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Economy of Roman Eastern Rough Cilicia: Some Archaeological Indicators

Before the roman conquest, all the cities that we have mentioned above (fig. 1) - of course with their different histories¹ - seem to be part of the Hellenistic trade world: the great part of transport amphorae comes from the Aegean area (fig. 2), a smaller part from the Phoenician and Punic area (fig. 3), and the local production seems to imitate the well known Greeks prototypes. In this period, in Western Rough Cilicia started the production of the so-called

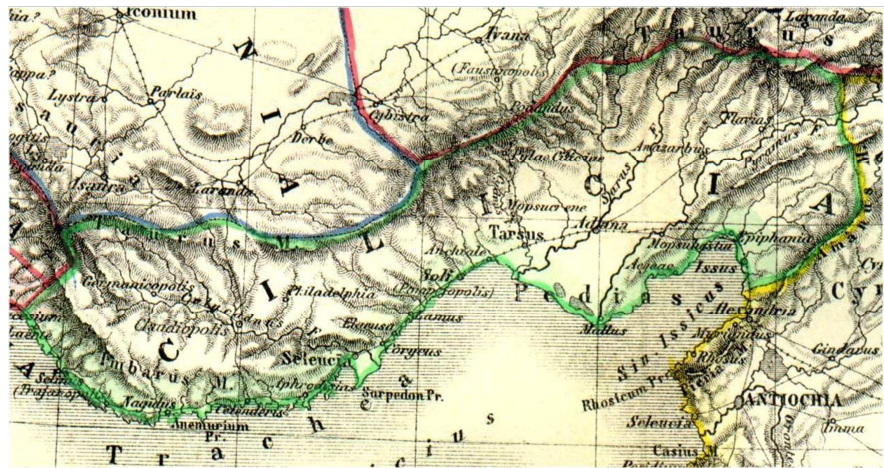


Fig. 1 – Plan with the considered sites, Vorlage H. Kiepert, Atlas antiquus Berlin (Reimer).

“Pamphylian” amphorae, that appeared in the eastern Mediterranean markets². In the late Hellenistic period the presence of materials, from both East and West, allow us to affirm that, from this period onwards, this area was taking part of a trade network that covered the entire eastern Mediterranean area.

Anyway, the economic boom of Cilicia seems to start from the 1st century BC and mostly after the roman conquest and after the elimination of the troubles caused by the pirates. The commercial interchanges expanded with the West, and the local production of amphorae underwent a big increase. Between the I and the III centuries A.D. the greatest part of amphorae documentation in Cilicia consists in regional productions. Given the abundance of oil and wine production facilities, it seems likely that the region had a surplus of these products that were transported in amphorae and sold abroad. Passing to analyze them, the regional productions are the Agorà M 54 and Pompei V (fig. 4) types, kilns of which are recognized in Cilicia and in Pieria³, and the so-called Anemurium A or Agorà G 199 type⁴. Also some local imitation of

¹ About the Hellenistic period in Cilicia, TEMPESTA 2006, *ibid.*, 2008 and *ibid.*, forthcoming.

² So called because of Pamphylian names on the stamps. ŞENOL, ÇANKARDEŞ, ŞENOL 2003, 123, n. 31, with bibliography.

³ EMPEREUR, PICON 1989, 137; REYNOLDS 2005, 564–565.

⁴ The kiln in Anemurium has been identified by WILLIAMS 1989, 91–95. The kilns of Syedra and Biçkici Çayı have been identified by the survey of the *Rough Cilicia Survey Project* team, under the direction of N. Rauh in *Cilicia Tracheia* from 2000. On these kilns and their



Fig. 2 – A group of late Hellenistic amphorae (Soloï-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 5 – Dressel 2-4 amphora type, Italian production, I A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Fig. 3 – Maña C1 amphora, Hellenistic-early roman (Soloï-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 4 – Pompeii V amphora type, I-II A.D. (Courtesy from a private collection).

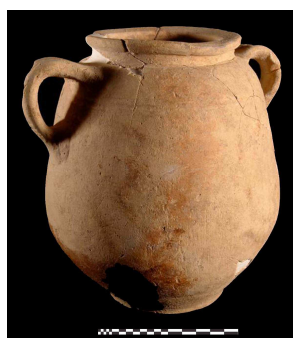


Fig. 6-7 – Coarse ware. Used for incineration, local production, I cent. A.D. (Soloï-Pompeiopolis and Elaiussa Sebaste).

