



Augusta Ciliciae

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AUGUSTA CILICIAE*

By MICHAEL GOUGH

IN THE YEAR A.D. 451, Nestorianism was formally condemned at the Council of Chalcedon. Amongst the metropolitans and bishops who attended from all over the Empire were representatives of the eight sees of Cilicia Prima, the western part of the province known to the Romans as Cilicia Campestris. One of these bishops was Theodorus of Augusta.¹ Nothing further is known of Theodorus, and it was not until recently that anything more was known of his bishopric. This is not surprising, since Augusta was never one of the great cities of the ancient world, and after the rise of Islam soon sank into obscurity. Indeed, apart from the fact that it was almost certainly one of the cities visited by St. Paul when, according to *Acts*, "he went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches," its recent discovery at Gübe, about 16 km. north of Adana, is not perhaps of great historical significance.

The sites of the major cities of Cilicia Prima have been rather less elusive than in some of the other Roman provinces of Asia Minor. Small and compact, with clearly defined boundaries, its two main towns, Adana and Tarsus, still survive under their Classical names. Mersin, some 16 miles west of Tarsus, occupies the site of Zephyrium, while still further west the ancient cities of Pompeiopolis, Elaeusa Sebaste, and Corycus are close to the main road and so were easily identified long ago by early European travellers.

The northern and western frontiers of the Roman province of Cilicia Campestris are formed by the Taurus range, and the southern by the Mediterranean Sea (Fig. 1). In the east, stretching southwards from the Taurus towards Syria, is another barrier, the Amanus range; and where the lower foothills of Amanus are closest to the eastern slopes of the high and desolate hills known as Cebelinur are the Amanian Gates.

Early in the Byzantine period, Cilicia Campestris was sub-divided into two provinces, Cilicia Prima to the west with its main centre at Tarsus, and Cilicia Secunda, with its metropolis of Anazarbus, to the east.² Virtually dividing them was the easternmost of the three great rivers of Cilicia, the Pyramus, which flows southwards from its source in the Taurus and skirts close by the western slopes of Cebelinur before entering the sea.

Cilicia Prima consisted chiefly of a maritime plain, built up in the

* I wish to record my gratitude to the Carnegie, Leverhulme, and Russell Trusts for their generous financial aid to me during the 1955 session in Turkey. At the same time my personal thanks are due, as always, to my wife; to Mr. W. G. Mitchell and Professor Stuart Piggott for their help in surveying and for the companionship which made work at Augusta so pleasant.

¹ Mansi, VII, p. 402.

² Malalas, *Chronographia*, XIV, reports this reorganization of Cilicia Pedias as having taken place in the reign of Theodosius the Younger (408-450).

course of ages by silt carried down from the mountains by its two main rivers, the Sarus and the Cydnus, on which Adana and Tarsus respectively were founded. This, very probably, is the Aleian Plain of the *Iliad*, where Bellerophon "wandered alone, avoiding the paths of men".³ Farther to the west was a strip of land between the Taurus and the sea which

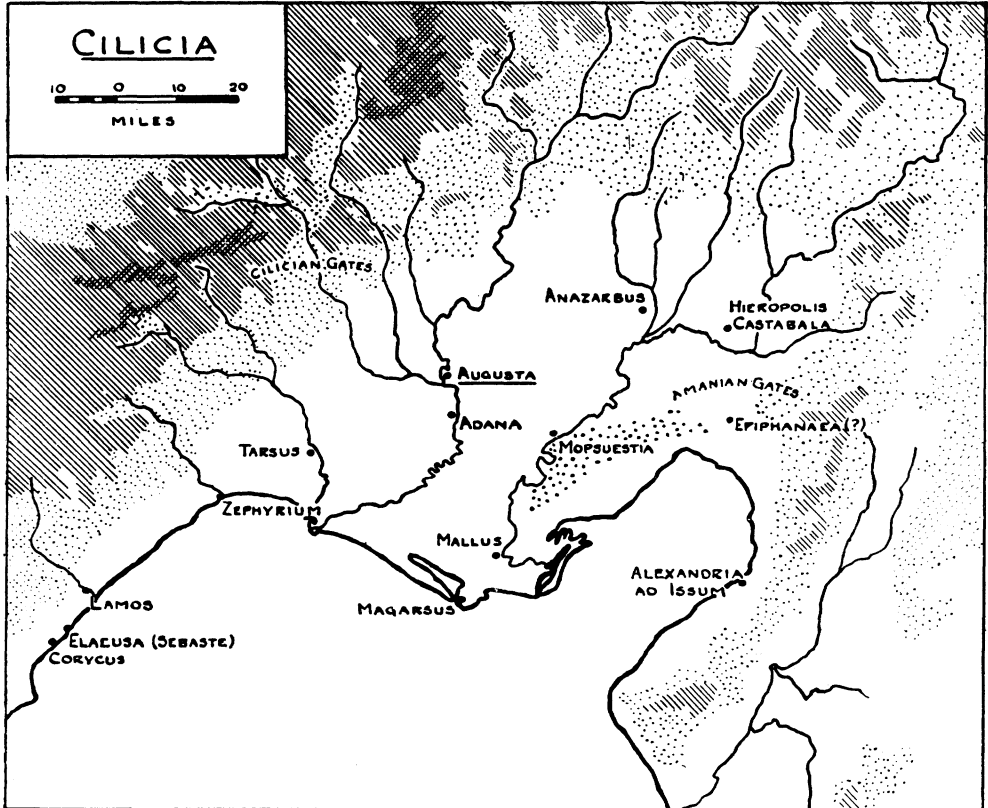


FIG. 1.

was included in the province, since the cities there were centres of Roman civilization with little in common with the wild hinterland to the north.

