

R. L. Vann

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON BYZANTINE HARBORS IN ISAURIA

### Introduction

The south coast of what is now Turkey was one of the busiest sea lanes in the ancient world. As early as the Bronze Age it was a principal highway from Egypt and the Levant to the Aegean. During the past thirty years, underwater archaeologists have uncovered the remains of numerous shipwrecks from the mid-second millennium B.C. until the Ottoman period, clearly demonstrating the continuity of maritime activity within this region<sup>1</sup>. This paper concerns the harbor facilities along part of that coast, the rugged and difficult territory of Isauria, from the fourth to the tenth centuries A.D. The nature of ships and shipping, the balance of Byzantine and Arab naval power, and the continuity or discontinuity of economic prosperity in the region will be considered in an evaluation of the existing remains surveyed this past May and June<sup>2</sup>.

There is little information about these cities and their harbors<sup>3</sup>. Literary evidence, both Greek and Arabic, records centuries of warfare in this region, especially contesting the strategic plains of Cilicia Pedias and the passes through both the Taurus and Amanus ranges which connect Anatolia to Syria.<sup>4</sup> The references describe naval engagements but tell us little of the supporting bases. Several documents called *periploi*, or "coastal pilots," list towns and their harbors with distances between and practical information including watering stations, anchorages, and local landmarks. One of these, the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (fourth century A.D.) is useful

© R.L. Vann, 1998

<sup>1</sup> Cape Gelidonya: G. Bass, *et al.*, "Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck," *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 57.8 (1967); Ulu Burun: G. Bass, D. Frey, C. Pulak, "A Late Bronze Age Shipwreck at Kaş, Turkey," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 13.4 (1984) 271-79; fourth-century Yassi Ada: G. Bass and F. van Doorninck, "A Fourth Century Shipwreck at Yassi Ada," *American Journal of Archaeology* 75 (1971) 27-37. Seventh-century Yassi Ada: G. F. Bass, "A Byzantine Trading Venture," *Scientific American* 224.2 (1971) 22ff. For additional surveys by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology see: G. Bass and R. Ferneld, "Underwater Archaeological Exploration in Turkey," *National Geographical Society Research Reports* 1965. (1971) 5-22; G. Bass, "Underwater Survey," *Türk Ark. Dergisi* 32.2 (1975) 33-38; and J. Rosloff, "INA's 1980 Turkish Underwater Survey," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 10.4 (1981) 277-86.

<sup>2</sup> For background material of the period see H. Ahrweiler, "Les ports byzantines (VIIe-IXe siècles)," *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*. Spoleto. vol. 1, pp. 259-83; F. Van Doorninck, "Byzantium, mistress of the sea: 330-641," in George Bass, ed., *A History of Seafaring based on Underwater Archaeology*, (London, 1974); A. R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1000*. (Princeton, 1951).

<sup>3</sup> The major survey of Greek and Roman harbors continues to be K. Lehmann-Hartelben's monumental work, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*. Klio, Beiheft 14. Leipzig. Reprinted 1963, Aalen. A useful summary is found in L. Casson, *Ships and Seaman'ship in the Ancient World*, (Princeton, 1971). More recent studies include: J. W. Shaw, "Greek and Roman Harbourworks," in G. Bass, ed., *The History of Seafaring based on Underwater Archaeology*, (London, 1972); P. F. de Coetlogon Williams, "Roman Harbours," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 5.1 (1976) 73-79; D. J. Blackman, "Ancient Harbours in the Mediterranean," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 11.2 (1982) 79-104 and 11.3:185-211; J. P. Oleson, "The Technology of Roman Harbours," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 17.2 (1988) 147-57; and G. E. Rickman, "The Archaeology and History of Roman Ports," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 17.3 (1988), 257-67.

<sup>4</sup> E. W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898), 182-208.

for this coast<sup>5</sup>. These were sailing directions but not charts drawn to scale; whether or not such coastal maps existed is unknown.

