

**Emanuela Borgia**

(Rome)

**CILICIA AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE:  
REFLECTIONS ON *PROVINCIA CILICIA*  
AND ITS ROMANISATION**

**Abstract**

This paper aims at the study of the Roman province of Cilicia, whose formation process was quite long (from the 1st century BC to 72 AD) and complicated by various events. Firstly, it will focus on a more precise determination of the geographic limits of the region, which are not clear and quite ambiguous in the ancient sources. Secondly, the author will thoroughly analyze the formation of the province itself and its progressive Romanization. Finally, political organization of Cilicia within the Roman empire in its different forms throughout time will be taken into account.

**Key words**

Cilicia, *provincia Cilicia*, Roman empire, Romanization, client kings

*Quos timuit superat, quos superavit amat*

(Rut. Nam., De Reditu suo, I, 72)

This paper attempts a systematic approach to the study of the Roman province of Cilicia, whose formation process was quite long and characterized by a complicated sequence of historical and political events. The main question is formulated drawing on – though in a different geographic context – the words of G. Alföldy<sup>1</sup>: can we consider Cilicia a „typical” province of the Roman empire and how can we determine the peculiarities of this province? Moreover, always recalling a point emphasized by G. Alföldy, we have to take into account that, in order to understand the characteristics of a province, it is fundamental to appreciate its level of Romanization and its importance within the empire from the economic, political, military and cultural points of view<sup>2</sup>.

## 1. DEFINITION OF THE GEOGRAPHIC LIMITS OF CILICIA

The concept of Cilicia, if we consider it as a specific geographical context having its distinctiveness and peculiarities, had fluctuating boundaries, extending in its wider status as far as parts of Pamphylia and Lykaonia to the west and Isauria and Cappadocia to the north<sup>3</sup>. Leaving aside the earlier

---

<sup>1</sup> Alföldy poses these questions considering the province of Pannonia, which in various respects was of course completely different from Cilicia. Nonetheless, the same issues may be examined in the case of Cilicia, a peculiar province of Asia Minor. G. Alföldy, *La Pannonia e l'Impero romano*, [in:] G. Hajnóczy (ed.), *La Pannonia e l'Impero romano. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Accademia d'Ungheria e l'Istituto austriaco di cultura, Roma, 13-16 gennaio 1994*, Milano 1995, p. 25 („Fino a che punto fu la Pannonia una provincia 'tipica' dell'Impero romano e come si può determinare la peculiarità di questa provincia?”).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> For a general overview of the province: A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1937, pp. 192-215; T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, ANRW, II, 7, 2, Berlin-New York 1980, pp. 1230-1261; F. Hild, H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. 5. Kilikien und Isaurien*, DenkschrWien 215, Wien 1990, pp. 30-97; B.D. Shaw, *Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33, 1990a, pp. 199-233; *idem*, *Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia (continued)*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33, 1990b, pp. 237-270; E. Equini Schneider, *La Cilicia Tracheia*, [in:] *eadem* (ed.), *Elaiussa Sebaste I. Campagne di scavo 1995-1997*, *Bibliotheca Archaeologica* 24, Roma 1999, pp. 27-33; K. Ehling, *Die Provinz Cilicia von 72/73 n. Chr. bis zur Eroberung durch Šapur I. im Jahre 260 n. Chr.*, [in:] *idem*, D. Pohl, M.H. Sayar (eds.), *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien*, *Asia Minor Studien* 53, Bonn 2004, pp. 29-33; G. Mietke, S. Ristow, T. Schmitt, H. Brakmann, s.v. *Kilikien (Cilicia, Isauria)*,

phases (Assyrian and Persian), when a „Great Cilicia” extending to the Euphrates and the northern area of Anatolia may have existed<sup>4</sup>, we will consider the late Hellenistic and the Roman period in detail (Fig. 1).

If the situation after the re-organization of the empire by Vespasian is quite clear, in the previous phases the limits of Cilicia – which was not a unitary political entity – are not well-defined also due to the divergence of ancient sources<sup>5</sup>. Some scholars presume a western boundary located near Korakesion on the Melas river<sup>6</sup>, therefore including part of what is usually considered as Pamphylia, whereas others prefer to locate it (as in the later periods) on the Sedre Çay, near Syedra; this ambivalence may be explained by the fact that until the early first century AD the area between Korakesion and Syedra<sup>7</sup> had an indefinite role and position, and probably was not yet under a permanent Roman control. In the same period, Cilicia may have also included a part of Cappadocia, Pisidia and Isauria to the north<sup>8</sup>. Also, doubts

---

Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, XX, 2004, coll. 803-864; M.H. Sayar, Das Ebene Kilikien vom Tod Alexanders des Großen bis zur Gründung der Provinz Cilicia durch Kaiser Vespasian (323 v. Chr.-72/73 n. Chr.), [in:] K. Ehling, D. Pohl, M.H. Sayar (eds.), Kulturbegegnung, pp. 17-28; J. Tobin, Black Cilicia. A Study of the Plain of Issus during the Roman and Late Roman Periods, BAR Int. Ser. 1275, Oxford 2004, pp. 4-11.

<sup>4</sup>For the Assyrian and neo-Babylonian periods, see O. Casabonne, La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide, Persika 3, Paris 2004. Herodotus (Hdt., I, 72, 2) considers Cilicia as a land crossed by the river Halys, today Kızıl İrmak, in northern Turkey; also, Strabo (Str., XIV, 5, 1. See also Str., XII, 2, 7) speaks about a Cilicia ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου, whose borders extended at least as far as Cappadocia.

<sup>5</sup>Scyl., 101-102 locates the border of Pamphylia and Cilicia between Korakesion (in Pamphylia) and Selinous (in Cilicia). Strabo (Str., XIV, 5, 2) considers Korakesion as πρῶτον τῶν Κιλικίων φρούριον, but in another passage (Str., XIV, 5, 3) he recalls that the western limit of Cilicia may be located at Kelenderis. Pliny (Plin., N.H., V, 93: *finisque antiquus Ciliciae Melas amnis*) follows Strabo and considers the Melas river as the ancient border of Cilicia. Ptolemy is also confused (Ptol., Geog., V, 8, 1) and, describing Pamphylia, lists some cities that are later included in Cilicia *Tracheia* (Ptol., Geog., V, 5, 3).

<sup>6</sup>For this matter, see T.B. Mitford, Roman Rough Cilicia, pp. 1233-1243, nt. 10; idem, The Cults of Roman Rough Cilicia, ANRW II, 18.3, Berlin-New York 1990, pp. 2131-2132; K. Tomaschitz, Unpublizierte Inschriften Westkilikiens aus dem Nachlass Terence B. Mitfords, DenkschrWien 264, Wien 1998, pp. 49-50; 73, nt. 235; Ch. Marek, Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike, München 2010, p. 365 (all of them consider the limit of Cilicia in correspondence with the river Melas).

<sup>7</sup>In an epigraphic text from the first century BC Syedra is referred to as a Pamphylian city (and so it is defined later in imperial texts): G.E. Bean, T.B. Mitford, Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963, DenkschrWien 85, Wien 1965, p. 21, n. 26; S. Hagel, K. Tomaschitz, Repertorium der Westkilikischen Inschriften, nach den Scheden der Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, DenkschrWien 265, Wien 1998, p. 392, n. Sye 27 (Πάμφυλοι Συεδρηες). However, in other sources it is mentioned as a Cilician locality: Flor., Epit., II, 13, 51 (...*ut Syhedris, in deserto Ciliciae scopulo*,...); Ptol., Geog., V, 5, 9.

<sup>8</sup>Str., XII, I, 4 remarks that in the late Hellenistic period, Cilicia was one of the administrative districts of Cappadocia.

arise with regard to the eastern boundaries of the region, where it may have included, according to different opinions, a larger or smaller portion of the eastern sector of the Issos Gulf<sup>9</sup>. The persistence of various client kingdoms in the region until Vespasian's rule may have also contributed to the fragmentary and uncertain political organization of this area of south-eastern Anatolia in the early Roman period.

The reform of Cilicia promoted by Vespasian created, for the first time, a unitary province including the area south of the Taurus and west of the Amanus, reaching westwards to the modern Sedre river, eastwards to the Gulf of Issos while the mountains marked its northern boundary. As a result, the renowned two Cilicias mentioned in ancient sources<sup>10</sup> – *Tracheia/Aspera* to the west and *Pedias/Piana* or *Campestris* to the east – become part of a specific and unique political entity: the limit between the two portions of the region, characterised by a very different geo-morphological setting, must be traced in correspondence to the river Lamos. It is worth underlining that this division was not adopted, from the political point of view, until the reform of Diocletian and the following transformations taking place until the reign of Theodosius.

Having adopted such premises, the matter of the boundaries of Cilicia may be solved (even if not conclusively) by a diachronic overview of all available sources, since the situation and the juridical connotation of *provincia Cilicia* evolved over time.

## 2. FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE ON CILICIA

If we consider the process of annexation of the province, we are concerned with a complex situation, as Cilicia became a „Roman province” in different phases and as a result of various and often less known military initiatives. Consequently, I agree with R. Syme<sup>11</sup>, defining the Roman province of Cilicia as an „elusive entity” not only from the geographical point

---

<sup>9</sup> T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, p. 1233, nt. 10. See also Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, p. 365.

