Cadyanda (map 15)  M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, located on a steep mountainside 19 km northeast of Fethiye and c. 400 m above the mod. village Üzümlü. The Lycians themselves called the city Khadawanti. Tombs and inscriptions in the native Lycian language date its origins back to at least C5. A fragmentary bilingual inscription (in Lycian and Greek versions) found at Xanthus records grants made by the C4 Carian dynast Pixodarus to four Lycian cities – Xanthus, Tlos, Pinara, and Cadyanda (*TAM I: 45). Many tombs have been found on and near the site of Cadyanda. Those of specifically Lycian type include a pillar-tomb similar to the pillar-tombs erected at Xanthus (but with its surmounting grave chamber now missing), and a freestanding house-type tomb embellished with relief carvings of human figures (warriors and other men and women seated or reclining) and animals. Some of the human figures have their names carved next to them in Lycian and Greek. These tombs are probably to be dated to the second half of C4. The most substantial material remains of the anc. city date to the Roman period, and include a stadium, gymnasium, baths, and a theatre.


Figure 24 Tomb with relief, Cadyanda.
Çadır Höyük see Zippalanda.

Cadytis see Gaza.

Calah see Nimrud.

Calynda (Kozpınar) (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria or Lycia in southwestern Anatolia, 4 km east of Dalaman. It is first attested in C5 by Herodotus (8.87–8), who reports that a ship from Calynda, with the Calyndian king Damasithymus on board, participated on the Persian side in the sea battle between the Greeks and the Persians off the Greek island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf (480). In later years, after the Greek repulse of Persia, Calynda became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Calynda apparently shared a border with the Carian city Caunus (Herodotus 1.172). During the first half of the Hellenistic period, it was under the control of the Ptolemies, but in 164 the Roman Senate handed it over to Rhodes. In C2 CE it became a member of the Lycian League.

The earliest remains of the hilltop site at Kozpınar are those of the anc. city’s fortifications, dating back to the early Hellenistic period. Calynda appears to have been of no great importance during the Roman and Byzantine periods. There are remains of a wall of mediaeval date.


Canaan(ites) A term applicable in its broadest sense to the anc. peoples and cultures of the Levant, up to the last decades of C4. But it is clear from Bronze Age and M1 written sources (the latter including the Bible) that the term was used with much more limited application in the periods in which these texts were composed. Many of the peoples we might now designate as Canaanites would not have identified themselves as such, nor would they have been so identified by others. Their common ethnic origin was obscured by their divisions into a number of tribal groups, city-states, and kingdoms, each of which developed its own political and social structures, and a number of its own distinctive cultural traits. But archaeological evidence makes clear that throughout the region encompassing the territories covered today by Israel, Lebanon, coastal Syria, southern inland Syria, and Transjordan there was a high degree of ethnic and cultural continuity, beginning in the Neolithic period and extending through the Bronze and Iron Ages up to the early Hellenistic period. We should, however, be careful not to assign too precise a definition to the territory we have called Canaanite. There were marked fluctuations in the cultural and ethnic boundaries of this territory through Canaanite history, coinciding to some extent with the changing political and military fortunes of the Syro-Palestinian region as a whole.

The first clearly attested written reference to Canaan, or rather to Canaanites, appears in the C18 archives of Mari. A possible earlier reference found in the Early Bronze Age archive at Ebla, which dates to C24, depends on the disputed reading of the term ga-na-na as ‘Canaanite’. In any case, the Ebla archive contains the first attestation of the Canaanite language, a member of the Semitic language group. The Canaanites used the cuneiform script at that time. But several centuries later, at the beginning of M2, they were the first people to devise an alphabetic system for their written records. The derivation of the name ‘Canaan’ remains uncertain. It may in fact
have had a non-Semitic, Hurrian origin – *kinabbi*, meaning ‘blue cloth’. An alternative possibility is that it derives from the Semitic word *k-n* meaning ‘be subdued’.

Canaan’s strategic location at an important meeting place between the western Asian, Egyptian, and Mediterranean worlds gave it excellent access to trade contacts with these worlds. Already in the Early Bronze Age a number of flourishing urban centres had emerged throughout Canaanite territory, the forerunners of the kingdoms and city-states of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, whose prosperity no doubt depended much on the region’s commercial links with Egypt. Indeed throughout its history, Canaan’s fortunes, both political and economic, were closely tied to the fluctuating fortunes of the kingdom of the Nile. The collapse of the Egyptian Old Kingdom saw a corresponding decline in the material civilization of the Canaanite region and the abandonment of a number of settlements, in the period designated as Early Bronze Age IV (c. 2400–2000).

The Middle Bronze Age in Canaan (c. 2000–1550) witnessed the development of fully fledged city-states and kingdoms, which became important centres for commercial activity as well as for the development of arts and crafts to a high level of sophistication. The major centres were protected by massive fortifications, like those of Akko, Ashkelon, Dan, Dor, Gezer, Hazor, Lachish, Megiddo, and Shechem. The gold hoards unearthed in Tell el-Ajjul (‘City II’) provide some of the finest examples of Canaanite craftsmanship in the Middle Bronze IIB–C period (c. 1750–1550), the period that has been called the golden age of Canaanite culture. The re-establishment of links with Egypt was no doubt a major factor in Canaan’s Middle Bronze Age resurgence, but important links were also established with Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Aegean world, as well as with other parts of Syria. The Canaanite city-states, each of whose urban centres controlled a peripheral area occupied by small towns and villages, remained independent of one other, competed with one other, and no doubt frequently squabbled and fought with one other.

References to Canaan in Middle and Late Bronze Age texts are few and far between. One of the most notable of these references is contained in the famous inscription of Idrimi, a C15 king of Alalah, who reports that he spent part of his exile in the land of Canaan (*Greenstein, 1995: 2426, *CS I: 479*) before returning to his kingdom to claim its throne. In another C15 text, from Egypt, the pharaoh Amenhotep II (1427–1400) includes in a booty list Canaanites for deportation to Egypt. There are also several references to Canaan in the mid C14 Amarna letters (in the form *Kinabbi*). But in general, the very rarity of Bronze Age text references to Canaan is in itself a reflection of the fact that there was no perception, either by the Canaanites themselves or by others, of a common identity which linked all Canaanites together. They did form coalitions from time to time, for *ad hoc* military purposes against a common enemy. But such military coalitions involved non-Canaanite states as well, and were clearly not based on ethnic considerations.

The Egyptian campaigns conducted through Syria–Palestine to the Euphrates, beginning with the military enterprises of Tuthmosis I (1504–1492), effectively brought to an end the Canaanite Middle Bronze Age. The climax of these campaigns was the decisive victory which Tuthmosis III (1479–1425) won over a coalition of Canaanite and Syrian forces at the battle of Megiddo (*ANET 234–8*). Many of the Canaanite states were now reduced to Egyptian vassal status, though sovereignty in the Canaanite territories as well as in other Syro-Palestinian territories fluctuated.
between Egypt and the other superpowers of the day – Mitanni (up to its destruction by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I c. 1340) and Hatti. The pharaoh’s Canaanite vassals continued to thrive, for the most part, under Egyptian sovereignty, due to their continuing close cultural and commercial contacts with Egypt. Moreover, the relative stability which Egyptian rule brought to the region (despite the stream of complaints directed to the pharaoh Akhenaten by his vassal rulers in the Amarna correspondence) increased the opportunities for the expansion of Canaanite commercial contacts beyond the shores of the Levant, to Cyprus and the Aegean world in particular.

The upheavals which accompanied the end of the Bronze Age paved the way for major changes in the nature and patterns of settlement in the Canaanite region. By the end of C13, as Egypt was reducing its presence in Syria–Palestine, a number of the Canaanite settlements were abandoned. Other major centres continued to survive and prosper for a time, but these centres too disappeared around mid C12, many of the inhabitants taking to the hills, when Egypt withdrew completely from Syro-Palestinian territory. This was a pivotal time in the history of the region – marking as it did the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages. By this time, a Philistine presence was becoming firmly established in the coastal plains, and in OT tradition the Israelites, very likely a Canaanite sub-group, now appear more distinctly on the scene, after making a first brief and much debated appearance in the well-known stele-inscription of the pharaoh Merneptah (1213–1203) (*ANET 376–8) (see under Israel). OT tradition clearly distinguishes three major groups at this time – Philistines along Palestine’s southern coast, Canaanites on the plains, and Israelites in the hills. To begin with, these groups may have coexisted relatively peacefully, for as much as one hundred years. But then, according to OT sources, the Philistines took on a more aggressive aspect, seeking to expand into the interior. At the same time the Israelites sought to extend their territory westwards, onto the plains and towards the coast. In the process, they absorbed Canaanite territory on the plains. The scene was now set for the series of bitter conflicts, recorded in the OT, between the Philistines and the Israelites, conflicts which continued from late M2 into the first decades of M1 when the Philistines were, according to biblical tradition, defeated by King David.

It is to the Israelites that we should now turn for the remaining episodes of Canaanite history. We should also look to the Phoenicians, the Canaanites’ most visible Iron Age descendants, for a continuation of the mercantile and artistic traditions which had brought prosperity and distinction to many Canaanite towns in their Middle and Late Bronze Age phases.


**Candyba (Gendive)** (map 15) M1 mountaintop city in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, perhaps to be identified with Late Bronze Age Hinduwa. According to Greek literary tradition, it was founded by the legendary hero Candybus. Two inscriptions in the Lycian language (*TAM I: 81, 82) and several house-tombs and sarcophagi of Lycian type reflect the indigenous civilization of the region, which flourished in the first half of M1. Candyba is generally equated with the Lycian town called Khākbī; but numismatic evidence appears to cast doubt on this identification (see Khākbī).

Bean (PECS 435).

**Capisa** M1 city attested in Pliny the Elder (6.92) who locates it in Central Asia
north of the country of Arachosia (which lay in Afghanistan) within a region called Capisene. According to Pliny, Capisa was destroyed by the Persian king Cyrus II during his campaign in the east, probably some time after his capture of Babylon in 539. Capisa is commonly equated with the Arachosian city Kapishakanish (q.v.), attested in texts of Darius’ reign (e.g. *DB 45), despite the fact that Pliny clearly distinguishes Capisa from Arachosia. To accommodate the inconsistency, it has been suggested that the city may originally have belonged to Arachosia, but was subsequently partitioned off, becoming the capital of a new province Paropanisadae (q.v.), also referred to by Pliny. An identification has been suggested between Capisa and the archaeological site at Begram, near the Hindu Kush.


Carbasyanda by Caunus  see Kızıltepe.

Carchemish (Karkamish, Jerablus) (maps 6, 7, 10, 13) Bronze and Iron Age city located on the upper Euphrates r. near Turkey’s border with Syria. First identified by the Assyriologist George Smith in 1876, Carchemish was excavated for the British Museum by P. Henderson (1878–81), by D. G. Hogarth, C. Thompson, and C. L. Woolley successively (1911–14), and again by Woolley (1920). Political developments in the region brought the last excavation period abruptly and prematurely to an end. Evidence of settlement on the site goes back to M5 (Halaf period). The earliest significant material remains are those of a number of stone cist tombs, dating to the beginning of M3, in which were found large quantities of vases often decorated with red geometric motifs. But the most important periods in the city’s history fall within the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.

In written records, Carchemish is first mentioned among the cities subject to the king of Ebla at the end of M3. It subsequently appears in the C18 Mari archives. At this time, as later, it was an important political and commercial centre, no doubt because of its excellent strategic location on the Euphrates at the junction of major trade routes. In early C18 it was ruled by a local dynasty which enjoyed peaceful trading relations with Mari. Wood, wine, and cereals were among the goods it dispatched to Mari when the latter was ruled by Yasmah-Addu, viceroy and son of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775). At that time, the ruler of Carchemish was a man called Aplahanda. Close links with Mari continued when the Mariote throne was occupied by Zimri-Lim (1774–1762), who may have been, at least nominally, overlord of Carchemish.