Archaeological evidence is meagre, for few Cilician (later Isaurian) coastal sites have been excavated. A Canadian team has dug at Anemourion since 1965 but the information about its harbor is far from conclusive<sup>6</sup>. There have been other reports about harbors in Lycia and Pamphylia but these are outside the territory being considered and their focus is on earlier Roman phases<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere a small Byzantine harbor has been excavated at Anthedon in central Greece and another report is soon to appear on the repairs of Anastasias in the harbor at Caesarea Maritima in Israel<sup>8</sup>.

### Historical Background

The region considered during the first survey season is the Isaurian coast from Coracesium (Antalya) in the west to Mersin in the east. This region, known to the Romans as *Aspera* ("the rugged"), extended from the Taurus Mountains on the north to the Mediterranean on the south<sup>9</sup>. In contrast, the broad river valleys to the east were called *Campestris* ("the plain"). Following several turbulent centuries under the control of Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings, or local highland dynasts with occasional independence exerted by coastal pirates, the territories were united and Cilicia became a Roman province in A.D. 72, with Tarsus as its capital. But soon after, during the reign of Hadrian, the two regions were once more given separate identities, *Campestris* was known as Cilicia and *Aspera* as Isauria, with respective capitals at Tarsus and Seleukeia on the Calycadnus.

The prosperity of the south coast declined during the third century and by the year 260 the Persian Shapur, or at least a portion of his forces, crossed the south coast as far west as Selinos<sup>10</sup>. What effect the Persian invasion might have had on the cities of Cilicia remains unknown but according to his claims in *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, he conquered Tarsus, Sebaste, Korykos,

<sup>5</sup> For the text of the "Stadiasmus Maris Magni" see C. Müller, ed., *Geographi Graeci Minores*, (Heidelberg, Georg Olms, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 477-88. *Periploi* were of two types. First were the original notes taken by explorers on unknown coastlines. Examples of this type are those of Hanno on the west African coast (c. 490 B.C.) and the extant *Periplos of the Euxine Sea* by Arrian, (A.D. 132). The second type was a compilation of various original texts to create a useful document for one specific area. Although the term *periplos* originally referred to "circumnavigation" and therefore implied a completed journey around the Black Sea or Mediterranean, later use was extended to open stretches of coast. For *periploi* see: E. H. Warmington, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, W. A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Greek Maps*, 47 ff.; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus, an essay on the early history of charts and sailing-directions*. Trans. Fr. A. Bather, A. Delatte, *Les Ptolémées grecs* (Liège and Paris, 1947). A number of surviving mediaeval *portolani* are also useful: K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, (Berlin, 1902).

<sup>6</sup> Sources on Anemourion: E. Rosenbaum, G. Huber, and S. Onurkan, *Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia*, (Ankara, 1967), 1-27; J. Russell, "Anemurium: eine römische Kleinstadt in Kleinasien," *Ant. Welt* 7.4 (1976) 2-20; Idem, "Anemurium: The Changing Face of a Roman City," *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980) 31-40; *Türk Ark. Dergisi* 15.1 (1966) 1-12; 17.2 (1968) 177-84; 18.2 (1969) 37-58; 20.1 (1973) 201-19; 21.2 (1974) 153-65; 22.2 (1975) 121-39; 23.1 (1976) 93-96; 24.2 (1977) 109-23; 25.1 (263-90).

<sup>7</sup> Side: H. Schläger, "Die Texte Vitruvs im Lichte der Untersuchungen am Hafen von Side," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 171 (1971) 150-61; Phaselis: H. Schläger, et al, *Phaselis: Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen. Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 24. Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth; Aperlae: R. S. Carter, "The Submerged Seaport of Aperlae, Turkey," *International Journal of Archaeology* 7.3 (1978), 177-85.

<sup>8</sup> H. Schläger, D. J. Blackman, and J. Schäfer, "Der Hafen von Anthedon," *Arch. Anzeiger* 1968.1: 21-98. The repairs at Caesarea will appear in forthcoming volumes from *British Archaeological Reports, International Series* on the results of C.A.H.E.P., the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, J. P. Oleson, general editor.