<sup>10</sup> The main source on this matter is Strabo: *Str.*, XIV, 5, 1-22. Still, the existence of two sub-regions in Cilicia is also attested by Herodotus, for instance (*Hdt.*, II, 34, 3; *Hdt.*, VI, 95, 3).

<sup>11</sup> R. Syme, *Observations on the province of Cilicia*, [in:] W.M. Calder, J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, Manchester 1939, p. 299.

of view but also given its historical vicissitudes during the late Republican period<sup>12</sup>.

The increasing phenomenon of piracy and later the claims of Mithridates VI of Pontus were the main causes encouraging Roman intervention in this area. The first phase to be considered begins with the activities of M. Antonius in 102-101 BC and comes to an end with the decisive intervention of Cn. Pompeius in 67 BC. The analysis of ancient sources mentioning the specific duties of numerous generals involved in Cilicia during these decades compels one to be very careful in considering Cilicia – from that moment onwards – as a real territorial province with a thorough internal organization; it was more likely only a sphere of military and political competence.

In fact, the first real military Roman intervention led by M. Antonius in 102-101 BC<sup>13</sup> envisaged one or more naval and overland expeditions from Pamphylia (where he was stationed) to Cilicia<sup>14</sup>, having received the ἐπαρχία στρατηγική thanks to the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*<sup>15</sup>. This is the reason why some scholars believe that the effective *redactio ad provinciam* of Cilicia occurred at that moment, as opposed to others (with whom I concur) who prefer to situate this event at a later date<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> On the origins of the province of Cilicia see: Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia and its Origins*, [in:] Ph. Freeman, D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East. Proceedings of a colloquium held at the University of Sheffield in April 1986*, BAR Int.Ser. 297, Oxford 1986, pp. 257-258 (with bibl.); M. Oktan, *The Route taken by Cilicia to provincial Status: When and Why?*, Olba 19, 2011, pp. 267-286 (with bibl.).

<sup>13</sup> Liv., Perioch., LXVIII: *M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones id est piratas persecutus est*. Cfr. Cic., *De or.*, 82: *cum pro consule in Ciliciam proficiscens Athenas venissem complures tum ibi dies sum propter navigandi difficultates commoratus*. For the figure of M. Antonius see: A.N. Sherwin-White, *Rome, Pamphylia and Cilicia*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 66, 1976, pp. 4-8; A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman foreign Policy in the East. 168 B.C. to A.D. 1*, London 1984, pp. 97-98; B.D. Shaw, *Bandit Highlands*, 1990a, p. 220; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic, I-II*, Oxford 2000, p. 357; M. Arslan, *Piracy on the Southern Coast of Asia Minor and Mithridates Eupator*, Olba 8, 2003, pp. 200-201, nt. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Pomp. Trog., Prol., XXXIX: *...mari Cilices piraticum bellum moverint, quod in Cilicia Romani per Marcum Antonium gesserunt*. Later (Pomp. Trog., ap. Iust. 38, 7, 10, XXXIX, 5, 3) he says: *postea Creta Ciliciaque piratico bello perdomitae in formam provinciae rediguntur*.

<sup>15</sup> On the inscription from Delphi supplemented by a more complete copy from Knidos see: M.H. Crawford, J.M. Reynolds, J.-L. Ferrary, Ph. Moreau, 12 – *Lex de provinciis praetoriis*, [in:] M.H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, London 1996, pp. 239-240 (Knidos III, 35-37; Delphi B, 7-8).

<sup>16</sup> See Th. Liebmann-Frankfort, *La province Cilicia et son intégration dans l'empire romain*, [in:] J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard, II*, Coll. Latomus 102, Bruxelles 1969, pp. 447-457; A.N. Sherwin-White, *Rome, Pamphylia and Cilicia*, pp. 6-8; G. Marasco, *Roma e la pirateria cilicia*, *Rivista Storica Italiana* 99, 1987, pp. 134-135; H. Pohl, *Die römische Politik und die Piraterie im östlichen Mittelmeer vom 3. bis zum 1. Jh. V. Chr.*, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 42, Berlin-New York 1993, pp. 236-239 and the fundamental works by

Later L. Cornelius Sulla (96-95 or 92-91 BC<sup>17</sup>), L. Cornelius Lentulus (83-81 BC<sup>18</sup>), Cn. Cornelius Dolabella (80-79 BC<sup>19</sup>), P. Servilius Vatia (78-74 BC<sup>20</sup>) and L. Licinius Lucullus (74-67 BC<sup>21</sup>), to cite only the chief leaders, were involved in military activities in Cilicia. Even if some scholars believe that Cilicia effectively became a territorial province in 80 BC<sup>22</sup>, it is preferable to consider the *provincia Cilicia* (be it *praetoria* or *consularis*), in all the above mentioned cases, as having been subordinated to the competence of the magistrates sent there to repress piracy and to hold the increasing power of Mithridates in check, but not yet a defined territorial entity. Subsumed in *provincia Cilicia* we may rather indicate the territory of Pamphylia, Pisidia and perhaps also Lycia and southern Phrygia, where the generals were based

---

Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia*, pp. 255-256 (with bibl.) and B. Kreiler, *Zur Verwaltung Kilikiens von 102 bis 78 v. Chr.*, *Gephyra* 4, 2007, pp. 117-126. *Contra* C.S. MacKay, *Sulla and the Monuments: Studies in his Public Persona*, *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 49, 2000, p. 191, nt. 97 and Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, pp. 329-330; pp. 820-822 who still believe in a provincial deduction in this early phase.

<sup>17</sup> H.A. Ormerod, *The Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the Pirates*, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12, 1922, p. 36; E. Badian, *Sulla's Cilician Command*, *Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità* 37, 1959, pp. 284-287; A.N. Sherwin-White, *Ariobarzanes, Mithridates, and Sulla*, *The Classical Quarterly* 27, 1977, pp. 173-183; G.V. Sumner, *Sulla's career in the Nineties*, *Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità* 66, 1978, p. 395; B.C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, *Mnemosyne* 89, Leiden 1986, p. 78, nt. 45; A. Mastrocinque, *Studi sulle guerre Mitridatiche*, *Historia* 124, Stuttgart 1999, p. 34; C.S. MacKay, *Sulla and the Monuments*, pp. 161-210; B. Kreiler, *Zur Verwaltung*, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia*, pp. 259; 266, nt. 22; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship*, p. 359; C.S. MacKay, *Sulla and the Monuments*, p. 191.

<sup>19</sup> Ancient sources, mainly Cicero, are conflicting and alternatively ascribe either Pamphylia or Cilicia to Dolabella. Cic., *I Verr.*, 11: *Asiae et Pamphylliae*; Cic., *II Verr.*, I, 53: *Pamphylia*; Cic., *II Verr.*, I, 95: *quo modo iste commune Milyadum vexarit quo modo Lyciam, Pamphylliam, Pisidiam Phrygiamque totam*; Cic., *II Verr.*, I, 154: *in ultima Phrygia, quid in extremis Pamphylliae partibus*. But Cic., *II Verr.*, I, 44: *Cn. Dolabellae provincia Cilicia constituta est*. See Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia*, p. 266; H. Pohl, *Die römische Politik*, p. 260; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship*, pp. 571-572.

<sup>20</sup> Vatia succeeded in seizing control of some coastal cities of Lycia and Pamphylia and later occupied Isauria (obtaining the honorific title of *Isauricus*), but he did not control Cilicia itself. Oros., *Hist.*, V, 23, 21-22: *Publius vero Servilius exconsule Ciliciam et Pamphylliam crudelissime adortus dum subduere studet, paene delevit. Lyciam et urbes eius obsessas oppressaque cepit. Praeterea Olympum montem pervagatus Phasidem evertit, Corycum diruit; Tauri quoque montis latera in Ciliciam vergentia perscrutatus, Isauros bello fractos in dicionem redegit; primus Romanorum per Taurum duxit exercitum ac limitem itineris fecit*. Livius and Strabo seem to attest the opposite (*Liv.*, *Perioch.*, XCIII; *Str.*, XII, 6, 2). On the campaigns of Servilius Isauricus: H.A. Ormerod, *The Campaigns*; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship*, p. 572.

<sup>21</sup> Cic., *Mur.*, 33; Sall., *Hist.Frg.*, II, 98; Plu., *Luc.*, VI, 1; XXIII, 7; App., *Mith.*, LXXV-LXXVI. A. Mastrocinque, *Studi*, pp. 102-103; E. Equini Schneider, *La Cilicia Tracheia*, p. 32; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship*, p. 572.

<sup>22</sup> M. Oktan, *The Route*; J. Bennett, *The Garrison of Cilicia during the Principate*, *Adalya* 15, 2012, p. 115.

and active, but not Cilicia itself (or perhaps only limited portions of Cilicia *Tracheia?*)<sup>23</sup>.