Gaulish types and of Dressel 2-4 are attested⁵. In this phase the goods imported in amphorae continue to come

in particular from the Aegean area with the Cretan, Rhodian and Koan types, frequently present in many sites all over the Mediterranean. Few samples of Beirut 3 amphora types come from Palestinian area. The arrival of goods from more distant areas, such as Africa, Iberia and Italy, was more sporadic. Such process was probably connected with the returning loads on ships that occasionally traded Cilician products on more distant markets. Some goods come from Italy, as the wine in Dressel 2-4 (fig. 5) and Lamboglia 2 types.

With regard to the other wares, as the coarse and cooking pottery, in the I century AD we can surely recognize some importations from Cyprus, Palestine, and from Aegean area, while the Cilician productions seem to be less exported (I could see something maybe belonging to the Cilician cooking ware production only in Marseille, until now⁶); in this period the local production of cooking ware seems to follow the models that we can find in every part of the Empire. We are now able to recognize the local production of coarse ware, as it is clearly showed by some sample of pots made in the same way as Pompeii V amphorae were made (fig. 6-7). In the early roman period the region's needs of fine wares seem to be satisfied for the

production, see RAUH, SLANE 2000, 319–330 and RAUH 2004, 329–336. Another kiln may be in Antiochia ad Cragum, where a lot of fragments and wasters of Mau XXVII–XXVIII have been identified *ibid.*, 326.

⁵ RAUH, SLANE 2000, 323–328.

⁶ MOLINER 1996, 244, fig. 12, 4.



Fig. 8 – Lamp from Cnidos, 70-80 AD (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Fig. 10 – Attis, Terracotta figurine, Tarsus production, I B.C.-I A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).

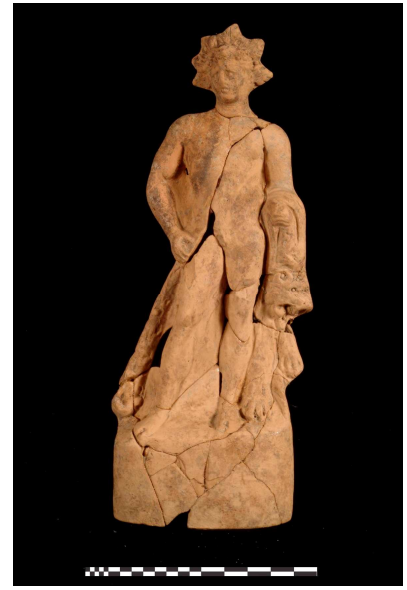


Fig. 11 – Herakles, Terracotta figurines, Tarsus production, I B.C.-I A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Fig. 9 – Lamp from Cnidos, particular (Soloi-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 12 – Apollo, Terracotta figurine, Tarsus production, I B.C.-I A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).

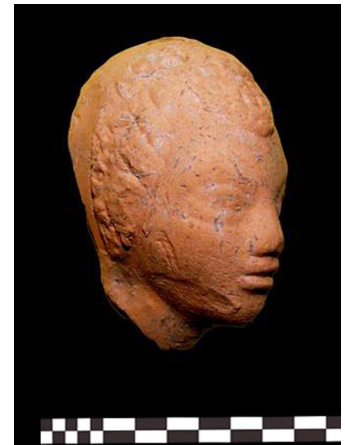


Fig. 13 – Slave, Terracotta figurine, Tarsus production, I B.C.-I A.D. (Soloi-Pompeiopolis).