<sup>9</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the territory see T. Mitford, "Roman Rough Cilicia," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.7.2:1230-61. For broader discussion see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1950).

<sup>10</sup> The inscription, discovered in 1936, was carved into the walls of the temple of Zoroaster near Naksh-i-Rustem. The most complete study of the Greek text is M. Sprengling, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57 (1940) 197-228, 330-420. See also W. B. Henning, "The Great Inscription of Shapur I," *Bulletin of the Schools of Oriental and African Studies* (1939) 835-41 and G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, (Princeton, 587-95).

Celenderis, Anemourion<sup>11</sup>, Selinos, and Seleukeia among others. A new era began with the Tetrarchy and Cilicia was further divided into Prima and Secunda with capitals at Tarsus and Anazarbus. Despite periodical incursions by highland Isaurians, numerous basilicas, churches, chapels, monasteries, and elaborate necropoli reflected a new prosperity of the region. But Isauria remained an unruly part of the Byzantine Empire and often witnessed the recurrence of piracy and revolution that marked the first century B.C. Zosimos (I.69ff) records an episode during the reign of Probus (c. 278/9) when the brigand Lydius seized the inland Pisidian city of Cremna. These events led either Probus or Diocletian to create a separate province of Isauria administered by a governor combining both military and civil duties<sup>12</sup>. Another result of this campaign was the settlement of veterans in adjacent Pamphylian territory, creating a local *limes* acting as a buffer against the difficult territory.

Ammianus described several rebellions during the fourth century, the first in some detail. After a number of their countrymen died in the amphitheater at Ikonion (Konya), Isaurians attacked the coastal site of Paleas, the depot for troops guarding the Isaurian border (14.2.13)<sup>13</sup>. Later, during that same campaign, they besieged Seleukeia even though the city was defended by a sizable force. Nebridius, the *comes Orientis*, came with reinforcements to break the siege and the Isaurians returned, unpunished, to their mountainous homeland<sup>14</sup>.

After reading a description of the Isaurian character by Ammianus (14.2.1) one might think there is little reason to study the harbors and maritime activity of this coast. He tells of wild tribesmen sweeping down from the mountains and hiding along the shore until mariners were asleep. They would then board the vessels, kill their crews, and steal the cargoes. He adds that most sailors preferred bypassing Isauria for Cypriot ports. But this region was of critical importance to the Empire because of its position on the frontier with Arab territory and from here squadrons were poised to counteract the threat of incursions either from the plains to the east or Cyprus to the south.

### The Harbors

There is a general lack of information concerning Isaurian harbors. The first reason is their location. Harbors, by necessity at the edge of land and water, suffer the depredations of both environments. Continuous winter storms batter the breakwaters and associated structures at the same time that basins and channels become clogged with silt. The south breakwater at Korykos that is thought to have once joined the mainland and the Sea Castle is gone and the harbor at Sebaste is now landlocked. Second is the nature of construction. Many breakwaters built of rubble are poorly preserved and while large portions of concrete breakwaters such as that at Pompeiopolis might remain, other harbor structures on land have disappeared because their building materials were convenient to reuse. Third, several of these harbors will be difficult to investigate in the future because they continue to be used as anchorages today. In some instances, such as at Antalya (Coracesium) and Aydıncık (Celenderis), new breakwaters have been built

<sup>11</sup> One of the few sites on the Isaurian coast to be excavated for an extended period of time is Anemourion, where Russell has been able to demonstrate that the city was most prosperous in the late second and early third centuries and that several ambitious building projects, including the large palaestra, appear to have been cut short by the Persian occupation. The results of excavations at Anemourion show a small community built within the walls of unfinished Roman buildings. The settlement disappeared by the mid-seventh century, probably due to the attacks of Arabs from nearby Cyprus. Some limited activity might have taken place as late as the eighth century but there was no major destruction dating from this period. For citations see above in note 7.

<sup>12</sup> A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, (Oxford, 1964), 101.

<sup>13</sup> The site of Paleas is between Coracesium and Anemourion. G. Bean and T. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1964-1968. Denkschriften des Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien*, 102, (Vienna, 1970), 195.