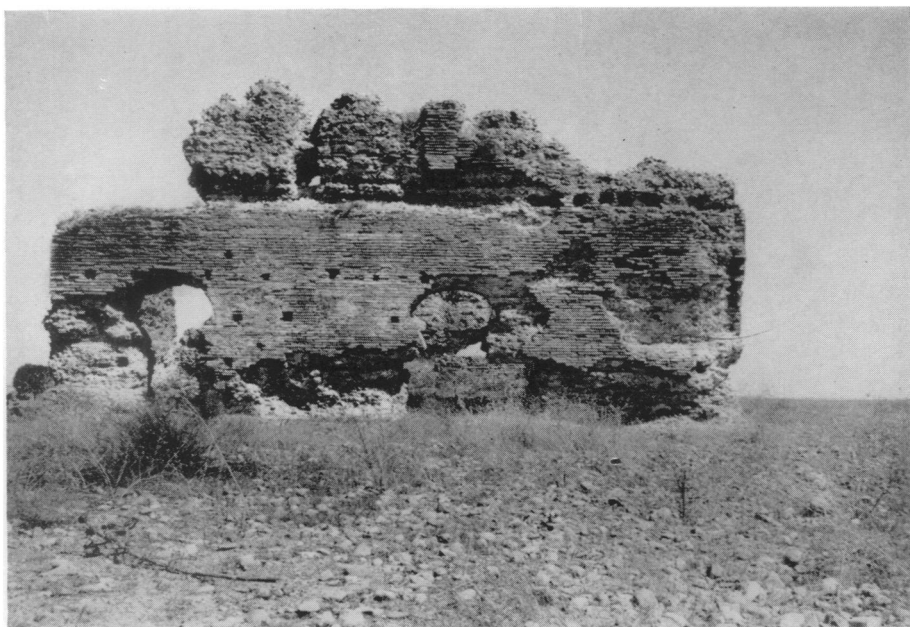
The whole of Cilicia Campestris (Prima and Secunda) maintained contact with Anatolia and Syria through two major passes; the Cilician Gates in the Taurus due north of Tarsus and the Amanian Gates in the south-east. It was, therefore, the main highway between the West and the Orient, and the road which passed through the plain was of immense strategic importance.

In the generally settled conditions which prevailed during the centuries of Roman rule, the cities of Cilicia Prima were linked by a

³ *Il.*, VI, 201. The connexion of this area with the period before the Trojan War has been strikingly confirmed by finds of Myc. IIIa or IIIb sherds at Kazanlı. See E. Gjerstad, *Rev. Arch.* (1934), pp. 155 ff. For Mycenaean wares in Cilicia as a whole, see F. Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, Cambridge (1951), pp. 88-9; also important is V. Seton Williams, "Cilician Survey," *AS.*, IV (1954), pp. 134-5.



(a) The West Hall from the south-west.



(b) The West Hall, west front.



(a) Rectangular building with well, and south-east corner of West Building.



(b) The Theatre. Concrete core of upper retaining wall. *Cavea* is overgrown with shrubs.

network of roads, and even the most distant centres were in close contact with developments in the rest of the province and shared in the general prosperity. After the Moslem invasions, however, conditions must have altered. Then, the main road became of primary importance to both sides alike and, apart from mopping-up operations, the outlying territory to the north and south of it was probably left more or less to itself as strategically irrelevant. Tarsus and Adana on the major crossings of the Cydnus and Sarus have survived as cities to this day, but of the four cities on the western coast only Zephyrium, the modern Mersin, lay far enough behind the line of advance between Anatolia and Syria to maintain its identity as a small port through all the political upheavals of the Middle Ages. Further west, however, the cities and bishoprics of Pompeiopolis, Sebaste, and Corycus are in ruins. At Pompeiopolis the sea receded, and its once extensive harbour is now a waste of barren dunes; Sebaste and Corycus also declined as the sea retreated, but were only totally abandoned after the Cilician kingdom of Little Armenia had fallen to the Egyptian Mamelukes in 1375. Two other cities of Cilicia Prima, Mallus and Augusta, seem first to have been by-passed by invading armies, and later entirely forgotten.

