ROMANIZATION AND SOME CILICIAN CULTS

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This paper focuses on two sites from central Cilicia in Anatolia, the Corycian Cave and Kanlıdivane, to make some comments about religion and Romanization. From the Corycian Cave, a pair of early third-century AD altars are dedicated to Zeus Korykios, described as Victorious (Epinikios), Triumphant (Tropaiuchos), and the Harvester (Epikarpios), and to Hermes Korykios, also Victorious, Triumphant, and the Harvester. The altars were erected for 'the fruitfulness and brotherly love of the Augusti', suggesting they come from the period before Geta's murder, i.e. between AD 209 and 212.¹ These altars are unremarkable and similar examples are common elsewhere, so these altars can be interpreted as showing the homogenising effect of the Roman Empire. But behind these dedications, however, may lie a religious tradition stretching back to the second millennium BC. At the second site, Kanlıdivane, a tomb in the west necropolis was accompanied by a funerary inscription erected by Marcus Ulpius Knos for himself and his family, probably in the second century AD. Marcus then added, 'but if anyone damages or opens [the tomb] let him pay to the treasury of Zeus 1000 [denarii] and to the Moon (Selene) and to the Sun (Helios) above 1000 [denarii] and let him be subject to the curses also of the Underground Gods (Katachthoniai Theoi).'² When he wanted to threaten retribution, Knos turned to a local group of gods. As at the Corycian Cave, Knos' actions may preserve traces of pre-Roman practices, though within a Roman framework.

Both examples show Romanization in the sense that the imposition of Roman state control had led to cultural changes in the region. The use of the term 'Romanization' has been questioned recently, especially with demands for greater political sensitivity, and in particular, the need to see the process from the perspective of the administered and non-elites. This is a reflection of modern cultures and differs from the way Romanization was discussed in

¹ Zeus, Hicks, E.L., 'Inscriptions from Western Cilicia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12 (1891), 225-273, no.26 = G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris 1987), no.16; Hermes, Dagron and Feissel 1987, no. 17.

² Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 10.

the early twentieth century, in particular by Haverfield.³ With few ancient texts, this focus on the subjects has been developed by some to interpret material culture in terms of resistance to Rome. This interpretation, however, runs the risk of confusing politics and culture. The challenge of distinguishing between the political and cultural is well-illustrated by the modern world. Opposition to the foreign policy of the United States is often expressed in terms of dislike of American products and companies, e.g. Coca-Cola, Disney, or MacDonalds. Yet the consumption of these 'American' products does not make the consumers American, nor do most think about US foreign policy when they consume Coca Cola or go to work at Euro-Disney. Although the corporate headquarters of such companies are in the US, they produce many of their products locally, employ local workers, and sell the products to local residents. The Roman Empire and Roman Imperial Culture should be viewed in the same way. So, just as reasons for not drinking Coca-Cola vary from political conviction to health to dislike of taste, so local responses to the Roman Empire and Roman Imperial Culture would also vary.⁴

A second criticism of Romanization comes from a realization that the Roman Empire was composed of multiple regions and that it cannot be treated as a single process that was the same everywhere. The majority of studies of the concept have concentrated on western parts of the Empire where there was often the simultaneous introduction of Roman authority and a rapid cultural evolution in the late first century BC or the first century AD. But in many eastern areas of the Empire, this clarity is lacking. A Hellenistic (or often older) civilization was already in existence when Rome took control, while prolonged interactions in Anatolia meant that though Roman control in many regions did not start until the campaigns of Pompey the Great in the 60s BC, there had been contact for over a century before this. Thus, the apparent clarity in the West, of Rome bringing change, was far less clear in the East. This difference can be productively exploited, allowing us to show the differences between the continuing development of Iron Age commun-

³ D. Mattingly, 'Vulgar and weak 'Romanization', or time for a paradigm shift?', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15 (2002), 536-540; J. Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 209-225; P. Freeman, 'Mommson to Haverfield: the origins of studies of Romanization in late nineteenth century Britain', in D.J. Mattingly, ed., *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism* (Portsmouth, RI 1997), 27-50.

⁴ N.J. Cooper, 'Searching for the blank generation: consumer choice in Roman and post-Roman Britain' in J. Webster and N.J. Cooper, eds., *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives* (Leicester 1996), 85-98.

ities and the impact of Roman rule. Most eastern communities were already used to belonging to an empire, i.e. living in an environment of written administration based elsewhere which regularly extracted surpluses in forms of money, goods, and manpower. In Anatolia, this applied from the imposition of Persian rule in 546 BC, though in many parts imperial control was in place a millennium earlier under the Hittites. But within both East and West there were many smaller regions, each with their own cultures and histories which contribute to an understanding of the changes brought about by the imposition of Roman political control.