The effective creation of the province of Cilicia occurred, as a matter of common knowledge, after the military campaigns of Cn. Pompeius. He was granted the *imperium infinitum* by virtue of the *Lex Gabinia* (January 67 BC<sup>24</sup>) and, having defeated the pirates at Korakesion<sup>25</sup>, obtained the chief command in the Mithridatic War and the control of Bithynia and Cilicia (*Lex Manilia*, 66 BC). Nonetheless, it is not clear what the exact boundaries of the new province of Cilicia created in 62 BC were, and how it was organised, because ancient sources remain utterly silent on that score until 56 BC. Pompey promoted urbanisation and the allotment of land, as well as settled the pirates who deserved to be saved in urban centres so as to avoid their future involvement in illegal activities; as far as Cilicia is concerned he chose a number of important Hellenized cities, all of which were located in Plain Cilicia, including Soloi (renamed Pompeiopolis), Epiphaneia, Mallos and Adana<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> H.A. Ormerod, *The Campaigns*, pp. 38-44; A.N. Sherwin-White, *Rome, Pamphylia and Cilicia*, pp. 9-11; R. Syme, *Isaura and Isauria. Some problems*, [in:] E. Frézouls (ed.), *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines. Actes du colloque organisé à Strasbourg (novembre 1985)*, Strasbourg 1987, pp. 131-147; M. Oktan, *The Route*, p. 281. There is also the problem of toponomastic confusion between certain cities of Lycia conquered by Vatia and the homonym sites in Cilicia (H.A. Ormerod, *The Campaigns*, p. 37, nt. 4; 43-44; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the third Century after Christ*, Princeton 1950, pp. 1168-1169).

<sup>24</sup> The most recent studies on Pompey the Great include: L. Amela Valverde, *Cneo Pompeyo Magno. El defensor de la República romana*, Madrid 2003 (in particular pp. 109-116); K. Christ, *Pompeius. Der Feldherr Roms*, München 2004 (in particular pp. 56-65); see A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman foreign Policy*, pp. 186-234; A. Lewin, *Banditismo e civiltas nella Cilicia Tracheia antica e tardoantica*, [in:] P. Desideri, S. Settis (eds.), *Scambi e identità culturale: la Cilicia*, QuadSt 76, Urbino 1991, pp. 169-170; H. Pohl, *Die römische Politik*, pp. 278-280. For Pompey's campaigns in Cilicia: T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, pp. 1236-1238; B.D. Shaw, *Bandit Highlands*, 1990a, pp. 221-223; M. Arslan, *Piracy*, pp. 205-207; K. Trampedach, *Die Neuordnung der Provinz Kilikien durch Pompeius (67-63 v. Chr.)*, [in:] A. Hoffmann, R. Posamentir, M.H. Sayar (eds.), *Hellenismus in der Kilikia Pedias, Byzas 14*, İstanbul 2011, pp. 247-257; Ph. de Souza, *Who Are You Calling Pirates?*, [in:] M.C. Hoff, R.F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*, Oxford 2013, pp. 50-51.

<sup>25</sup> Among the main sources on these events: Cic., *Prov.*, XI-XII; Plu., *Pomp.*, XXIV-XXV; XXVIII; Vell., II, 31, 2; App., *Mith.*, XCI- XCVI; D.C., XXXVI, 20-37; Vir. Ill., 77, 5 (*Mox piratas intra quadagesimum diem subegit*). Cicero (Cic., *Prov.*, 31; Flacc., 30) is the only author who ascribes the conquest of the entire Cilicia to Pompey: [...] *totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adiunxit* (Cic., *Man.*, 35).

<sup>26</sup> Str., XIV, 5, 8; Vell., II, 32, 5; Plu., *Pomp.*, XXVIII, 4; D.C., XXXVI, 37, 5; App., *Mith.*, XCVI, 444. Many Cilician cities adopted the year 67 BC as the starting year of the urban era. On these events see A. Dreizehnter, *Pompeius als Städtegründer*, *Chiron* 5, 1975, pp. 213-245; R. Seager,

At that point Cilicia undoubtedly became a province with a territorial entity, in all probability limited to a portion of Plain Cilicia, a part of the Taurus and maybe to the coast of Rough Cilicia<sup>27</sup>. However, a large part of the region still remained outside direct Roman control and was committed to client kings, according to a common practice in Roman foreign policy. Northern Cilicia near the borders of Cappadocia was assigned to Ariobarzanes II Philopator<sup>28</sup>; the domain ruled by Tarkondimotos was established in the valley of the river Pyramos, in Plain Cilicia, with its main centre at Hierapolis Kastabala and extending later over a wider region as far as Anazarbos<sup>29</sup>. As regards Rough Cilicia, the sacerdotal state of Olba, centred around the famous sanctuary of Zeus Olbios of Hellenistic provenance, was maintained alive: it controlled a wide territory in the valley of the Kalykadnos, also reaching the sea<sup>30</sup>.

---

Pompey. A political Biography, Oxford 1979, p. 38; Ph. Freeman, The Province of Cilicia, p. 255; P. Desideri, Strabo's Cilicians, [in:] De Anatolia Antiqua/Eski Anadolu I, 1991, pp. 302-304; L. Amela Valverde, Cneo Pompeyo Magno, p. 114; J. Tobin, Black Cilicia, pp. 12-13. See also D. Magie, Roman Rule, p. 300; Ch. Marek, Geschichte Kleinasiens, pp. 364-365.

<sup>27</sup> Ancient sources do not agree on the effective extension of the geographical area controlled by the pirates and conquered by Pompey. Strabo (Str., XIV, 5, 2) locates their headquarters on the coast between Korakesion and Soloi; Plutarch (Plu., Pomp., XXVI, 3) speaks about Cilicia in general; Dio (D.C., XXXVI, 20-23) focuses on a wider area, comprising centres further inland as well as maritime ports.

<sup>28</sup> R.D. Sullivan, The Dynasty of Cappadocia, ANRW II, 7, 2, Berlin-New York 1980, pp. 1136-1139.

<sup>29</sup> W. Hoben, Untersuchungen zur Stellung kleinasiatischer Dynasten in den Machtkämpfen der ausgehenden Römischen Republik, Mainz 1969, pp. 195-211; R. Ziegler, Das Koinon der drei Eparchien Kilikien, Isaurien und Lykaonien im späten 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr., Studien zum antiken Kleinasien IV, Asia Minor Studien 34, Bonn 1999, p. 137; B.D. Shaw, Bandit Highlands, 1990a, pp. 226-227; R. Syme, Anatolica. Studies in Strabo, edited by Anthony Birley, Oxford 1995, pp. 161-165; J. Tobin, Black Cilicia, p. 5; N.L. Wright, Anazarbos and the Tarkondimotid Kings of Kilikia, Anatolian Studies 58, 2008, pp. 115-125; idem, A new dated coin of Tarkondimotos II from Anazarbos, Anatolian Studies 59, 2009, pp. 73-75; idem, The house of Tarkondimotos: a late Hellenistic dynasty between Rome and the East, Anatolian Studies 63, 2012, pp. 69-88. Among the ancient sources mentioning Tarkondimotos, see: Str. XIV, 5, 18; Plu., Ant., LXI, 2 (see also LVI, 5); D.C., XLI, 63; LIV, 9, 2. Cic., Fam., XV, 1, 2 calls Tarkondimotos *fidelissimus socius trans Taurum amicissimusque populi Romani*.

<sup>30</sup> Str. XIV, 5, 10. For the Olban dynasty: T.S. MacKay, The Major Sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia, ANRW II, 18.3, Berlin-New York 1990, pp. 2045-2129; T.B. Mitford, Roman Rough Cilicia, p. 1241; E. Paltiel, Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire. Julio-Claudian Policies in Judaea and the Kingdoms of the East, Coll. Latomus 212, Bruxelles 1991, pp. 135-137; K. Trampedach, Teukros und Teukriden. Zur Gründungslegende des Zeus Olbios-Heiligtums in Kilikien, Olba 2, 1999, pp. 94-110; C. Tempesta, Central and Local Powers in Hellenistic Rough Cilicia, [in:] M.C. Hoff, R.F. Townsend (eds.), Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007, Oxford 2013, pp. 31-36.



The situation of the province was very erratic in the mid-first century BC<sup>31</sup>, when it was characterized by brief commands and changes in territorial organization; in any case, it has to be stressed that the eastern and western portions of the region continued until Vespasian under completely different arrangements.

When M. Tullius Cicero was sent as governor to Cilicia (51-50 BC)<sup>32</sup>, the province was certainly limited to the Plain and constituted a difficult and not yet completely pacified area. Cicero stayed mainly in the capital Tarsus and did not visit the whole region (he never mentions Rough Cilicia). He was obliged by political circumstances (mainly the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 BC and the menace of a Parthian invasion) to organise a military expedition in the area of the Amanus, but his prerogatives also extended to part of Cappadocia, Isauria and Lycaonia<sup>33</sup>. The boundaries of the province were not well defined yet. The general outline of Cilicia, as it emerges from Cicero's *Letters*, is that of an „island” under Roman rule, surrounded by areas out of his control or granted to client kings with whom Cicero entertained good diplomatic relations.