In 1950 the probable site of Mallus was discovered by an expedition from Istanbul University.⁴ Although the evidence of ancient authorities was not always consistent, Professor Bossert and his collaborators made the general inference that the city had been founded on a height overlooking the Pyramus, and was not far from the port of Megarsus, already identified at the ancient mouth of the same river. One difficulty arose, however, from the fact that the Pyramus has changed its course since Classical times, and instead of entering the sea at Megarsus, now flows in another channel considerably to the east. Here the evidence of the local city coinage of Mallus proved valuable, since on the reverses of several issues are two river gods swimming in opposite directions. This provided the clue that the site of Mallus might well be at the junction of the old and new courses of the Pyramus, as it was not improbable that in the Roman period the river made use of both channels on its way to the sea.

Starting from Karataş, not far from the site of Megarsus, the expedition had no difficulty in following the old course of the Pyramus north-eastwards across the plain. A succession of *hüyükler* following the same direction, almost certainly marked the line of an ancient road with its associated settlements. It was also significant that in the modern villages along the route the number of houses built of ancient material increased steadily. Kızıлтаhta, the last of the villages to be visited, was built almost entirely of blocks taken, as the villagers themselves admitted, from a low hill overlooking the place of confluence of the old and modern streams of the Pyramus. Over one of these were the ruins of an imposing

⁴ The account is published by Helmuth Th. Bossert, *Belleten*, XIV, pp. 664 ff.; also in *JKF.*, I, pp. 292-3.

Roman bridge. A few walls of brick and concrete were still visible above ground level, but almost every block of cut stone had long since been removed. However, in the side of a newly cut irrigation trench the line of a long stone wall was clearly revealed. Surface finds of potsherds were chiefly of Roman and Byzantine date, though a few examples were Hellenistic and earlier. One seal, found at the site, belonged to the late Hittite period. A single inscription at Kızıлтаhta—the only one seen there—began with the words ὁ δῆμος τῶν Μαλλώτων.

If the identification of Mallus is accepted—and it is hard to disagree with Professor Bossert's conclusions—there remained in autumn, 1950, only Augusta of the eight bishoprics of Cilicia Prima still to be discovered.

Literary clues to the whereabouts of Augusta are tantalizingly few. There is a bare mention of the place in the pages of Pliny⁵ and Stephanus,⁶ but without the slightest indication of its situation. From the ecclesiastical lists it is clear that the city was a bishopric of Cilicia Prima,⁷ which narrows down the search to the western alluvial plain of Cilicia and the coastal strip between Zephyrium and Corycus, always supposing that the course of the Pyramus was the effective boundary between the provinces of Cilicia Prima and Secunda. Most explicit is the evidence of Ptolemy, who places it in the district Bryclice of Cilicia, west of Characene (which contains the city Flaviopolis) and north of Lamotis.⁸ The site of Flaviopolis, though never established beyond possible doubt, may almost certainly be identified with the modern town of Kadirli on the Savrun Çay, an eastern tributary of the Pyramus.⁹ Characene, in that event, must have included part, at any rate, of the eastern plain of Cilicia, while Bryclice, on the evidence of Ptolemy, must have extended far to the west if it could be considered as north of Lamotis. Both the ecclesiastical lists and Ptolemy, therefore, are consistent in suggesting that Augusta was probably sited to the west of the Pyramus.

Earlier travellers and scholars have made various conjectures about the position of Augusta. Sir William Ramsay thought it probable that the city "lay between the Sarus and the Pyramus", but went on to say, very fairly, that "no evidence known to me proves its exact position"¹⁰; but in this judgment he perhaps overlooked the local coinage of Augusta which features both swimming river gods and ships as reverse types. F. Imhoof Blumer, the numismatist, concluded from this that the city

⁵ *Nat. Hist.*, V, 93.

⁶ *De Urbibus*, s.v. Αὐγούστα.

⁷ *Not. Episc.*, I, 814. The city is here named Αὐγουστόπολις.

⁸ *Geogr.*, V, vii, 6. The reference to Lamotis is difficult to reconcile with the proposed site of Augusta, except in so far as the district is actually to the south of Gübe.

⁹ For the identification of Flaviopolis with Kadirli, see M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *AS.*, II (1952), p. 94.

¹⁰ *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), p. 384. That Ramsay later modified this opinion is shown by his suggestion that the regularization, natural or artificial of the lower courses of the Sarus, might be connected with the question "as to the unknown site of Augusta". See "Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass", *Geographical Journal* (October, 1903), p. 6, n. 2.

was on a large, navigable river—possibly the Sarus—a sound suggestion which received less attention than it deserved.¹¹ The proposal of Heberdey and Wilhelm that Augusta might be located at Toprakkale cannot be entertained, since this runs counter to all the available evidence which has been cited above.¹²