<sup>14</sup> Another rebellion in 359 was settled quickly by Lauricius (19.13.1ff). The final uprising described by Ammianus was in 368 (27.9.6ff), when the citizens of Germanicopolis (Mut) intervened and helped bring about the truce.

on or near the old ones. Finally, even where large excavations have been in the field, such as at Anemourion, an elusive harbor might be an expensive objective when so many other priorities exist.

What were the physical requirements for ports in late antiquity? Byzantine maritime activity presented different demands from those of earlier Roman traffic. The traditional Alexandria to Rome grain trade was now diverted to Constantinople and huge freighters, some originally as large as 1200 tons, were no longer required for the easier voyage to the new capital. Merchant vessels like those described by the Palestinian monk John Moschos (d. 620) were only 300 tons and represent the largest of the period<sup>15</sup>. Swifter and more maneuverable vessels such as the *dorkon*, or gazelle, were necessary to escape the growing number of hostile vessels in what had once been a tranquil sea. Ownership of these vessels had passed from the wealthier *navicularii*, whose guilds had financed the larger merchant fleets, to the independent *naukleroi*. G. Bass excavated one of these smaller ships dating from the time of Herakleios and owned, in part, by a *naukleros* named Georgios<sup>16</sup>. It was a ship of 40 tons burden, characteristic of those seeking refuge in Byzantine harbors along the south coast of Turkey.

Military craft were also smaller. Despite the strategic position of Constantinople controlling the waterways between the Aegean and Black Sea, the young Empire was slow to appreciate naval strategy and was without an effective sailing force until the fifth century, when a fleet became necessary to recapture lost territories in the western Mediterranean. After important naval battles helped re-establish Byzantine control over the West during the time of Justinian, the Empire depended on its new fleet of smaller ships (*dromon* or "runner"). These squadrons were stationed in naval themes such as Kibyrrhaiotai and later Seleukeia, some at new harbors like those mentioned by Prokopios on the Bosphorus, or the recently published example at Anthedon in Greece<sup>17</sup>.

#### **Seleukeia ad Calycadnum<sup>18</sup>**

The city of Seleukeia, metropolis of Isauria, was several kilometers inland on the Calycadnus (Göksu) delta at the foot of a fortified hill which dominates the plain. The river was navigable as far as the city and it is assumed that the harbor is to be found in the delta between present-day Silifke and the sea. Other nearby harbors might have also been important to the coastal plains, notably that founded at Coraseum during the fourth century by Flavius Urbanus.

The city was originally within the large theme of Anatolikon. Its harbor would have been the port of arrival for pilgrims visiting the famous shrine of St. Thekla, one of the most celebrated saints of the early Christian world. Her stories were the foundation of the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thekla (late second century) in which she came into direct contact with the apostle Paul at Ikonion and later escaped a variety of dangers, including serpents, wild beasts and death by fire. The pilgrimage was already popular by the fourth century, but the principal buildings on the site date from the fifth and sixth centuries.

<sup>15</sup> An example of a ship of this size is that found in the Pantano Longarini, a marshy coastal plain in southeastern Sicily. Remains of the vessel were uncovered in 1963 while digging a drainage channel. Gerhard Kapitän and Peter Throckmorton excavated the remainder of this 407m ship which had an estimated capacity of 300 tons burden. P. Throckmorton, "The Roman Wreck at Pantano Longarini," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 2 (1973) 243-66 and P. Throckmorton and G. Kapitän, "An Ancient Shipwreck at Pantaro Longarini," *Archaeology* 21 (1968), 182-87. A second ship of similar capacity was the Marzameni Church Wreck which ran aground in the same general vicinity. G. Kapitän, "Schiffsfrachten antiker Baugesteine und Architekturteile vor den Küsten Ostsiziliens," *Klio* 39 (1961), 290-302.

<sup>16</sup> See Bass and von Doorninck above in note 2.

<sup>17</sup> Prokopios I.8.7-9 on the harbors built by Justinian at Anaplous and Eutropios on the Bosphorus.