The province went through a very tangled period in the following years, which is not worth describing in detail here<sup>34</sup>, until the contest between Pompey and Caesar in which eastern Cilicia favoured Pompey only to be

---

<sup>31</sup> In the first years following the establishment of the province promoted by Pompey frequent changes occurred: in 58 BC Cyprus was incorporated into Cilicia (governor M. Porcius Cato); later, in 56 BC, a part of Phrygia (Synnada, Apameia and Laodikeia) was added to its territory (governor P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther 56-54 BC). We also know other governors, such as Aulus Gabinius (58 BC); T. Ampius Balbus (57-56 BC), Appius Claudius Pulcher (53-52 BC). R. Syme, *Observations*, 1939, pp. 301-302; T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, p. 1238; J. Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, p. 5; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasien*, pp. 369-370. See also: Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia*, pp. 266-267; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship*, p. 573; M.H. Sayar, *Das Ebene Kilikien*, p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Plu., *Cic.* XXXVI; LII, 3; Vir. Ill., 81, 4 (*Praetor Ciliciam latrocinii liberavit*). Cicero was elected governor of Cilicia in March, 51 BC, but he arrived in Tarsus only in August; his charge ended in late July, 50 BC. For the analysis of his travel to Cilicia, F. Kirbihler, *Cicéron, d'Italie en Cilicie. Conditions, vitesse et impressions de voyage d'un futur gouverneur*, *Res Antiquae* 5, 2008, pp. 349-364. For a reanalysis of Cicero's proconsulate in Cilicia see: M. Wistrand, *Cicero imperator. Studies in Cicero's correspondence 51-47 B. C.*, Göteborg 1979, pp. 3-60; A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman foreign Policy*, pp. 290-297. See also D. Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 395-399; Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia*, pp. 258; 261-262; 267; R. Syme, *Isauria and Isauria*, p. 135; C. Brennan, *The Praetorship*, pp. 573-574; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasien*, pp. 370-374.

<sup>33</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, XV, 2 e 4; Cic., *Att.*, V, 18; VI, 3; Plu., *Cic.* XXXVI, 1-2.

<sup>34</sup> The *proconsules* known in that period include P. Sestius (49 BC), Cn. Domitius Calvinus (48-47 BC), Q. Marcius Philippus (47-46 BC); Q. Cornificius (46 BC), L. Volcatius Tullus (45-44 BC). R. Syme, *Observations*, pp. 318-324; Ph. Freeman, *The Province of Cilicia*, pp. 261-267.

forgiven later by Caesar, who visited Tarsus in 47 BC<sup>35</sup>. Later on, an important jurisdictional change occurred and the eastern portion of Cilicia was attached to Syria: this event is likely to have taken place in 46-43 BC, even if official sources refer to it only in 38 BC<sup>36</sup>. This situation lasted at least until Augustus' reorganization of the provinces in 27 BC or, according to some scholars, persisted even longer<sup>37</sup>. In any case, under Augustus, the reign of the Tarkondimotides was reinstated and thus a consistent part of Plain Cilicia was independent until 17 AD<sup>38</sup>; as far as can be gathered, the power of the local dynasty was partially overlapping with the effective Roman province. But the administrative situation of Plain Cilicia is still unclear during the first century AD, when probably it was not an independent province but again (or had always been?) a part of the Roman province of Syria, as attested in sources mentioning the governor of Syria as responsible for Cilicia as well<sup>39</sup>.

On the other hand, Rough Cilicia was still largely outside Roman rule in the Augustan age and remained under the control of client kings for a longer period. Apart from the already mentioned state of Olba, which lasted until Vespasian (with a stronger interference of Rome since the reign of Tiberius when a M. Antonius Polemo was appointed high priest<sup>40</sup>), other independent

<sup>35</sup> *Tarkondimotos* helped Pompey, sending him some ships (Flor., Epit., II, 13, 5; D.C., XLI, 63, 1). For the presence of Caesar in Cilicia: B. Alex., 66. Cp. Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, p. 377.

<sup>36</sup> R. Syme, *Observations*, pp. 321-325; T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, p. 1239; M.H. Sayar, *Das Ebene Kilikien*, p. 27; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, p. 380.

<sup>37</sup> The situation is ambiguous to say the least. A passage of Dio (D.C., LIII, 12, 7) seems to indicate that Cilicia *Pedias* was again an autonomous province at that point, but other sources (AP, VI, 241; Str., XII, 6, 5; Tac., Ann., III, 48, 1) refer to a direct intervention in Cilicia of the governor of Galatia-Pamphylia in 13 and 5-3 BC, thus implying a kind of external control exercised over the region.

<sup>38</sup> The sources recall a Philopator (D.C., LI, 2, 2; Tac., Ann., II, 42, 5) or a Tarkondimotos (D.C., LIV, 9, 2). *Supra*, note 29.

<sup>39</sup> E.J. Bickerman, *Syria and Cilicia*, *American Journal of Philology* 68, 1947, pp. 353-362; R. Ziegler, *Zur Einrichtung des kilikischen Koinon*. Ein Datierungsversuch, *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien III*, *Asia Minor Studien* 16, Bonn 1995, pp. 183-186; H. Elton, *Geography, Labels, Romans, and Kilikia*, [in:] H. Elton, G. Reger (eds.), *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Acts of the Conference Hartford, Connecticut (USA), August 22-24 August 1997, Bordeaux 2007, pp. 28-29. An important epigraphic document datable to 90 AD but probably referring to a previous situation (IG XIV, n. 746 = IGR I, n. 445; L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Roma 1953, pp. 183-186, n. 67; BE, 1948, p. 212, n. 277) mentions a κοινὸν Συρίας Κιλικίας Φοινείκης ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ.

<sup>40</sup> He can be possibly identified with the king of Pontus. R.D. Sullivan, *King Marcus Antonius Polemo*, *The Numismatic Chronicle*. The Journal of the Royal Society 139, 1979, pp. 6-20; U. Gotter, *Tempel und Grossmacht: Olba/Diokaisareia und das Imperium Romanum*, [in:] E. Jean, A.M. Dinçol, S. Durugönül (eds.), *La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux* (2<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C.

potentates were created. Antonius assigned a part of Cilicia to Polemon I of Pontus, but his subsequent policy in the region is mostly unclear, as he conceded some territories to Cleopatra. A new client kingdom in the area of Elaioussa Sebaste and Korykos was created by Augustus and entrusted initially to Amyntas of Galatia (until his death in 25 BC) and later to Archelaos of Cappadocia (20 BC-17 AD)<sup>41</sup>.

Under Caius (37-38 AD) and with Claudius (41 AD) the area previously conferred to Archelaos, with some incorporations, was granted to another important client king, Antiochos IV of Commagene<sup>42</sup>. It is very difficult to delineate the real boundaries of his domain as it extended along a wide coastal area and into inner portions of Rough Cilicia: we know that it encompassed Elaioussa Sebaste – where evidence of a monumental building dedicated to Antiochos have been uncovered – and Korykos, as well as other cities such as Selinous, Anemourion, Kelenderis, Eirenopolis and the regions of Lakanatis and Kietis, minting coins in the name of the king. Antiochos promoted urbanization and founded the cities of Antiocheia on the Kragos and Iotape.

To conclude this tentative outline of the formation process of Cilicia, it is important to underline that this Roman province, unlike many others, had a very complex birth, somewhat difficult to reconstruct. In this period, however, various archaeological data corroborates progressive Romanization of the region, a fairly conservative one on its own, in the areas already subject to Roman rule and in those territories which formally remained independent.

---

– 4<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999, Paris 2001, pp. 315-319.

<sup>41</sup> Str. XIV, 5, 6 remarks briefly that Archelaos held some territories that had once been under the control of Amyntas. Str. XII, 1, 4; 2, 11; OGIS, n. 357 ([βασιλέα Καπ]παδοκί[ας καὶ τῆς Τραχείας] Κυλικίας Ἀρχέλαον Φιλόπατριν...). Cp. T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, p. 1244; R.D. Sullivan, *The Dynasty*, pp. 1149-1161; B. Rémy, *L'évolution administrative de l'Anatolie aux trois premiers siècles de notre ère*, Lyon 1986, p. 28; H. Elton, *Geography*, p. 25; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, p. 403.

<sup>42</sup> J., AJ, XIX, 276; D.C., LIX, 8, 2. On this king in Cilicia see: E. Borgia, *The Rule of Antiochos IV of Commagene in Cilicia: a Reassessment*, [in:] M.C. Hoff, R.F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*, Oxford 2013, pp. 87-98 (with bibl.).

### 3. ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN CILICIA

A radical change and reorganisation of Cilicia occurred under Vespasian, in a manner similar to what happened in other Anatolian provinces<sup>43</sup>. In order to gain better control in these lands Vespasian eliminated all the client kingdoms and created, for the first time, a unified province of Cilicia including both the *Pedias* and the *Tracheia*. The exact chronology of this reform varies from 72 to 74 AD in ancient sources, although 72 or early 73 AD is the most probable date<sup>44</sup>. Cilicia was, as it is widely agreed, an imperial province under a *legatus Augusti propraetore* (πρεσβευτής καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σεβαστοῦ) in praetorian rank, residing in its capital at Tarsos. From that period onwards, the toponym Isauria becomes extended to indicate not only the northern sector of the region, but also Rough Cilicia or a portion of it, in a sense anticipating the arrangement of the Early Byzantine era<sup>45</sup>.

Thanks to recent archaeological research in Cilicia and to newly discovered epigraphic documents (most of which facilitate compilation of the list of known governors, see Fig. 2<sup>46</sup>), it is possible to draw a wider and more

<sup>43</sup> A.B. Bosworth, *Vespasian and the Provinces: Some Problems of the Early 70's A.D.*, Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità 51, 1973, pp. 49-78; B. Levick, *Vespasian*, London 1999, pp. 134-151; W. Eck, *Der Anschluss der kleinasiatischen Provinzen an Vespasian und ihre Restrukturierung unter den Flaviern*, [in:] L. Capogrossi Colognesi, E. Tassi Scandone (eds.), *Vespasiano e l'impero dei Flavi*. Atti del Convegno, Roma, Palazzo Massimo, 18-20 novembre 2009, Roma 2012, pp. 27-44. See also B. Rémy, *L'évolution*, pp. 49-65; M. Sartre, *L'Asie Mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexandre à Dioclétien* (IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.), Paris 1995, p. 173; K. Ehling, *Die Provinz Cilicia*, p. 29; H. Elton, *Geography*, pp. 30-31; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, pp. 422-423.