Of the modern scholars, A. H. M. Jones made the interesting suggestion that during the first century B.C. and for a short time after the beginning of the Christian era the client king Tarcondimotus and his successors ruled not only the cities of Hieropolis Castabala and Anazarbus but also a large tract of the hinterland of Cilicia Pedias, which at that time contained no urban settlements. He further suggests that, on the death or deposition of Philopator II in A.D. 17, the Roman Imperial government took over these territories, and in the course of time divided it up between the newly founded cities of Augusta, Neronias, and Flaviopolis.¹³ The city of Augusta began its era in A.D. 20, just after the end of Philopator's reign, which would fit Professor Jones' theories nicely. Professor D. Magie offers no new suggestion for the site of Augusta, but shows that an early identification by D. Imhoof Blumer with the modern town of Kozan (earlier Sis) cannot be entertained.¹⁴

The probable site of Augusta was identified on 10th September, 1955. The ruins lay in a little enclave that was easy to overlook, about 10 miles north of Adana and on a broad reach of the Sarus (Fig. 1). Far from any highway and accessible only by village tracks, the surviving buildings were not impressive enough, from the point of view of a peasant visiting Adana on market-day, to be worth discussing with anybody. As a result the site remained unknown and was finally discovered by pure chance.

In autumn, 1953, an American engineer, Mr. W. G. Mitchell,¹⁵ saw the ruins of a Roman city in the course of a short reconnaissance north of Adana in connection with the construction of a dam on the Seyhan (ancient Sarus), which was to generate power for a number of towns in the district. Not far from the village of Gübe, he noted an extensive site with the remains of several large buildings of brick and concrete.

When the place was revisited in 1955, the whole area was under sentence of death. An artificial lake, to be created when the dam was fully in operation, was scheduled to cover not only the site but a number

¹¹ *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, Band II (1902), Vienna, pp. 436–7. See also *BMG. (Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia)*, pp. 44–6, nos. 3, 9, 12; Pls. VII, 11; VIII, 1 and 2.

¹² Heberdey and Wilhelm, "Reisen in Kilikien," *Wien. Denkschr.*, XLIV, Abt. 6 (1896), p. 23. There is no considerable site at Toprakkale, and it must in any case have been well inside the boundaries of Cilicia Secunda.

¹³ *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford (1937), p. 206. For the disputed site of Neronias (Irenopolis), see Henri Seyrig, "Irenopolis-Neronias-Sepphoris," *Num. Chron.*, 39–40 (1950), p. 288, n. 9, and Postscript.

¹⁴ *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, X, 292. There is, in fact, no real evidence for the occupation of Kozan during the Classical period. See M. Gough "Anazarbus," *AS.*, II (1952), p. 94, n. 42.

¹⁵ Credit for the discovery and later identification of Augusta is, of course, entirely due to the accurate observations made by Mr. Mitchell.

of villages on the slopes of the low hills which enclosed it. Further to complicate matters, our own departure from Turkey, arranged several months before, was imminent; so that it was impossible for us to do more than prepare ground plans of some of the more important buildings and to record such details as seemed important at the time. Fortunately, the American engineers working at the Seyhan dam project were prepared to undertake a general site plan after we had gone, and this is now completed though not yet in our hands. In the meantime, a brief description of the site and of some of its main buildings may perhaps be of interest.

The suggested site of Augusta lies in a loop of the Sarus, just over 16 km. north of Adana and at the western end of a narrow plain which is bounded to the north and south by the slopes of low hills. Eastwards the plain gradually widens, and continues in the direction of Misis (ancient Mopsuestia) on the main crossing of the Pyramus. No early road was discovered, but it seems clear that such a link must have existed between the two cities, as also with Adana. It is not impossible that the road to Mopsuestia might have been looked for as an extension of the east-west colonnaded street that runs through the eastern half of the site. As is so usual in the Cilician cities of the Roman period, this colonnaded street is intersected at right-angles by another running from north to south. Of the surviving buildings five seem to be of considerable interest and are described in rather more detail below.

(1) At the extreme west of the site, and not far from the river, a large vaulted building of brick and concrete oriented on an east-west axis.

(2) A row of small barrel-vaulted rooms with party walls, to the north-east of (1) and considered to be probably shops.