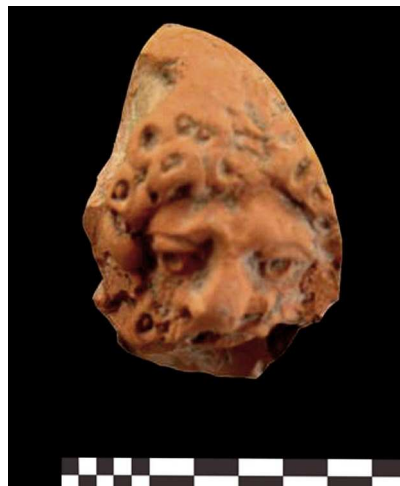


Fig. 14 – Male with Phrigian cap, Terracotta figurine, Tarsus production, I B.C.-I A.D. (Soloi-Pompeiopolis).

most part by the Syro-cilician and Cypriot productions. The most part of fine wares attested in this phase are of ESA types, could be of the local production or from any area nearby, recognized for the compositional analysis of the fabrics between Tarsus and the Syrian coast, and the less part is imported from Cyprus. In the I century AD the Cilician production of lamps has not flourishing yet; the lamps seem to be imported from the biggest centres of production, (for ex., Cnidos, figg. 8-9). But a particular production of Tarsus has increased: in this case the terracotta figurines production, for religious and burial uses, widespread in all the Cilician centres, but probably not exported⁷

⁷ GOLDMAN 1950, 297–306.



Fig. 15 – Satyr, Terracotta figurine, Tarsus production, I B.C.-I A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).

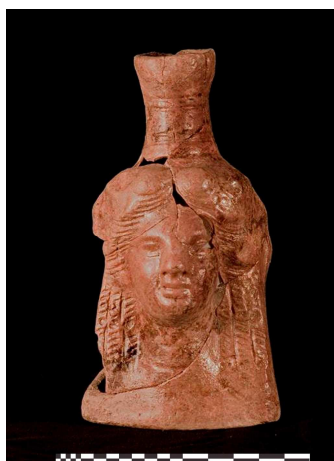


Fig. 16 – Flask in Magenta Ware, I A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Fig. 17 – Yellowish Egyptian alabaster pyxis, Late Hellenistic-Early imperial (Soloi-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 18 – Yellowish Egyptian alabaster alabastra, Late Hellenistic-Early imperial (Soloi-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 19 – Bronze Pyxis, Corinthian (?) I cent. AD, (Elaiussa Sebaste).

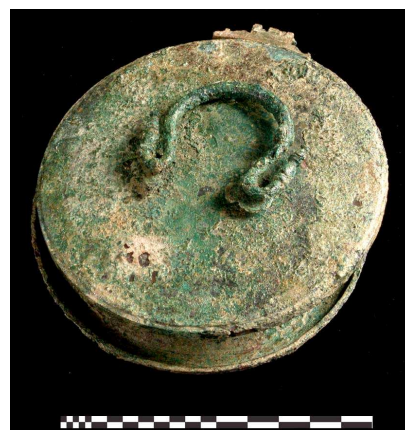


Fig. 20 – Bronze box for mirror, I cent. AD, (Elaiussa Sebaste).

(figg. 10-15). In addition to the Tarsus figurines production, we found, especially in burials, the imported ones, as the “Magenta ware”, that are very common in Cyprus (fig. 16)⁸. With regard to other types of objects, we can observe that, for luxury goods and for some special kind of objects, Cilicia has satisfied its needs by the specialized production centres, as, for example, from Egypt in the case of pyxis and alabastra (figg. 17-18), and, from the western, Greeks manufactories for the bronze objects⁹ (figg. 19-20).

To summarize, it seems that until the middle of the II century the region satisfied its needs of pottery and goods for the biggest part on a regional scale, with some commercial contacts with different markets, mostly oriented to the Aegean area and to Cyprus. The relations between Cyprus and Cilicia are always well shown by the ceramic evidence, that points out the connections between Western Cyprus and Cilicia in the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique periods. The find pattern is very similar, which suggests that the two regions formed a single zone of circulation for pottery in these periods¹⁰.

⁸ KARAGEORGHIS 2000, 276, n. 447.

⁹ LLOYD MORGAN 1976, 177–196, fig. 12; 181–183 n. 110 and 115; 1981 (group G); HAYES 1984, 191–195. MERCANDO 1974, 103–123, T.5 n. 4; 114, fig. 33; 117, fig. 37; PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI 1990, 246 cat. n. 29, where an identical gem-like motif is noted on a bed bronze decoration.

¹⁰ On the Cypriot-Cilicia trade connection see LUND 2005, 80, with bibliography, and Lund, forthcoming.