<sup>44</sup> J., BJ, VII, 219 (Josephus dates this event back to the fourth year of Vespasian's rule, corresponding to the end of 72 and the beginning of 73 AD). Suet., *Vesp.*, VIII, 4: ... *item Trachiam Ciliciam et Commagenen dicionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit* (here he generically dates the constitution of the province to the first years of the reign of Vespasian); Hier., *Chron.*, CCXIII, VI (p. 188): *Achaia Lycia Rhodus Byzantium Samus Thracia Cilicia Commagene, quae liberae antea et sub regibus amicis erant, in provincias redactae* (the date of 74 AD is not completely reliable); Oros., *Hist.*, VII, 9, 10: ...*siquidem Achaia, Lycia, Rhodus, Byzantium, Samus, Trachia Cilicia, Commagene tunc primum redactae in provincias Romanis iudicibus legibusque paruerunt*. See E.J. Bickerman, *Syria and Cilicia*, p. 357, nt. 27; B. Rémy, *L'évolution*, pp. 61-62; B.D. Shaw, *Bandit Highlands*, 1990a, p. 231; E. Borgia, *The Rule of Antiochus IV*, p. 90.

<sup>45</sup> Plin., *N.H.*, V, 94.

<sup>46</sup> The list of 12 governors redacted by W. Eck for the period until Hadrian (W. Eck, *Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139*, Chiron 13, 1983, p. 217) has been integrated by B. Rémy (idem, *Les fastes sénatoriaux des provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire* (31 av. J.-C. – 284 ap. J.-C.) (Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie), Paris 1988, pp. 215-219; idem, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines*

comprehensive picture of this peculiar province during the Roman period, from Vespasian's reorganization to the early fifth century AD.

The status of the province underwent the first significant modification towards the end of the reign of Hadrian, around 137 AD, when it was divided into three eparchies (Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia) incorporating a portion of southern Galatia (Lycaonia Galatica)<sup>47</sup>. This reform was ratified only later by Antoninus Pius when, for the first time, the new nomenclature appears in epigraphic and historical sources: the first known governor of the renewed province is A. Claudius Charax (144-146 AD), titled as the ἡγεμῶν Κιλικίας Λυκαονίας Ἰσαυρίας<sup>48</sup>, which is then (147-149 AD) modified into πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας<sup>49</sup>. The real causes behind the re-organisation which lasted probably only a few years – the governor of 149-151 AD, P. Cassius Dexter, bears again the classic title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae* and so do his successors<sup>50</sup> – are quite vague: most likely, those were strategic considerations associated with the strengthening of the eastern frontiers of the empire. In the mid-second century AD, the *provincia Cilicia* must have been reduced yet again to its natural borders, whereas Lycaonia may have been annexed to Galatia and Isauria to *Lycia et Pamphylia*<sup>51</sup>.

Eastern Cilicia, thanks to its strategic position south of the Cilician Gates leading to Tarsus, was the centre of military events during the Parthian Wars of Marcus Aurelius and proved again to be fundamental for the future of the

---

d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C.-284 ap. J.-C.) (Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie), Istanbul-Paris 1989, pp. 341-357) listing all known governors until the first half of the third century AD. Recently, M. Sayar (M.H. Sayar, Cornelius Dexter, Statthalter der Provinz Kilikien, *Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens* 24, 1995, pp. 127-129) added a new governor to the list, Cornelius Dexter. See also the (incomplete) list by Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, pp. 836-862. See also, for some unpublished texts, D.H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. 3.7. Cilicia, Isauria et Lycaonia (and South-West Galatia), Ankara 2014.

<sup>47</sup> T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, pp. 1248-1249; B. Rémy, *L'évolution*, pp. 78-81 (with bibl.); idem, *Les carrières*, pp. 345-346; M.H. Sayar, Cornelius Dexter; K. Ehling, *Die Provinz Cilicia*, p. 29; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, pp. 431, 451. For the limits of this new provincial organisation: R. Syme, *Isaura and Isauria*, p. 139. For epigraphic sources: S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, II, *The Rise of the Church*, Oxford 1993, pp. 155-157. For numismatic sources: R. Ziegler, *Das Koinon*, pp. 137-151.

<sup>48</sup> B. Rémy, *L'évolution*, pp. 79-81; idem, *Les fastes sénatoriaux*, p. 216, n. 305; idem, *Les carrières*, pp. 345-346, n. 305.

<sup>49</sup> Idem, *Les fastes sénatoriaux*, p. 217, n. 306; idem, *Les carrières*, p. 346, n. 306 (*C. Etrilius Regillus Laberius Priscus*); OGIS, n. 576 = IGR III, n. 290.

<sup>50</sup> Idem, *Les carrières*, pp. 346-347, n. 307.

<sup>51</sup> Idem, *L'évolution*, p. 81.

Roman Empire during the complex phase in which Septimius Severus ascended to power. The final struggle between Cornelius Anullinus, a general of Septimius Severus, and Pescennius Niger took place not far from Issos, right in Cilicia<sup>52</sup>. The status of the province evolved under Septimius Severus, when Tarsus and Anazarbus were awarded a sort of autonomy and became *metropoleis* of the three eparchies of Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia; here, we are dealing again with the three eparchies, a kind of internal division of the region that had never actually disappeared; in a sense, this division anticipated Theodosian reforms, when Cilicia *Prima* and Cilicia *Secunda* (both in Plain Cilicia) were definitely separated and the capitals were established respectively in Tarsos and Anazarbos. In the early third century AD Cilicia was occasionally ruled by a legate of consular rank, a ὑπατικός Κιλικίας or *consularis Ciliciae*<sup>53</sup>, probably in specific circumstances; in fact, governors of praetorian rank are known to have held office in the same years.

Cilicia was affected, as did the whole Roman Empire, by the crisis of the third century whose importance „for the history of the ancient world and for the history in general” has been rightly emphasized by many scholars and to which G. Alföldy dedicated great attention<sup>54</sup>. The consequences of the invasion of Shapur I in 260 AD<sup>55</sup> were exceedingly significant, mainly for what concerns the relations between Rome and the East, but as far as archaeological data attest it did not mean actual destruction and damage

---

<sup>52</sup> Hdn., III, 2-4; D.C., LXXV, 7, 1-8; Hist. Aug. (Sev.), 9, 4-5. A.R. Birley, *The African Emperor, Septimius Severus*, London 1988, pp. 112-113; J. Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, p. 7. For Pescennius Niger's proclaims of restitution, promising a new age, see G. Alföldy, *Das neue Saeculum des Pescennius Niger*, [in:] idem (ed.), *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 128-138. Generally, the third century was an age of crisis and this situation was also underlined by contemporary sources. Herodian had a very realistic view of things and, even though not always precise in reporting events, possibly remains our best source offering insight into the sentiments of the lower classes.

<sup>53</sup> We know two governors bearing this title, Rutilianus and Ostorius, but this may not have been necessarily intended as an effective administrative transformation. B. Rémy, *L'évolution*, pp. 98-99; idem, *Les fastes sénatoriaux*, p. 218, n. 315; idem, *Les carrières*, p. 353, n. 315; p. 356, n. 320.

<sup>54</sup> G. Alföldy, *The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries*, [in:] idem (ed.), *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 319-342; idem, *The Crisis of the Third Century from Michael Rostovtzeff and Andrew Alföldi to Recent Discussions*, [in:] J.H. Richardson, F. Santangelo (eds.), *Andreas Alföldi in the Twenty-First Century*, Habes 56, Stuttgart 2015, pp. 201-217.

<sup>55</sup> A. Mariq, *Classica et Orientalia*. 5. *Res Gestae Divi Saporis, Syria*. *Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* 35, 1958, pp. 295-360; M.-L. Chaumont, *Conquêtes Sassanides et Propagande Mazdéenne (III<sup>ème</sup> siècle)*, *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 22.4, 1973, pp. 664-710 (in particular pp. 673-674); K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n. Chr.*, Gutenberg 2009, pp. 45-47.

to the occupied cities. Afterwards, Roman power was reinstalled without major difficulty, even if the general weakness of the empire in this phase prompted increasing banditry, mainly in the Isaurian mountains. In view of the situation<sup>56</sup>, emperor Gallienus (262-268 AD) promoted a new administrative transformation in Cilicia: it became now an equestrian province under a διασημότατος ἡγεμών or *perfectissimus praeses*<sup>57</sup>. This may be considered again a kind of anticipation, albeit transitory, of Diocletianic reform and was, as far as we know, the final act of the administrative processes of the unified province. Nevertheless, in various phases and in different forms the Isaurian tribes were very active in their bids for independence and greatly undermined the stability of the province in the entire period between the second half of the third and the first half of the fourth century<sup>58</sup>. This is also confirmed by archaeological data, attesting to quite a universal halt in construction activities and of other urban development programmes in this phase.