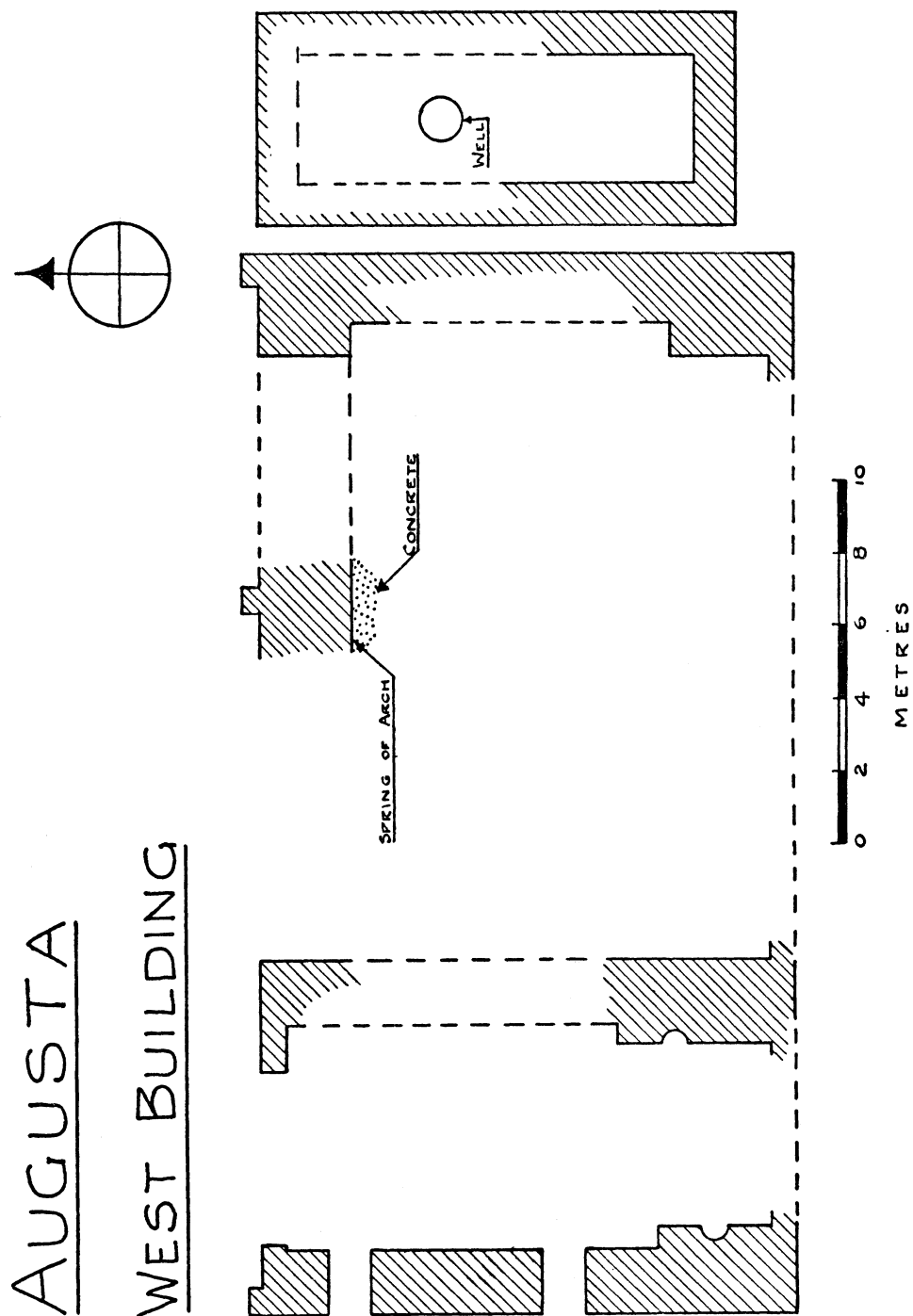
(3) A large theatre, facing northwards, several hundred metres to the north-east of (2).

(4) A very large building of brick and concrete—probably a bath—on a north-south axis and at the southern end of the north-south colonnaded street.

(5) A brick and concrete dam and reservoir, well to the north of the main city area.

There are, of course, many other buildings at the site which are not mentioned in the foregoing list, but curiously enough none of them could be identified as a church. It can only be supposed that the churches were built of stone—there is certainly no lack of stone in the area—and therefore pulled down long ago for their value as suppliers of secondary building material.¹⁶ That there were stone buildings is certain, since the houses in neighbouring villages are largely built of good blocks, but at

¹⁶ The concrete core of a rectangular building on an E.-W. axis (23.2 × 11.6 m.) was discovered at the intersection of the two main colonnaded streets, but it seems unlikely that this was ever a church. It had no apse, and, apparently, no internal divisions.



the site itself the only stone buildings noted were almost completely razed, and nothing could be made of them without excavation.¹⁷

BUILDINGS

(1) *The West Building* (Pls. XIII *a* and *b* and Fig. 2).

This is solidly constructed of concrete made of a lime mortar which proved, on analysis, to be closely akin to the mortar used for Roman concrete, and large water-worn stones, presumably from the river. The concrete is faced with bricks which measure $0.42 \times 0.28 \times 0.045$ m. Thickness of mortar between courses is *c.* 0.025 m.

Main dimensions of the building are 29.50×15.10 m. Its present maximum height is *c.* 7.00 m.

In the W. wall (thickness 1.85 m.) are two asymmetrically placed doors, each with a relieving arch above the lintel. At the S.W. corner the thickness of the wall is increased to 2.35 m. for a total length of 3.19 m. Centrally, in the E. face of this thicker portion, is a shallow niche; its base is at present ground level.

Another N.-S. wall, *c.* 4.50 m. to the E., is very badly ruined. Its S. end is, however, well enough preserved to show that it was here of the same thickness as the main W. wall—i.e. 2.35 m.—and contained a niche on its W. face of the same dimensions as the one described above. The main N. and S. walls of the building are here only 0.53 m. thick; it thus appears that the W. end of the hall must have been a narrow porch, somewhat resembling a church narthex.