Subsequently, Carchemish became a subject state of Aleppo, capital of the kingdom of Yamhad. Following the final conquest of this kingdom by the Hittites in early C16, Carchemish was incorporated into the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni, and remained subject to Mitanni until the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I captured it after a six-day siege in 1327. It was the last remaining Mitannian stronghold to fall to the Hittites. It then became a viceroyal seat of the Hittite empire, with its territory expanded both east and west of the Euphrates, under the rule of a member of the Hittite royal family (the first viceroy was Suppiluliuma’s son Sharri-Kushuh/Piyassili), and remained so until the end of the Late Bronze Age. The viceroy’s prominence in Syrian affairs in this period is clearly attested in the archives of Ugarit and Emar. Suppiluliuma established another of his sons, Telipinu, as viceroy in Aleppo, but the Carchemish viceroy appears
to have played the more important military, political, and judicial roles in the Syro-Palestinian region, virtually with the status of a regional overlord. The death of Sharri-Kushuh c. 1313, when the Hittite throne was occupied by the viceroy’s brother Mursili II, prompted the Assyrians to invade and occupy Carchemish, until they were driven from the land by a Hittite military force under Mursili’s personal command (*AM 116–19). Before returning home from Syria, Mursili installed Sharri-Kushuh’s son Shahurunuwa on the throne of Carchemish (*AM 124–5). Two decades later, the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1307–1275) claimed Carchemish amongst his extensive conquests (*RIMA 1: 131). But the Assyrians failed to make any lasting impact on the city or its associated territories, which appear to have remained fairly firmly under Hittite control until the end of the Bronze Age.

Carchemish figures among the cities and countries devastated by the so-called Sea Peoples’ invasions in early C12, according to the account of the pharaoh Ramesses III (*ARE IV: §§65–6, *ANET 262). But there is nothing in the archaeological or epigraphic record to indicate that the city suffered significantly, if at all, from these invasions. (Hawkins, *CHLI* I:73, suggests that in this context ‘Carchemish’ probably refers to the Hittite empire in Syria.) Indeed at Carchemish a branch of the Hittite royal dynasty continued for at least several more generations after the disappearance of the central dynasty at Hattusa. From royal seal impressions discovered in 1985 at Lidar Höyük (q.v.) on the east bank of the Euphrates, we know that Talmi-Teshub, the great-great-grandson of Suppiluliuma I and the viceroy at Carchemish during the reign of Suppiluliuma II, was succeeded by his son Ku(n)zi-Teshub. The fact that the latter styled himself ‘Great King’ suggests that the central dynasty at Hattusa was now

*Figure 25* Environs of Carchemish.
defunct and that he saw himself as the one true heir to the line of Suppiluliuma. However, the kingdom over which he held sway extended through only part of the eastern territories of the former Late Bronze Age Hittite kingdom, along the west bank of the Euphrates from Malatya through Carchemish to Emar. And his kingdom soon fragmented, perhaps even in his own lifetime, into a number of small principalities – e.g. Melid (Classical Melitene, mod. Malatya), where his grandsons later ruled.

Like its fellow Neo-Hittite states and other Syro-Palestinian principalities, Carchemish came under increasing pressure from the aggressively expansionist Assyrian empire. Already in late C12, its ruler Ini-Teshub was made a tributary of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (on the assumption that the king of Hatti called Ini-Teshub by Tiglath-pileser was in fact a king of Carchemish) (*RIMA 2: 37; cf *RIMA 2: 23). In C9 Sangara, a king of Carchemish attested in Assyrian records, was forced to accept the overlordship of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (c. 870), and pay him an enormous tribute (*RIMA 2: 217). Sangara’s reign was preceded by a four-member dynasty at Carchemish, attested in a group of sculptures with accompanying inscriptions. The names of the dynasts, in succession, were Suhis I, Astuwatamanzas, Suhis II, and Katuwas. Unfortunately, as Hawkins (1982: 383–4) points out, none of these can be directly linked with Assyrian chronology. On the other hand, Assyrian records indicate that in 858 Sangara joined the military coalition of kings, from southern Anatolia, northern Syria, and northern Mesopotamia, which confronted Ashurnasirpal’s successor Shalmaneser III twice on the campaign he conducted into the region in his first regnal year. (The coalition was made up of the kingdoms of Bit-Adini, Sam‘al, Patin, and Carchemish in the first confrontation, joined by Que and Hilakku in the second.) The coalition was defeated, and Sangara like other kings in the region was forced into submission (*RIMA 3: 9–10, 16–17). Shalmaneser’s second western campaign, conducted in 857, led to further Assyrian conquests in Carchemishite territory, forcing once more the submission of Sangara and payment of a substantial tribute to the Assyrian king (*RIMA 3: 18). Again in 853, Sangara was among the rulers west of the Euphrates who paid tribute to Shalmaneser early in the western campaign of his sixth regnal year (*RIMA 3: 23). But Sangara apparently rose up against Shalmaneser on at least two further occasions, since the latter carried out attacks on Carchemish (and Bit-Agusi) in 849 and 848 (*RIMA 3: 37, 38).

For the next century or so, the records are silent on Carchemish, up to the first attested year, 738, of the reign of Pisiris, Carchemish’s last king. Possibly the small kingdom regained some measure of independence during the period when the Assyrian kingdom was afflicted with internal upheavals, and involved in military confrontations with Urartu. Three Carchemishite kings are attested in the interval between Sangara and Pisiris: Astiruwas, Yariris, and the latter’s successor Kamanis. Inscriptions and sculptures of fine quality have survived from the reigns of Yariris and Kamanis, which can be dated to the first half of C8 (for the inscriptions, see *CHLI I: 123–64). Yariris claimed to be well known internationally, and was in contact with at least one of the Assyrian kings of the period, perhaps Ashur-dan III (772–755). Hawkins (1982: 407) suggests that Carchemish enjoyed peaceful relations, and very likely close commercial and cultural contacts, with Assyria in this period.

But Assyrian control was firmly re-established over Carchemish by Tiglath-pileser III, following his victory over a coalition of forces from Urartu and the Aramaean city of Arpad in 743. Pisiris thenceforth became a tributary of Tiglath-pileser (*Tigl. III
But in 717, during the reign of Sargon II, he was accused by his Assyrian overlord of communicating, presumably with a view to forming an alliance, with the Phrygian king Mita (Greek Midas). Sargon attacked and captured Carchemish, took Pisiris and his family and leading courtiers back to Assyria as captives, and stripped the land of its wealth (*ARAB II: 4, *CS II: 293). Carchemish then came under the direct control of the Assyrian administration, as a province ruled by an Assyrian governor.

Subsequently, in the period 612–610, the city provided a base of operations for an army of Assyria’s Egyptian allies, led by the pharaoh Necho II, against a Median–Babylonian alliance. And here, in 605, the Babylonian crown prince Nebuchadnezzar inflicted a resounding defeat upon the Egyptian forces (*CS I: 467–8). From then on, Carchemish was abandoned. It was partly reoccupied in the Hellenistic period, under the name Europs.

Three main areas of the city were uncovered during the 1911–14 excavations. These were a citadel mound, an outer fortified city, and an inner fortified city. Very little of the pre-Iron Age city survives, apart from some fortifications of the inner town. Of Iron
Age date are the meagre remains of a building on the citadel mound, conjecturally identified, without evidence, as those of the temple of Kubaba, the city’s chief deity. More substantial remains of the Neo-Hittite city were uncovered within the inner city wall – most notably, the sculpted and inscribed exterior façades (mainly relief orthostats and dedicatory inscriptions) of the temple of the storm god, the gatehouse and great staircase leading up to the citadel, the so-called herald’s wall, the processional entry (later modified by an addition called the royal buttress), and the king’s gate. These monuments all date within the period from early M1 to the Assyrian takeover in 717. Both the sculptures and the inscriptions (in Luwian hieroglyphs) provide information about two successive ruling dynasties in this period, founded respectively by Suhis I (c. 950) and Astiruwas (c. 850).

Carduchians M1 people of eastern Anatolia occupying a mountainous region on the northernmost spurs of the Zagros mountains bordering the land of Armenia. They may have been descendants of the Urartians, whose kingdom had ended violently in late C7. In the winter of 400–399 the Greek force led by Xenophon had a hostile encounter with the Carduchians while it was crossing into Armenia on its march home after its abortive expedition to Persia in support of the Persian pretender Cyrus the Younger (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.3).

Caria (maps 4, 5) Region in southwestern Anatolia, first settled in the Neolithic
period. The name Caria, attested in Classical sources, may be etymologically linked with Karkisa, the name of a Late Bronze Age country in western Anatolia (whose precise location is uncertain), attested in Hittite texts. According to a tradition recorded by Herodotus (1.171), the Carians were immigrants to western Anatolia from the Aegean islands, displaced from their original homelands by Ionian and Dorian Greeks. If so, they may have participated in the general migratory movements to the coastlands of western Anatolia in late M2. But Herodotus notes that the Carians themselves claimed that they were native Anatolians, and had always been called Carians. This claim would be compatible with the proposed etymological link between the names Caria and Late Bronze Age Karkisa. It might also be supported by Homer’s description of the Carians in the Iliad (2.867) as ‘speakers of a barbarian language’ – a description which clearly distinguishes them from immigrant Greeks. I. Yakubovich (2008) has recently proposed that the political unification of the region in western and southwestern Anatolia called Arzawa in Late Bronze Age Hittite texts was the achievement of Proto-Carian groups who provided the ruling aristocracies in the region. He argues against the common assumption that Arzawa was inhabited and ruled by Luwian-speaking peoples.

Until C4, many of the Carians lived in hilltop communities in independent tribal groups, each of which was subject to its own ruling dynasty. Caria had, however, been incorporated into the Lydian empire in C6 by the Lydian king Croesus, and after the fall of Croesus’ empire in 546, the Carians became subjects of the Persian king Cyrus II. They subsequently joined the Ionians in their revolt against Persian rule (499–494), and also served alongside Ionians as mercenaries, especially in Egypt where a significant number of Carians appear to have settled. Urbanization of the Carian homeland

Figure 28 Storm god, Carchemish.
progressed substantially in C4, under the Persian-backed Hecatomnid dynasty, most notably during the rule of Mausolus (377–353), who styled himself Persian satrap in his inscriptions. Mausolus played an important role in the spread of Greek influence through Caria, but was also concerned to preserve elements of the indigenous culture of the region.

The Carian language has survived in a number of alphabetic inscriptions (the alphabet is largely of Greek origin), in Caria itself but mainly in Egypt, where Carian mercenaries had settled. It appears to have been an Indo-European language, but has yet to be fully deciphered (see Giannotta et al., 1994).

The following cities of Caria are separately listed: Alabanda, Alinda, Aphrodisias, Athymbra (in Caria or Lydia?), Bargylia, Calynda (in Caria or Lycia?), Castabos, Caunus, Cedreae, Ceramus, Chalcetor, Cintya, Cnidus, Crya (in Caria or Lycia?), Euromus, Halicarnassus, Heraclea under Latmus, Hydae, Hydissus, Iasus, Idyma, Lbranda, Loryma, Madnasa, Mylasa, Myndus, Olymus, Pasanda, Pedasa, Physcus, Pyrus, Side (2), Syangela, Syrna, Telmessus (1), Termor, Uranium.

Carmania (map 16) Central Asian country, attested in Persian and Classical texts, located north of the Strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf. It first appears in inscriptions of the Persian king Darius I (522–486) from Susa (*$D$9 9, *$D$z 8) as a source of a special timber, called sisoo-wood (yaka-wood), used in the construction of Darius'
palace at Susa. Though the country is largely mountainous, with tracts of desert in the north, it had a number of fertile valleys which from ancient to mediaeval times produced vines and fruit crops. Strabo (15.2.14) refers to its production of all kinds of fruits and an abundance of large trees, except for the olive. He notes, however, that the country is subject to crop failures, prompting its inhabitants to store sufficient produce to last several years. He cites the C4 Greek writer Onescritus who refers to a gold-bearing river in the country and mines of silver and copper. Herodotus (1.125) lists its population, under the name Germanioi, among the Persian tribes who were workers of the soil, in contrast to other Persian tribes who led a nomadic existence. The Carmanians are said to have lived and fought like the Persians, but Strabo (15.2.14) comments that even in war they rode asses rather than horses, because of the scarcity of the latter. He observes too that no man in the country marries until he has cut off the head of an enemy and brought it to the king. Allegedly, the king stored the skull of the severed head in the palace, minced the tongue, mixed it with flour, then after tasting the mixture himself handed it over to the man who had brought the head to him, to be eaten by the man and his family.