Fig. 21 – Beltran 2b (Iberia), Dressel 14b (Lusitania), ER 4 (Africa). II A.D. context from Elaiussa Sebaste.



Fig. 22 – LR 3 micaceous jar (Soloi-Pompeipolis).



Fig. 23 – Stamped bowl, I-II A.D., Aegean production (Cnidos, Elaiussa Sebaste).

Passing to analyze the middle imperial age, we can observe that in this phase the economic and commercial activities of our area seem to expand and involve in a trade relationship system which now includes

both the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean, for import as for export purposes. It would appear that this region has formed part of a system of short distance, mostly regional, and medium-long commercial exchanges. The presence of the Cilician and Aegean amphorae on the regional market is always very strong, but the African and western importation seems to increase: we can testify arrivals from Africa Tripolitana and Byzacaena and from Iberia (fig. 21).

From Sardis and from the Meander river area comes the LR3 (fig. 22)¹¹; and from Cnidos/Alicarnassos the Kapitain II amphora, while from Rhodes we have attested now the latest types of amphorae; a significant group comes from Crete (AC1, 2, 4 amphorae).

The export-import system seems to be, in this period, more rich and integrated, as we can understand well by looking at the fine wares: with the ESA and the Cypriot sigillata production, always the firsts on the Cilician market, we can also find now fine wares from Cnidos (fig. 23), the Pergamon area (Çandarlı ware), the Meander river area (Eastern Sigillata B), the Black sea (Pontic sigillata)¹², and Italy and Africa, also if the quantity of fragments which can be traced to western centres of production is too limited to suggest an influx of imports on any vast scale¹³. We can recognize also some examples of the “thin-walled wares” with their later cups of a *collarino* types, but it remains the problem about their source¹⁴

The cooking ware repertoire in the II century AD seems also to be more rich and integrate, both for the typology and for the provenience of the pottery. The import of Aegean cooking ware from the very specialized centres near Phokaia, probably the same production area as Eastern sigillata B¹⁵, increases both for the number and for the shapes of the pots, that are the typical of the II century series: frying pans with handle (Hayes type 2), deep casseroles (Hayes type 2) and the cooking pots Hayes 1971, ns. 40-42. In the middle imperial age we can recognize also few samples of the large shallow pans imported from the Campanian area¹⁶, the “Pompeian Red Ware” series (with the shapes belonging to the late production); this

¹¹ On the production areas and the contents of LR3, PIERI 2005, 101–102, with bibliography.

¹² POBLOME, BRULET 2005, 27–36; on the eastern production (with bibliography), see HAYES, 2001 and MALFITANA 2005.

¹³ On fine wares in Cilicia see ZOROĞLU 2005, 243–248.

¹⁴ The semi-blackened exterior seems not to belonging to the Italian production; HAYES 2005, 20–22, suggests some sources on the Thracian coast.

¹⁵ Some kilns have been recognized near Phokaia: OZYGIT 1991, 137–138 and OZYGIT 1992, 102–104. On others production centres see HAYES 1983, 105; HAYES 1991, 80; HAYES 2000, 292.

¹⁶ DI GIOVANNI 1996, 74–77; PEACOCK 1977. For the eastern imitations of this production, HAYES 2005, 16–17.



Fig. 24 – Cooking pot. Local production, I-II cent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Fig. 25 – Casserole, local production. II cent. A.D. (Soloι-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 26 – Casserole, local production. II cent. A.D. (Soloι-Pompeiopolis).



Fig. 27 – Casserole, local production. II cent. A.D. (Soloι-Pompeiopolis).

class is very widespread from the Augustan age, but in east it has been exported few time later¹⁷, and the exportation in east seems to end during the II cent.¹⁸.

In this phase appears the cooking ware production generally known as “eastern”, that consists mostly in cooking pots and casseroles¹⁹. The models seems to be the same as in the entire eastern Mediterranean, but we have more close comparisons in an area that consist of Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, south Cappadocia and eastern Lycia - gulf of Antalya²⁰ (figg. 24-27). Concerning the common ware productions, also in this case the models seem to be local/regional, with a particular production of jugs and jars with articulated neck, with or without lid, and of little jugs with trefoil mouth, very similar to the contemporary production of Sagalassos²¹. From the II cent. AD the most part of the lamps is generally locally made²² (figg. 28-34).