<sup>18</sup> Basic sources on Seleukeia are gathered in R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, (Washington; D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1987).

The city was the principal military base on the southeast coast and home of the Count of Isauria. During the Persian invasions of the early seventh century, coins were struck in Seleukeia, although until that time it does not appear to have been the location of a mint. C. Foss has suggested that coins were probably issued for troop payrolls while the city continued to serve as a center of military activity<sup>19</sup>. The mint appears to have closed about the same time that Arab naval forces staged their attack on nearby Cyprus.

Later in the seventh century, the city received an arms factory and mint for which some of the officials' names have survived<sup>20</sup>. By 732 the city was incorporated into the coastal theme of Kibyrrhaiotai and in 930 administered its own theme of Seleukeia. The city's continued importance is mentioned later by Anna Komnene (45f), when it was refortified against Crusader threats<sup>21</sup>.

### Korykos<sup>22</sup>

This city, considered an important harbor in the Roman period, appears to have been most prosperous in late antiquity and the mediaeval period, when it was the major fortification between Seleukeia and Tarsus. The twin fortresses, the Land Castle and Sea Castle, provide its popular name of Kız Kalesi. The city was one of the major centers of the naval theme in the seventh century. The Byzantine city walls extend for more than a kilometer along the shore east of the Land Castle, enclosing the remains of several earlier Roman structures and the principal harbor, a shallow bay now partially silted. Outside the walls are numerous tombs and four large churches, including one of the later Armenian period characterized by its second series of apses behind the choir<sup>23</sup>.

How long did a harbor function at Korykos? Was it a Greek port in the eighth and ninth centuries or was it abandoned because of the threat of neighboring Arabs in the plains beyond Tarsus and on Cyprus? If one follows the dating of Foss and Winfield (1986:21-22) for the Land Castle, that appears to be the case<sup>24</sup>. The authors suggest three phases of construction, beginning with the "concentric castle" of the fifth or sixth century, perhaps built in response to Persian threats. A ninth-century Arab threat led to a re-fortification and the addition of prow-shaped towers. Finally, Foss and Winfield associate the rough-cut masonry of small blocks with repairs mentioned by Anna Komnene<sup>25</sup>. Edwards disagrees, preferring a twelfth century date on the basis of contemporary Arab geographers who were careful to identify fortified sites near the frontiers<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity," *The English Historical Review* 90, (1975), 729-30.

<sup>20</sup> G. Zakos and A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1, pp. 2-3, (Basel, 1972), 727, 1074-76, 1157, 1335-37, 1419, 1433, 1684, 1773 and Zakos, vol. 2, (Bern, 1984), 144, 336, 338, 344.

<sup>21</sup> Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, *De thematibus*, ed. and comm. A. Pertusi, *Studi e Testi* 160 (Vatican City, 1952), 61, 77, 147. The city remained in Byzantine control in the spring of 1137 when the emperor John Komnenos arrived. S. Goitein, "A Letter from Seleucia (Cilicia) Dated 21 July 1137," *Speculum* 39 (1964), 298-303. By 1140 the city and its port appear to have fallen into the hands of the Crusaders, when Raymond of Poitiers granted trading privileges to the Venetians. *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, G. Tafel and G. Thomas, eds., (Vienna, 1856), vol. 1, p. 102.

<sup>22</sup> Basic bibliography on Korykos is found in Edwards, *Armenian Fortifications*, 161-67.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the churches see E. Herzfeld et al. *Meriamlik und Korykos, MAMA II*, (Manchester, 1930), 90-189. The nearby necropoli have been published by A. Machatschek, *Die Nekropolen und Grabmäler im Gebiet von Elaiussa Sebaste und Korykos, DenkschrWien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 96.2, (Vienna, 1967), and inscriptions recorded by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm *Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien, MAMA III*, (Manchester, 1931), 118-219.

<sup>24</sup> C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications, An Introduction*, (Pretoria, 1986), 21-22.

<sup>25</sup> See below, note 29.