The Corycian Caves and Kanlıdivane lie about 10 km apart, the former in the territory of the city of Corycus, the latter in the territory of Sebaste. Both are a few kilometres north of the Mediterranean coast, in upland areas of raw limestone covered with maquis. Now mostly deserted, these areas were much more densely populated during antiquity. Physically, it is a difficult area, hence its frequent description as Rough Cilicia.⁵ Theodore Bent travelled here in 1889.

“The Lamas rises in the Karamanian Mountains just above Mara, and for the whole of its short course, not exceeding 50 miles with all its sinuosities, it eats its way through the rocky mountains by a gorge that is never more than half a mile across, and the stupendous walls of which for miles offer on either side sheer precipices, reaching to the elevation in some places of over 2000 feet. It is impossible to go straight up the river by its banks; for several miles it passes through a narrow gully, which does not even afford a foothold for the acrobatic nomad.”⁶

The first definite contacts with the Classical world came with groups of Greeks (merchants, mercenaries, and sailors) who were active in Cilicia from the seventh century BC. At this point, the region was ruled by a Cilician monarch, the Syennesis, who became a Persian subject after 546 BC before being replaced in the early fourth century by a Persian Satrap. After Alexander's conquest in 333 BC and the Wars of the Successors, Cilicia was ruled by the Seleucids, but was lost to the Ptolemies during the reign of Ptolemy II (285-246 BC). Antiochus III restored Seleucid control in 197 BC, though

⁵ T.B. Mitford, ‘Roman Rough Cilicia’, *ANRW* 2.7.2, 1230-1261; P. Desideri and A.M. Jasink, *Cilicia dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone* (Turin 1990).

⁶ J.T. Bent, ‘Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia’, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 12 (1890), 445-463, at 450.

their control of the uplands was often nominal. Although there was a Roman province of Cilicia from 63 BC, when this was split into two parts in the mid-40s BC, lowland Cilicia was incorporated into Syria and upland Cilicia was left in the hands of allied kings. The central part of Cilicia, including Corycus and Elaiussa, lay in the territory of the temple-state at Olba. From 25 BC, the eastern parts of upland Cilicia were ruled by Archelaus I, king of Cappadocia (25 BC - AD 17). In 20 BC Augustus also gave him the cities of Elaiussa (which he renamed Sebaste) and Corycus. Archelaus II (17-38) succeeded Archelaus as ruler of Cappadocia including the Cilician possessions, then on his death in 38, the Cilician territories were given to Antiochus IV of Commagene (38-72). Antiochus' kingdom was taken over by the Romans in 72 when they annexed his kingdom. At this point, a new province of Cilicia was created, combining lowland Cilicia, now detached from Syria, and the parts of upland Cilicia that had been controlled by Antiochus. Thus, between its independence in the sixth century BC and the introduction of Roman direct rule, upland Cilicia had been under the control of the Achaemenids, Seleucids, Ptolemies, local dynasts, Cappadocians, and Commagenians and both cities and territory had been repeatedly assigned to new rulers. So, when considering resistance to Rome, the latest in a long line of rulers, Cilician political identity needs to be argued for rather than assumed.

What sort of society did the Romans rule in upland Cilicia from AD 72?⁷ It was a poor region, and although there had been some Hellenization, it was not on the scale of the richer Pisidian uplands.⁸ Perhaps the most obvious sign of this Hellenization was the foundation of cities. The first wave was in the early third century BC, when Seleucus I created the city of Seleucia on the Calycadnus and Ptolemy II founded Arsinoe, both on the coast. However, the most rapid change in the region took place in a second wave of foundations in the first century BC and first century AD. In the 30s BC, supporters of Antony probably founded Domitiopolis and Titiopolis (both at unknown inland locations) and after Actium an Augustan colony was founded at Ninica in the Calycadnus valley. Antiochus IV founded the

⁷ T.S. MacKay, 'The major sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia', *ANRW* 2.18.3, 2045-2129; T.B. Mitford, 'The cults of Roman Rough Cilicia', *ANRW* 2.18.3, 2131-2160; H.W. Elton, 'The economic fringe: The reach of the Roman empire in Rough Cilicia', in L. de Blois and J. Rich, eds., *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 2002), 172-183.