The period between the III and the IV centuries is marked mainly by the popularity of African products on Cilician market in a trend that affected all the Mediterranean areas in general. There is a much

¹⁷ DI GIOVANNI 1996, 76, with bibliography.

¹⁸ DI GIOVANNI *ibid.*, with bibliography. In Knossos, HAYES 1983, 126; in Cyprus, HAYES 1977, 97; at Cesarea Marittima, RILEY 1975, 46.

¹⁹ WILLIAMS 1989, ns. 360-369, originating in Palestine and made in more than one place, and ns. 370-375, with comparisons in Cyprus, Knossos, Lebanon and Syria (*ibid.*, 64, with bibliography).

²⁰ See Tarsus (JONES 1950); Anemurium (WILLIAMS 1989), Porsuk (ABADIE-REYNAL 2003), Perge (ATIK 1995), Limyra (MADER 2003). Similar shaped pots, but belonging to an earlier production in Paphos (I d.C., deposit 3): HAYES 2003, 453, fig. 2, ns. 10-11; 466, ns. 96-101 (Cypriot production); Knossos, between the I and the III cent A.D. (DI VITA, MARTIN 1997, 350-352, t. CXXI, ns. 4 and 5, t. CXXII, ns. 4 e 5, t. CXXIII, nn. 2-4).

²¹ DEGEEST 2000, 350-351, figg. 89-91, 94.

²² GOLDMAN 1950, 86.



Fig. 28 – Lamp of Tarsus type XVIII, I-II cent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Figg. 29-30 – Lamp of local production, I-II cent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).

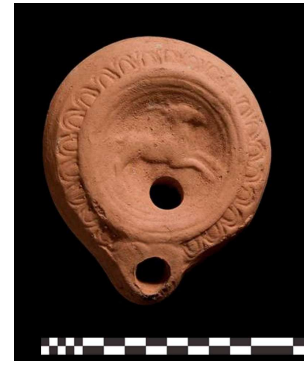


Fig. 31 – Lamp of local production, Tarsus Type XVI-XVIII, I-II cent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).



Fig. 32-34 – Lamp of local production, Tarsus Type XVI-XVIII, I-II cent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste)



Fig. 35-36 – Cooking pot, local production, IVcent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste)

larger number of findings of African sigillata wares, coinciding with the declining production of fine tableware in the regional centres mentioned above; but from the data offered from fine wares of the III-IV cent. AD what can

be stressed is that the production of ESA seems to continue at least until the middle of the III cent.²³, and continued to circulate within an area nearby its production areas on an even further restricted scale²⁴.

The shape of the cooking pots changed and the local production seems to satisfied the needs (figg. 35-36); in some cases there

are imitations of the typical African cooking pots of this period²⁵.

The most part of the lamps are always a local production (figg. 37-38), but now we can see also imitations of African models - while a small part of the lamps is of African types; the same increasing of

²³ With the last shapes of the Atonine series and some bowls and plates that seem to derivate from it –the publication of these materials from the excavations of Elaiussa Sebaste and Soloi-Pompeiopolis is in progress by the present author.

²⁴ POBLOME, BRULET 2005, 34–35, POBLOME 2006, 190–191.

²⁵ The walls of the pots are more thin, often with ridged walls; the flat base frying pans disappeared for smaller and deeper casseroles with carination; the base is often ridged, as the African shapes.



Fig. 37-38 – Lamp, Tarsus type XIX. Local production? III-early V cent. A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste)



Fig. 39 – Almagro 50 amphora type from Baetica, III-IV A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).

