

THE ROAD-SYSTEM OF EASTERN ASIA MINOR WITH THE
EVIDENCE OF BYZANTINE CAMPAIGNS.

[PLATE I.]

PART I.

OF late years a good deal of discussion has been devoted to the Road-System of Cappadocia and the Tauros region in ancient times, and it might seem at first sight superfluous to discuss the subject over again. But conclusions already reached must always be tested in the light of new facts; and in the case before us several new facts have come to hand, which illuminate our subject and enable us to introduce into it a considerable amount of simplification. I propose, therefore, in the following paper to describe the roads which traversed this part of the country and then to prove their direction as well as their importance from the evidence of Byzantine campaigns. This is the simplest order to follow, because one campaign generally covers several routes and it would involve a sacrifice of clearness to break up the campaigns into a series of *disjecta membra*.

At every period in the history of Asia Minor the most important roads from the west converged towards Caesareia-Mazaka (Kaisariye), which in later times became the metropolis of Cappadocia, and radiated thence towards east and south. Sebasteia-Sivas forms another centre only second in importance to Caesareia; and the entire road-system of Eastern Asia Minor is most easily described and most clearly understood by taking these two cities as the starting-points. I shall therefore begin with the roads leading East and South from Caesareia and afterwards go on to those radiating from Sebasteia-Sivas.

I. *ROADS FROM CAESAREIA TO THE EAST.*

These are two in number: (1) what may be called the great Eastern route by Herpa, Ariarathia, Tzamandos (Azizie), and Gurun to Melitene and the east; and (2) the Roman road over Anti-Tauros by the Kuru Tchai pass and thence by Kokusos (Geuksun) and Arabissos (Yarpuz) to Melitene.

(1) The former of these two routes has been almost entirely overlooked. Yet it was at all times the great route to the east. It is

the Persian Royal road¹: it existed in Roman times: and it is *the* road to the east throughout the Byzantine period. The course of the road is as follows. From Caesareia it goes over the plain to Arasaxa (Zerezek) and after crossing the River Karmalas (Zamanti Su) proceeds by Larissa² to Herpa (Yere Getchen) on the main stream of the river which it follows as far as Tzamandos (Azizie). The fortress Tzamandos (Τζαμανδός), which is mentioned several times during the tenth and eleventh centuries after Christ,³ is placed by Prof. Ramsay (*Hist. Geog.* pp. 289 ff.) with the greatest probability beside the modern Azizie, and the name is regarded as a native Anatolian word, which survives in the modern name of the river (Zamanti). At Azizie there is a "magnificent series of fountains which rise from the hills that fringe the Karmalas-Zamanti" and flow down into that river: and Prof. Ramsay supposes that the modern name Zamanti Su is derived from the city beside these fountains, "the river being called 'the water that comes from Tzamandos' just as the Hermos is now called Gediz Su, 'the water that comes from Kadoi' (Κάδους, accus.), though both Tzamandos and Kadoi were situated some distance below the actual source of the river."⁴ While Tzamandos is frequently referred to in the late centuries, no mention is made of Ariarathia, which was situated at an important point in the upper Karmalas valley on the Sebasteia-Kokusos road. In order to account for this strange fact, Prof. Ramsay formerly conjectured (*H. G.* pp. 310, 289 f.) that Tzamandos and Ariarathia were to be identified, Tzamandos being the native name which had been preserved in popular usage and passed into official use about the ninth century of our era.⁵ He would now, however, modify this suggestion in view of a new piece of evidence. In an Armenian *Notitia Episcopatumum* (a translation of a Greek original of ca. 1200), published by Mr. Conybeare in *Byz. Zft.* V. p. 127, we find Tchamanton (obviously Tzamandos)⁶ and Ararathias "quae est in Dauthn (i.e. 'the warm')" given as two distinct bishoprics under Caesareia. Now Dauthn (see *infra*) is probably the pass leading by Kuru Tchai and Kokusos-Geuksun into Kommagene; and consequently Ariarathia should be brought lower down the Karmalas valley and located at, or very near, Herpa.⁷ The

¹ See Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, vol. i. p. xiv. n., and the Excursus at the end of this paper.

² Larissa and Herpa must have been near each other. Herpa (Strabo, pp. 537, 539) or Herpha (p. 663) was on the road from Caesareia to Melitene at the point where it crossed the Karmalas (see *Hist. Geog.* pp. 289, 272-3). Larissa cannot be located with certainty, but lay on the direct road to Melitene, not far east of Arasaxa (*H. G.* pp. 272-3, and campaign of 1069 *infra*). It was given, along with Komana, Tzamandos, etc., to the Armenian prince Gagik in 1064.

³ By Const. Porph. *De Them.* p. 32 and *De Adm. Imp.* p. 228; in 976 (Kedr. ii. p. 423)

and 1068 (Mich. Att. pp. 121-2, Skylit. 678), see *infra*. The Armenian name is Dzamentav or Dzamentou, Arab. Samandou (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, I. p. 191).

⁴ The quotation is from MS. notes of Prof. Ramsay's, to whose unflinching kindness I owe far more than can be actually specified in the preparation of this paper.

⁵ For similar cases see pp. 279 n., 280 n.

⁶ Τζαμανδός in Mich. Att. 121.

⁷ It is quite likely that Herpa is the older name of the town, which was renamed Ariarathia after one of the Cappadocian kings, Ariarathes (ca. 350-36 B.C.): Herpa is not mentioned after beginning of first century B.C.

Dazmentos of this *Notitia* is probably the same place as the fortress Dasmenda mentioned by Strabo (*φρούριον ἀπότομον Δασμένδα*, p. 540) as situated in Chamanene, "at the western extremity of the ridge which bounds Cappadocia on the north" (*H. G.* p. 290).

After passing Tzamandos-Azizie, our road goes over the hills eastwards to Gurun. The section Gurun-Caesareia just described was traversed by the late Col. Stewart, and it will be useful to give his statistics (for which I am indebted to Prof. Ramsay).

Miles

	Gurun.
19 $\frac{3}{4}$	Keupek Euren, alt. 5994 ft.
3	Commenced ascent of Gödilli Dagh.
13 $\frac{1}{4}$	Crest of Pass, about 6,700 or 6,800 ft, due W. of Azizie.
5	Borandere vill.
4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Karagöz vill.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ford of Zamanti.
$\frac{1}{2}$	Kara Boghaz.
4	Azizie. Road over Gödilli D. is bad ; the <i>araba</i> road goes round North end of Dagh.
18 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ekrek.
4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Karadai.
26	Kaisariye.

At or near Gurun the road passes through Lapara-Lykandos, which Prof. Ramsay now places here and identifies with the Paulician city Lokana, mentioned in Basil's march, 872 A.D.¹ This localization is convincing and suits admirably the description of the march of Bardas Skleros in 976 (*infra*). The *κλεισοῦρα* of which Tzamandos and Lykandos are the limiting points (*Const. De Adm. Imp.*, p. 228) will then be the pass over Gödilli Dagh. Leaving Gurun, the road descends the Tokhma Su (Melas) to Taranta, Pliny's Daranda-Dalanda, mod. Derende²; and thence to Melitene (Malatia). Somewhere in this vicinity was the pass (*στενοχωρία*) Boukoulithos (*βούκου λίθος*) mentioned by Kedr. II. p. 421. From Melitene the road goes to the Euphrates which it crosses at Tomisa, situated on the left bank at the

¹ See *Class. Review*, April 1896, p. 140 and 137, and Map accompanying this paper.