⁸ P. Desideri, 'Cilicia Ellenistica', in P. Desideri and S. Settis, eds., *Quaderni Storici* 76 (1991), 141-165; S. Mitchell, 'The Hellenization of Pisidia', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991), 119-145, esp. 141-142.

coastal cities of Antiochia ad Cragum and Iotape, and the inland cities of Irenopolis, Philadelphia, and Germanicopolis, as well as renaming Ninica as Claudiopolis.⁹ Most of the new cities lay in the interior, on upper branches of the Calycadnus, where no cities are known before this date. This suggests a transformation of the network of settlements and the introduction of Greek styles of living. However, the new cities had few lavish buildings. To the east of the Calycadnus valley at Diocaesarea Seleucus I constructed a roofed building, perhaps a stoa, and the city had a monumental tower tomb.¹⁰ A large temple of Zeus was also built here, dated, on stylistic considerations, to the period 175-150 BC. The size of the temple (c. 21 x 39 m) suggests royal patronage, and so the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164) seems probable.¹¹ There was also a Ptolemaic fortress inland at Meydançikkale, 15 km north of Celenderis near Gülnar.¹² The only other possible Hellenistic site inland is at Canbazlı, about 10 km west of Diocaesarea where it seems likely that a sanctuary to an unknown god has been entirely lost by its rebuilding as a church; only the sanctuary wall and some reused blocks survive.¹³ These examples might suggest a high degree of Hellenization, but the lack of comparable examples (beyond isolated towers), as well as the lack of features (except at the Olban temple-state at Diocaesarea) such as city walls, agorai or monumental tombs like those found in Pisidia, suggest the depth of Hellenization was limited. This is also suggested by the small number of Hellenistic inscriptions from inland, mostly from Diocaesarea.¹⁴ Although the relative lack of buildings and inscriptions, as well as coins and pottery, may be the result of little fieldwork having taken place, the cumulative lack suggests that the absence was real. Although, because of this lack of

⁹ A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971³), 211.

¹⁰ R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, 1891 und 1892* (Vienna 1896), no. 166.

¹¹ C. Börker, 'Die Datierung des Zeus-Tempels von Olba-Diocaesarea in Kilikien', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 86 (1971), 37-54; C. Williams, 'The Corinthian temple of Zeus Olbios at Uzuncaburç: A reconsideration of the date', *American Journal of Archaeology* 78 (1974), 405-414.

¹² A. Davesne *et al.*, 'Le site archéologique de Meydançikkale (Turquie): du royaume de Pirindu à la garnison Ptolémaïque', *Comptes-Rendus d'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1987, 359-382; A. Davesne and F. Laroche-Traunecker, *Gülnar 1: Le site de Meydançikkale* (Paris 1988).

¹³ J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien*, MAMA 3 (Manchester 1931), 39.

¹⁴ Diocaesarea, Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, *op. cit.* (n. 10), no. 166; Keil and Wilhelm 1931 (*op. cit.*, (n. 13), nos 62-68; Hicks 1891, *op. cit.* (n. 1), no. 45; Yapılıkaya, Hicks 1891, *op. cit.* (n. 1), no. 18; Meydançikkale, SEG 31, 1321 and 41, 1405.

evidence, the extent of Hellenization must be considered unclear, it certainly was not as developed as in Lycia, Pisidia, or Pamphylia.¹⁵ Probably the most profound change was the dominance of Greek as the local language, with the local language leaving few traces except in names.

The first of the two sites considered here, the Corycian Cave (modern Cennet ve Cehennem, 'Heaven and Hell') lay less than a day's journey to the east of Seleucia (modern Silifke) and close (c. seven kilometres) to Corycus (modern Kızkalesi).¹⁶ The main cave is a huge chasm, 200 m long, 70 m deep, covered at the bottom with trees and saffron plants. There is a huge cave at the western end, large enough to be thought the home of Typhon, the hundred-headed monster from the early stages of the creation of the Greek universe.¹⁷ In some versions, Zeus was helped in the struggle by Hermes. A late second-century AD Cilician version of the story tells how Typhon was tricked from his cave by a promise of a meal of fish. Once outside the safety of the cave, he was blasted by the thunderbolts of Zeus so that

'the yellow banks along the shore still
run red with the blood from the Typhaonian war-cries.'¹⁸

These caves are a product of karstic geology, formed as water trickled down through the limestone and ponded above impermeable clay layers. The result was large caves and underground rivers. Occasionally, the limestone caves collapsed into underground watercourses, producing, as here, chasms. Fifty metres east of the large chasm is a smaller, rounded opening, 40 x 25 m at the top and about 125 m deep, with vertical edges. The site is still a holy place and the trees and bushes at the edges are festooned with apotropaic ribbons, usually used for wishes for help in producing babies or finding husbands.