As in the whole empire, Cilicia was granted a new organization thanks to the *restitutor orbis* Diocletian, whose reform was in some way preceded by Aurelian and Probus, although it took a much longer period to complete<sup>59</sup>. Diocletian subdivided the province into two separate regions, Cilicia to the east (with the capital in Tarsus) and Isauria to the west (with the capital in Seleukeia), essentially corresponding to Plain and Rough Cilicia: both provinces were included in the *dioecesis Orientis*, stating *de facto* a stronger link of this area with the Syro-Palestinian region. The geographic boundary between Cilicia and Isauria is not easy to determine, but it should have run somewhere in the area between the Lamos and the Kalykadnos, to the west of

---

<sup>56</sup> Gallienus had to face the rebellion of the Isaurian Trebellianus, who declared himself *princeps* of Isauria, archipirate and *imperator*. Hist. Aug. (Tyr. Trig.), 26. See also B.D. Shaw, *Bandit Highlands*, 1990b, pp. 238-239.

<sup>57</sup> Governor A. Voconius Zeno is attested in an inscription on the main gate of the city walls of Lamos-Adanda (R. Paribeni, P. Romanelli, *Studii e ricerche archeologiche nell'Anatolia meridionale*, Monumenti Antichi 23, 1914, coll. 167-168, n. 116 = S. Hagel, K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium*, p. 14, n. Ada6). Cp. B. Rémy, *L'évolution*, p. 110; idem, *Les carrières*, pp. 356-357, n. 325.

<sup>58</sup> H. Hellenkemper, *Legionen im Bandenkrieg. Isaurien im 4. Jahrhundert*, Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, III, 13. Internationaler Limeskongreß, Aalen 1983. Vorträge, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 625-634; B.D. Shaw, *Bandit Highlands*, 1990b; A. Lewin, *Banditismo*, pp. 175-179.

<sup>59</sup> T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge-London 1982, pp. 209-225; Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, pp. 487-489. See, for Cilicia in particular, J. Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, pp. 7-8.

Korykos and Elaioussa Sebaste, both included in *Cilicia Prima*<sup>60</sup>. In this last iteration of the province, civil and military authorities were distinct (*praeses* and *dux*); in contrast, *Isauria* was characterised by a peculiar organisation, where both administrative and military powers were concentrated in the hands of one single person, the *comes et praeses per Isauriam*, commander of two legions stationed at Seleukeia<sup>61</sup>.

As already underlined, Cilicia was subsequently divided into two separate territorial provinces, probably under Theodosius II (401-450 AD) or even earlier according to some scholars<sup>62</sup>: *Cilicia Prima* with metropolis at Tarsos and *Cilicia Secunda* with metropolis at Anazarbos<sup>63</sup>. All three provinces of *Isauria*, *Cilicia I* and *Cilicia II* were included in the *dioecesis Orientis*.

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, if one attempts to summarize how and to what extent Romanization proceeded in Cilicia, it is necessary to take into consideration that its history as a Roman province was really complex and multifaceted. The term „Romanization”, today very frequently used and often abused, as G. Alföldy clearly indicated<sup>64</sup>, refers to the overall and global Roman influence on a single province: that is to say not only to the durable political and military measures aimed at including a territory in the Roman empire, but also to all the manifestations, be they spontaneous or programmed, of Roman influence on the political, social, productive and spiritual order of the population.

<sup>60</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities*, p. 528, tabs. XXVIII-XXX; R. Devréesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945, pp. 142-143.

<sup>61</sup> This special land tenure was certainly due to the difficulties in controlling the Taurus mountains and its tribes. T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, p. 1251.

<sup>62</sup> R. Devréesse, *Le Patriarcat*, pp. 142-159; J. Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, p. 8. M.H. Sayar, *Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung. I. Inschriften aus dem Stadtgebiet und der nächsten Umgebung der Stadt*, IGSK 56, Bonn 2000, p. 6. T.B. Mitford, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, p. 1250 believe that the tripartition can be anticipated to the Tetrarchy, but this hypothesis does not seem very plausible.

<sup>63</sup> The subdivision appears in Malalas, *Chron.*, XIV, 69, 6-8 (ascribing it to Theodosius II) and is confirmed by Hierocles, *Synekdemos* 704 (Επαρχία Κιλικίας α'), 705-706 (Επαρχία Κιλικίας β'), 708-710 (Επαρχία Ίσαυρίας). Procopius confirms its existence up to Justinianic age (*Procop.*, *Arc.* XVII, 2). See also the *Notitia Dignitatum*: O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum. Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Provinciarum*, Berolini 1876, p. 49.

<sup>64</sup> G. Alföldy, *La Pannonia*, p. 26.



The premises for the diffusion of the *mos romanus* in Cilicia were granted by Hellenization: but Hellenization was not widespread throughout the Cilician territory (it was *de facto* limited to specific areas or urban centres, such as Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos), while manifold local enclaves persisted at least until Vespasian's reorganisation of the province, and even later. Cilicia was amalgamated into the Roman provincial system through different and very varied steps, most of which involved military action though some were effected peacefully (such as the annexation of client kingdoms). If compared with other Anatolian provinces, Cilicia was less attractive at the beginning, notwithstanding the fertile plains of Plain Cilicia: the unwelcoming areas of the Taurus and Amanus ranges were always very difficult to control and even less inhabited. Yet it had an extraordinary political and strategic value as area of transit between the West and the East therefore it became more and more important for the movement of troops.

Urbanisation, one of the most relevant aspects of Romanization, had different outcomes depending on local geomorphology: in the inner and mountainous areas, as well as along the precipitous coasts of Rough Cilicia, it was less dense and urban layout did not follow any organised pattern, for obvious reasons. A much different situation was the case in the vast plains of the eastern part of the region, where the already existent Hellenistic cities were transformed and monumentalized by the Romans, who brought with them all the knowledge and skill of building techniques and practices.

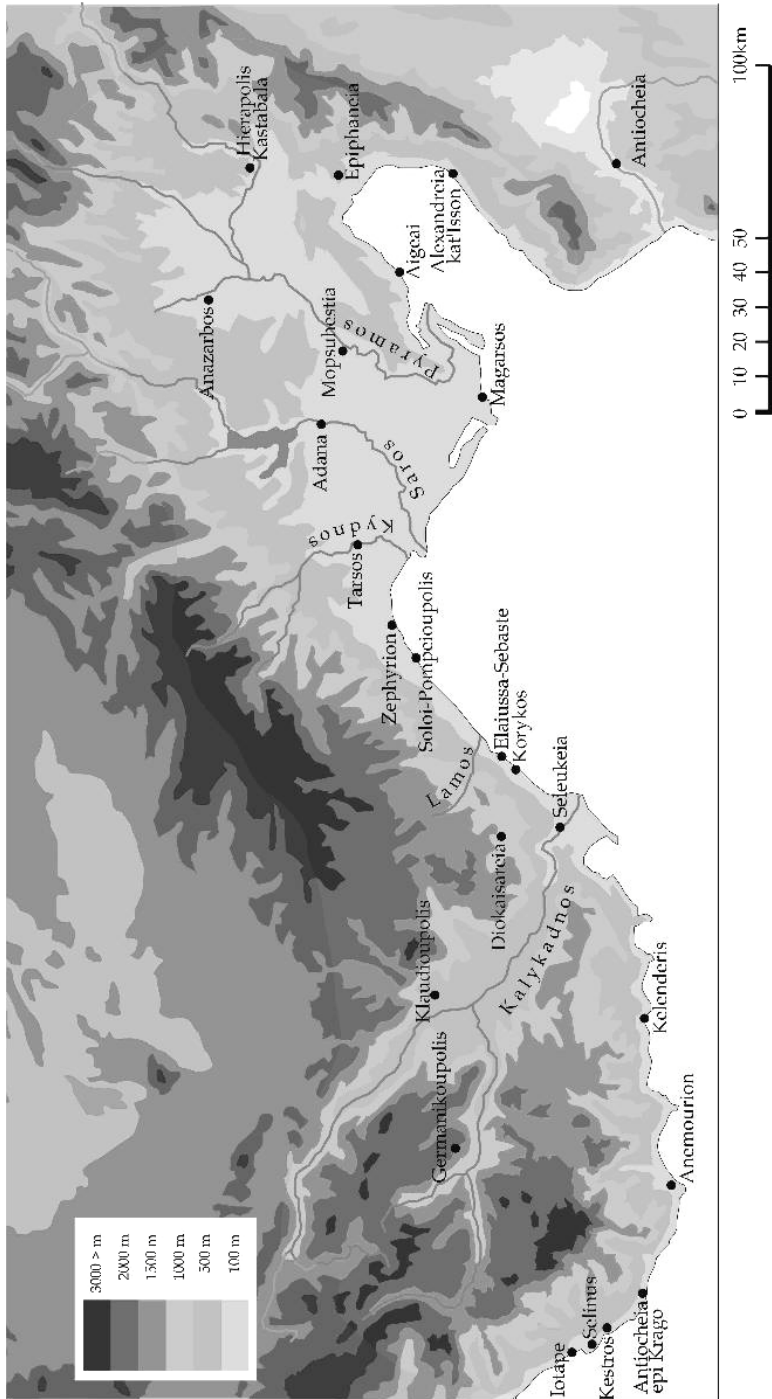


Fig. 1. Map of Roman Cilicia (M. Spanu)