² *Cl. Rev. l.c.* p. 137. The comparison of the Arabic Taranda (Bilādhuri, p. 186, ed. M. de Goeje), Armenian Daranda, Syriac Turanda (*St. Martin l.c.* p. 190), makes assurance doubly sure. Taranta was a place of importance, especially in the first half of the eighth century, when the district of Melitene was in Saracen hands. It is mentioned by Theoph. p. 312 De Boor (see *infra*); in 701 A.D. it was besieged in vain by Abd Allah ('Αβδελᾶς), p. 372. Some further information about the fortress is given by Bilādhuri, for all references to whom I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Le Strange who has taken the trouble to translate for me his chap. on Mesopotamian Fortresses in the 'Book of the Conquests' (ca. 869 A.D.). When

Malatia was taken by the Greeks ca. 693, the Moslems settled at Taranda after it had been captured in 702. It lies three marches distant from Malatiyya, deep in the Greek country; and was held by a garrison of about 2,000 troops from the Mesopotamian army, during the summer only (Bilādh. p. 185). When Omar II. became Caliph (end of 717 A.D.), 'he removed the Moslem population from Taranda, for he feared for their safety, the enemy being so near; the people however objected, and when they were perforce removed, they would leave nothing for the enemy, breaking even their oil and vinegar jars. The Caliph transported them to Malatiyya, leaving Taranda to ruin' (p. 186). In the following century it was a Paulician stronghold and surrendered to Basil I. in 872 A.D. (Theoph. Cont. 267).

extremity of Sophene, and then enters Anzitene, called in Byzantine times *Χανζίτ*, the military centre of which was the fortress Hanzit, frequently mentioned by Armenian writers as Handzith and by Arabic geographers as Hanzit (Hinzit), one of the Greek frontier fortresses near the Euphrates, between Melitene and Samosata. Anzitene-Hanzit is generally placed further east, but the evidence seems clearly to show that it denoted the country between the Euphrates (starting from about Tomisa where Sophene ends), the Murad Tchai (as far at least as Palu-Romanopolis), and the sources of the Tigris.¹ A little to the south-west of Kharput (*Χάρπουτ*, Kedr. II. 419) the road forks. One section goes to Kharput and thence by Arsamosata (Arab. Shamshat or Shimshat) on the Murad Tchai to Palu (Romanopolis): but no doubt there was an alternative route by mod. Kizin to Palu. Arsamosata-Shamshat has been located by Mr. Le Strange from the description of Ibn Serapion (see p. 57) who says, 'the Nahr Salkit (=Peri Tchai) falls into the Arsanas (Murad Tchai) one mile below the city of Shamshat, near a mountain that is over the city and closes it in' (p. 314, cf. pp. 45, 63). Combine this with Ptolemy's *μεταξὺ τοῦ Εὐφρ. καὶ τῶν τοῦ Τίγριδος πηγῶν . . . Ἀρσαμόσατα κ.τ.λ.* (v. 13, 18-19) and the inference is clear that the city is to be placed one mile from the junction of Peri Tchai and Murad Tchai on the left (south) bank of the latter river.² It formed at one time a Theme in the Byzantine Empire (*Ἀσμοσάτου*³ *θέμα*, Const. *De Adm. Imp.*, p. 226). Romanopolis, which derives its name from Romanus I. Lecapenus, has been identified with the highest probability by Prof. H. Gelzer (*Georg. Cyp.*, pp. 176-7) with Palu, Armen. Balu. The *κλεισοῦρα*, therefore, mentioned by Const. *l.c.* p. 226 (*τὸ δὲ Χανζίτ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμανοπ. κλεισοῦρα*), lies on the road between Palu and Kharput

¹ Only the most important evidence can be given here. Ptolemy (v. 13, 19) places *Ἀνζιτηνὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτους καὶ τῶν τοῦ Τίγριδος πηγῶν*, including amongst its towns *Ἀνζήτα* and Arsamosata (below). In Byzantine and Arabic times it clearly denotes the district indicated above. It is always connected with the *κλεισοῦρα* Romanopolis-Palu: before Romanus I. it was attached to Melitene (*τὸ Χανζίτ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμανοπ. κλεισοῦρα τῶν Μελιτηνιατῶν ὑπῆρχον*, Const. *De Adm. Imp.* p. 226), and was assigned by him along with Kamacha, Keltzine (Acilisene), etc. to the newly-constituted Theme of Mesopotamia (p. 227). Nicephorus, *De Velit. Bell.* p. 250 (quoted at end of Pt. I.), is quite explicit: the trans-Euphrates passes into Saracen territory are those crossing 'the (Tauros) mountains which separate Chanzit from the enemy's country as far as Romanopolis.' All the passages from Syriac and Arabic writers collected by Gelzer, *Geo. Cyp.* p. 178 f., confirm this localization: e.g. Faustus Byzant. v. 16 gives as conquered in succession Arzanene, Sopianene, Ingilene (about Egil), and Anzitene,

preserving the geographical order from south-east to north-west. The Arabic writers all agree in placing the fortress Hanzit close to the Euphrates between Malatya and Sumaysāt (Samosata), on a tributary of the Euphrates, says Ibn Serapion, which 'passes the city of Hanzit and the province thereof' and then falls into the Euphrates (ed. Le Strange, p. 54, cf. n. on p. 49). The Euphrates *dépasse la ville de Hanzyl, puis tourne vers l'ouest, arrive à Sumaysat...* (Ibn Khordadbeh, *Trans.* p. 177). Space forbids further quotations. The fort then, should apparently be looked for near the Euphrates, west of Kizin: the position of the 'province' Anzitene-Hanzit seems clear.

² Ibn Serapion's description is confirmed by Ibn Khordadbeh and Yakut (cf. Le Strange, *l.c.* p. 57).

³ This is a reproduction of the Armenian form *Ašmušat*, as *Χανζίτ* is of Handzith (Prof. Gelzer on *Geo. Cyp.* p. 172). The Theme of which Arsamosata was the central fortress apparently extended north of Murad Tchai (Arsanias).

or Kizin. Crossing the river at Palu, the road then follows the right bank of the Murad Tchai to Akhlat (Χλιάτ, see campaign of 1069 *infra*) on the lake of Van. The other section of this Eastern road passes to the south of Kharput by way of Kizin to Amida (Diarbekr) whence it follows the valley (left bank) of the Tigris to Nineveh, then crosses the R. Zab and proceeds to Arbela (Erbil). This I believe to be the line followed by the Persian Royal Road from Tomisa (see Excursus).

This great and direct line of communication between West and East is the route generally taken in Byzantine Expeditions against Persia, and the section Tomisa-Caesareia will be seen to be the favourite route for Turkish raids into Asia Minor. Its direction is fixed by Theoph. p. 312, ed. De Boor, where the return of Heraclius from his second expedition against the Persians is described. On March 1, 626 A.D., before leaving the Lake of Van on his homeward journey, Heraclius held a consultation with his troops as to the route which he should take. The choice lay between two routes, (1) one leading ἐπὶ Τάραντον, *i.e.* Taranta-Derende, and (2) another ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Συρίων γῆν. The latter, which was unanimously chosen because it was better supplied with provisions, although the more difficult of the two, is the route leading over the Eastern Tauros (near Van), across the Tigris, and then by Martyropolis (Meiafarkin) and Amida (Diarbekr) to Samosata.¹ The alternative route 'by way of Derende' went along the right bank of the Murad Tchai (Arsanias) to Palu where it crossed the river and descended by Arsamosata-Shamshat to Kharput, and then joined the 'Eastern road' through Tomisa, Melitene, Derende, &c., to Caesareia.

Some other marches which concern this route alone may be added here. In starting for his second expedition (624 A.D.), Heraclius probably took this same road. It has been generally supposed that he went to Armenia by sea; but it is pointed out by E. Gerland (*Die Pers. Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios in Byz. Zft.* III. p. 345 ff.) that while Byzantine authors are silent on the point, the Armenian historian Sebêos states that Heraclius marched from Constantinople to Caesareia in Cappadocia and thence to Armenia. This is obviously the correct account. Caesareia would be the most convenient ἀπληκτον at which his forces could concentrate for an expedition to the East; and from Caesareia he then marched to Erzerûm and the Araxes valley. He thus chose the same route as Philippicus, the general of Maurice, had done in 585-6: for it is stated that he also marched to Armenia by way of Caesareia. Finally, it is most probable that Heraclius returned by this way in 628 A.D. after his third expedition.