E. of the porch, the N. and S. walls were apparently much thicker, though certainty is impossible where so much has been destroyed. Of the N. wall 9.50 m. is missing, while for 14.50 m. the line of the S. wall can be traced only with difficulty. At the E. end of the hall, however, the N. wall is 2.50 m. thick and buttressed on its N. face. The E. wall is 2.20 m. thick, while the S. wall, at its eastern corner, is 2.50 m. thick. There are signs that this E. part of the hall was roofed with a barrel-vault. The original function of the building is not certain, though it must have acted as a place of assembly.

Only 0.90 m. E. of the West Hall is a small rectangular building on a N.-S. axis (Pl. XIVa). The walls are again constructed of concrete faced with bricks which measure $0.25 \times 0.13 \times 0.027$ m. Thickness of mortar between courses is *c.* 0.025 m.

Main dimensions of the building are 13.55×5.80 m. The present maximum height of the walls is only 1.00 m. The floor is of solid concrete, and towards the N. end is a well, 1.10 m. in diameter.

Although the method of construction is the same as in the case of

¹⁷ After our departure, Dr. Arkeolog Mahmut Akok, of the University of Ankara, made a series of soundings at Augusta with important results, particularly from the architectural point of view. The publication of his finds, which he promises for the near future, should prove a most valuable addition to our knowledge of Augusta.

the West Building, the thickness of the mortar relative to the height of the bricks suggests a slightly later date.

(2) *The Shops* (?).

N.E. of the West Hall is a row of small booths or rooms with party walls which may well have been shops. Construction is again of concrete with a facing of brick.

Their back wall, 17.55 m. long, faces N. towards the Sarus. Best preserved is the room at the E. end of the row, and has internal measurements of 3.60 m. (E.-W.) and 4.08 m. (N.-S.). In both the E. and W. wall, and exactly opposed to one another, are shallow arched niches which were originally plastered and painted. The height of each niche is 1.05 m., its width 0.66 m. and its depth 0.30 m. The two rooms to the S. are less well preserved, but their dimensions must have been much the same as those of the northern one. Walls are nowhere preserved to a greater height than 2.25 m. above present ground level, but the beginnings of a barrel vault can be seen in the case of the two northern rooms.

(3) *The Theatre* (Pl. XIVb).

Sited in a natural slope, which has also been artificially hollowed, the theatre has a fine view of the gap in the hills N. of the site through which the Sarus flows in the direction of the Taurus. The outer wall is built of concrete, consisting of a very strong cement and large pebbles, and is roughly coursed; but no trace of a brick facing now remains. Its maximum height is c. 3.00 m. and there is a pronounced batter on its outer side.

In the centre of the outer wall (S.) is a large opening, and there are two more in the E. curve; all these may originally have been entrances into the *cavea*, a possibility made more likely by the fact that in the W. curve is a similar break in the wall at the point which corresponds to the first opening on the E. side. The W. stretch of wall is now almost completely destroyed.

The *cavea* has been completely stripped, and there is no trace of the seating arrangements. The area of the orchestra and *scaena* is also full of deep pits made by stone robbers. The diameter of the semi-circle is, by rough calculation, 50.00 m.¹⁸

(4) *Building with Pendentives* (*Baths*) (Pl. XVa and Fig. 3).

Of all the architecture surviving at the site, this building is certainly the most important, and is very probably the city baths. It is constructed of coursed concrete with a good brick facing. The bricks themselves are of exactly the same dimensions as those used in the West Hall and the thickness of the mortar between them is the same.

¹⁸ It must have been about the same size as the theatre at Anazarbus. See M. Gough, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

The building covers a total area of 32·00–25·00 m., and two main rooms survive. The first of these (to the S.E.) is a rectangular hall of which the main dimensions are 11·20 m. (N.–S.) and 7·60 m. (E.–W.) ; at the N. end the width contracts to 6·60 m. In the E. and N. walls are two great arched openings, and the whole of the rectangle was originally barrel vaulted. On the inner soffit of the E. arch are ventilation pipes (?), and there are others to be seen in the E. wall at a height of *c.* 5·00 m.,