<sup>26</sup> Edwards (1987: 161-67) suggests a twelfth-century date for the original construction of both the Land Castle and Sea Castle. In 864 Ibn Hurdādbih reported several ruined cities beyond Tarsus but Qurqūs (Korykos) was not among them. *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamalik*, ed. and trans. M. J. de Goeje, *Liber Viarum et regnorum, BSA* (Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum) VI, (Leiden, 1889), 117, lines 12-14. By 1154 al-Idrisi refers to Qurqūs as a fortress on the sea. *Kitāb nuzhat al-mustāq*, IV.5.8, ed. L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Opus Geographicum* VI, (Naples and Leiden, 1976), 646, lines 3ff.

A concrete breakwater, about 50 m long, extending from the southern corner of the Land Castle, might be part of a much larger harbor west of the city. It is built of mortared rubble that has some squared stone scattered about which could have originally been the facing material. Was this a single pier or was there another breakwater to enclose a protected basin? There is a local tradition that the Sea Castle, several hundred meters to the south, was once joined to land. Nautical charts clearly show a ridge of higher seabed leading from a nearby promontory to the island, but whether or not this was ever part of an early harbor works is unknown. Had there been a south breakwater at this point it would have created a vast harbor that would have been much better protected from the southwest seas and violent winds described at the site by Choniates<sup>27</sup>. The continued importance of the site is revealed in a passage from Anna Komnene (45f), when she states that the city had been in ruins but was being rebuilt<sup>28</sup>.

### Sebaste

Sebaste is situated on the coast 21 km northeast of Silifke and 26 km southwest of Erdemli. The remains of the city stand on the lower slopes of hills around what was in antiquity a shallow bay that has subsequently silted in, thus joining a former island to the mainland<sup>29</sup>. The harbor was in the flat alluvial plain where the highway now traverses the site. On the mainland side are large vaulted rooms of what appears to be a bath building, other structures (possibly warehouses), and nearby the theater that originally faced the inner harbor. Two churches have been located, one on the island and the other rebuilt into *cella* of a pagan temple on the western acropolis.

A number of fragmentary buildings are scattered along the highway in the area of an aqueduct which led across to the island. This area should be recorded more carefully in order to ascertain whether or not any of the late antique structures might have been built on the silted harbor. In other words, what was the history of this harbor's closing and the island becoming landlocked? Was the sand first deposited in the lee of the island creating an isthmus between mainland and island? Considering the direction of coastal currents from east to west, the most likely location for this would be the narrows south of the theater, in exactly the location where the aqueduct crosses to the island.

### Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias is on the Zephyrion peninsula along a remote stretch of mountainous coastline between Anamur and Silifke. The site is a classic example of a city with double anchorages on either side of an isthmus. The western harbor is exposed to any high seas from the southwest but might still be used in calmer weather. Remains of a structure, perhaps a loading platform, can be seen in the water. The recently excavated church of St. Pantaleon stands just above the eastern anchorage, the principal harbor and is one of the best along the coast<sup>30</sup>.

### Haliliman

A small cove four km northwest of Gazipaşa is known locally as Haliliman. Above the highway are the remains of a small church, whose apse retains a moulded cornice, and fragments of a mosaic which once included an inscription. A second structure, also of late date to judge by its masonry, suggests a small settlement might have stood about this tiny cove in late antiquity.

<sup>27</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. van Dieten, *CFHB (Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae)* II. 1, (Berlin, 1975), 463.

<sup>28</sup> The emperor Alexios commanded that both Korykos and Seleukcia be rebuilt and that garrisons be left there to prevent their being seized by Bohémond. The royal eunuch Eustathios was sent as admiral to direct the task.

<sup>29</sup> The island was the location of the palace of Archelaos mentioned by Strabo (14.2.7).

<sup>30</sup> I. Budde, *St. Pantaleon von Aphrodisias in Kilikien. Beiträge zur Kunst des christlichen Ostens*, Band 9. Recklinghausen, Bongers, 1987.