A very important march is that of Bardas Skleros in 976 A.D. (Kedr. II. pp. 419—423). Skleros, who was appointed governor of Mesopotamia by Basil II., revolted against the king and proceeded to invade Asia Minor. After laying up stores at Kharput and obtaining assistance from the Emirs of Amida and Martyropolis, he began to march towards Caesareia. A detachment sent to reconnoitre fell in with a division of the Imperial troops

¹ See the description in Theoph. p. 313.

at the pass Boukou-lithos (ἐν τῷ στενοχωρίᾳ), and suffered defeat. After some delay Skleros started himself and in three days¹ reached Lapara, 'now called Lykandos,' where he met and defeated the Emperor's forces, and proceeded thence to Tzamandos, a populous and wealthy city situated on a steep rock (ἀποκρήμνῳ πέτρᾳ).² Lykandos and Tzamandos, therefore, are both on the direct route to Caesareia.

For other campaigns see Part II.

(2) The Roman Road.—The other route from Caesareia to the East is that followed by the Roman military road, viz. Kuru Tchai—Sirica (Kemer)—Kokusos (Geuksun)—Arabissos (Yarpuz)—Melitene. The direction of this road has been established by the discovery of a series of milestones (several of them *in situ*). A large number of these was found by Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Mr. J. A. R. Munro in 1891, and the whole subject is treated in a complete and admirable paper by Mr. Hogarth in *Mod. and Anc. Roads in East. Asia Minor* (R. G. S. vol. iii.), part ii. pp. 38—78. Only a brief description, therefore, is required here. From Caesareia the road follows the route just described [no. (1)] to Arasaxa-Zerezek where it branches off to Muhajir on the Karmalas-Zamanti and then crosses Anti-Tauros by the Kuru Tchai pass through the modern village Tass and Coduzabala to Sirica-Kemer.³ Coduzabala, which the Antonine Itinerary gives as a station both on the Caesareia-Kokusos and the Sebasteia-Kokusos roads, should probably be placed on the Kuru Tchai pass at the junction of these two roads (see Map). Sirica, placed by Prof. Ramsay on the Saros six⁴ miles east from Komana-Shahr (*H. G.* p. 312), *i.e.* at Kemer, probably corresponds to the Serikha of the Armenian *Notitia* following Tchamanton (Tzamandos): for, as Prof. Ramsay remarks, it naturally follows Tzamandos which was situated in the same region. From Sirica the road goes nearly due South along the base of Bimboa Dagh to Kokusos-Geuksun, and then strikes North-East along the Geuk Su to Arabissos-Yarpuz, after which it crosses the Khurman Su at Izgin and the Sogutli Irmak near Ahazli and thence passes over the hills in a nearly direct line by Osdara, Dandaxina, and Arga-Arca⁵ to Melitene. The latter section of this road from Arabissos is fully described in *H. G.* pp. 273—4.

¹ Measured apparently from about the Euphrates, though this is not precisely stated.

² Tzamandos was situated on the hill above the modern Azizie, which occupies the lower slopes.

³ Cf. *H. G.* p. 271.

⁴ 'One too many,' Hogarth *l.c.* p. 51.

⁵ With Arga it would be possible to identify the Paulician fortress Argaous, which occurs in the marches of Basil I. in 872 ('Αργαούθ, Theoph. Cont. p. 270) and of Romanus IV. in 1068 ('Αργαού, Ioan. Skylit. 670). Kedr. II. p. 154 tells us that Argaous and Amara were the first cities founded by the Paulicians with the aid of the Emir of Melitene; and that when

their numbers increased Tephrike was added. The first city would be in, or close to, Saracen territory: but as the sect grew in strength and became to a certain extent an independent state, they would have to find sites for their new cities outside Saracen territory, *i.e.* further north. Now Amara (see *infra* iv. (2) b) is north of Argaous and Tephrike is north of Amara. Argaous therefore might be Arga. But it is far more probable that it should be identified with modern Argovan, about twenty-five miles almost due north of Malatia. This suits the line of both marches (*infra*) far better and is in itself a more natural position for the first Paulician city.

The evidence of the milestones shows that the military road was built or reconstructed (*restituit*) by Sept. Severus, *i.e.* not earlier than the end of the second century after Christ, but a road of some kind may have previously existed along this line. That there was a trade route from Ephesus to the East as early as 100 B.C. is certain. This *κοινὴ ὁδὸς* is described by Strabo (p. 663) on the authority of Artemidorus. Up to Caesareia the description is full and clear. But what line did the section Caesareia-Euphrates take? Strabo merely says *ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι Τομισῶν χωρίου τῆς Σωφηνῆς διὰ Ἡρῶν πολίχνης χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι πετταράκοντα*. Ἡρῶν, elsewhere Ἡρπα (pp. 537, 539), is Herpa on the Karmalas-Zamanti (see *H. G.* p. 289). The route indicated therefore is evidently that by Herpa-Azizie-Gurun-Derende-Malatia-Tomisa (opposite Isoghli): for the Roman Road did not go by Herpa but branched off at Arasaxa, and the other route is the natural line for a trade-route to the East and the easiest way to the Euphrates. I take this, then, as a proof of the importance of the Caesareia-Derende-Tomisa route in the early Roman period. The line of the Roman military road was probably determined by different considerations—*viz.* to connect with Germaniceia-Marash and the Syrian frontier, as well as with the frontier at Melitene. In the Byzantine period an army marching from the West towards Melitene never takes this route.

II. ROADS FROM CAESAREIA TO THE SOUTH.

(1) To Germaniceia-Marash. An army marching to Germaniceia would follow the Roman road by Arasaxa-Zerezek and over Anti-Tauros by the Kuru Tchai pass to Sirica-Kemer. At Sirica, the road to Germaniceia forks, and two routes were possible: (*a*) by Maroga (Maragos) and Tanadaris (Tanir) to Arabissos and thence by the well-known pass to Germaniceia and Adata. See *H. G.* pp. 271-2. This was the route almost always taken by Byzantine armies, and it is hardly necessary to quote campaigns in proof.¹

(*b*) The alternative route still followed the Roman road to Kokusos-Geuksun. From that point there are three modern routes to Germaniceia, but only two of these are known to have been used in ancient times: (*a*) the Ayer Bel pass, which crosses the Geuk Su, ascends Ayer Bel, and passing Kallipolis and Padasia (at Temelilik) crosses the Pyramos-Jihun to Germaniceia. This road is marked in the map in *H. G.* p. 266, and mentioned on p. 276. It was taken by Basil in 877, and Romanus IV. in 1068 (*infra*). (*β*) The other route, the most difficult of all, is the pass by Geben and thence along the Kursulu Su, round Dolaman Dag to the Jihun (see Map). This was the road followed by the Crusaders in 1097 (below).

Germaniceia is a great centre from which roads radiate in all directions, and it is just this fact which accounts for its strategical importance. Leading towards the East there is a road over the Ak Su past Adata (which lay to

¹ For the importance of Arabissos, see *H. G.* pp. 277, 311, 280, etc. From Tanadaris—Tanir there is also a direct road to Sebasteia (iv. (2) *b infra*).

the south of Inekli¹), Katamana, Nisus, and Tharse to the Euphrates which it crosses at Samosata. See *H. G.* p. 279. Towards the South there are two roads. One leads straight to Antioch along Mt. Amanos, and was followed *e.g.* by the Crusaders in 1097. The other goes by Doliche-Duluk to Aintab and thence to the Euphrates at Zeugma-Birejik (see *H. G.* p. 279) or southwards to Aleppo (Χάλεπ). This latter route was frequently taken in Byzantine marches into Syria (*infra*).

This route by Kuru Tchai and Kokusos to Kommagene was called τὸ Δαουθᾶ, or at least it passed through the district which went by that name. In the difficult but important passage of Niceph. *de Velitat. Belli* p. 250 (quoted below, p. 32), which summarises the Passes from Byzantine territory over Tauros into the Saracen country, the Anti-Tauros region is denoted by τὸ Καησοῦν καὶ τοῦ (?) Δαουθᾶ. By τὸ Καησοῦν is probably meant the district traversed by the passes over Anti-Tauros to Sis (see (2) *infra*). The word Δαουθᾶ seems to have been at last explained by Mr. Conybeare's Armenian *Notitia*, which gives as separate bishoprics under Caesareia Tchamanton-Tzamandos and Ararathias in Dauthn. As already mentioned, therefore, Ariarathia must be placed at or near Herpa, and the pass crossing Δαουθᾶ—Dauthn is the road from Caesareia by Kuru Tchai.