Following his conquest of the Babylonian empire in 539, the Persian king Cyrus II deported the last Babylonian king Nabonidus to Carmania, where he spent his remaining years until his death (Berossus, *FGrH* 680 F10a = *PE* 81–2, no. 25). It was not an unpleasant place of exile. Alexander the Great found its environment a relatively benevolent one when he passed through it on his campaign in the region in 325. At this time, he established, or re-established, the land as a separate satrapy (it had previously had this status under Persian rule), extending south of Persis along the Persian Gulf. The name Carmania survives in that of the mod. Iranian city Kerman.


**Carpasia** *(Haghios Philon)* (map 14) City on the peninsula of the same name at the northeastern end of the coast of Cyprus. It was founded, according to Greek tradition, by a legendary king of Cyprus called Pygmalion. Archaeological evidence suggests a foundation date no earlier than C7. In historical sources the city is first attested in 399, when one of its citizens led a mutiny at Caunus (in Caria, southwestern Anatolia) of Cypriot mercenary forces employed by the Athenian commander Conon for his military operations against the Spartans. The Macedonian Demetrius I Poliorcetes used Carpasia as a launching-point for his Cypriot campaign in 306.

Material remains of the city include a number of rock-cut tombs from its necropolis, fragments of marble columns and sculptures dating probably to C4 (the former perhaps belonging to a temple), and traces of a city wall, church, and ‘palace’ dating to the early Byzantine period. The city was finally abandoned in C7 CE following the first Arab invasions. Most of it is now covered by sand dunes.


**Caryanda** M1 island settlement in Caria, southwestern Anatolia. See *Salibadasi*.

**Castabus** *(Pazarlık)* (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia. The well-known sanctuary of the healing goddess Hemitha was established there – by Apollo, according to a tradition recorded by Diodorus (5.62–3). Diodorus reports that the sanctuary achieved high renown, attracting large numbers of pilgrims from near
and far. He comments that though it was filled with rich offerings, and was not protected by walls or by custodians, neither Persians nor robbers molested it, out of respect for its reputation. During the Persian period (C6–4), the sanctuary was no more than a small hilltop shrine, c. 5 m square. But in late C4, this modest structure was succeeded by an imposing Ionic temple, built on a platform 53 m × 34 m in area. The cult of Hemithea seems to have reached its peak in C2 when the city came under the domination of the island of Rhodes. We learn from an inscription (the so-called Gölenye inscription) that in the first half of C2 major improvements were made to the sanctuary, to reflect the goddess’ status and importance, and also to cope with the apparently ever-increasing numbers of visitors. Perhaps not long after this the sanctuary went into decline, its lessening importance thought to be connected with the decline of its overlord Rhodes. By the Roman period, the cult of the goddess may have ceased.

Cook and Plommer (1966), Bean (PECS 440–1, s. v. Kastabos), Kaletsch (BNP 2: 1176).

Cauconians A legendary people located by Greek tradition in various parts of mainland Greece, and in northern Anatolia near the Black Sea coast in the region of Bithynia and Paphlagonia (BAGRW 58 B3, 86 C2). In Homer, the Cauconians appear among the allies of the Trojans (Iliad 10.429, 20.329).

Lafond (BNP 2: 38).

Caunus (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria in southwestern Anatolia. According to Herodotus (1.172), the Caunians were of indigenous stock, though they themselves believed that their ancestors came from Crete. Herodotus comments that their lifestyle and customs were different from those of all other peoples, including their fellow Carians. His claim that their language was similar but not identical to the Carian language is to some extent borne out by the surviving remnants of the language preserved in inscriptions. It is still almost entirely unintelligible.

Caunus is first attested in history when it was captured by the Persian general Harpagus during his campaign through southwestern Anatolia c. 540 (Herodotus 1.171, 176). Some time after the withdrawal of the Persian forces from Greece in 479, the city became a member of the Athenian Confederacy, but during the Peloponnesian War (431–404; see glossary), it provided a port for both sides in the conflict. In mid C4 it came under the control of the Carian satrap Mausolus (377–353), and thenceforth became increasingly Greek in its culture and ethnic composition. In the Hellenistic age, almost all trace of the indigenous population and culture disappeared. Control over Caunus fluctuated between the various Hellenistic kingdoms, until 167, when the Roman Senate declared it a free city. In 129 it was incorporated into the Roman province of Asia.

Despite the fact that the city was notorious for its unhealthy climate (the marshlands which surrounded it made its population highly prone to malaria), it appears to have prospered for much of its history. This was no doubt largely due to its harbour facilities and lively export trade, in goods such as figs (for which it was famous), salt, fish, and slaves. But the city needed to acquire other sources of wealth as its harbour began silting up – already a serious problem by C1 CE. Caunus now lies 3 km from the sea.

Notable among the city’s material remains is its well-preserved walls, fortified with towers, to the northwest and north of the city. Parts of them date back to the reign
of Mausolus. Other features of the site include an impressive Greek-style theatre, a nymphaeum (fountain-house), Roman baths, and a palaestra. In the centre of the palaestra, a large Byzantine church was later built. But the most spectacular remains of Caunus are the rock-cut Ionic-style temple-tombs carved into the cliff-face between the city and the mod. village of Dalyan. There are about twenty of these structures. Some have passageways hollowed out around them so that their walls are completely disengaged from the parent rock. They are part of a necropolis complex consisting of more than 150 tombs (the majority are simple chambers cut into the rock below the temple-tombs). Pottery found in the temple-tombs helps date their construction to mid C4.


Çavuştepe  see Sardurihınıli.

**Cedreae**  
(map 5)  M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia, on the island of Sedir Ada (Şehir Ada, Şehiroğlu) in the Cedreatic Gulf, 16 km north of mod. Marmaris. A purely Carian foundation in origin, the city is first attested in C5 as a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). In 405, when it was still allied to Athens, it was attacked by the Spartan commander Lysander and its population enslaved. Xenophon (*Hellenica* 2.1.15) describes this event, referring to the city’s inhabitants as semi-barbarians. During the Hellenistic period, Cedreae became part of the Rhodian Peraea (see glossary).

Among the city’s remains, which lie on the eastern half of the island, are a theatre, an agora, and the foundations of a Doric temple (no doubt dedicated to Apollo, the
city’s chief deity in Graeco-Roman times). A necropolis consisting mainly of sarcophagi and built tombs is located on the mainland opposite the island. Bean (1971: 156–7; PECS 444–5).

Celaenae (Dinar) (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in southern Phrygia, south-central Anatolia, strategically located, on the Maeander r., at the junction of major east–west and north–south routes. Xenophon (Anabasis 1:2:7–9) claims that the Persian king Xerxes built a strongly fortified palace in Celaenae, allegedly above the sources of the Maeander, while making his withdrawal from his abortive invasion of the Greek mainland in 480. Alexander the Great gained control over the city during his campaign through Phrygia in 333, and appointed there his general Antigonus as satrap of Phrygia. In the Hellenistic period, Celaenae came under Seleucid control and was shifted to a new site by Antiochus I Soter (324–261), who renamed the city Apame after his mother, the Bactrian princess Apame. Bayburtluoğlu (PECS 444), Drew-Bear (BNP 3: 66).

Celenderis (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE city on the coast of Rough Cilicia (Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera), southern Anatolia, 46 km west of mod. Anamur (anc. Anemurium). Recent excavations on the city’s acropolis conducted by a Turkish team under the direction of K. L. Zoroğlu have shown that settlement there dates back at least to the Late Chalcolithic period. But evidence for Bronze Age occupation is sparse, and the site may have been unoccupied for many centuries before it was colonized, probably in C8, by settlers from the island of Samos. In C5 Celenderis became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), and apparently played an important role at this time as a station on the route to Egypt. Also in mid C5 it began issuing its own coinage. There are no further historical references to the city after this time, though its survival into the Byzantine period is indicated by its appearance in the list of cities of the eastern Roman empire attested in the Synekdemos of Hierocles (dating probably to C5 CE). Mitford (PECS 445), Zoroğlu (2006).

Ceramus (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria in southwestern Anatolia on the Ceramic Gulf, 40 km southeast of mod. Milas. Virtually nothing is known of the city’s pre-Hellenistic history, beyond the fact that in C5 it was a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). There is no information on its foundation, though its origins are generally thought to have been Carian rather than Greek. Scholars agree that the resemblance of its name to the Greek word for pottery is purely coincidental. However, the appearance on the site of Greek-type archaic statuary suggests that by C6 the city was coming under Greek influence. Other material remains of the site, dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, include stretches of a city wall, the remains of two temples, and outside the city gates a number of tombs on either side of the road – both sarcophagi and tombs of alleged Carian type sunk into the ground. Bean (1971: 53–7).

Chagar Bazar (map 10) Settlement located in the Habur r. basin, northwestern Mesopotamia, with a history of occupation extending from the Halaf period (c. 6000–4500) to the final abandonment of the site in the first half of the Late Bronze Age (c. mid M2). Excavations were carried out by M. Mallowan in the 1930s, and subsequently by joint British–Belgian and Spanish teams from 1999 onwards.
McMahon et al. (2001: 201) report that the new research programme focuses on two related diachronic questions: (1) the site’s internal cycle of occupation, abandonment, and reoccupation, and its internal diversity; (2) its changing role within settlement trends in the upper Habur r. valley, focusing on its status as a relatively small site in the Mesopotamian context.

The site was first occupied, as noted, in the Halaf period, and recently evidence has been found for occupation during the Late Chalcolithic (Northern Uruk) period in early M4. Chagar Bazar was then abandoned until the Early Bronze Age (M3), its first major occupation phase. Material remains from the Early Bronze settlement include painted and incised pottery, bullae with seal impressions, and short Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions. The inscribed pieces date to the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods. The early post-Akkadian era saw a reduced occupation, and around 2000 the site was abandoned for two centuries, but it came into prominence again during the reign of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775). In this period, a large ‘palace’ (if not a storehouse) was constructed, presumably the residence of a local governor of the Assyrian administration. An archive of about 100 cuneiform tablets also came to light. The tablets were administrative in nature, containing records of barley used for making bread and beer, animal fodder, and food rations for palace personnel. The mixed population of the settlement at this time is reflected in the Hurrian, Akkadian, and Amorite personal names attested in the tablets. Houses and graves appear to have been built on the settlement-mound some time after the destruction of the palace, before the settlement was finally abandoned c. 1500. Identifications have been suggested with anc. Ashnakkum and Qirdahat (Kirdahat).


Chalcedon (Kadıköy) (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Bithynia, northwestern Anatolia, located on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus. Though its site was perhaps originally occupied by settlers from Phoenicia and Thrace, it was established as a Greek colony in 685 by colonists from the mainland Greek city of Megara, under the leadership of Archias. According to Herodotus (4.144), the Persian commander Megabazus referred to Chalcedon as ‘the city of the blind’, because its first settlers failed to realize the superior qualities of a location directly across the Bosporus, where Byzantium was settled seventeen years later (cf. Pliny the Elder 5.149). Subsequently, Chalcedon and Byzantium were closely linked. In the aftermath of the Greek Ionian rebellion against Persian rule (499–494), both cities were put to the torch by the Persians in 494 after their populations had abandoned them (Herodotus 6.33). They were later rebuilt, and in mid C5 Chalcedon became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). It had, however, established its independence by 416, when together with Byzantine and Thracian forces it inflicted a resounding military defeat on the Bithynians (thus Diodorus 12.82.2), whose land lay to the east. Thirty years later, in 387, Chalcedon came under Persian control, where it remained until its liberation by Alexander the Great in 334. Virtually nothing of the city survives today.

Bean (PECS 216), Aune (ΩEANE 1: 481–2).

Chalcetor (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria in southwestern Anatolia, 10 km northwest of Mylasa (mod. Milas). Almost nothing is known of the city’s pre-Hellenistic history beyond the fact that in C5, it was a member of the Athenian
Confederacy (see glossary). Material remains of the site include a ring wall which fortified the city’s acropolis and was ‘well built of squared blocks in the Lelegian manner’ (Bean), a temple of Apollo, and a number of tombs – sarcophagi, shallow graves, and underground chambers. Among several inscriptions found in the temple was a three-line text in the Carian language.