Just beyond the western end of the large chasm sat a small temple (probably Doric, estimated size 12.75 x 8.5 m), surrounded by a wall. This temple was dated by Heberdey and Wilhelm to the first half of the first century BC, followed by Weber. When this temple was converted to a church, several inscriptions from the temple precinct were incorporated into

¹⁵ cf. M. Waelkens, 'Sagalassos: Religious life in a Pisidian town during the Hellenistic and Early Imperial period', in C. Bonnet and A. Motte, eds., *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique* (Brussels and Rome 1999), 191-226.

¹⁶ Pomponius Mela 1.72-76; Strabo 14.5.5.

¹⁷ Strabo 13.4.6; cf. 13.4.11, 16.2.7 for other locations; Homer, *Iliad* 2.781-784.

¹⁸ Oppian, *Halieutica* 3.15-25 at 24-25.

the new structure.¹⁹ These reused blocks preserved three lists of names, usually thought to be priests of the temple. The first list as preserved includes 169 names, ending with Archelaus, son of Archelaus. This was presumably king Archelaus II of Cappadocia, son of king Archelaus I. This suggests that either the temple should be dated earlier or that there was an earlier temple on the site that was rebuilt in the first half of the first century BC. The temple then continued in use into the third century AD as a second list included several Roman citizens, thus postdating the first list, and several Aurelii, suggesting this sequence covered the second and early third centuries. The third list included 17 men named Marcus Aurelius or Aurelius, and so must have come from the early third century, reaching at least the 230s, if not later, showing that the cult remained active until at least the mid-third century AD.²⁰ A second temple lay about half a mile north of the cave, though little now remains.²¹

These temples at the Corycian Cave were the source of the two altars to Zeus and Hermes mentioned above. This linking of Zeus and Hermes is confined to western Cilicia and the Lycaonian plain. Perhaps the best known example of this combination comes from the Book of Acts. After Paul of Tarsus healed a cripple at Lystra, the local population shouted 'the gods have come down to us in human form. Barnabas they called Zeus and Paul they called Hermes because he was the chief speaker.' This is paralleled by an inscription from Isaura Vetus erected by the priest Celer to Zeus Bronton and to Hermes, and similar stones from Balıklı near Lake Trogitis and from Kavak near Lystra.²² Zeus was worshipped throughout Anatolia, but Hermes was found less often. As a crude measure of this, volume 3 of *IGRR* contains only two inscriptions mentioning Hermes and 80 mentioning Zeus. Hermes, however, was important in central Cilicia and within 20 km of the temple at the Corycian Cave, we know of three other temples of Hermes, at Çatiören,

¹⁹ O. Feld and H. Weber, 'Tempel und Kirche über der Korykischen Grotte (Cennet Cehennem) in Kilikien', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17 (1967), 254-278.

²⁰ Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), nos 155-156.

²¹ Feld and Weber 1967, op. cit. (n. 19), 267, doubted the existence of this temple

²² Acts 14.8-18; E. Swoboda, W. Keil and F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Brünn 1935), no.146; W.M. Calder, 'A cult of the Homonades', *Classical Review* 24 (1910), 76-81; W.M. Calder and J.M.R. Cormack, eds, *Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*, MAMA 8 (Manchester 1962), no. 1.

Yapılıkaya, and Ovacık. The latter two were both cave temples.²³ Further away from these sites were a priest of Hermes at Seleucia (possibly from a village rather than from the city) and a temple at Hamaxia in Pamphylia.²⁴

The combination of Zeus and Hermes attested at the Corycian Cave and in Lycaonia thus represents a native combination of deities, not an imported combination. It is usually suggested that they represent the Luwian (southern Anatolian coast) gods Tarhunt and Runta.²⁵ However, unlike the common western Roman practice, the so-called 'interpretatio Romana', there were few inscriptions mentioning the gods with both Olympian and native names. Native elements, for example, are completely lacking in a mid-second century AD inscription from Castabala in eastern Cilicia, dedicated to a goddess usually called by modern scholars Artemis Perasia.