(2) To Sision-Sis. There are two roads to Sis, both indicated in the map in *H. G.* p. 266²: (a) from Caesareia by mod. Tomarze to Sebagen-Seuagen (or Suwagen) on the Karmalas-Zamanti and thence by the Gez Bel pass over Anti-Tauros to Hadjin. Between the point where this road leaves the Karmalas valley and Hadjin, probably near the mod. village Urumlu, is to be placed the Kaisos mentioned in Basil's march 877 A.D. (Theoph. Cont. 279, Kedr. II. p. 214, *infra*). Kaisos should probably be connected with Kabissos ($\beta = \text{F}$, cf. *H. G.* p. 312 n.) given in *Not.* I. as a bishopric of Cilicia Secunda, and by Ptolemy as Kabassos in Kataonia,³ and also with the τὸ Καησοῦν of Nicephorus, *l.c.* Καησοῦν is the district of which the fort Kaisos-Kabissos is the centre. The name of the fort would be extended to cover a district beyond its actual vicinity, just as Sebasteia, or Koloneia, gives its name to the whole Theme. The passes therefore which cross τὸ Καησοῦν are the pass which we are describing and the following more westerly pass to Sis; and the whole expression τὸ Καη. καὶ τοῦ (?) Δαουθᾶ will denote 'the Anti-Tauros region crossed by the passes leading over Tauros.' From Hadjin the road leads across the Saros-Sihun (here called the Geuk Su) and thence over Mt. Tauros to Sis.

(b) The alternative route branches off from (a) on the north side of Mt. Argaios to Ferakhtin or Frakhtin on the Karmalas, thence to Kiskisos-Kisken and across Anti-Tauros by Enderessi Yaila to the Saros, after which it crosses Mt. Tauros to Sis.

(3) The two passes on the west of mount Argaios leading from Caesareia to the south are of great importance. See *H. G.* pp. 350 ff.

¹ *Cl. Review*, *l.c.* pp. 138 f.

² Cf. pp. 271, 281, 291.

³ See *H. G.* pp. 386, 451.

(a) The less important of the two is the difficult road which runs nearly due south by Develi-Kara-Hissar to Podandos-Bozanti and through the Cilician Gates to Tarsus. This pass was called "Karydion" (*H. G.* p. 351). (b) The other pass "Maurianon" by way of Tyana and Loulon was the regular route across Tauros into Cilicia. It coincides with (a) nearly as far as Develi Kara Hissar and then branches off to the place now called Zengibar Kalesi, half an hour west of Develi, "a striking mediaeval castle on a lofty two-peaked hill." This is the absolutely impregnable fort which the Crusaders in 1097 passed by without attempting to take (see *infra*). It is not named by the historians of the first Crusade, but Prof. Ramsay points out to me that it was Kyzistra, as is proved beyond all doubt by a passage in Chamich's history. In 1079 Gagik, the exiled king of Armenia, marched from Tarsus in the direction of Caesarea to annoy the Greeks and on arriving "on the plains of Arzias, near the fort of Kyzistra," allowed himself to be led into an ambush and was imprisoned in the fort, which was impregnable. The Armenian chiefs laid siege to the place but could not take it, and when the body of the murdered King was suspended from the walls before their eyes, they retired, convinced that nothing could be done against his murderers. From Kyzistra the road proceeds to Tyana (Kizli-Hissar, three miles south of the mod. village Bor) and thence by Loulon to Podandos where it rejoins (a) and passes through the Pylae Ciliciae to Tarsus.

From Tyana there is another route to Herakleia-Kybistra (Eregli) and thence either through the Cilician Gates or westwards to Barata, where roads diverge to Iconium and over the Isaurian mountains. These routes occur in the marches of Romanus and the Turks in 1069 and of the Crusaders in 1097 (*infra*).

III. PASSES FROM MELITENE INTO KOMMAGENE.

The consideration of these will complete the list of Tauros-passes. There are at least two, and probably three, roads over Tauros from Melitene into Kommagene, indicated by Niceph. *l.c.* as those crossing τὰ (sc. ὄρη) παρακείμενα Μελιτήνην τε καὶ τὰ Καλούδια. The word Καλούδια is explained by a reference in Biladhuri (*l.c.* p. 187) who says that the fortress Kalaudhiyya was destroyed by the Greeks under Constantine Copron. in 751 A.D., after the capture and sack of Malatiyya (Malatia). Καλούδια is therefore the Graecized form of the Arabic name for Claudias. This fortress was situated on the Euphrates near Melitene and not south of Samosata, as is sometimes supposed. This is confirmed by Amm. Marcell. xviii. 7. The Persian King Sapor, marching into Asia Minor by way of Nisibis and Constantina, halted at the latter town where he learned that the Euphrates had risen high and could not be crossed by a ford; and consequently he decided to turn northwards (*flecti in dexterum latus*) and, taking a more circuitous road through a fertile district, to make for the two fortresses Barzala and Laudias (Claudias), where the Euphrates "tenuis prope originem et angustus, nullisque adhuc aquis advenis adolescens, facile penetrari poterit, ut vadosus." "Prope

originem" is of course an absurd exaggeration, but the passage indicates that Claudias was far up the river near Melitene, as is shown by the fact that the Roman troops on receiving intelligence of this movement prepared to hasten to Samosata and, after crossing the river there and breaking down the bridges at Zeugma and Capersana, to repel the Persian advance. Now it has already been mentioned (§ 6) that a detachment under the tribunes was engaged in fortifying the western bank of the Euphrates "castellis et praeacutis sudibus omnique praesidiorum genere." All these facts, combined with the words of Niceph., seem to prove the existence of a pass leading south along the river by Claudias, Barzalo, and other places of uncertain situation to Samosata (as marked in the map in *H. G.* p. 266).

The other two passes are better known. (1) One leads direct to Germaniceia up the course of the Sultan Su past Sozopetra-Zapetra (Arabic Zibatra, situated at Viran Sheher, four miles off the road towards the right¹) and over Tauros by Surghi, Erkenek, Pavrelu, Inekli on the Ak Su, and past the 'famous' fortress Adata (Al-Hadath) to Germaniceia.

(2) The other pass follows this same route as far as Surghi and thence turns south-eastwards to Perre (Hisn Mansur, mod. Adiaman) and Samosata-Samsat (as in map in *H. G.*). It was traversed in 872 A.D. by a detachment of Basil's army despatched from his base camp on the Zarnuk south-west of Melitene. This column after passing through τὰ στενὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ captured Zapetra, laid waste the adjacent country, and took Samosata: whence they returned to the Zarnuk.

IV. ROADS RADIATING FROM SEBASTEIA.

Almost all these roads join one or other of the routes already described. They are all Roman roads except Sebasteia-Tephrike (3), which is not known to be Roman.

(1) Sebasteia-Caesareia.—This road is of considerable importance as affording a direct route from Sivas (on the great military road of the Byzantine period) to Isauria or to the Cilician Gates; and as such it was used *e.g.* by Romanus IV. in 1069 when he wished to reach the Cilician passes without loss of time in order to intercept the rapid retreat of the light Turkish horsemen. The road is clearly marked in Prof. Ramsay's map (p. 266) and described on p. 270. It runs parallel to the course of the Halys through Malandara, Armamaxa, and Aipoloi to Caesareia. Aipoloi is the Aepolion of the Armen. *Not.*, and the name is preserved in mod. Palas.²

(2) Sebasteia-Germaniceia.—There are two routes:—

(a) Sebasteia-Tzamandos-Ariarathia and thence over Kuru Tchai by Kokusos to Germaniceia. The change in the position of Ariarathia necessitated by the Armen. *Not.* and the recognition of Kuru Tchai as the

¹ See *Cl. Rev. l.c.* p. 138 f.

as in modern Greek.—Prof. Ramsay in MS.