P. Nonius Asprenas Caestius Cassianus	ca. 72/73-73/74 A.D.	<i>Legatus pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
Septimius	74/75-75/76 A.D. (?)	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος
L. Octavius Memor	76/77-77/78 A.D.	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος
M. Petronius Ubrinius	80/81 A.D.	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος
Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus	88/89-90/91 A.D. (?)	πρεσβευτής επαρχείας Κιλικίας
Q. Gellius Longus	91/92-93/94 A.D.	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος
M. Pompeius Maecrinus	ca. 110/111-112/113 A.D.	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος επαρχείας Κιλικίας
T. Caesarius Tiro Orbilius Speratus	113/114-115/116 A.D. (?)	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος
C. Bruttius Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus	ca. 116/117-117/118 A.D.	<i>Legatus pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus	Trajan's reign?	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
Iulius Caestus (Gallus?)	119/120 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>
Calpurnius Cestianus	120/121 or 121/122 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>
T. Vibius Varus	130/131-132/133 A.D. (?)	<i>Legatus provinciae Ciliciae</i>
P. Pactumeius Clemens	136/137-138/139 A.D. (?)	<i>Legatus in Cilicia</i>
C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus (?)	Hadrian's reign?	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
A. Claudius Charax	144/145-145/146 or 146/147 A.D. (?)	ηγειμών Κιλικίας Λυκαονίας, Ισουλίας
C. Etrilius Regillus Laberius Priscus	ca. 147/148-148/149 A.D.	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος επαρχείων Κιλικίας, Ισουλίας, Λυκαονίας,
P. Cassius Dexter Augustus [anus Alpin]us Bellicius Sollers	ca. 149/150-150/151 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
Metilius [---]US Rutilianus		
Cornelius Dexter	156/157-158/159 or 157/158-159/160 A.D.	πρεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος
Caecilius Capella	ca. 167/168-168/169 A.D.	ὁ κύριος στρατηγός; <i>Legatus Augustorum pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
L. Saevinius Proculus	ca. 174/175-176/177 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
[---]IUSUS (?) Claudius Silius Q. Plautius Haterianus	ca. 177/178-179/180 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
M. Claudius Cassius Apronianus	ca. 180/181-182/183 A.D.	τῆς Κιλικίας ἀρχεας
Q. Venidius Rufus Marius Maximus L. Calvinianus	ca. 194/195-195/196 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae</i>
M. (?) Antonius Balbus	ca. 198-200 A.D.	λαμπρότατος στρατηγός
Flavius Ulpianus	ca. 202 A.D.	λαμπρότατος ηγεμών- <i>Legatus Augusti</i>
Antonius [---]LIUS	undetermined date between 198 and 209 A.D.	πρεσβευτής, ἀντιστράτηγος λαμπρότατος ηγεμών
<i>Anonymous</i>	undetermined date between 198 and 211 A.D.	ηγειμών
Flavius Iulianus	217/218 A.D.	στρατηγός; λαμπρότατος ηγεμών
M. Ulpius Ofellius Theodorus	218 A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>
Claudius Nysius	218-222 A.D.	λαμπρότατος στρατηγός
Ostorius	Severus Alexander's reign	λαμπρότατος βριατικός
M. Domitius Valerianus	undetermined date between 230-238 AD	ηγειμών Κιλικίας; πρεσβευτής ἀντιστράτηγος
L. Sergius [---]US Zeno	238-244 A.D. (?)	<i>Legatus Augusti</i>
C. Mevius Donatus Iunianus	First half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century A.D.	<i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore Ciliciae</i>
Petronius Faustinus	Undetermined date	λαμπρότατος βριατικός
A. Voconius Zeno	260-268 A.D.	διασημότερος ηγεμών

Fig. 2. Updated list of the governors of Roman imperial Cilicia

### Summary

Cilicia, if considered from the geographic point of view, had fluctuating boundaries in different periods, extending in its wider status to a part of Pamphylia to the west and to Cappadocia to the north. The overall situation after the reorganization of the empire by Vespasian is quite clear, whereby Cilicia covered a wide area, south of the Taurus and west of the Amanus mountains spreading to the west to the modern Sedre river. But in the previous periods its limits, especially to the west and to the north, had not been well defined. Actually, the geographic and juridical connotation of *provincia* Cilicia evolved over time.

Concerning more specifically the annexation of the province, we are dealing with a complex and unclear situation, starting from the involvement of M. Antonius in 102-101 BC, Sulla in 96 or 92 BC, P. Servilius Vatia in 78-74 BC, Lucullus (74-67 BC), to cite only the principal generals acting in Cilicia before the decisive intervention of Cn. Pompeius in 67 BC. This was the moment when, according to a large group of scholars, Cilicia became a real territorial province. But its status and composition fluctuated greatly throughout the second half of the first century BC – when Cicero was sent there as governor – and at the beginning of the first century AD: this is due to the persistence of a number of client states and autonomous sovereigns, controlling smaller or larger areas of the region. In this period, however, the crucial process of Romanization took place, not only in the areas already subject to Roman rule, but also in those sectors still formally independent.

Thanks to recent archaeological research in Cilicia and to newly discovered epigraphic documents (most of which facilitate further compilation of the list of known governors), it is possible to draw a wider and more comprehensive picture of this peculiar province during the Roman period, from the reorganization of Vespasian to the early fourth century AD. Continuities and transformations must be taken into account. We have to consider that the status of the province underwent the first change during the reign of Hadrian, when it was divided into three eparchies (Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia); it evolved later under Septimius Severus, when the *metropoleis* of Tarsus and Anazarbus were awarded a kind of autonomy. With Diocletian's reform, the province was divided into Cilicia to the east (in the late fifth century Cilicia was in turn subdivided in Cilicia *Prima* and *Secunda*) and Isauria to the west.

**Bibliography**

- Alföldy G., La Pannonia e l'Impero romano, [in:] G. Hajnóczy (ed.), *La Pannonia e l'Impero romano. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Accademia d'Ungheria e l'Istituto austriaco di cultura, Roma, 13-16 gennaio 1994, Milano 1995*, pp. 25-40.
- Alföldy G., Das neue Saeculum des Pescennius Niger, [in:] G. Alföldy (ed.), *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 128-138.
- Alföldy G., The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries, [in:] G. Alföldy (ed.), *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 319-342.
- Alföldy G., The Crisis of the Third Century from Michael Rostovtzeff and Andrew Alföldi to Recent Discussions, [in:] J.H. Richardson, F. Santangelo (eds.), *Andreas Alföldi in the Twenty-First Century*, Habes 56, Stuttgart 2015, pp. 201-217.
- Amela Valverde L., *Cneo Pompeyo Magno. El defensor de la República romana*, Madrid 2003.
- Arslan M., Piracy on the Southern Coast of Asia Minor and Mithridates Eupator, *Olba* 8, 2003, pp. 195-211.
- Badian E., Sulla's Cilician Command, *Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità* 37, 1959, pp. 279-303.
- Barnes T.D., *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge-London 1982.
- Bean G.E., Mitford T.B., *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, DenkschrWien 85, Wien 1965.
- Bennett J., The Garrison of Cilicia during the Principate, *Adalya* 15, 2012, pp. 115-128.
- Bickerman E.J., Syria and Cilicia, *American Journal of Philology* 68, 1947, pp. 353-362.
- Birley A.R., *The African Emperor, Septimius Severus*, London 1988.
- Borgia E., The Rule of Antiochus IV of Commagene in Cilicia: a Reassessment, [in:] M.C. Hoff, R.F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*, Oxford 2013, pp. 87-98.
- Bosworth A.B., Vespasian and the Provinces: Some Problems of the Early 70's A.D., *Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità* 51, 1973, pp. 49-78.
- Brennan C., *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic*, I-II, Oxford 2000.
- Casabonne O., *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*, *Persika* 3, Paris 2004.
- Chaumont M.-L., *Conquêtes Sassanides et Propagande Mazdéenne (III<sup>ème</sup> siècle)*, *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 22.4, 1973, pp. 664-710.
- Christ K., *Pompeius. Der Feldherr Roms*, München 2004.
- Crawford M.H., Reynolds J.M., Ferrary J.-L., Moreau Ph., 12 - *Lex de provinciis praetoriis*, [in:] M.H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, London 1996, pp. 231-270.
- Desideri P., Strabo's Cilicians, [in:] *De Anatolia Antiqua/Eski Anadolu I*, 1991, pp. 299-304.
- de Souza Ph., Who Are You Calling Pirates?, [in:] M.C. Hoff, R.F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*, Oxford 2013, pp. 43-54.
- Devrèsse R., *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945.
- Dreizehnter A., Pompeius als Städtegründer, *Chiron* 5, 1975, pp. 213-245.
- Eck W., Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139, *Chiron* 13, 1983, pp. 147-237.
- Eck W., Der Anschluss der kleinasiatischen Provinzen an Vespasian und ihre Restrukturierung unter den Flaviern, [in:] L. Capogrossi Colognesi, E. Tassi Scandone (eds.), *Vespasiano e l'impero dei Flavi. Atti del Convegno, Roma, Palazzo Massimo, 18-20 novembre 2009*, Roma 2012, pp. 27-44.