Bean (1971: 48–9; PECS 216).

Chaldaeans Tribal groups probably speaking a West Semitic language, first clearly attested in southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia) in an inscription of the C9 Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (c. 878). The Chaldaeans appear to have entered Babylonia from the northwest some time in C11 or C10, settling along the lower Euphrates and the Sealand marshlands at the head of the Persian Gulf. ‘Chaldaean’ is derived from the Greek χαλδαιοί which comes from the Akkadian word kaldu, used to designate both a people and a land. Though the Chaldaes had a number of features in common with the Aramaeans, they are clearly distinguished from them in the anc. sources. Lipiński (2000: 417) concludes that the distinction is basically cultural and social-economic (rather than ethnic). Five Chaldaean tribes are identified in the anc. sources. As listed by Lipiński (419), they are: Bit-Dakkuri (southeast of Borsippa), Bit-Amukani (north of Uruk), Bit-Yakin (around Ur and the marshes to the east), Bit-Sha’alli (near the Persian Gulf), and Bit-Shilani (to the east of Bit-Dakkuri). (The compound name in each case consists of Bit, i.e. ‘House’ + the name of its eponymous founder.)

A significant number of the Chaldaean immigrants may have continued to pursue a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence in their new homeland, and many grazed horses and cattle. But Lipiński comments that others appear to have adapted quickly to a settled way of life. They built towns and villages of their own – though the eighty-eight walled cities and 820 villages which the Assyrian king Sennacherib claims to have conquered (see below) may exaggerate the number of Chaldaean settlements – became agriculturalists, or settled in the large urban centres of southern Mesopotamia. In many cases they assumed Babylonian names and became closely involved in Babylonian social and political life, while still maintaining their traditional tribal structure and distinct identity. A number of them appear to have become extremely wealthy, through their large herds of livestock and the income resulting from the excellent strategic location of a number of their settlements on major trade routes.

Political instability and economic weakness in Babylonia during the early centuries of M1 are seen as factors promoting the rise to prominence within the region of a number of Chaldaean tribal leaders. Several of these leaders, beginning with Eriba-Marduk (769–761), occupied the Babylonian throne and became embroiled in the constant warfare in the country, sometimes against its central administration, but more often against the Assyrians. Most notable in this respect was the Chaldaean Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan), leader of the tribe Bit-Yakin. To judge from Assyrian records, Marduk-apla-iddina had already been prominent in Babylonia for a decade before coming to the throne c. 721. He held the kingship twice (721–710, 703). In alliance with the Elamites, he united Babylonia under his leadership, for what proved to be a protracted but ultimately unsuccessful struggle with Assyria, during the reigns of Sargon II and his successor Sennacherib (see under Babylonia). The Chaldaeans had already been in conflict with Assyria in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), who records his conquest of a number of their
tribes in 731 and the imposition of tribute on their chieftains (*Tigl. III* 122–5, 130–3). Marduk-apla-iddina also appears in *OT* sources, which record his dispatch of a diplomatic mission to the Judaean king Hezekiah, bearing letters and a gift, after he had received news of the king’s illness (2 Kings 20:12, Isaiah 39:1). It is very likely that he took this initiative as a first step towards securing an anti-Assyrian alliance with Judah, in addition to the alliance he probably already had with the Elamites. Sennacherib won a conclusive, final victory over Marduk-apla-iddina in his first military campaign, conducted in Babylonia some time between 704 and 702; he claimed that in the course of this campaign he conquered eighty-eight walled cities of Chaldea (*CS* II: 301). But despite the ultimate failure of Marduk-apla-iddina’s resistance to Assyria, he had succeeded for a time in uniting the Babylonians in a common cause. Fifty years later, his grandson Nabu-bel-shumate, a Chaldaean leader, ruler of the Sealand, rallied Babylonian support for Shamash-shum-ukin, the Assyrian ruler of Babylon, in his rebellion against the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, his brother.

The fact that in both Classical and *OT* sources the terms ‘Chaldaean’ and ‘Babylonian’ seem to be virtually synonymous may well be an indication of how significant and integral a role Chaldaeans played in Babylonian society. It appears that a number of them had reputations as magicians, diviners, astrologers, priests, and scholars, for the term ‘Chaldaean’ is often applied to such persons in both Classical and biblical texts (for the latter, see esp. Daniel 2:5, 10; 5:7, 11). It is, however, difficult to determine whether the persons so specified in these texts were actually Chaldaeans, or whether the term was being used in a generic sense to apply to all Babylonians.

Our information about the Chaldaeans is derived almost entirely from non-Chaldaean sources. No Chaldaean inscriptions have survived, and virtually nothing is known of the Chaldaean language, beyond the fact that Chaldaean names indicate that it was a form of West Semitic. The Chaldaeans’ M1 history is known to us mainly from Assyrian records, particularly in the period from mid C9 to mid C7. These records report the conflicts in which the Chaldaeans were involved, particularly against Assyria, and the punishments they suffered as a consequence, including the destruction of their towns and villages and the mass deportation of their populations, for resettlement in the Assyrian homeland or other parts of the empire. Chaldaeans are also attested as serving in the Assyrian army.

Chalybe Legendary country attested in Classical tradition, apparently located on the southern coast of the Black Sea (thus Strabo 12.3.19–20), and perhaps in the mountains south of Trapezus (mod. Trabzon). Its inhabitants, the Chalybes, were famous in legend as workers of iron. See also Halizones.

Chinnereth, Tel (Arabic Tell el-῾Oreimeh) (map 8) Bronze and Iron Age Canaanite city, consisting of a small tell and lower city, located in northern Palestine on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. In 1922 it was identified by G. Dalman and W. F. Albright with biblical Kinne reth, attested in Joshua 19:35 as one of the fortified cities allotted to the Israelite tribe of Naphtali. Its history of (significant) occupation extends from the Early Bronze Age through the Iron Age. After earlier investigations in 1932, 1939, 1963, and 1982 and 1983, the site was systematically excavated by V. Fritz from 1982
to 1985, and from 1994 to 1999, on behalf of the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz, Germany.

The first significant settlement was built during Early Bronze II (mid M3). But it was abandoned, for reasons unknown, at the end of this period, and resettlement did not occur until the end of Middle Bronze II (C16), when a new township was built, lasting through at least the first phase of the Late Bronze Age (C15). But remains for this period are very meagre. In written records, the city appears among the Syro-Palestinian conquests of the pharaoh Tuthmosis III (1479–1425), and is also listed with ten major Canaanite cities, including Megiddo, Ashkelon, and Hazor, in the so-called Papyrus Leningrad (1116A). Its inclusion with these cities is an indication of its importance in this period. The site may again have been abandoned before the end of the Late Bronze Age, with reoccupation occurring some time during Iron Age I (late M2).

In C10 a new, strongly fortified 4 ha city was built, one of whose buildings may have been a palace. The city was destroyed by the end of C10, or in early C9, probably too late to be associated with the pharaoh Sheshonq I’s campaign in the region. Squatters apparently now occupied the site, and during C9 the only evidence of rebuilding is provided by a small fortress or watchtower, overlooking the important road that passed by the site. At the beginning of C8, a small, new, apparently Israelite settlement was constructed on part of the mound, but it was destroyed during the second half of C8, probably by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III during his campaign in the region in 733. A further small settlement rose up almost immediately after. It was less than half a hectare in area, and had been abandoned by the end of C8. This was effectively the last settlement on the site, though the remains of a few houses dating to the Hellenistic period have been unearthed, perhaps dwellings built by local farmers.

Fritz (NEAEHL I: 299–301).

**Chogha Mish** (map 12) Settlement-mound in southwestern Iran, located on the Karun r. in the region of Susiana (mod. Khuzestan), 27 km east of Susa. Evidence of human occupation on the mound dates back to M7. From M6 until its abandonment in late M5, Chogha Mish was Susiana’s dominant site. In this phase of its existence, it covered c. 20 ha, and was apparently an important centre for pottery production. Its abandonment c. 4200, about the same time that Susa makes its first appearance in the archaeological record, may have been due to population upheavals within the region. During the second half of M4, corresponding to the Late Uruk period in Mesopotamia, Chogha Mish appeared again, as one of several major centres of Susiana – along with Abu Fanduweh and Susa (the Susa II period; see under **Susa**) – at a time when Susiana appears to have experienced an overall decline in its population. Notable among the artefacts dating to this period from Chogha Mish, as well as from Susa and Uruk, are tablets with cylinder seal impressions. A number of these depict a male figure whom scholars refer to as a ‘priest-king’. There has been much speculation about who this figure was, and what authority he exercised. Another of the sealings depicts a musician and a singer. There is also evidence for occupation at Chogha Mish during the Persian and Parthian periods.

Delougaz and Kantor (1996–).

**Chogha Zanbil** (Al-Untash-Napirisha) (map 12) Late Bronze Age Elamite city in southwestern Iran, in the region of Susiana, 40 km southeast of Susa. Covering an
area of c. 100 ha, the city was built in C13 as a religious and ceremonial centre by the Elamite king Untash-napirisha (1275–1240). Though apparently intended as an alternative royal seat to Susa, the city was never completed, and was abandoned soon after Untash-napirisha’s death. The site was discovered in 1935, and initially investigated by R. de Mecquenem, who made limited soundings in 1936 and 1939, and again in 1946. It was excavated on a more extensive scale by R. Ghirshmann during nine seasons between 1951 and 1962 on behalf of the French Archaeological Mission in Iran.

There are two main sections of the site. The first consists of a temenos, or sacred walled precinct, containing a number of temples, and in the centre of the complex a square-based ziggurat made of baked and sun-dried bricks, and enclosed within a wall of its own. Originally, the building was a single-level structure with rooms surrounding an open sunken courtyard, which was accessed by monumental gateways in the middle of each of three of its 100 m long sides. The gateways were guarded by bulls and winged griffins made of glazed terracotta. The building was transformed into a ziggurat (see glossary) in a subsequent building phase when a tower consisting of three concentric levels was erected in the central courtyard, to a total estimated height of c. 12 m. On top of the uppermost level, a high temple was constructed. It had a facing of blue-, green-, gold- and silver-coloured glazed bricks, and was accessed from ground level by a series of staircases. Called the *kukunnum*, it was dedicated to two deities – Inshushinak and Napirisha, originally the chief gods of Susa and Anshan respectively. The other temples within the precinct were dedicated to a wide range of Elamite, Susian, and Mesopotamian deities, as attested in the inscriptions found on the site. Up

![Figure 31 Chogha Zanbil.](image-url)
to 6,500 inscribed bricks have come to light, along with other texts. A few of these texts are in Akkadian, but the great majority (some fifty-two texts) are written in the Elamite language, thus providing us with an invaluable source of information on this language. The texts make clear that the city was a new foundation, built by Untash-napirisha, and that it was primarily sacred and ceremonial in character and function.

The second section of the site, designated as the royal city, covers an area of c. 85 ha, lying to the east of the temenos, and protected by a rampart. A double gate and inner courtyard complex, dubbed the Royal Entrance (it is referred to in inscriptions as the ‘Great Gate’), provides access through the fortifications to the northeastern sector of the city, referred to as the ‘royal quarter’. It contains the remains of three large buildings which Ghirshmann labelled as palaces (a fourth building, poorly preserved, was also designated by Ghirshmann as a palace). The most complex of these – Palace I, also called the *palais hypogée* (‘underground palace’) – is particularly noteworthy because of a number of tombs built beneath the building’s private and domestic apartments. The tombs were spacious, architecturally elaborate vaulted chambers, up to 4 m high and 5–6 m long. Each was accessed by a steep staircase. The tombs were used for multiple burials, and with only one exception all the bodies, together with their funerary goods, were cremated. The single exception was a female, forty to fifty years of age, whose skeleton was found intact. Ghirshmann stresses the significance of these cremation burials, observing that not one single instance of cremation has been discovered at nearby Susa. On the assumption that all those interred were members of royalty, he speculates that the uncremated female may have come from a foreign land where cremation was not practised (presumably because it was inconsistent with notions of an afterlife). Conceivably, she was a princess sent from abroad to wed an Elamite prince, in order to consolidate an international alliance between two royal houses.