² 'Palas = Αἰπολίους, *l* being pronounced as *y*, notes.

great Anti-Tauros pass will involve a modification of the route laid down in *H. G.* p. 274. The road will now run by Tonosa-Tunus, Karmalis on the Karmalas-Zamanti (Viran Sheher, *H. G.* p. 289), Tzamandos-Azizie, Ariarathia-Herpa (at Yere Getchen), and thence by Kuru Tchai and Coduzabala to Sirica and Kokusos-Geuksun. At Tzamandos it joins the eastern route Caesareia-Azizie-Tomisa [I. (1)] which it follows to Ariarathia-Herpa and there leads it into route II. (1) to Germaniceia.

(b) Sebasteia-Gurun-Arabissos-Germaniceia. See *H. G.* pp. 274-5. This was an important Roman road, used also in Byzantine times as affording a direct route north to Sebasteia from Germaniceia by the famous Arabissos pass [II. (1) a]. From Sebasteia it runs to Blandi (near Ulash) and thence to Euspoena-Ispa (at Deliklitash) on a branch of the Tokhma Su, the course of which it follows to Gauraina (Gurun) and Lykandos-Lokana where it crosses the eastern route. About midway between Euspoena and Gurun, near Manjilik, is probably to be placed the Paulician fortress Abara-Amara. The two names are obviously to be identified. Amara (Kedr. II. 154) was one of the first two Paulician cities, the other being Argaous-Argovan (see note on Arga, *supra*, p. 27). Abara was one of the Paulician forts captured by Basil I. in 872 in his march from Tephrike by Taranta-Derende to Melitene (Cont. 267, Kedr. 207), and it was given along with Sebasteia, Larissa, and other cities to Senakerim, prince of Asprakania, by Basil II. in 1021 (Kedr. II. 464). It was a *τοῦρμα* of the Theme Sebasteia and became a *κλεισοῦρα* under Romanus IV. (Const. *De Adm. Imp.* p. 228). These statements seem to leave no doubt that it was situated on the pass between Sivas and Gurun, near Manjilik (see Map). From Gurun the road goes to Tanadaris-Tanir where it leads into the Arabissos-Germaniceia pass.

(3) Sebasteia-Tephrike (Devrik).—This road leading to Tephrike and thence to Zimara (Zimarra) on the Euphrates was of great importance during the Paulician revolt in the ninth century. It is probable that there was also a road of some kind from Euspoena joining a road from Tephrike at mod. Kangal and thence following the course of the Kuru Tchai to Melitene. On this road Aranga-Arani was perhaps situated (*H. G.* p. 275).¹ This is the direction in which Basil I. marched after withdrawing from Melitene in 872, capturing Argaous-Argovan and several other Paulician forts in this district.

Before I go on to give some proof of the lines laid down for these roads by an investigation of Byzantine campaigns which passed over them it will be useful to quote and endeavour to explain the passage of Niceph. *De Vel. Bell.* p. 250, which summarises the majority of the routes described above. The words are *δι' οἷας γὰρ ὁδοῦ διελθεῖν βουλευθῶσω* (sc. the Saracens), *ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ κλεισοῦρῶν καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν*

¹ This might possibly be the 'Aragines in Pharakn' of the Armen. *Notitia*. Is it possible that Pharakn (= 'the sheepfold') is the pass

βούκου λίθος near the Euphrates (Kedr. ii. 421, *supra*, p. 24)? Prof. Ramsay, however, think that Pharakn = Everek at base of Mt. Argaios.

θέματος, καθὰ τὰ Ταυρικὰ ὄρη τὴν τε Κιλικίαν διορίζουσι Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Λυκανδὸν πρὸς τούτοις δὲ (sc. δι' οἷας ὁδοῦ διελθεῖν βουλ.) καὶ τὰ (sc. Τ. ὄρη) παρακείμενα Γερμανίκειάν τε καὶ Ἄδαταν¹ καὶ τὸ Καησοῦν καὶ τοῦ (?) Δαουθᾶ Μελιτήνην τε καὶ τὰ Καλούδια· καὶ τὰ πέραθεν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ διορίζοντα τὴν τε τοῦ Χανζήτι λεγομένην χώραν καὶ τὴν πολεμίαν ἄχρι Ῥωμανοπόλεως· ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς τοιούτοις θέμασι, δι' οἷας ἂν ὁδοῦ ὑποστρέφοντες διελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν βουληθῶσιν, κ.τ.λ.

The importance of this passage lies in the fact that Nicephorus is speaking from personal knowledge of the country gained during the wars against the Saracens. But the passage is exceedingly difficult, and especially the first clause (ἀπό. . . Λυκανδόν), which can hardly be right as it stands (if the words are taken strictly): for the passes between Seleukeia and the Anatolic Theme cannot be the passes leading from Cilicia over Tauros into the Themes of Cappadocia and Lykandos! The meaning must be (1) the passes from the Anatolic Theme over Isauria to Seleukeia, and (2) those on the west of Mount Argaios, especially the Cilician Gates, and probably also the passes to Sis; (3) the passes across the Tauros Mountains overlying the district of Germaniceia and Adata on the one hand, and the Anti-Tauros region (Kaësoun² and Daoutha) on the other, *i.e.* the passes to Germaniceia; (4) the passes across the Tauros Mountains overlying Melitene and Kaloudia (Claudias), *i.e.* the passes from Melitene into Kommagene: and (5) the passes beyond the Euphrates leading from the district between Tomisa and Romanopolis-Palu (Χανζίτ) into Saracen territory. Cf. Const.'s words, τὸ δὲ Χανζίτ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμανοπ. κλεισοῦρα (*De Adm. Imp.* p. 226).

PART II.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE CAPPADOCIAN DISTRICT SHOWING THE ROUTES DESCRIBED.

Heraclius's March in 626 (Theoph. pp. 312-313). Routes traversed: Samosata—Germaniceia [under II. (1)]; (?) Germaniceia—Arabissos—Sebastia [II. (1) *a* and IV. (2) *a*].

After reaching Samosata by way of Martyropolis and Amida, Heraclius took the direct road to Germaniceia, passing Adata on the way. Theophanes' description of his subsequent route is confused; and it seems best to accept Prof. Ramsay's correction Ἄδατα (for Ἄδανα) and the slight transposition which makes the sentence read *περάσας τὴν Ἄδατα εἰς Γερμ.*

¹ Perhaps taken as a fem. sing., but ordinarily τὴν Ἄδατα. Ἄδαταν in Bonn ed. is clearly wrong.

² From this passage alone it would be natural to connect Kaësoun with modern Khesun in Kommagene, south of Besne: but see above II. (2) and campaign of 877 *infra*. The Sis passes

should strictly be included under τὸ Καη. καὶ τὸ Δαουθᾶ but Niceph. is evidently thinking of the passes leading from the Anti-Tauros region generally across Tauros to Germaniceia and Adata. The Sis passes ought to come under those leading from the Theme Lykandos into Cilicia.

ἀφίκετο καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβὰς ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Σάρον.¹ The route taken by Heraclius will then be the Arabissos pass (which was the ordinary route) to the Saros which he crossed by a bridge, a solid structure with *προπύργια* capable of defence, such as we might expect to find on this road. While he lay encamped there, he was overtaken by the Persian general, Shahrbarâz, who had reached the Euphrates before him, and broken down the bridge of boats at Samosata, but had failed to intercept his retreat. The Persians succeeded in bringing on a battle but were defeated. Heraclius then continued his march to Sebasteia, when he went into winter quarters.

*Basil's Campaign in 876-7*² (Theoph. Cont. p. 277 ff., Kedr. II. 213 ff.). Routes traversed: Caesareia—Kokusos—Germaniceia. [II. (1) *b*]; and the passes towards Sis [II. (2) *a & b*].