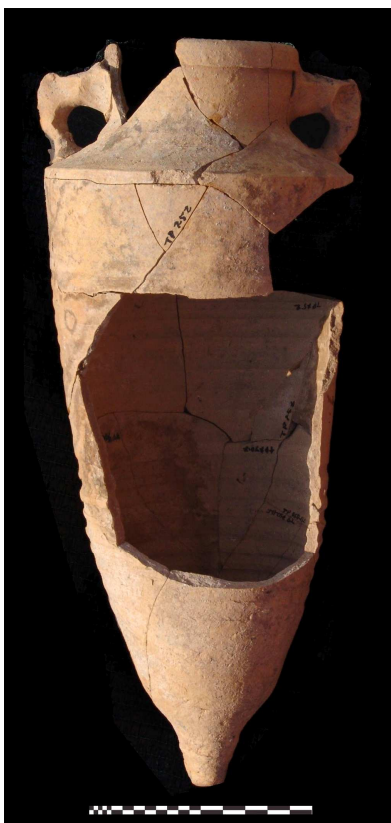


Fig. 40 – Amphora of local production, 300-360 circa (Elaiussa Sebaste).

importations from north-Africa is visible for the amphorae findings (mostly Africana II (africana grande)²⁶. Other importations from the west are occasional (Iberian amphorae types (fig. 39).

The local production of amphorae also appear to be undergoing a period of transition: the eastern Cilician amphorae Dressel 2-4, Agorà 54 and Pompei V ceased to be produced, while the western Cilicia kilns continues their activities: the Anemurium A amphora is present now in its late version, the so-called Agorà M 239; we also know some other kind of local amphorae, produced in the kilns of Elaiussa Sebaste, that seems so be in a “transitional” shape, from the Anemurium and Pompei V types (fig. 40)²⁷, to the LR1 types that will be the most famous production of Cilicia starting from the end of this period (fig. 41)²⁸; for what we can see at the present moment, this creation, that followed the tradition of the western Cilicia amphorae production, has not been developed²⁹.

The arrivals of goods from the Aegean area continue throughout these centuries, but with some changes: the traditional Hellenistic-shaped amphorae (Cretan, Rhodian, Koan) disappeared, while, close to the continuous arrivals of LR 3 from the western coast, we can see the beginning of the imports from Samos³⁰. Close to the decrease of the import of wine from the Aegean islands, in the late fourth century, there was a new steady influx of eastern Mediterranean amphorae, which mostly are the Palestinian and Syrian series (fig. 42). At the end of this period, always from Syria - almost certainly

²⁶ On the commercial interchanges between Cilicia and North Africa see FERRAZZOLI, RICCI 2008.

²⁷ Characterized by the “pinched handle” on the shoulder with carination of the Anemurium A amphora and the base and fabric of the Cilician proto-LR1. This particular kind of amphora until now has been found in Lebanon; personal communication by P. Reynolds.

²⁸ FERRAZZOLI, RICCI forthcoming.

²⁹ For the eastern Cilician models: P. Reynolds suggests that the proto-LR1 amphora derives from the Pompei 5 amphora: REYNOLDS, forthcoming.

³⁰ LR 8 amphora type, in the new classification of PIERI, 2005, 132; or Dressel 32, Agorà M 273, Agorà M 328, *Samos Cistern type*. This type of amphora appears on the end of the III cent. with the type Robinson Agorà M 273.



Fig. 41 – Some LR1 amphorae of Elaiussa production, V-VI cent. AD.



Fig. 42 – LR4 amphora type, from Palestine, IV-V A.D. (Elaiussa Sebaste).

produced at Ras el Bassit - came also a relevant class of artefacts, as the stamped mortaria³¹.

Towards the middle of the 4th century there was a general reorganisation of production in Cilicia as well as the eastern Mediterranean area. The growth and spread of eastern production during this period can be attributed to a greater political and military stability of the eastern Mediterranean areas, strictly connected to the foundation of the new capital Constantinople. An effort was made to increase productivity in order to dispose of greater agricultural surpluses that could be transported through port cities, where these goods were stored in amphorae and sold, and Cilicia is lightening with regard to this economic process; but I won't analyze in this

occasion the flourishing of Cilician economy after the 5th century, topic that we have yet discussed in many other speeches and papers on late-roman and Byzantine pottery and economy of the area³².

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³¹ HAYES, 1976, 337–347; VALLERIN 1994, 180–184.

³² FERRAZZOLI, RICCI 2007a and 2007b; FERRAZZOLI, RICCI, 2008; FERRAZZOLI forthcoming and FERRAZZOLI, RICCI forthcoming a and forthcoming b.

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