Artefacts unearthed from various locations on the site include the glazed terracotta

*Figure 32 Chogha Zanbil, inscription on baked brick.*
bull and griffin sculptures referred to above, c. 160 cylinder seals, a range of stone and metal tools and weapons, a large number of votive offerings (animal figurines, beads, and maceheads), the cremated remains of grave goods (weapons and jewellery) in the Palace I tombs, a cache of alabaster jugs, and an ivory panel depicting a winged goddess and a frieze of wild goats.

The building of Al-Untash-Napirisha on virgin soil has been seen as reflecting its founder’s vision of a new centre for the Elamite empire, one which all members of the empire could claim equally as their capital, and which in its sacred precinct united the major gods of the empire’s main cities and provinces (thus de Miroshchedji). But the enterprise was short-lived, abandoned before completion on the death of its founder. The final destruction and pillaging of the site may have been due to Nebuchadnezzar I, fourth king of the Second Dynasty of Isin (see under Babylonia), during his campaign of devastation in Susiana c. 1110.


**Choma** M1 BCE–M1 CE city in northern Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, 15 km southwest of mod. Elmalı (BAGRW 65 C4). It is not attested in written sources before C1 CE, when Pliny the Elder (5.101) refers to it. No trace of the anc. city remains, its existence indicated only by scattered sherds and inscriptions, and anc. dressed building stones reused in the nearby villages. However, a rock-cut tomb located c. 5 km to the northwest of the site, and bearing an inscription in the native Lycian language, indicates that settlement in the area dates back at least to C5 or C4, the period when inscriptions in this language were carved on sepulchral and other monuments. The inscription is the most northerly of all known inscriptions in the native Lycian language. Another similar but uninscribed tomb is located close by. These tombs probably have no connection with Choma, but rather belong to a Lycian settlement which existed perhaps some centuries before Choma was established.

Bean (PECS 223; 1978: 156–7).

**Chorasmia** (map 16) Central Asian country attested in M1 Greek and Iranian texts (the latter consisting of Persian inscriptions and Avestan literature), located to the south of the Aral Sea. It may have played an important role, in early M1, in the beginnings of the Zoroastrian cult. Its population consisted of both nomadic and sedentary elements. The latter apparently lived mainly in villages – some 285 of these have been identified – which appear to have engaged primarily in agricultural activities and the raising of livestock, including cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, donkeys, horses, and camels. A typical simple Chorasmian dwelling consisted of two to three rooms, sometimes with courtyards and gardens attached. A farming establishment discovered at Dingil’dže consists of six rooms and has been interpreted as a small manor house (Russian ref. cited by Francfort, 1988: 187, n. 116). Fortress-complexes dating to the so-called Archaic period (C6–4) have come to light at Kyuzeli Gyr and Kalaly Gyr. For a brief summary of excavations conducted in the region from the 1930s onwards, see Vogelsang (1992: 289–91).

Chorasmia was among the eastern lands of the Persian empire listed several times in the inscriptions of Darius I (522–486), e.g. in his Bisitun inscription (*DB 6), and also in the *dativu* inscription (see glossary) of his son and successor Xerxes (*XPb 3). These lands had been incorporated into the empire by Cyrus II, probably during a campaign
which he conducted into Central Asia some time after his conquest of Babylon in 539.

Herodotus (3.117) reports the devastation caused to Chorasmian farmlands when the Persians converted a large, mountain-locked plateau in the region into a lake by damming the surrounding river, thereby cutting off the water supply to these farmlands. Chorasmians are listed by Herodotus (3.93) among the peoples making up what he calls the sixteenth Persian province (but see glossary under satrapy). They appear among the tributaries of the Persian empire in the foundation documents of the palace at Susa (reign of Darius I), where they are recorded bringing a tribute of turquoise (*DSf 10, *DSz 9). (Carnelian may also have been mined in Chorasmia.) A palace with hypostyle hall, excavated at the large site of Kalaly Gyr in Chorasmia, is thought to have been the residence of a Persian official, possibly a satrap (see Francfort, 1988: 181, fig. 6). A contingent of Chorasmians under the command of Artabazus, son of Pharanes, is listed by Herodotus (7.66) among the forces assembled by the Persian king Xerxes for his invasion of Greece in 481.

Francfort (1988).

Chuera, Tell (Assyrian Harbe (3)/Hurbe) Bronze Age settlement, consisting of citadel-mound and lower city, in northeastern Syria, between the Balih and Habur river valleys. The site, covering c. 65 ha, was excavated on behalf of the Max von Oppenheim Foundation by A. Moortgat between 1958 and 1976, U. Moortgat-Correns between 1982 and 1985, and W. Orthmann from 1986 onwards.

The earliest settlement on the site dates from the Halaf period (M5); it was abandoned in M4. The site was then reoccupied during much of M3, when Tell Chuera reached its maximum development. The entire settlement was surrounded by a mudbrick fortification wall, with a second inner fortification wall surrounding at least part of the citadel-mound. On the citadel, a number of major buildings were constructed, including several temples, a large palace, and a residential quarter. The 22 ha lower city appears to have consisted entirely of private houses. The site was abandoned in late M3, following its Akkadian-period occupation. After a long hiatus it was reoccupied in the second half of M2, in the period when the region came first under Mitannian and subsequently under Assyrian control. The few material remains from this phase include a small shrine of the Mitannian period, and a well-fortified governor’s residence of the Middle Assyrian period. A small cuneiform archive dating to C13 was unearthed in one of the rooms of this residence, enabling Tell Chuera to be identified with the city of Harbe (Hurbe) referred to in Middle Assyrian texts from Dur Katlimmu. (There were several Bronze Age cities of this name; see Harbe (1) and (2).) The site was finally abandoned in C12.

Moortgat-Correns (RIA 4: 480–7), Orthmann (OEANE 1: 491–2).

Chythroi (Kythrea) (map 14) City-kingdom in northeastern Cyprus, listed as Kitrusi among the ten kingdoms of the island in an inscription of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon dated to 673/672, the so-called Esarhaddon prism (*Borger, 1956: 60 §27, Heidel, 1956). In Greek tradition, its eponymous founder Chythrus was the grandson of Acamus, son of the Athenian hero Theseus. Evidence provided by tombs indicates that settlement on the site extends back at least to the last century of M2. The M1 city consisted of both acropolis and lower town, with a large necropolis extending to the south and southeast of the city. Its king at the time of the Esarhaddon prism was called Pilagura.
(Greek Pylagoras or Philagoras). The city is not attested in Greek sources until early C4, when reference to it is made in one of the speeches of the Athenian orator Lysias. Thenceforth it is mentioned by numerous Greek and Roman writers. It apparently flourished during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, becoming a bishopric in the last of these. The Arab sack of the city in 912 CE resulted in its final abandonment.

Chytroi remains virtually unexcavated. However, inscriptions indicate a number of buildings of Graeco-Roman date, including a gymnasium and shrines to Hermes, Artemis, and Hercules. The remains of a sanctuary on a hill northwest of the city have been attributed to the goddess Paphian Aphrodite on the basis of inscriptions. The sanctuary’s origins appear to date back to the Archaic period (C7–6).


CILICIA

Cilicia (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE country in southern Anatolia. Its name is probably derived from Hilakku, the term used in Assyrian texts to designate the western part of the region called Cilicia in Graeco-Roman times. In Classical tradition, the name originates from a legendary Greek people called the Cilices, who according to Homer (Iliad 6.397) were one of the population groups of the Troad (q.v.). It is in any case conceivable that the ancestors of one of M1 Cilicia’s population groups did in fact come from the Troad, migrating to southern Anatolia during the upheavals which accompanied and followed the collapse of the Late Bronze Age civilizations. Graeco-Roman Cilicia consisted primarily of two distinct parts, known by the terms Cilicia Tracheia (Latin Aspera) or ‘Rough Cilicia’, and Cilicia Pedias (Latin Campestris) or ‘Cilicia of the Plain’. Cilicia Tracheia was the rugged, mountainous western part of the region, Cilicia Pedias the ‘smoother’, fertile eastern part. These regions roughly corresponded to the countries respectively called Hilakku and Que in Assyrian texts. Jones (1971: 192) noted that the contrast in physical conditions corresponded to a contrast in civilization: ‘In Cilicia Pedias, trade and industry fostered the growth of towns. In Cilicia Tracheia, a primitive tribal life prevailed; only along the coast did a few small towns manage to subsist, as ports of call for the coastal trade and export depots for the timber from the mountains inland.’

In the earliest historical reference to Cilicia in Classical sources, Herodotus (1.28) observes that the Cilicians and the Lycians were the only peoples whom the Lydian king Croesus (560–546) failed to subdue during his campaigns west of the Halys r.; we do not know whether this means that they successfully resisted any attempts he made to conquer them, or whether he simply decided that the rewards to be won did not warrant the risks entailed in campaigning against them. Subsequently, from the last decades of C6 onwards, both peoples were subject, at least nominally, to Persian rule. During the first period of Persian sovereigntv, from c. 542 to 401, the Cilicians appear to have enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy under a line of local kings who went by the title Syennness. The title was probably adopted from the name of the founder of the dynasty, who was, according to Herodotus (1.74), one of the mediators in the conflict between the Medes and the Lydians in 585. The dynasty’s seat of power may have been located at Tarsus. In the following period, from 401 to the conquests of Alexander the Great in 333, Cilicia was directly governed by a Persian satrap. Throughout the period of Persian domination, as in other periods, it is likely that Cilicia Tracheia remained effectively independent, except perhaps for a narrow strip along the coast.
An important feature of M1 Cilicia, particularly Cilicia Tracheia, is the persistence of Luwian (q.v.) elements in the region down to and including the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Southern Anatolia had been one of the major areas of Luwian settlement in M2. And an ongoing M1 Luwian presence throughout southern Anatolia is reflected in a number of Luwian onomastic elements found in the inscriptions of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia, and Cilicia. The greatest concentrations of these elements occur in Lycia and Cilicia Tracheia. From this, it seems likely that Lycia and Cilicia Tracheia had significant numbers of Luwian speakers in their populations in M1 BCE and early M1 CE, and that these countries became the most important centres of Luwian settlement in Anatolia in the centuries which followed the collapse of the Late Bronze Age civilizations. *Houwink ten Cate (1965), Magness-Gardiner (OEANE 2: 8–11).

Cimmerians An Iron Age people, perhaps of Thraco-Phrygian or Indo-Iranian stock, originating in southern Russia. According to Herodotus (1.15), they descended upon Asia when they were driven from their homeland by nomadic Scythians. The earliest references to them occur in Assyrian letters, from the reign of Sargon II (721–705), which record their rout of an army from the kingdom of Urartu and the slaughter of a number of the kingdom’s provincial governors (*Ivantchik, 1993: 161–80, *SAA I: 29–32, nos 30–2, *SAA V: 109–10, no. 145). In Assyrian records the Cimmerians are called the Gumurru, from the land of Gamir. Their wars with Assyria arose out of their attempts, from Sargon’s reign onwards, to expand their territorial holdings southwards, partly at Assyria’s expense. But they appear to have had little success against the Assyrians. In 679 the Assyrian king Esarhaddon defeated their leader Teushpa in a battle in the land of Hubushna (see Hupis(h)na), southern Anatolia (*ARAB II: 206; cf. *Ivantchik, 1993: 180–5). In 652 the Cimmerian leader Lygdamis (Tugdammu in Assyrian records) suffered a defeat at the hands of Esarhaddon’s son and successor Ashurbanipal. According to Strabo (1.3.21), Lygdamis was later killed in Cilicia (some time between 637 and 626).

The Cimmerians’ onslaught upon Anatolia also brought them into conflict with the Phrygians, whose empire they destroyed c. 695 under its last king Midas (Assyrian Mita). Subsequently they engaged in a prolonged struggle with the kingdom of Lydia, Phrygia’s successor as the dominant power in western Anatolia. One of the principal victims of this struggle was the Lydian king Gyges (Guggu in Assyrian texts), founder of Lydia’s Mermnad dynasty, who in 644 was killed in a Cimmerian attack upon his kingdom. He had previously secured assistance against the invaders from Ashurbanipal, but had forfeited this when he supported Egypt’s rebellion against Assyria. The Cimmerians’ attacks upon Lydia lasted for about 100 years until late C7 or early C6, when the invaders were finally driven from Lydian territory by Alyattes, fourth ruler of the Mermnad dynasty. 