- Ehling K., Die Provinz Cilicia von 72/73 n. Chr. bis zur Eroberung durch Šapur I. im Jahre 260 n. Chr., [in:] K. Ehling, D. Pohl, M.H. Sayar (eds.), *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen in Ebenen Kilikiens, Asia Minor Studien 53*, Bonn 2004, pp. 29-33.
- Elton H., *Geography, Labels, Romans, and Kilikia*, [in:] H. Elton, G. Reger (eds.), *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. Acts of the Conference Hartford, Connecticut (USA), August 22-24 August 1997*, Bordeaux 2007, pp. 25-31.
- Equini Schneider E., *La Cilicia Tracheia*, [in:] E. Equini Schneider (ed.), *Elaiussa Sebaste I. Campagne di scavo 1995-1997, Bibliotheca Archaeologica 24*, Roma 1999, pp. 27-33.
- Freeman Ph., *The Province of Cilicia and its Origins*, [in:] Ph. Freeman, D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East. Proceedings of a colloquium held at the University of Sheffield in April 1986*, BAR Int.Ser. 297, Oxford 1986, pp. 253-275.
- French D.H., *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor. 3.7. Cilicia, Isauria et Lycaonia (and South-West Galatia)*, Ankara 2014.
- Gotter U., *Tempel und Grossmacht: Olba/Diokaisareia und das Imperium Romanum*, [in:] E. Jean, A.M. Dinçol, S. Durugönül (eds.), *La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. – 4<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)*. Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999, Paris 2001, pp. 289-325.
- Hagel S., Tomaschitz K., *Repertorium der Westkilikischen Inschriften, nach den Scheden der Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, DenkschrWien 265, Wien 1998.
- Hellenkemper H., *Legionen im Bandenkrieg. Isaurien im 4. Jahrhundert*, Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, III, 13. Internationaler Limeskongreß, Aalen 1983. Vorträge, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 625-634.
- Hild F., Hellenkemper H., *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. 5. Kilikien und Isaurien*, DenkschrWien 215, Wien 1990.
- Hoben W., *Untersuchungen zur Stellung kleinasiatischer Dynasten in den Machtkämpfen der ausgehenden Römischen Republik*, Mainz 1969.
- Jones A.H.M., *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1937.
- Kirbihler F., *Cicéron, d'Italie en Cilicie. Conditions, vitesse et impressions de voyage d'un futur gouverneur*, *Res Antiquae* 5, 2008, pp. 349-364.
- Kreiler B., *Zur Verwaltung Kilikiens von 102 bis 78 v. Chr.*, *Gephyra* 4, 2007, pp. 117-126.
- Levick B., *Vespasian*, London 1999.
- Lewin A., *Banditismo e civiltas nella Cilicia Tracheia antica e tardoantica*, [in:] P. Desideri, S. Settis (eds.), *Scambi e identità culturale: la Cilicia*, *QuadSt* 76, Urbino 1991, pp. 167-184.
- Liebmann-Frankfort Th., *La prouincia Cilicia et son intégration dans l'empire romain*, [in:] J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard, II*, *Coll. Latomus* 102, Bruxelles 1969, pp. 447-457.
- MacKay C.S., *Sulla and the Monuments: Studies in his Public Persona*, *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 49, 2000, pp. 161-210.
- MacKay T.S., *The Major Sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia*, *ANRW II*, 18.3, Berlin-New York 1990, pp. 2045-2129.
- Magie D., *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the third Century after Christ*, Princeton 1950.
- Marasco G., *Roma e la pirateria cilicia*, *Rivista Storica Italiana* 99, 1987, pp. 122-146.
- Marek Ch., *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, München 2010.
- Mariq A., *Classica et Orientalia. 5. Res Gestae Divi Saporis, Syria*. *Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* 35, 1958, pp. 295-360.
- Mastrocinque A., *Studi sulle guerre Mitridatiche*, *Historia* 124, Stuttgart 1999.
- McGing B.C., *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, *Mnemosyne* 89, Leiden 1986.

- Mietke G., Ristow S., Schmitt T., Brakmann H., s.v. Kilikien (Cilicia, Isauria), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, XX, 2004, coll. 803-864.
- Mitchell S., *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, II, *The Rise of the Church*, Oxford 1993.
- Mitford T.B., *Roman Rough Cilicia*, ANRW, II, 7, 2, Berlin-New York 1980, pp. 1230-1261.
- Mitford T.B., *The Cults of Roman Rough Cilicia*, ANRW II, 18.3, Berlin-New York 1990, pp. 2131-2160.
- Moretti L., *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Roma 1953.
- Mosig-Walburg K., *Römer und Perser vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n. Chr.*, Gutenberg 2009.
- Oktan M., *The Route taken by Cilicia to provincial Status: When and Why?*, *Olba* 19, 2011, pp. 267-286.
- Ormerod H.A., *The Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the Pirates*, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12, 1922, pp. 35-56.
- Paltiel E., *Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire. Julio-Claudian Policies in Judaea and the Kingdoms of the East*, Coll. Latomus 212, Bruxelles 1991.
- Paribeni R., Romanelli P., *Studii e ricerche archeologiche nell'Anatolia meridionale*, *Monumenti Antichi* 23, 1914, coll. 5-274.
- Pohl H., *Die römische Politik und die Piraterie im östlichen Mittelmeer vom 3. bis zum 1. Jh. V. Chr.*, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 42, Berlin-New York 1993.
- Rémy B., *L'évolution administrative de l'Anatolie aux trois premiers siècles de notre ère*, Lyon 1986.
- Rémy B., *Les fastes sénatoriaux des provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. – 284 ap. J.-C.)*, Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie, Paris 1988.
- Rémy B., *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. – 284 ap. J.-C.)*, Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie, Istanbul-Paris 1989.
- Sartre M., *L'Asie Mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexandre à Dioclétien (IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.)*, Paris 1995.
- Sayar M.H., *Cornelius Dexter, Statthalter der Provinz Kilikien*, *Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens* 24, 1995, pp. 127-129.
- Sayar M.H., *Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung. I. Inschriften aus dem Stadtgebiet und der nächsten Umgebung der Stadt*, IGSK 56, Bonn 2000.
- Sayar M.H., *Das Ebene Kilikien vom Tod Alexanders des Großen bis zur Gründung der Provinz Cilicia durch Kaiser Vespasian (323 a.C.-72/73 d.C.)*, [in:] K. Ehling, D. Pohl, M.H. Sayar (eds.), *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien*, *Asia Minor Studien* 53, Bonn 2004, pp. 17-28.
- Seager R., *Pompey. A political Biography*, Oxford 1979.
- Seck O., *Notitia Dignitatum. Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Provinciarum*, Berolini 1876.
- Shaw B.D., *Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33, 1990a, pp. 199-233.
- Shaw B.D., *Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: the Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia (continued)*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33, 1990b, pp. 237-270.
- Sherwin-White A.N., *Rome, Pamphylia and Cilicia*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 66, 1976, pp. 1-14.
- Sherwin-White A.N., *Ariobarzanes, Mithridates, and Sulla*, *The Classical Quarterly* 27, 1977, pp. 173-183.
- Sherwin-White A.N., *Roman foreign Policy in the East. 168 B.C. to A.D. 1*, London 1984.

- Sullivan R.D., King Marcus Antonius Polemo, *The Numismatic Chronicle. The Journal of the Royal Society* 139, 1979, pp. 6-20.
- Sullivan R.D., *The Dynasty of Cappadocia*, ANRW II, 7, 2, Berlin-New York 1980, pp. 1125-1168.
- Sumner G.V., Sulla's career in the Nineties, *Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità* 66, 1978, pp. 395-396.
- Syme R., Observations on the province of Cilicia, [in:] W.M. Calder, J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, Manchester 1939, pp. 299-332.
- Syme R., Isaura and Isauria. Some problems, [in:] E. Frézouls (ed.), *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines. Actes du colloque organisé à Strasbourg (novembre 1985)*, Strasbourg 1987, pp. 131-147.
- Syme R., *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, ed. A. Birley, Oxford 1995.
- Tempesta C., Central and Local Powers in Hellenistic Rough Cilicia, [in:] M.C. Hoff, R.F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*, Oxford 2013, pp. 27-42.
- Tobin J., *Black Cilicia. A Study of the Plain of Issus during the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, BAR Int. Ser. 1275, Oxford 2004.
- Tomaschitz K., *Unpublizierte Inschriften Westkilikiens aus dem Nachlass Terence B. Mitfords*, DenkschrWie 264, Wien 1998.
- Trampedach K., Teukros und Teukriden. Zur Gründungslegende des Zeus Olbios-Heiligtums in Kilikien, *Olba* 2, 1999, pp. 94-110.
- Trampedach K., Die Neuordnung der Provinz Kilikien durch Pompeius (67-63 v. Chr.), [in:] A. Hoffmann, R. Posamentir, M.H. Sayar (eds.), *Hellenismus in der Kilikia Pedias*, Byzas 14, İstanbul 2011, pp. 247-257.
- Wistrand M., Cicero imperator. Studies in Cicero's correspondence 51-47 B.C., Göteborg 1979.
- Wright N.L., Anazarbos and the Tarkondimotid Kings of Kilikia, *Anatolian Studies* 58, 2008, pp. 115-125.
- Wright N., A new dated coin of Tarkondimotos II from Anazarbos, *Anatolian Studies* 59, 2009, pp. 73-75.
- Wright N.L., The house of Tarkondimotos: a late Hellenistic dynasty between Rome and the East, *Anatolian Studies* 63, 2012, pp. 69-88.
- Ziegler R., Zur Einrichtung des kilikischen Koinon. Ein Datierungsversuch, *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien III, Asia Minor Studien* 16, Bonn 1995, pp. 183-186.
- Ziegler R., Das Koinon der drei Eparchien Kilikien, Isaurien und Lykaonien im späten 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr., *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien IV, Asia Minor Studien* 34, Bonn 1999, pp. 137-151.