To understand Basil's movements in 877, it is necessary to observe that his march into Kommagene in that year was not a mere isolated expedition, but part of a concerted scheme to drive the Saracens out of the whole Tauros region. Operations were being simultaneously carried on in the north against the remnants of the Paulician community, in the south-west against Loulon and Tarsus, and by Basil himself against the country between Caesareia and Adata. The Arabs did not really conquer this region: they merely held it by strong garrisons in the various fortresses, levying imposts on the Greek inhabitants; and consequently the capture of these strongholds would mean the recovery of the whole country. This was Basil's object. In 876 the fortress Loulon, commanding the Tyana-Tarsus pass and therefore occupying a very important strategic position (Cont. 277), which 'through the negligence of preceding Emperors had been captured by the Saracens and fortified and garrisoned by them on account of its natural strength,' was recovered by Basil's generals. This was followed by the surrender of the fort Melouos, on the Laranda-Kelenderis pass. About the same time the Paulician town Katabatala,³ to which the Paulician refugees had retired after the fall of Tephrike (873), was taken and sacked. Next spring (877) these successes were followed up by an expedition against the intermediate country (between Caesareia and Kommagene) undertaken by Basil himself, while his generals continued the war in the vicinity of Tarsus and against the Paulicians in the north (see n. 37). Starting from Caesareia, Basil sent forth a detachment to pioneer the way and followed himself with the main body. The detachment captured the forts Psilo-kastellon (Cont.

¹ See *Class. Review*, *l.c.* p. 140 note, and *H. G.* p. 311. If the text of Theoph. is right, the description is obviously very bad. It may be answered that he *meant* to say 'on his way over Tauros (Amanos, cf. Mich. Att. 120, Skyl. 677) he reached Germaniceia, and passing Adana came to the Saros.' If so, the text requires much alteration, for the proper order is Germaniceia—Amanos—Saros—Adana; and it is

most improbable that he would cross (1) Amanos, (2) Tauros by Cilician Gates, and thence by a most difficult route come round to Sivas.

² The date is 877, not 880, for Sima, who submitted to Basil, was killed by Tulun of Egypt in 878 (Weil, *Gesch. der Khal.* ii 473 n.).

³ Kedr. calls it Kameia.

Xylo-kastron, Kedr.) and Paramo-kastellon (Phyro-kastron, Kedr.). Then the fortress Phalakron voluntarily surrendered. These forts lay between Caesareia and the Karmalas-Zamanti on the routes leading into the two Sis passes and the pass over Anti-Tauros towards Kokusos, Basil's plan obviously being to secure all the passes as he advanced southwards.¹ Basil then crossed² the Onopniktes (Karmalas) and the Emir of Anazarbos (Anazarbe) along with the troops from Melitene fled before his advance (*ἐπεὶ ἤγγιζε*, Kedr.), thus leaving him free to secure the passes beyond the Karmalas. This was effected by the capture of Kaisos [or Katasama; Kasama, Kedr.], Robam [Kedr. gives Karba], Endelechōne³ or Andala [Ardala, Kedr.], and Erēmo-sykēa (or -sykaea, Cont.); and thereupon Simas 'the son⁴ of Taēl,' who held the passes of the Tauros (*i.e.* Anti-Tauros) and harassed the Roman borders, submitted to Basil, who then crossed the River Saros and continued his advance towards Koukousos (Kokusos).

These fortresses are again to be looked for on the passes leading to Sis.⁵ Kaisos and Robam cannot be identified with Ibn Khordābeh's Kaisoum and Ra'bân (De Goeje's Trans. p. 70) which are frontier fortresses of Mesopotamia and identical with the Armenian Khesoun, modern Khesun (south of Besne), and the Armenian Rhaban, south-west of Khesun, between that town and Marash (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, I. p. 194). But Kaisos should probably be connected with Kabissos of *Not. I.* and Ptolemy's Kabassos in Kataonia, and Niceph's. τὸ Καησοῦν (see above). τὸ Καησοῦν then is the district of Kaisos-Kabissos, which is itself to be placed on the more easterly of the two passes over Anti-Tauros towards Sis, nearly opposite to Kiskisos-Kisken on the western pass.

Arrived at Kokusos-Geuksun, Basil set fire to the woods round the town and then plunged into the defiles of Tauros, cutting his way through the pathless forests,⁶ and cheering on his men by his personal exertions, past Kallipolis and Padasia to Germaniceia. The Arabs remained within their walls, not venturing to offer him battle, but as the siege of the town was hopeless he passed on to Adata (Adapa in Kedr., π for τ), which he besieged in vain. He then devastated the adjacent country and captured the πολίχμιον Geronta (? Geron). After another attempt on Adata, he retired cautiously in fear of an ambush, and after receiving the submission of

¹ Phalakron may be Frakhtin (Ferakhtin) on the western pass to Sis; the *-tin* is the Arabic word *Din* widely adopted in Turkish [W. M. R.]. Psilo-, Xylo-, etc. are all Graecized forms.

² Cont. and Kedr. do not precisely say so; after enumerating *all* the forts they say vaguely τὸν Ὀνοπνίκτην λεγόμενον ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Σάρον διαπεράσας, knowing only that the forts were in this district somewhere. The Saracen army would not take to flight, nor would Simas, 'who held the Tauros passes' (*infra*), submit before Basil had reached the Karmalas, as their language would imply.

It might be suggested that the curious name Onopniktes is a popular word expressing the difficulty of fording the river (*ὄνος, πνίγειν*).

³ Cont. says τῆς Ῥοβὰμ ἦτοι Ἐνδελεχόνης ἢ πόρθησις γέγονεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἀνδάλου: probably to be changed to τῆς Ἀνδάλου ἦτοι Ἐν δελ.

⁴ Simas was not 'son of Tael' but his surname was Tawil, *i.e.* 'the tall' (Weil, *l.c.* ii. p. 473 n.).

⁵ Endelechone — Andala may perhaps be Enderessi on the western pass.

⁶ Which shows that this was not the ordinary route to Germaniceia.

Abdelmel, ὃς τῶν ἐκέλευσε τόπων ἐκυρίευσεν, returned across Mount Argaeos to Caesareia. Here he received the news of his generals' victories,¹ which were soon confirmed by the arrival of the prisoners from the district of Koloneia and from Loulon,—they are said to be Saracens and Kurds (Κουρτοὶ) from Tarsus and the Paulician fortresses,—and after slaughtering them all he returned by Midaion, where his army went into winter quarters, to Constantinople.

Campaign of Romanus IV. in 1068 (Mich. Attal. pp. 104 ff., Skyl. pp. 668 ff.). Routes traversed: Caesareia-Lykandos [I. (1)] Sebasteia-Kokusos-Germaniceia-Aleppo [IV. (2) *a* and II. (1) *b*]; through Cilicia by Cilician Gates to Constantinople [II. (3) *b*]; the Turks traverse I. (1) to Amorion.

This is the first of a series of campaigns against the marauding bands of Seljuks, whose ever-increasing raids made Asia Minor insecure from end to end. In the spring of 1068 Romanus set out from Constantinople with the intention of operating first of all against the Turks on the northern frontier. He advanced through Bithynia and Phrygia, *i.e.* by the military road passing through Dorylaion and Sebasteia, and when he had got as far (apparently) as Basilika Therma, the Turks made a feint of retiring before him, and he resolved to march southwards into Syria against the Saracens of Aleppo (Χάλεπ) who, in concert with the Turks, were constantly attacking Antioch as the first step in a scheme for the reconquest of the whole of Syria. He therefore left the road leading 'straight to Sebasteia and Koloneia' and marched southwards obviously by the road leading to Caesareia and thence by the eastern route [I. (1)] to Lykandos, where he intended to remain during the hot season and then advance into Syria in the autumn. While encamped here, he received intelligence that the Turks had made a sudden raid on Neocaesareia-Niksar and were returning again loaded with their spoils. Without losing a moment, he marched rapidly northwards again *διὰ ἀτραπῶν δυσβάτων* towards Sebasteia, and as he approached the town, he ordered the main body of his army under Andronikos to proceed thither, while he himself with the cavalry hurried over the hills between Argaeos and Tephrike² in pursuit of the rapidly retreating Turks. This means that he marched along the Gurun-Sivas road [IV. (2) *b*] about as far as Abara-Amara and then struck right across the hill-country towards Tephrike and the north-east. By this cross-march (*κατὰ τὸ ἐγκάρσιον*) he succeeded in overtaking the marauders and compelled them to relinquish their plunder and prisoners. He then rejoined his army at Sebasteia (beginning of October) and after a halt of three days marched south again by the defiles of Kokusos (*διὰ τῶν τῆς Κουκουσοῦ αὐλώνων*) to Germaniceia. Evidently, therefore, he

¹ This means that the war begun the year before in the south-west and north was being carried on at the same time as Basil's expedition: next year (878) Abdallah, Emir of Tarsus, was decisively defeated at Podandos.