AUGUSTA

BATH BUILDING

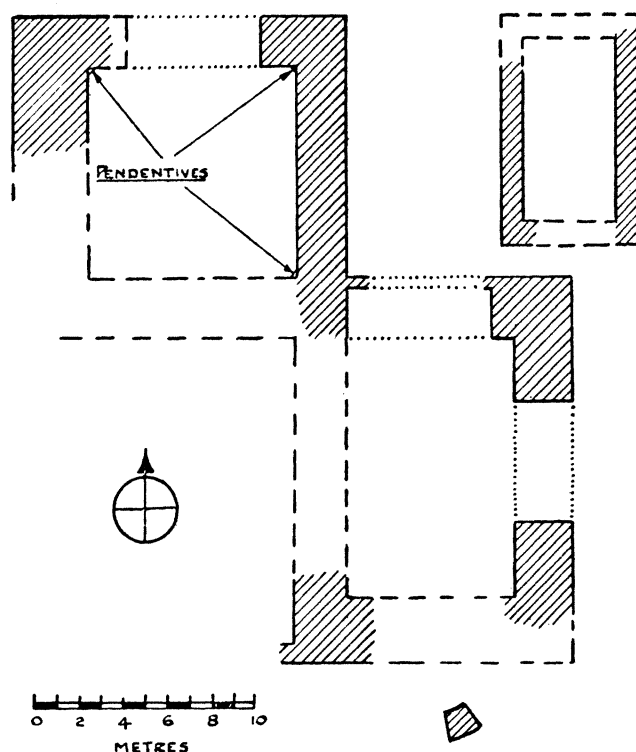


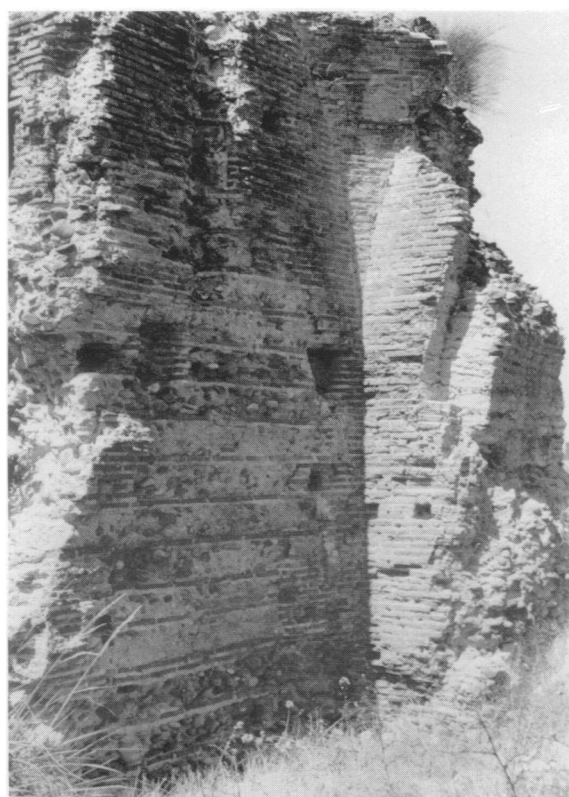
FIG. 3.

at the spring of the vault. Wall thicknesses varies between 2·20 m. and 3·60 m. (at the four corners). The maximum surviving height is *c.* 6·00 m.

The room to the N.W. is a square of 9·30 m., and the remains of triangular spherical pendentives at the three corners that still stand is a sure indication that the roof was a dome (Pls. XVb and XVIa). The walls are nowhere preserved to a greater height than *c.* 6·00 m., which is, of course, far short of the total height of the arches into the spandrels of which the pendentives were built. However, as far as it is possible to follow the curve of the arches, the pendentives follow the same line, and each one must originally have met its neighbour in the ring of masonry



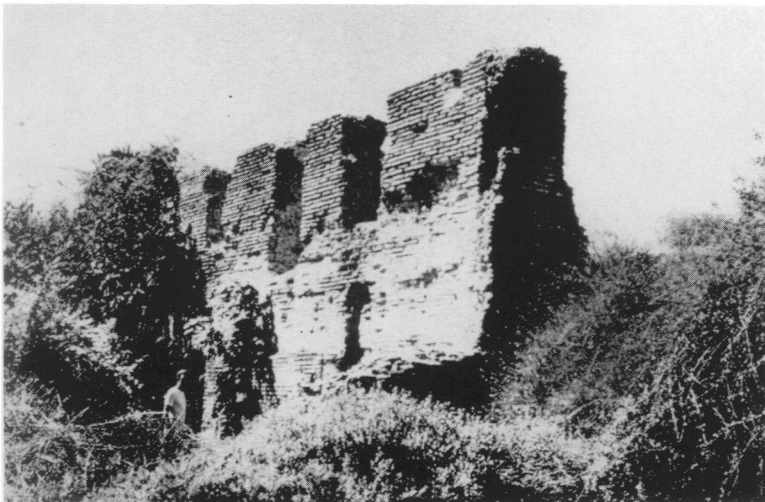
(a) Baths. View from south-west.



(b) Baths. North-west angle of square room.



(a) Baths. North-east angle of square room.



(b) The Dam.

on which the dome was constructed. The W. wall of this building is immensely thick (3.40 m.), and in its thickness is a finely constructed water (?) channel, rectangular in section, some 1.50 m. high and 0.75 m. wide.

(5) *The Dam and Reservoir* (Pl. XVIb).

At the start, this construction appeared very difficult to interpret ; after a careful examination, however, its purpose became more clear.

Slightly W. of the theatre, the Sarus changes its course to the N. At this point its left bank is flat for a matter of 300 or 400 metres and then rises sharply to a height of about 10 m. Here, along the bank, is a retaining wall with buttresses of c. 1 sq. m. in plan at intervals of c. 3.25 m. ; it is constructed of concrete faced with bricks which measure $0.30 \times 0.27 \times 0.035$ m. Thickness of mortar between courses varies between 0.045 and 0.025 m.