Cindya (map 5) M1 hilltop city in Caria in southwestern Anatolia, with remains of a citadel and enclosing fortification wall. The goddess Artemis was worshipped here, as Artemis Cindyas. A man called Pixodarus (son of a certain Mausolus) who lived in Cindya in early C5 was almost certainly one of the ancestors of the Hecatomnid dynasty which ruled Caria in C4 on behalf of the Persian administration. Later in C5,
Cindya became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). In 425 its annual contribution to the Confederacy’s treasury was assessed at the substantial sum of four talents. From C3 onwards the city is no longer attested in written records. It had now apparently been amalgamated into the neighbouring city of Bargylia.

Bean (1971: 82–7; PECS 455).

Çineköy Site in southern Anatolia of a C8 statue of the storm god Tarhunza, discovered in 1997 and inscribed with a hieroglyphic Luwian–Phoenician bilingual text. The site (which is not where the monument was originally located) lies 30 km south of Adana, in the region called Cilicia in Classical texts. In the early centuries of M1, it belonged to the kingdom called Que by the Assyrians. The statue is mounted on a base, and sculptured in high relief, depicting a chariot pulled by a pair of bulls. Its hair, beard, and clothing reflect Assyrian influence. The author of the inscription is identified as Warikas (Awarikus) in the Luwian version, Warikas in the Phoenician. This man is well known from Assyrian texts as the king of Que, who occupied his country’s throne from c. 738 to 709 (see under Que). In the Luwian text, Urikki states that he belongs to the line of Muk(a)as, a name corresponding to MPS – i.e. Mopsus – in the Phoenician text. This ancestral reference provides a further example of the association of Que’s royal line with the legendary Greek seer and city-founder Mopsus (see Karatepe). The kingdom of Awarikus/Urikki is called Adanawa in the Luwian version of the Karatepe bilingual, and its inhabitants the Danunians in the Phoenician version. The latter name is used also in the Phoenician version of the Çineköy bilingual.

In the Luwian version, Awarikus’ kingdom is called Hiyawa. This name undoubtedly represents an aphaeresized form of Ahhiyawa (q.v.), a name well known from Hittite Late Bronze Age texts, and generally believed to refer to the Achaean or Mycenaean Greek world. If so, its appearance in the Çineköy inscription may well reflect a migration of populations from western Anatolia or the Aegean to Cilicia at the beginning of the Iron Age, as Tekoğlu and Lemaire suggest (2000: 1006). Such a hypothesis would fit neatly with Herodotus’ statement (7.91) that the Cilicians were originally known as Hypachaeans (‘sub-Achaeans’) – provided that Ahhiyawa was in fact the Hittite term for Achaean or Mycenaean Greeks. We have yet to explain satisfactorily why the kingdom of Awarikus/Urikki is called Adanawa in the Luwian version of the Karatepe bilingual, but Hiyawa in the Luwian version of the Çineköy bilingual.


CITIUM

Citium (Kition, Larnaka) (map 14) City and M1 kingdom on the southeast coast of Cyprus. Its history of occupation extends from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman period. Excavations on the Bamboula hill (i.e. the city’s acropolis) conducted in 1929 and 1950 by E. Gjerstad for the Swedish Cyprus Expedition brought to light a sanctuary dedicated to the god Heracles–Melqart. There is some evidence to suggest that a temple to Aphrodite–Astarte had once stood beside it. (Melqart and Astarte were deities figuring prominently in Phoenician cult.) In 1959, excavations were begun at Kathari at the northern end of the site by V. Karageorghis for the Cypriot Dept of Antiquities. These uncovered a number of Late Bronze Age sanctuaries within a fortified settlement, and also produced evidence of a bronze metallurgical industry. Further excavations at Bamboula from 1976 onwards by a French team under the direction of M. Yon brought to light C9–8 sanctuaries of Melqart and Astarte, and a number of
naval installations. Included among the sanctuaries was an imposing temple of Astarte, built towards the end of C9. It lasted for five centuries, undergoing a number of changes throughout this period, until its final destruction by Ptolemy I Soter in 312 (see below). The city’s port lay on the east side of the site, below the acropolis.

Though Early Bronze Age tombs in various parts of Larnaka attest to some form of human occupation in this period, the earliest archaeological evidence for actual settlement dates to C13, the last century of the Late Bronze Age. In this period, a fortified city was built on the site. Substantial remains of its wall, as also of the later Classical wall, are still visible at the northern end of the anc. city. The old view that Citium’s Late Bronze Age founders came from the Mycenaean world is now seriously questioned. While Mycenaean products certainly reached Cyprus in large numbers, there is no firm evidence that Mycenaeanins themselves ever occupied the site or indeed settled anywhere in Cyprus. There is, however, no doubt that Phoenicians from Tyre had arrived in Citium by late C9, with merchants and traders paving the way for permanent settlers to establish a colony there. But despite a significant Phoenician presence in the city from this time onward, Citium’s population was predominantly Greek, the city’s culture reflecting a blend of both Phoenician and Greek elements.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that up to the time of the Ionian revolt against Persia in 499–494, Citium may have been ruled by Greek kings, probably under the last of whom Citium participated in the revolt. But following Persia’s crushing victory over the rebels, Phoenicians gained dominance in Citium, with Persian support. In C5 and C4 the city and kingdom were ruled by a line of Phoenician kings, who in mid C5 captured and annexed their kingdom’s northern neighbour, Idalion. A number of Citium’s Phoenician kings are attested in Phoenician inscriptions and coin legends — e.g. Baalmilk I, Azibaal, Baalmilk II (C5), and Milkyaton and Pumayaton (C4). These kings owed their dominance, at least in part, to Persian support. Their powerful navy enabled them to play a significant role in the contests between Greeks and Persians in the eastern Mediterranean as well as providing a major source of the city’s wealth. Except for a brief period in early C4, when a Greek called Demonicus was installed on the kingdom’s throne (388–387), the Phoenician dynasty held uninterrupted sway until Citium fell to Ptolemy I Soter in 312. He executed its last Phoenician king, Pumiathon, and destroyed its Phoenician temples. In 50 CE Citium was incorporated into the Roman provincial system.

Citium’s most famous inhabitant was the philosopher Zeno, founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, who was born in the city in C4. His contemporaries believed that he was a Phoenician.


**Clarus** (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE sanctuary and oracular centre of the god Apollo, located on Anatolia’s western coast in the region called Ionia in M1. From its foundation, probably in C8, it was under the control of the city of Colophon, whence came all the sanctuary’s officials. The earliest of the many literary references we have to Clarus occur in the Greek poet Hesiod (late C8–early C7), and in the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (C7?). The sanctuary first came to light in 1907, when the Turkish archaeologist T. Makridy discovered a number of columns and inscriptions there, which provided the site’s identification. In 1913, further investigations by Makridy and C. Picard showed that the columns belonged to the propylaea (dated to C2), i.e.
the monumental entrance to the sanctuary. The Doric temple of Apollo, focal point of the sanctuary, was excavated by L. Robert from 1950 to 1960. In the course of these excavations, a well-preserved two-roomed oracular complex was discovered beneath the temple floor, along with a number of inscriptions. The latter have provided much valuable information on the procedures and rituals associated with oracular consultation in the sanctuary. By C3 Clarus was becoming one of Anatolia’s most important oracular centres, reaching its peak in C2 and C3 CE. Its clients came from a wide variety of places in Anatolia and regions beyond. Throughout its long history, the temple underwent a number of substantial changes. In the Roman imperial period, its cela (inner sanctuary) was enlarged to accommodate three colossal statues – of Apollo, his mother Leto, and his sister Artemis. Further excavations of the sanctuary, beginning in 1988, were undertaken by J. de la Geniè.


Clazomenae (map 5) Greek city on the central Aegean coast of Anatolia, in the region called Ionia in M1. Mycenaean sherds found on the site provide evidence of Late Bronze Age settlement there. But the settlement was probably of indigenous origin. In the absence of other evidence, the Mycenaean pottery fragments very likely indicate no more than trading contacts between the settlement and the Mycenaean world, and not actual Mycenaean occupation. Clazomenae was one of the twelve members of the Ionian League (see Panionium). In C5 it was moved to a new location on an island in the Gulf of Smyrna, and linked by a causeway to the mainland where the original settlement had been built. According to Pausanias (7.3.9), the population shifted to the island in order to protect themselves against the Persians during the Ionian revolt against Persian rule, 499–494. Half a century earlier the city had fallen to the Lydian king Croesus (560–546), after having successfully resisted an attack by Croesus’ father and predecessor Alyattes.

Clazomenae was liberated from Persian control when the Persian forces were driven from the Greek world in 479, and subsequently became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). But it reverted to Persian control in 386 when it was added, as an island (along with Cyprus), to the ‘cities in Asia’ ceded by the Greeks to Persia under the terms of the ‘King’s Peace’ (see glossary; Xenophon, Hellenica 5.1.31). Some years later, according to the Greek writer Diodorus (15.18), it gained control by means of a stratagem of the city of Leucae (see under Leucae), founded in 383 by the Persian Tachos. However, it remained a subject of Persia until its liberation by Alexander the Great in 334.

Recent excavations at Clazomenae under the direction of G. Bakır, Ege University, have provided more information about the prehistoric settlement on the site and the transition there from Bronze to Iron Age. The finds brought to light by these excavations include structures of early Protogeometric (C10–9) date (built directly above Bronze Age layers), apsidal, single-room houses whose pottery dates them to late C6, an olive oil production plant dating to mid C6, and above it a ‘mansion’ of the second quarter of C4 (Bakır in Yıldırım and Gates, 2007: 322).

Bean (PECS 458, s.v. Klazomenai), Moustaka et al. (2004).

Cnidus (map 5) City located in the southwestern corner of Anatolia, at the tip of Cape Crio on the Reşadiye peninsula. The site was occupied from the Bronze Age...
through the Greek, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods until C7 CE. Bronze Age remains include sherds of Mycenaean type, and, pre-dating the Mycenaean period, a number of tombs which contained marble figurines of Early Cycladic type. From Linear B tablets (see glossary) found at the Mycenaean palace at Pylos in western Greece, we know that Cnidus was one of the eastern Aegean–western Anatolian recruiting grounds for women employed in the palace’s textile workforce. Following the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations in C12, Cnidus was occupied by Greek colonists. Greek legendary traditions attribute its settlement to immigrants from the Peloponnese (southern mainland Greece) – Dorian Greeks in one tradition, Argive Greeks in another. The original Greek settlement was located near mod. Datça. But the city was relocated on the peninsula’s tip c. 360, no doubt for commercial and strategic reasons connected with its maritime enterprises.

M1 Cnidus was one of the six cities constituting the Dorian hexapolis; the other five were Lindus, Camirus, and Ialysus on the island of Rhodes, the island of Cos, and the city of Halicarnassus (mod. Bodrum) on the Anatolian mainland (Herodotus 1.144). Every four years, the federation celebrated Dorian Games at Cnidus. The remains of a Doric temple dedicated to Apollo may indicate the site where the common sanctuary of the hexapolis was located. In C7 and C6 Cnidus established colonies in the western Mediterranean and participated in Greek trading activities in Egypt, through the Greek trading settlement established at Naucratis in the Nile Delta. Trade and commerce provided the basis for the city’s considerable wealth. The Cnidians allocated some of this wealth to the treasury which they built and dedicated to the god Apollo at Delphi in mid C6.

Around this time, the Lydian empire fell to the Persian king Cyrus II. Cnidus acknowledged the new overlord of the region by surrendering to the Persian general Harpagus, during his campaign along Anatolia’s western and southern coasts c. 479 (Herodotus 1.174). In the years following the Greek victory over the Persian forces in 479, Cnidus became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). The Athenian commander Cimon used the city as a base for his fleet prior to his decisive campaign against the Persians at the Eurymedon r. in Pamphylia c. 468. In 412, in the final decade of the Peloponnesian War (see glossary), Cnidus shifted its allegiance to Sparta. In 386 it was handed over to Persia under the terms of the so-called ‘King’s Peace’ (see glossary). It remained subject to Persia until liberated by Alexander the Great in 334.