² τῆς τε Τεφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀργαοῦ (Skyl. 670):

the order of the words does not prove that Argaeos is north of Tephrike: he has just said *εὐθὺς Κολωνείας καὶ Σεβαστείας*. The site assigned to Argaeos (*supra*) at Argovan suits this passage well.

took the route by Tzamandos and the Kuru Tchai pass. Before reaching Germaniceia, *i.e.* probably from Kokusos, he despatched a large division to Melitene to guard the frontier [route I. (2)] and prevent Apsinalios or Ausinalios [= Afschin (Weil, *l.c.* iii. p. 112, *n.* 2)], the Turkish commander in these parts, from raiding across the Euphrates. So inefficiently was the command executed that a band of Turks actually passed Melitene before the very eyes of the garrison and fell upon Romanus' foraging parties, some of which they cut off. They must therefore have crossed into Kommagene by the Melitene-Germaniceia pass [III. (1)]. Romanus, after leaving Germaniceia entered the district (θέμα) called by the Armenians Τελοῦχ [Dolice,¹ the Dolouk of Ibn Khordadbeh (p. 70), mod. Duluk, two hours north-west of Aintab], and thence passed on to Aleppo, at this time under the Emir Mahmud (Μαχμούτιος). After ravaging the country around without attacking the town itself, Romanus marched against Hierapolis (Membidj) which he captured and fortified as an outpost to guard the Syrian frontier. While he was engaged in besieging the Acropolis, Mahmud made an unexpected advance from Aleppo and inflicted a serious defeat on the troops set to guard the part of the town already captured: but the disaster was avenged after the final capture of the town by a night attack on the Saracen camp, which freed the Emperor from further molestation. Placing Membidj under a στρατηγός, he advanced to Azas,² which he failed to take, then entered the country of Ausonitis where he burned Katma³ (a fort of the Emir of Aleppo) and encamped at Terchāla (Tarchōla). Shortly after this he entered Byzantine territory and marching in the direction of Antioch captured by the way a town Artach (near Antioch), which was evacuated by its Saracen inhabitants. At this point he determined, in consideration of the exhaustion of his troops, not to proceed to Antioch but turned towards north-west and crossing Mt. Amanos by the Syrian Gates (Beilan pass, αἱ κλεισοῦραι δι' ὧν ἡ Κοίλη Συρία τῆς Κιλικίας χωρίζεται) reached Alexandros (Alexandretta). Thence he marched by the road which skirts the Amanos range (τὸν Ταῦρον), until he emerged into the plain of Issos; whence he marched through Cilicia and the Cilician Gates to Podandos. Just as he was entering Tysarion or Gytarion (Skyl.) which Prof. Ramsay with great probability locates at the point where the Tarsus-Tyana and Tarsus-Caesareia ('Maurianon' and 'Karydion') passes forked, he received reports of the mismanagement of the general sent to Melitene to guard the frontier, who had allowed the Turks to cross the Euphrates and pass along the 'Eastern road' [I. (1)] by Caesareia to Amorion, which they took and plundered. They had left their camp at a place called Chalceus (τῆ τοῦ Χαλκέως τοποθεσίᾳ) near Tzamandos, where the Roman general had his troops stationed; but so far from suffering any inconvenience from his

¹ Δολιχὴ becomes Dolouk and then again in Greek Τελοῦχ! It is mentioned both as πάλις and as θέμα in Kedr. ii. 494.

² 'Azaz is about twenty miles north by west of Aleppo,' Finlay, i. 472 quoting from Col.

Chesney. It is called "Ἀζάζιον, two days' march from Berroia (Aleppo)," in Kedr. ii. 492.

³ Modern Kutma, nearer Antioch. The description of the march is very accurate.

presence there, the Turks on their return had actually defeated him and shut him up in the fort. Consequently the Emperor finding himself unable to pursue them returned direct to Constantinople.

Romanus' campaign in 1069 (Mich. Attal. 122 ff., Skyl. 678 ff.). Routes traversed: Caesareia—Melitene, over Euphrates, [I (1)] and thence north to Acilisene; Koloneia—Sebasteia—Caesareia—Herakleia [IV. (1)] and II. (3) b]; Melitene—Caesareia—Iconium [I. (1) and II. (3) b]; Iconium—Seleukeia—by Syrian Gates to Aleppo.

In 1069 Romanus undertook a second campaign against the Seljuks. After quelling the rebellion of Crispin, a Norman noble in his service, he arrived with a large force at Caesareia and continued his march eastwards to Larissa, where he heard that a Turkish horde was engaged in pillaging the country in the vicinity. A detachment despatched against them was driven back in rout, and Romanus then moved onwards towards Melitene. While he was engaged in pitching his camp, the Turks suddenly appeared and, occupying the higher ground, proceeded to attack the Byzantine army in the plain below, but were defeated. Romanus allowed them to retreat without molestation and when he followed them three days afterwards they crossed the Euphrates and encamped there, waiting till he should return home. When he had advanced within less than two days' march of Melitene, he thought of returning again and abandoning a wearisome and fruitless pursuit, merely leaving a force to guard the frontier; but he finally determined to cross the Euphrates and march against *Χλιὰτ*, mod. Akhlat, on Lake Van, hoping by the capture of the town to secure the Armenian frontier and arrest the ruinous incursions of the Turks. Accordingly he advanced by Melitene and crossed the river (*τῆς προσωτέρω φερούσης ἤψατο ἕως τὸν Εὐφρ. διαπεραιωθείς κ.τ.λ.*), compelling the Turks to retreat inland (*εἰς τὰ σφέτερα*). The line of march is thus the 'Eastern road' [I. (1)]. The direct route from this point to Akhlat went by Kharpout and Romanopolis—Palu and thence through difficult country to Van (*supra*). This route he followed for a short distance (*ὡς γὰρ εὐθύς τῆς Ῥωμανοπ. ἐλαύνων ἐφαίνετο, ἐξ ἧς ἢ πρὸς τὸ Χλιὰτ κάθοδος διὰ στενωπῶν ἐπιγίνεται, μεταστρέψας τὴν γνώμην. . .*) and then suddenly halted *ἐν βαθεῖ τόπῳ*, where he divided his army and placed the stronger division under the command of Philaretos for the defence of the frontier, while he himself turned northwards,¹ preferring a cooler climate. After passing over rough and mountainous country, he reached a place called Anthias, a fertile and well-watered spot amidst high mountains. It should be looked for in the watershed south of Mezur Dagh. Thence he proceeded to cross "Mount Tauros, called by the inhabitants *Μούζουρος*," *i.e.* Mezur Dagh (Arabic *Jabal Mazur*), and passing a second time over the Euphrates entered *Κελεσίνη* (Acilisene, Skyl. *Κελτζηνή*), which is accurately described as separated from Mezur Dagh by the river. While encamped here he received intelligence that Philaretos had

¹ The crossing of Murad Tchai is not mentioned, but must be assumed.

been defeated by the Turks and the routed troops soon arrived at his camp, fleeing by way of Anthias and Mezur Dagh. The Turks pursued for some distance, but finding the country impracticable for light horsemen, they turned back, crossed the Euphrates above Melitene, and over-ran Cappadocia in their usual manner, making for the populous but defenceless city of Iconium (Konia). Romanus rallied his forces and determined to intercept their return. His first plan was to "lead his army through the town of Keramon to the banks of the Euphrates as far as Melitene," but it was pointed out that this route ran through a deserted and pillaged district where supplies would be hard to obtain, and that time would be wasted in traversing ground where it was necessary to march in single file. The route indicated is not clear, but apparently it crossed Mezur Dagh towards Murad Tchai and Melitene.¹ In any case he abandoned this idea and marched through Koloneia and the Armeniac Theme to Sebasteia, *i.e.* by the road Satala—Koloneia—Nicomedia—Sebasteia. At Sebasteia he learned that the Turks were marching through Lycaonia and Pisidia on their way to Iconium² and so he advanced to Herakleia—Kybistra (Eregli), *i.e.* by the road through Caesarea [IV. (1)] and thence by Tyana to Herakleia [II. (3) *b*]. Hearing at this point that the Turks had sacked Iconium and were returning, he despatched a detachment to Cilicia to effect a junction with Kataturios, the governor ("duke") of Antioch, whom he requested to secure the passes east of Mopsuestia (Missis). The Turks marched *διὰ τῶν τῆς Σελευκείας ὁρῶν* and, as they emerged into the plain of Tarsus, they were attacked by the Armenian inhabitants but escaped, with the loss of their booty, through Cilicia. Being informed by Greek captives that a force was awaiting them at Mopsuestia, they avoided the town and after a short halt at Blatilibas (Baltolibas, Skyl.) hurriedly crossed Amanos (*τὸ Σαρβανδικὸν ὄρος*) by the Syrian Gates to Aleppo. Romanus learning of their escape at Claudiopolis, whither he had advanced to meet them, left a force to operate against other Turkish bands and returned to Constantinople.