## Iotape

The site is located nine km northwest of Gazipaşa and 14 km southeast of Demirtaş, on a small promontory and tiny cove with a wider open bay to the east. The city was founded by Antiochus IV Commagene and is mentioned in the lists of cities by Ptolemy and Hierokles and the Notitiae. A low saddle crossed by the modern highway connects a rocky peninsula with the mainland. The promontory is steep on three sides with cliffs more than 40 m high along the western edge. There have been no excavations at Iotape but a survey by Rosenbaum identifies two buildings near the Roman baths as Christian chapels. The tiny harbor, about 50 m square, is formed between the promontory and another small headland to the east. There appear to be no ancient breakwaters but the location, in the lee of the headland, is ideal protection from the prevailing southwest storms experienced in the region. Open bays with broad beaches flank the city to the northwest and southeast and during calm weather ships might have been brought close enough to shore to unload. However, these activities would have been curtailed if there were high seas.

## Pompeiopolis

Ancient Soloi, later called Pompeiopolis, is 11 km southwest of Mersin and 26 km northeast of Erdemli. The city, destroyed by Tigranes of Armenia, was resettled by Pompey after his victories over the pirates. Remains of the city were poorly preserved when first described by Beaufort in the early nineteenth century and there is far less to see today<sup>31</sup>. The theater and city walls have practically disappeared. No Christian architecture was reported at the site, although pottery found within the harbor indicates it remained active into the Byzantine period.

According to Boyce (1958), the city's port dates to the mid-second century and was dedicated as part of the bicentennial celebration (counting from its new era date)<sup>32</sup>. Although the basic lines of the harbor are recognizable, its central basin is badly silted and filled with beach rock that has formed since antiquity. The harbor is enclosed by two parallel breakwaters more than 200 m apart which define a rectangular anchorage almost 300 m long. The basin was expanded by two large semicircular ends, that to the northwest partially excavated into the land and the other, to the southeast, open on its central axis to serve as an entrance. Its total length is almost 500 m.

## Conclusions

The coastal cities of Isauria recovered following the Persian invasions of the third century, despite the continued raids by their highland neighbors described by Ammianus. Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia — even Seleukeia and Calycadnum, the metropolis of Isauria — all suf-

<sup>31</sup> F. Beaufort, *Karamania*, (London, 1818), 252.

<sup>32</sup> A. A. Boyce, "The Harbor of Pompeiopolis: A Study in Roman Imperial Ports and Dated Coins," *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, (1958), 67-78, pls. 10-15. See by the same author, "The Foundation Year of Pompeiopolis in Cilicia: The Statement of a Problem," pp. 87-102 in *Hommages à M. Renard*, vol. 3, *Collection Latomus*, 103, (Brussels, 1969). "Street and Harbor: The Urban Axis of Soli-Pompeiopolis (Rough Cilicia)," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97:341-42 (1993). "Cilician Harbor Survey: 1993 Survey of Soli-Pompeiopolis," in R. P. Woodward and C. D. Moor, eds., *Underwater Archaeology Proceedings from the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference* (Uniontown, PA: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1994) 68-73, with S. Sachs, "Cilician Harbor Survey: 1993 Season at Soli-Pompeiopolis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 98:320-21. "A Survey of Harbors in Rough Cilicia: the 1991 Preliminary Survey," *X. Arastirma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, T. C. Kultur Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1993) 29-40. "A Survey of Classical Harbors in Cilicia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96.2:337. "Ancient Harbors in Cilicia (Turkey)," in D. H. Keith and T. L. Carrell, eds., *Underwater Archaeology: Proceedings from the Society for Historical Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica 1992*. (Uniontown, PA: Society for Historical Archaeology) 75-79.

ferred the fourth-century incursions by mountain brigands. Yet, judging from the amount and quality of ecclesiastical architecture during the fifth and sixth centuries in coastal Isauria, the region prospered. It was during these years that the buildings at St. Thekla, the most important pilgrimage site in the area, were constructed. From the seventh century until 964, when Nikephoros Phocas recaptured Cilicia, Muslims occupied the eastern plains. During this period most, if not all, of the coastal Isaurian sites were abandoned for the greater safety of the Taurus mountains.