. 0.55 ; w. 0.28 ; letters. 0.034-0.023.

οἱ υἱοὶ Δημη-
τρίῳ τῷ πα-
τρὶ μνήμης
χάριν.

36. *Ibid.* In the forecourt of a private house at the south-eastern entrance to the village. Small bomos with projecting mouldings. W. 0.25 ; letters. 0.025.



Διὶ Σωτῆρι
Ποσιδῶνος
Ἀσφαλείῳ
Γῆς Ἑδραίας
Μηνόφιλος
ὑπὲρ τῆς
γιτνίας.

Though the same cannot be said for its grammar, the lettering of this inscription is fairly good and resembled that employed on late 1st century A.D. monuments of Anazarbus. Although only one such example (see above, no. 8) is published here, the lettering of the first inscription recorded in Appendix " A " is very similar, as also is that of the inscription published by Keil and Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, 1915, pp. 55, 56.

The deities named in L.1/4 are those of Sky, Sea and Earth, and the inscription appears to be an invocation against earthquakes. If the late 1st century date is admissible as a suggestion, the inscription might be considered to corroborate the story of a disastrous earthquake in the principate of Nerva (Malalas, *Chronographia*, X). Three references to *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ* are recorded from Hieropolis Castabala (*IGR*, III, 910, 911, 912), and on to *Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφάλειος* at Aegeae (*ibid.*, 921).

The genitives in L.2 and L.4 are surely intended for datives. Such confusion between the cases is not infrequent in the Imperial period.

APPENDIX 'A'

1.

[*Αὐτοκρ*]*άτορι* [[*Καίσαρι Δομιτι-*]]
[[*ανῶι*]] *Θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱῶι*
[*Σε*]*βαστῶι Γερμανικῶι ἀρχιερεῖ*
μεγίστωι, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ ι′, αὐτοκράτορι τὸ κβ′, ὑπάτωι τὸ
ιε′, πατρὶ πατρίδος, τειμητῆι διὰ βίου,
Καισαρέων ὁ δῆμος σεβαστὸν ὑδραγωγῖον.

2.

Principi Iuventutis domino nostro Flavi[o] [Val] erio Severo nobilissimo ac baeatissimo Caesari

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SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations occur in some of the footnotes : *BMC—British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, London, 1900 ; *CERP*—A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937 ; *LIAT*—E. J. Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, London, 1879 ; *RK*—R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, " Reise in Kilikien," *Wien. Denkschr.*. XLIV, Abt. 6, Vienna, 1896 ; *VC*—Victor Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris, 1861.