The ‘double city’ of Cnidus, to which Strabo refers (14.2.15), consisted of a mainland settlement linked by causeway to the island where the main residential area was located. Two harbours were formed, one on each side of the causeway, the larger being used as a naval station which could accommodate twenty triremes (Greek warships). The city’s material remains date predominantly to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. They include domestic dwellings, a gridlike street layout, a theatre, a bouleuterion (council house), a stadium, and several temples. A large necropolis, containing sarcophagi and rock-cut and chamber tombs, lies to the east of the city. Cnidus was a centre of great cultural activity. Its temple of Aphrodite housed the famous statue of the goddess sculpted by Praxiteles (C4). By the end of C4 an important medical school was established in the city. And c. 279, Sostratus, a native of Cnidus, designed and built the great lighthouse of Alexandria.

Colchis (Kulhai in Urartian texts) (map 4) Region on the east coast of the Black Sea, occupied by a number of population groups, though Herodotus (2.104) claims that the Colchians were Egyptian in origin. In Classical tradition the kingdom of Colchis, ruled by Aeëtes, father of Medea, was the land to which Phrixus fled on the golden ram, whose fleece inspired the quest of Jason and the Argonauts. Colchis had abundant iron deposits, and already in C12 the metal was being extracted from its soil. Trade access to this rich metalliferous region may have been one of the reasons for campaigns beyond Urartu’s northwestern frontier by the Urartian kings Minua, Argishti I, and Sarduri II in late C9 and C8 – though there is no actual evidence for Urartian trade with the Black Sea region. In mid C8, Sarduri conducted a campaign against Colchis, with a further campaign in the region six or seven years later. On the latter occasion, he burnt the kingdom’s royal city Ildamusha.

In C6 the Colchian coast was colonized by Greek settlers, probably from Miletus. In C5, according to Herodotus (3.97), the Colchians and neighbouring tribes were the northernmost subjects of the Persian empire. Herodotus reports that every fourth year they were required to pay a tribute of 100 boys and 100 girls to their overlord. During the Hellenistic period, Colchis became an outlying territory of the Seleucid empire. It appears to have lost much of its former prosperity at this time. In 64 CE Nero annexed the region to the Roman empire.

Colophon (map 5) M2–1 city located near Anatolia’s Aegean coast, in the region called Ionia in M1, 40 km south of Izmir. In the Classical period, Notium served as its harbour (Thucydides 3.34). Colophon may have been a Minoan settlement in origin, though later Greek tradition ascribed its foundation to settlers from Pylos in the western Peloponnese (Strabo 14.1.3). This would suggest a Mycenaean origin. But there is no evidence that Colophon was ever a Mycenaean settlement, as once believed, though its population may have contained some Mycenaean elements. A small Mycenaean tholos tomb (see glossary), discovered in 1922, has been attributed to local builders working outside the mainstream of the tholos tradition. Mycenaean sherds were also found on the site, but these have since been lost.

We cannot be sure whether the city was abandoned at the end of the Late Bronze Age. If so, it had been reoccupied by early M1, and was to become, perhaps by the end of C9, one of the chief cities of the Ionian League (see Panionium). It was famous for its horses and the skill of its horsemen, and was also noted for the fertility of its soil. Strabo (14.1.28) observes that it was once renowned for its naval and cavalry forces, who proved highly effective as allies in bringing wars to an end. In C7, the city was incorporated into the Lydian empire after its capture by the Lydian king Gyges (680–652). After the fall of Lydia to the Persians in 546, Colophon became subject to Persian overlordship. By this time, it had lost much of the importance and affluence it had earlier enjoyed. In C5 it became for a time a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), but factional strife within the city led to its rejoining Persia in 430 (Thucydides 3.34). In 409, it again allied itself with Athens (Xenophon, Hellenica 1.2.4), but once more submitted to Persian overlordship after the fall of Athens in 404. From then on it remained subject to Persia until the Persian empire fell to Alexander the Great in 330. Following Alexander’s death, Colophon came into conflict with Lysimachus, one of his successors, who transplanted its population to his newly
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founded city of Ephesus. Lysimachus left Colophon largely derelict. It was rebuilt and resettled after his death, but never regained its former status. It was subsequently incorporated into the Seleucid and Attalid empires.

Most of Colophon’s remains, excavated by teams from the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, date to C4. These include a number of houses, a stoa, and a temple of the goddess Demeter. The remains are spread over a roughly triangular site, covering c. 1 sq. km and confined within a defensive wall which was fortified by twelve semicircular towers.


Colossae (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in the Lycus valley, western Anatolia, 20 km east of mod. Denizli. Herodotus (7.30) refers to it, during his account of the Persian king Xerxes’ progress through the region in 481, as a large Phrygian city where the Lycus r. disappears underground for five stades (c. 900 m) before becoming a tributary of the Maeander. (The Lycus does in fact run underground for much of its course, but not at Colossae.) In early C4, at the time of the ill-fated expedition of the 10,000-strong Greek mercenary force to Persia to fight for the Persian pretender Cyrus the Younger (see Cunaxa), Colossae was apparently a populous and prosperous city, its wealth due partly to its flourishing trade in high quality wool and its cloth-dyeing industry. According to Pliny the Elder, it was once one of Phrygia’s most famous cities. But it was eclipsed in C1 by Laodicea, a city founded in mid C3 by the Seleucid king Antiochus II (and named after his wife Laodice). Though its decline continued during the Roman period, it gained an important place in Christian tradition as the home of a Christian community, recipient of the famous letter from Paul.

The city’s name, with its double-s infix, is of Anatolian origin, which may indicate that its beginnings date back before the period of M1 Greek settlement in Anatolia. But the few meagre material remains of the site all date to the Roman and Byzantine periods.


Corydalla (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in eastern Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, 1 km west of mod. Kumluca. Like the nearby cities of Rhodiapolis, Gagae, and Phaselis, Corydalla was probably founded by settlers from the island of Rhodes, perhaps in early C7 when Phaselis was allegedly settled. A bilingual inscription in Lycian and Greek, discovered on a block of stone reused for building a house at Kumluca but apparently originating from Corydalla, indicates an indigenous Lycian presence at the site, at least within the period of the inscriptions written in the Lycian language (C5–4). The relatively substantial remains of the city which T. A. B. Spratt saw when he visited it in 1842 have now almost totally disappeared, due to constant quarrying of these remains for building materials.

Bean (PECS 464).

Crya M1 BCE–M1 CE town in either Caria or Lycia in southwestern Anatolia, probably to be identified with mod. Taşyaka on the western side of the Gulf of Fethiye (BAGRW 65 A4). In C5 the city was a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Its continuing existence in Roman times is indicated by references to it in the C1 CE Roman writers Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder. Taşyaka is a small site,
with a fortified acropolis accessed by a rock-cut stairway. An Ionic temple with a Carian inscription is located on the shore.

Bean (PECS 886).

**Cunaxa**  M1 Mesopotamian town on the Euphrates r. near Baghdad. It was the scene of a battle in 401 between the Persian king Artaxerxes II (404–359) and his younger brother Cyrus the Younger, a pretender to the throne. Cyrus’ army was swelled by a force of over 10,000 Greek mercenaries, among whom was Xenophon. Though the Greek force easily defeated Artaxerxes’ left flank troops, the rebellion was crushed and Cyrus was killed. Even so, the Greeks routed Artaxerxes’ troops in a second encounter. But after the satrap Tissaphernes inveigled the Greek generals into a meeting and had them murdered, Xenophon was one of those elected to command the surviving Greek forces and lead them back to Greece.


**Curium (Kourion)**  (map 14)  City and M1 kingdom on the southwest coast of Cyprus, 16 km west of mod. Limassol. Its history of occupation extends from the Late Bronze Age through the Byzantine period. Excavations have been carried out on various parts and levels of the site since 1934. According to Classical tradition, Curium was founded by immigrants from Argos in southern Greece (Herodotus 5.113, Strabo 14.6.3). Cemeteries at localities Bamboula and Kaloriziki date back to the Late Bronze Age and provide the first material evidence of occupation. The Kaloriziki burial ground continued to be used into the Cypro-Classical period, apparently by settlers of Greek origin. The most notable small find from the cemetery is a falcon-headed gold and enamel royal sceptre, dating to C11.

It is possible that the first written attestation of the city appears in an Egyptian inscription of the pharaoh Ramesses III (1184–1153), but this depends on the identification with it of the name read as *Kir* in this inscription. A further possible reference to the city as Kuri occurs in the prism text of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, dated to 673/672 (*Borger, 1956: 60 §27, Heidel, 1956*), which would indicate that Curium was in C7 subject to Assyrian sovereignty. When Onesilus, king of Salamis, stirred other Cypriot principalties to enter the Ionian rebellion which broke out against Persia in 499, Curium’s king Stasanor first joined the rebels, but subsequently, in the battle fought outside Salamis, defected to Persia and made a significant contribution to the Persians’ victory. In mid C4 Curium was one of nine attested kingdoms of Cyprus. Diodorus (16.42, 46) reports a rebellion by these kingdoms against the Persian king Artaxerxes III. Curium’s last known king, Pasicrates, joined Alexander the Great against the Persians in Alexander’s siege of the Levantine city of Tyre in 332 (*Arrian, Anabasis* 2.22).

Curium seems to have had a relatively flourishing existence in the Hellenistic period, and also under Roman domination, until an earthquake destroyed much of it in 365 CE. Cultural continuity throughout this period is reflected in the continuous use from C7 (or earlier) to C4 CE of a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Hylates. The sanctuary was excavated by G. McFadden for the University of Pennsylvania Museum between 1934 and 1953. The earthquake of 365 CE led to the abandonment of the site for eighteen or more years. In C7 CE it was again abandoned, this time permanently, during the early Arab invasions.

Cutha (map 11)  Bronze and Iron Age city and cult-centre, especially of the deities of the netherworld, in northern Babylonia. It is almost certainly to be identified with the site of Tall Ibrahim, which is located 30 km northeast of Babylon. A brief, partial excavation of the site was conducted by H. Rassam in 1881–2. Cutha is first attested in C23, in an inscription of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (2254–2218). During the period of the Ur III empire (C21) it was ruled by a series of governors (ensis) on behalf of the Ur administration.

There are only scant references to Cutha in Middle and Late Bronze Age texts (M2). More information about the city is available for its Iron Age phase, from references to it in M1 Assyrian and Babylonian texts. In C9 and early C8, a number of Assyrian kings visited Cutha and offered up sacrifices to the gods there (e.g. Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad V, Adad-nirari III, and Tiglath-pileser III). The city also played a significant role in the military history of the period. Around 703, the Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) used it as a military base for assembling a coalition force, consisting of Babylonians, Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, Elamites, and Arabs, against the new Assyrian king Sennacherib (*CS II: 301) (see under Babylonia). Sennacherib responded by leading his troops to the city to confront Marduk-apla-iddina’s army. In the ensuing conflict, the coalition was crushed, and its leader was forced to flee for his life. Sennacherib followed up his victory by systematically exterminating the rebel factions in Cutha and other major cities of the region. This paved the way for the reassertion of Assyrian authority over Babylonia, and marked the beginning of an apparently stable period in Cutha’s history. During this period, restoration work was carried out on Emeslam, the temple of the city god Nergal, by Sennacherib’s grandson and second successor Ashurbanipal (668–630/627).

In 651 Cutha was among the cities captured by the Assyrian prince Shamash-shum-ukin in his rebellion against his brother, the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (*ABC 129). Sixteen years earlier, Ashurbanipal had installed Shamash-shum-ukin on Babylon’s throne as his subject-ruler. But growing tensions between the brothers had erupted into war, and Cutha and other Babylonian cities were lost by Ashurbanipal to Shamash-shum-ukin. Yet within a month of Cutha’s fall to Shamash-shum-ukin, the tide of conflict began to turn in favour of Ashurbanipal. His troops laid siege to Cutha and other cities seized by the rebel (including Borsippa, Sippar, and Babylon itself). These sieges took an increasing toll upon the cities affected, through disease and starvation as well as enemy-inflicted casualties. Within two years the rebellion had been crushed, and Ashurbanipal had re-established his control over Babylonia. The surviving inhabitants of Cutha’s (and Sippar’s) urban population were deported to the Assyrian capital.