For the greater part of its total length of 20.00 m., this wall faces W., i.e. towards the Sarus. At its northern extremity, however, it turns E., and in doing so diverts southwards the flow of a small stream making its way towards the main river. This diversion of water is very clear from the richness of vegetation behind the immediate line of the wall. In Roman times this stream was trapped in a cistern immediately SE of the retaining wall, and its overflow made its way through sluices to a channel to the W., which led the water to the Sarus itself. These sluices—taking into account the present level of water—are three in number, and vary in diameter between 0.13 and 0.27 m. The smallest of these is now 0.18 m. above water-level ; the other two are c. 1.00 m. higher up. In the event of exceptionally heavy rainfall or if it was desired to build up a big head, the water escaped through large, rectangular window-like openings at the top of the cistern, and so irrigated the flat land below. Even to-day this is extremely fertile.

The colonnaded streets are now in a state of ruin, and it is impossible to restore the order of the one which runs N.-S. Several bases are, however, still *in situ* in the E.-W. street and one monolithic shaft is intact. The columns stood on square slabs which measure 1.03 m. square and are spaced at intervals of 2.25 m. As the lower diameter of the column is 0.75 m., the intercolumniation measurement works out at exactly three lower diameters. The base and plinth, carved together as a single unit, is 0.65 m. high, while the total height of the monolithic shaft is 5.50 m. With their capitals, the total height of the columns must have equalled about nine lower diameters. Although many of the shafts are of limestone, others are of a rusty red conglomerate which is found also at Anazarbus and Hieropolis Castabala.¹⁹ The Corinthian capitals were of good white marble ; and although only fragments were found at the site, there were several fine examples still intact in the neighbouring village of Gübe.

As the limited time available to us did not allow of an excavation,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

the only dating material available was the surface scatter of potsherds which covered the site, the character of the buildings, and coins collected by villagers.

The commonest sherds were of the Eastern variety of *sigillata*, Late Roman colour coated ware,²⁰ and the plain ribbed ware which seems to have continued with very little change from the fourth century A.D. until the eighth century at least. This ranges in colour from an off-white through yellow and red to a dark chocolate brown, and was used for almost every type of vessel. Large pithoi and a long pointed amphora are perhaps the most frequently found shapes.

One sherd of Arab blue glaze was found, and a fair number of fragments of Byzantine *sgraffito*, some of which may have been as late as the Armenian period. These later wares, however, were not very numerous, and led to the conclusion that the place began to decline after the first Arab invasions.

Coins collected by villagers told much the same story as the sherds. The earliest example belonged to the principate of Vespasian, but the greatest number were issues of the second half of the third century A.D.²¹ This is not particularly surprising, since during this period the Roman army was almost permanently engaged in successive Eastern campaigns, and the cities of Cilicia, not far behind the front, must have been enjoying boom conditions. Only three examples of semi-autonomous city coinage were recorded, of which two belonged to Augusta, the other to Anazarbus. They were all struck under Valerian, as follows :—

1. AÆ. Obv. ΑΥΚΑΙΠΟΝΛΙΚΟΝΑΛΕΡ Bust of Valerian r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Rev. ΑΥΓΟΝΥΤΑΝΩΝ Emperor with r. hand raised riding his charger r.

2. AÆ. Obv. ΑΥΚΑΙΠΟΝΛΙΚΟΝΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΟΟΒ. Bust of Valerian r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Rev. ΑΥΓΟΝΥΤΑΝΩΝΕΔΛΟ Artemis advancing to r. ; wears short chiton, chlamys and hunting boots ; in l. bow, r. draws arrow from quiver behind shoulder.

3. BMC. (*Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia*), crv, p. 40, no. 42, Pl. VII, 1.

Coins of the Byzantine period and later appeared to be less plentiful ; the latest example seen was a single issue of the Kingdom of Little Armenia.

The site near Gübe, it was plain from the start, was that of a large Roman, later Byzantine, city, most probably Augusta. Even allowing for doubts on the correct identification of Mallus, this city could never have filled the role, since it is known that Mallus was founded not far from the mouth of the Pyramus. At the same time it was unlikely that a large city of Cilicia Prima should have entirely escaped the attention

²⁰ A small hüyük, Ortatepe, about 5 km. south of Augusta, provides many examples of these wares, and was probably a fairly large settlement on the road from Adana. See V. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," *AS.*, IV (1954), pp. 140, 166.

²¹ A random selection produced by villagers represented issues of Claudius Gothicus, Diocletian, Maximian, Licinius, and Constantine.

of ancient historians and geographers. Indeed, if the site near Gübe is not that of Augusta, the problem of its identification becomes considerable.

The probable site of the eighth city of Cilicia Prima was found only just in time. It is now under water, and nothing more is likely to be seen of it for some time to come. Perhaps, however, the reflection may be allowed that Augusta, submerged beneath an artificial lake, has become a victim to just that sort of progress which the Romans themselves would most heartily have approved.