'Either Selene or Artemis or you, Hecate the fire-bearing goddess whom we honour at the road junction, or the Cypriote one [Aphrodite] whom the people of Thebes honour with incense, or the daughter of Zeus, mother of Persephone.'²⁶

Inscriptions from the site call the goddess only 'Perasia', and it is only through Strabo that they can be connected with Artemis. Thus identifying Perasia with the goddess referred to in an Aramaic inscription from Castabala as Kubaba, though attractive, has to be conjectural.²⁷ In the same way, there is no direct evidence for Tarhunt and Runta from the Greco-Roman period (though their names were often used as elements in personal names from Cilicia). The primary aspect of Tarhunt was sky, so where Zeus is mentioned in a Luwian region, he is usually assumed to represent Tarhunt.

²³ Çatıören, Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), 232-236; Yapılıkaya, Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), 236-237; Ovacık (Meidan), Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), 270-271.

²⁴ Seleucia, G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964-8* (Vienna 1970), no. 218; Hamaxia, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. no. 54.

²⁵ A.M. Jasink, 'Divinità Cilicie: Tarhunt, Sarruma, Santa. Esempi di continuità nel culto e nell'onomastica', in P. Desideri and S. Settis, eds., *Quaderni Storici* 76 (1991), 164-174; R. Lebrun, 'Panthéons locaux de Lycie, Lykaonie et Cilicie aux deuxième et premier millénaires avant J.-C.', *Kernos* 11 (1998), 143-155; R. Lebrun, 'Syncrétismes et cultes indigènes en Asie Mineure méridionale', *Kernos* 7 (1994), 145-157.

²⁶ IGRR 3, 903; A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La Déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala (Cilicie)* (Paris 1964), 51-52; Strabo 12.2.7; E.L. Hicks, 'Inscriptions from eastern Cilicia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11 (1890), 236-254, nos 16, 17.

²⁷ Cf. L. Roller, 'The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian cult', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991), 128-143.

This identification can be suggested by a second millennium BC Hittite (and probably also Luwian) myth, that the Storm God defeated the dragon Illuyanka. Like the Greek Typhon myth, this was set outside Cilicia, and it is not until the fifth century BC that the Greek version acquired a Cilician location. The parallels with Zeus and Typhon are tempting. In the Karatepe bilingual inscription, Tarhunt is paired with Runta. Given the regional pairings of Zeus and Hermes and the identification of Zeus with Tarhunt, it is tempting to link Runta and Hermes. But such links would be stronger if Runta could be associated with the Illuyanka myth.²⁸ The Corycian Cave can be interpreted as showing the continuity of local traditions interpreted through Hellenic culture. But it is more difficult to assess what this actually meant since very little evidence for the native culture survives directly. Thus, despite these gods being recorded with Greek names, how the locals thought of them is unknowable, nor is there any evidence for any attempts to maintain continuity with the past.

Although the Corycian Cave was particularly famous because of its size and the attached legend, there were other similar sites in the religious landscape of Cilicia. One of these, Kanlıdivane, rivalled Corycus in size. When Theodore Bent, travelling from east to west in 1889, came across it, he at first thought it was the more famous Corycian Cave, some 10 km to the west.²⁹ The site, a large village in the territory of Sebaste, is built around a chasm 200 x 170 m, 60m in depth.³⁰ There were several necropoleis with at least twenty funerary inscriptions. Beyond the inscription of Marcus Ulpius Knos, there were seven other inscriptions calling on various combinations of the Moon, Sun, and the Underground Gods. This pattern of funerary inscriptions appealing to the Underground Gods and the Sun and/or the Moon is confined to the eastern uplands of the central Taurus (Map 1).³¹ All are

²⁸ P.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden 1965), 206-214; H.A. Hoffner, *Hittite myths* (Atlanta 1990), 10-14; D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. 1.1 (Berlin 2000), 45-71, lines 209-213.

²⁹ J.T. Bent, 'A journey in Cilicia Tracheia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12 (1891), 206-224 at 209.

³⁰ Eyice, S., 'Kanlıdivan (=Kanytelideis - Kanytelleis)', *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 4-5 (1977), 411-442.