In the late 620s Cutha, along with other north-central Babylonian cities including Dilbat and Borsippa, came under the control of the Babylonian king Nabopolassar. It enjoyed a fresh lease of life as a cult-centre under Nabopolassar’s son and successor Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562). Archival tablets written in Cutha show that the city was occupied down to at least the late Persian (Achaemenid) period (C4), and in fact a Seleucid chronicle mentions a temple administrator of Emeslam, the temple of Nergal in Cutha (*ABC 117).

Cyaneae (map 15)  M1 BCE–M1 CE hill town in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, situated 5 km from the coast. It was the most important Lycian settlement in the


Cyaneae (map 15)  M1 BCE–M1 CE hill town in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, situated 5 km from the coast. It was the most important Lycian settlement in the
region lying between the cities Myra and Antiphellus. A circuit wall and most of the remains within it, including a theatre, baths, library, cisterns, and numerous sarcophagi, are of Roman date. However, there are also a number of traditional Lycian tombs, freestanding or cut into the cliff-face, built as stone replicas of the Lycians’ wooden houses. Several of the tombs bear inscriptions in the Lycian language, thus dating them to the period C5–4. A well-preserved temple-tomb of Ionic type probably dates to C3. Cyaneae was the site of one of Apollo’s Lycian oracles. Here, according to Pausanias (7.21.13), the method of divination was for the enquirer to gaze into the sacred pool, to see there ‘everything he wants to behold’.


**Cyme** (map 5) Greek city on the Aegean coast of Anatolia, in the region of Aeolis. It was the most important of the Aeolian cities, and perhaps the chief city of an Aeolian League. The father of the Greek poet Hesiod (late C8–early C7) was a citizen of Cyme before migrating to Boeotia in mainland Greece. Ephorus, the C4 Greek historian, also came from Cyme. The city was subject to a succession of overlords. It fell to Persia in mid C6, became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary) in C5, and from late C4 onwards was successively subject to Seleucid, Attalid, and Roman rule.

For the episode in which emissaries from Cyme sought advice from the oracle at Didyma (Branchidae) on how they should respond to an ultimatum from the Persian king Cyrus II, see Herodotus 1.157–60.

Wormell/Mitchell (*OCD* 418).

**Cyprus** (map 14) Island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, 9,251 sq. km in area, located 69 km south of Turkey’s southern coast and 122 km west of the coast of Syria. Its most prominent topographical features include the Troodos mountain massif in the central-western region, the fertile Mesaoria plain lying to its northeast, and the Kyrenia mountain range which dominates the island’s northern littoral.

The beginning of the Early Bronze Age (known as the Philia phase) is marked by major innovations in technology, economy, and society. These include the first systematic exploitation of the island’s copper resources and the introduction of cattle, donkeys, the plough, rectilinear architecture, extra-mural burial, new ceramic wares, and a range of domestic technologies and practices. Most scholars accept that southwestern Anatolia and/or Cilicia are the source of most, if not all, of these innovations. Intermittent contacts between Cyprus and Anatolia during the Late Chalcolithic period appear to have been followed by intensive interaction, culminating in significant population movement and the arrival of settlers at the beginning of the Philia period.

Cyprus occupied an excellent strategic position within the anc. international trading network which linked Egypt and the Aegean and western Asian worlds. Its close cultural and commercial ties with the civilizations of these worlds, from the end of the Middle Bronze Age onwards, are attested by the large deposits of Cypriot imports found in numerous overseas sites, and by the many imported products, e.g. from the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean world, found at Cypriot sites. The island was noted for its substantial copper ore deposits, located principally in the foothills of the Troodos mountains. The ore began to be exploited and exported from the island around the middle of M3 (Early Cypriot period), and was a principal component, in the form of ingots, of the cargoes of Late Bronze Age merchant vessels which took on and

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discharged their merchandise at many trading emporia along the Egyptian, Anatolian, Levantine, and Aegean littorals. Timber also played an important role in the island’s economy, both for local building activities and for export.

In recent years, a number of Early and Middle Bronze Age settlements have been excavated on Cyprus (see Alambra, Marki, Pyrgos, Sotira). There are also numerous cemeteries dating back to the Early and Middle Cypriot periods. The gradual progression from isolated rural communities to hierarchies of urban settlements over a period of a thousand or more years has been closely connected with the development of metal technology on the island, beginning in M3. Almost all scholars now accept the identification of Cyprus (or at least part of Cyprus) with the Bronze Age land called Alasiya, attested first in a Middle Bronze Age text from Mari on the Euphrates, and frequently mentioned in Late Bronze Age Egyptian and Hittite texts. The latter make clear the island’s vulnerability to attacks and subjugation by external enemies throughout its history, no doubt primarily because of its strategic location near the main sea routes linking Egypt, Syria–Palestine, and Anatolia. Correspondence passing between the king of Alasiya and the pharaoh of Egypt during the mid C14 Amarna age seems to indicate a special relationship between the two rulers (see Alasiya). Alasiya supplied Egypt with copper, under the guise of ‘gifts’ from the Alasiyan king, in exchange for silver. The Alasiyan–Egyptian letters (*EA 33–9) are written in Akkadian, the Late Bronze Age international language of diplomacy. However, we know that at this time the Cypriots had their own writing system, the so-called Cypro-Minoan script. Many scholars now dispute the longstanding assumption that substantial numbers of Mycenaean Greeks settled on Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. There is no clear evidence for any Mycenaean settlement on the island, or even for direct contacts

Map 14 Cyprus.
between Cyprus and the Mycenaean world. The presence of Mycenaean goods on the island may have been due to the latter’s inclusion on the international sea-trading route in this period, with third-party merchantmen acting as commercial intermediaries.

Cyprus was among the victims of the upheavals which brought many of the Late Bronze Age civilizations in the western Asian and Aegean worlds to an end. These upheavals are commonly associated with the so-called Sea Peoples attested in Egyptian records. In fact, if Cyprus is Alasiya, the island is specifically mentioned in the account by the pharaoh Ramesses III of the devastations inflicted by these peoples on the western Asian world in the first half of C12 (ARE IV: §§65–6, ANET 262). Even so, Cyprus seems to have suffered less destruction than other areas, perhaps, in J. D. Muhly’s view, because Bronze Age Cyprus had never developed the highly centralized palace economy of other contemporary cultures. In any case, there was a significant degree of continuity and contact, in the aftermath of these upheavals, between Cyprus and the Aegean and Levantine worlds, in the period from 1100 to 800. But significant changes were also taking place. An inscription from the reign of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, dated to 673/672, the so-called Esarhaddon prism (Borger, 1956: 60 §27, Heidel, 1956), reports that Cyprus at this time was dominated by ten separate kingdoms. In Assyrian records, Cyprus is referred to as Yadnana, the land ‘in the midst of the sea’. The fact that some of its rulers had Greek names and some Semitic names is seen as an indication of the ethnic diversity of Cyprus’ population during its Iron Age phase. The ten attested kingdoms of Iron Age Cyprus are: Amathus, Chytroi, Citium, Curium, Idalium, Marion, Paphos, Salamis (perhaps the earliest), Soli, and Tamassus. Most if not all of these kingdoms may have originated in the early post-Bronze Age period.

Unfortunately, we have only scattered scraps of information about the history of Iron Age Cyprus and its kingdoms. In an inscription engraved on a stele discovered apparently near Citium in late C19 CE, the Assyrian king Sargon II claims to have conquered the seven kings of the island (707) (CS II: 297). But this claim is viewed with some scepticism by scholars, particularly since the alleged conquest has left no trace in the archaeological record. There is, however, clear evidence of a Phoenician presence on the island from late C9 onwards, when Phoenician settlers arrived in the city of Citium. Thenceforth the city’s culture reflected a blend of both Phoenician and Greek elements. In C5 and C4 Citium was ruled by a line of Phoenician kings. We also have evidence of a significant Phoenician presence in the city of Amathus in C8, reflected in strong Phoenician influence on the city’s material culture and religion. It has been suggested that Amathus is to be identified with the capital of the kingdom called Qartihadasht (Cypriot Carthage) in C8 inscriptions. (Citium has also been proposed as a candidate for Qartihadasht.) Phoenician cultural influence and political control may have been closely associated. Na’aman (1998) has argued that the Phoenician city of Tyre, while a vassal state of Assyria, enjoyed a hegemonic position in Cyprus at least until the end of C8.

After a period of apparent independence in C7, Cyprus was dominated by Egypt in C6 until the Persian king Cyrus II established sovereignty over the island c. 545. Under Persian overlordship the local kings seem to have enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy, being allowed (among other things) to mint their own coinage. When the Persian king Darius I (522–486) reorganized the administration of his empire, Cyprus was incorporated into what Herodotus (3.91) called the fifth province (but see glossary under satrapy), along with Phoenicia and Syria–Palestine. At the
beginning of C5, Darius firmly reasserted his control over the island after the abortive attempt by all but one of its kingdoms to throw off the Persian yoke by joining the Ionian revolt in 499 under the leadership of Onesilus, king of Salamis. Amathus alone remained loyal to the Persians. (Muhly suggests that the island was divided between pro-Greek and pro-Persian camps.) Though Cyprus remained under Persian rule for much of C5 and C4, up to its conquest by Alexander the Great in 330, the island became a battleground several times in this period between Greek and Persian forces. Diodorus (16.42, 46) also reports an island-wide and ultimately unsuccessful rebellion against the Persian king Artaxerxes III (359–338). Yet in spite of Persian political and military dominance, Cyprus demonstrated an increasingly Greek cultural orientation from mid M1 onwards. And the island’s system of individual monarchies remained largely undisturbed until Ptolemy I Soter conquered the island in 294 and abolished all its monarchies, except for the one installed at Soli.


**Cyropolis** *(Cyreschata, Leninabad)* (map 16) City founded in mid C6 by the Persian king Cyrus II, on the Jaxartes r. (mod. Syr Darya) in the country of Sogdiana, Khazakstan–Uzbekistan region. It was one of a series of defence settlements established
by Cyrus for the protection of his empire’s northeastern frontier against incursions by nomadic tribes, including the Saka (q.v.). Two centuries later, it was among the cities in the region destroyed by Alexander the Great (Arrian, Anabasis 4.3.1, Strabo 11.11.4).

Benveniste (1943–5).

**Cyzicus** *(Belkis, Balkız)* *(map 5)* City on the southwest coast of the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), northwestern Anatolia. In Greek tradition, it was the earliest colony founded on the Propontis by settlers from Miletus (Strabo 14.1.6, Pliny the Elder 5.142). According to Pliny, the city was formerly called Arctonessus, the name of the peninsula on which it lay; the peninsula was originally an island joined to the mainland by two parallel dykes. A statement by Eusebius (2.81.87) that Cyzicus was founded first in 756 (and then again in 679), is considered unlikely, since a C8 date seems too early for a Milesian settlement anywhere. The earliest feasible date for the city’s foundation is believed to be c. 700. Cyzicus’ location on the busy trade route between the Black Sea regions and the Aegean was well chosen, and was no doubt a major reason for its wealth. Its splendid gold coinage was the most important currency of the eastern Greek world between C6 and C4.

At the beginning of C5, Cyzicus participated in the abortive Ionian rebellion (499–494) against the Persian king Darius I. Some years later, after the final Greek repulse of Persia in 479, it became a member of the Athenian Confederacy. During the Peloponnesian War (433–404) (see glossary), domination of Cyzicus fluctuated between Athens and Sparta. In 411 the Athenians under Alcibiades won a major battle against the Spartans off the coast at Cyzicus. Under the arrangements of the so-called ‘King’s Peace’ in 386 (see glossary), the city fell to Persian overlordship until liberated by Alexander the Great in 334. In the Hellenistic period, it became part of the kingdom of Pergamum (c. 190), but in 133 was incorporated into the Roman empire.

Little of the city survives today beyond the remains of a temple of the early C2 CE Roman emperor Hadrian.