³¹ Adanda (Lamus), R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, 'Studii e ricerche arch. nell'Anatolia meridionale', *Monumenti Antichi* 23 (1914), 5-274, no. 112; Aşağı İrnebol, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no.234; Ayaş (Elaiussa/Sebaste), J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichische Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1915), 5-60 at 46-47; Cambazlı, Keil and Wilhelm 1931, op.

funerary inscriptions, usually invoking the gods in respect to those who attempt to use the tombs for unauthorised burials, using the formula 'I swear to...' and then naming the figures called upon. Almost all of these inscriptions come from cities or large villages, but this probably reflects contemporary epigraphic habits and the fieldwork of modern archaeologists, rather than the actual distribution of the religious practice. The earliest examples are from the late first century BC or early first century AD (Gaius Julius Celer, a veteran and his wife Octavia), the latest from the mid-third century (Marca Aurelia Lieies, daughter of Indacus), though the only dated stone comes from AD 150. Many of the appellants had native names, like Coarmis son of Aingolis or Appas with his wife Lealis, which might suggest a cult for locals. However, at least four of the known dedicators were Roman citizens, like Gaius Pomponius Julianus from Sinobuç. A military connection is certain in the case of the veteran Gaius Julius Celer from Sinobuç and Marcus Ulpius Knos may have been a military veteran from the reign of Trajan.

As with the linkage of Zeus and Hermes, the combination of figures to whom Marcus appealed is interesting. The Underground Gods are often mentioned in funerary inscriptions from Cilicia and Lycia, though rarely in Pisidia. This usage is different from the use of *katachthoniois theois* at the head of tombstones, a simple translation of the Latin *Dis Manibus* sometimes found in Anatolia, especially at Ankara.³² The Sun or Moon are rarely mentioned in inscriptions from outside the region of the south-eastern Taurus (though graphical representations of the Sun and Moon on tombstones are

cit., (n. 13), no. 56; Efenk, Keil and Wilhelm 1931, op. cit., (n. 13), no. 111; Ermenek (Germanicopolis), Callander, T., 'Inscriptions from Isauria', *American Journal of Philology* 48 (1927), 235-246 at 240-246; Halimye, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 240; Kanlıdivane (Kanytelleis), Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), nos 10, 11; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 54 n. 1, nos 124, 128, 133, 134; S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* (Vienna 1998), *Kanytelis* 21; Kayabaşı, G. Dagron and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, 'Inscriptions de Cilicie et Isaurie', *Belleten* 42 (1978), 373-420, no. 47a; Kızıkalesi (Corycus), Keil and Wilhelm 1931 op. cit., (n. 13), nos 225, 743; Mut (Claudiopolis), Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 266; Narlı, Dagron and Marcillet-Jaubert 1978, op. cit., no. 46; Silifke (Seleucia), Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), no. 185; Sinobuç, A.C. Headlam, 'Inscriptions from Cilicia Trachea', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, suppl. papers 1 (London 1893), nos 21, 23 (revised by Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), 228), 33; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), nos 191, 205; Uzuncaburç (Dioicaesarea), Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n.1), no. 59; texts of all inscriptions also in S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* (Vienna 1998).

³² S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor* (Oxford 1993), vol. I, 135.

more common). The Moon is mentioned more often than the Sun, but usually in combination with the god Men, who is virtually unattested in Cilicia itself. The southernmost example of Men comes from Tosuntaş, south of Bozkır but north of Cilicia.³³

Are these inscriptions an index of Romanization? There are some signs of the presence of the Roman Empire, i.e. mentions of the imperial treasury, some fines given in denarii rather than drachms, and a veteran. The inscriptions cannot be easily sorted into pre- and post-AD 72, which suggests that the imposition of Roman direct rule had little impact. There is certainly no evidence for Pompey's presence in the mid-first century BC, though the Augustan creation of a colony at Mut is visible in the presence of at least one veteran. But these are privately erected stones regarding personal matters and should not be expected to mention the Empire often. Although these statements depend on the currently limited knowledge about the epigraphic habit in the Cilician uplands before AD 72, the small number of inscriptions from the area is significant and, like the lack of Hellenistic remains, does not suggest a wealthy community with the exception of the temple state of Olba.

As with the altars from the temples at the Corycian Cave, the inscriptions to the Underground Gods show how local practices may have continued after the imposition of Roman direct control. A reasonable case can be made that native gods continued to be worshipped and that local funerary traditions continued, though in a Hellenized and Romanized framework. This suggests that the impact of Roman political control on traditional religion in upland Cilicia was minimal and that the Greek cultural impact was of far greater significance. However, the continuity of these native practices can only be suggested because of the introduction of a non-local tradition, the epigraphic habit.

Ankara, June 2004

³³ E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (Leiden 1976), 52-53, 76-77; Tosuntaş, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 105.