*The First Crusade in 1097.*³ Routes: Nicaea—Dorylaion—Iconium—Herakleia (Eregli); thence to Tarsus—Adana—Syrian Gates—Antioch [under II. (3) *b* etc.]; Herakleia—Caesarea—Kokusos—Germaniceia—Antioch [II. (3) *b* and II. (1) *b*].

After the capture of Nicaea, the Crusaders proceeded by Dorylaion and Iconium to Herakleia—Kybistra, which was evacuated by the Turks on their approach. At this point the army divided. Baldwin and Tancred with their own following marched southward by Podandos and the Cilician Gates to Tarsus, which they captured without difficulty; whereupon Adana (Addana,

¹ Keramon can hardly be connected with τὸ Κεραμίσιον on the Zarnuk, the most easterly tributary of Tokhma Su (Melas) flowing past Melitene (Theoph. Cont. 268).

² The Turks therefore took their favourite route by Caesarea [I. (1)] and thence to Iconium

[II. (3) *b*].

³ I have followed the accounts of the Latin writers in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vols. clvi. (Guibert) and clv. (Rob. Mon., Tudebodius, etc.).

Racl. Cadom.; Athena, *Guibert* 728 etc.) and Mopsuestia (called Mamistra, Mamysta, Manustra) voluntarily surrendered. From Mopsuestia Baldwin marched (through Amanus Gates) across the Euphrates to Edessa, while Tancred proceeded by the Syrian Gates to Antioch. Leaving Herakleia, the larger portion of the Frankish army under Raymond, Bohemond, and Godfrey took a longer route. They entered the 'Armenian country,' and marching by Tyana towards Caesareia reached a certain fortress on an impregnable site, which they made no attempt to take. This fort is not Tyana (in the plain) but Kyzistra (see on II. (3) *b*), mod. Zengibar Kalesi, half an hour west of Develi Kara Hissar, "a striking mediaeval castle on a lofty two-peaked hill . . . which has been (prob. not correctly) identified with Nora, where Eumenes defied Antigonus in 320 B. C." (Hogarth in Sir C. Wilson's *Handbook* p. 163). After passing Kyzistra they reached Caesareia, where they were welcomed by the inhabitants. They thus took the route traversed by Romanus in 1069 (in the opposite direction). At Caesareia they turned again towards Antioch. Marching no doubt by the Kuru Tchai pass, they arrived first at Plastentia, a town situated in a beautiful and fertile country (*multae pulchritudinis et situs uberrimi civitatem*), which had been besieged in vain by the Turks for three weeks before the arrival of the Crusaders, who were received with open gates. Plastentia¹ is evidently the Armen. Ablastha, Syriac Ablestin, which has usually been identified with Albistan, but should apparently be placed in the upper Saros valley. Thence they moved onwards to Coxon (*Guibert*, 730; Coxan, *Tudebod.* 776; Cosor, *Rob. Mon.* 695), *i.e.* Geuksun—Kokusos, which was at that time in a very flourishing condition.² From Geuksun they marched towards Marash by a route so exceedingly difficult that it calls forth from the monk Tudebodius such choice epithets as *diabolica, exsecrata montanea*. It is described as a narrow path (*arctus et nimis scrupus calles praeruptus, Guibert*), so broken and steep that everybody alike had to go on foot and it was impossible to pass by the man in front. It is evident, then, that they did not take the pass traversed by Basil in 877 and by Romanus in 1068, *i.e.* the Ayer Bel pass by Kallipolis and Padasia, which by general testimony is by far the easiest road through the eastern Tauros (see the interesting account by Hogarth, *Mod. and Anc. Roads in East. Asia Minor*, p. 20), but the route by Geben along Kursulu Su and round Dolaman Dagh to the Jihun—Pyramos and thence to Marash. In the description of this pass in Sir C. Wilson's *Handbook*, Mr. Hogarth says, "it crosses the spurs of Dolaman Dagh by a very difficult rocky path. The descent to the Kursulu Su which has run, with several falls, through a deep chasm, is very steep, and there is an equally bad ascent, the path being in places *only a foot wide*" (p. 271). Compare the words used by Robert, the monk of Reims, who gives a vivid account of the soldiers' despair, '*Semita non amplius quam unius pedis spatio dilatabatur*' (p. 695).³

¹ The name is given by Baldric.

² 'In qua erat maxima ubertas atque stipata omnibus bonis quae nobis erant necessaria,' *Tudeb. l.c.* : so *Guibert*, etc.

³ Von Moltke, quoted by Hogarth in *Mod. and Anc. Roads, etc.* p. 20, describes the road from Marash to Geuksun as difficult. This may have been the route he took.

After emerging from this 'exsecrata montanea,' the Crusaders reached Marash (Marasim, *Guibert* and *Rob. Mon.*; Marusim, *Tudeb.*), where they were hospitably received, and after a day's rest proceeded towards Antioch.

*Basil's campaign of 872*¹ (Theoph. Cont. 267 ff., Kedr. 207 ff). Routes: Military Road to Tephrike [IV. (3)]; thence by IV. (2) *b* to Gurun and [by I. (1)] to Derende and over the hills to R. Zarnuk (west of Melitene).

In 872 Basil marched against the Paulicians by the Dorylaion—Sebasteia road to Tephrike. Failing to take the town, he captured several of their fortresses, the most important being Abara—Amara on the Sivas—Derende road (*supra*). As he marched southwards along this road, Taranta—Derende submitted and its submission was followed by the surrender of Lokana—Lykandos. From Derende he then crossed the hill-country between the Tokhma Su (Melas) and the Sultan Su (Arab. Karākis) to a position on the river Zarnuk (*supra*), south-west of Melitene, sending a detachment against Zapetra (Viran Sheher) and Samosata—Samsat. When this detachment returned, he marched on Melitene. The Emir's forces sallied out to meet him but were defeated and shut up within their walls. It was hopeless, however, to attempt to besiege the strongly fortified town and Basil marched northwards again through the Paulician territory by way of Argaous—Argovan, which he captured. Several other forts were taken in the country between Argaous and Arauraca (which seems to be the place meant by Ararach—Rachat), and Basil then returned home. Tephrike was taken and the Paulician community crushed in the following year (873).

EXCURSUS.

THE ROYAL ROAD.

BEFORE discussing the line of the Royal Road from Caesareia eastwards, it is well to have realised the importance of the route by Herpa, Tzaman-dos-Azizie, Melitene, and over the Euphrates at Tomisa throughout the Byzantine period and apparently also in the last two centuries B.C., as reported by Strabo on the authority of Artemidorus (*supra* on I. 2). After passing Tomisa, the road to Persia would naturally turn south by Amida-Diarbekr and along the left (north) bank of the Tigris,—much in the line assigned to it in this part by Kiepert. The distance from the first crossing of the Halys to the Euphrates by this road will be found to correspond approximately to the 119½ parasangs (3585 stadia) which Herodotus' Itinerary (V. 52) gives as the whole distance for Kappadokia and Kilikia (to the Euphrates).

Why then should this line for the Royal Road be doubted? Largely

¹ Discussed in *Class. Rev.*, *l.c.* pp. 136 ff., and only summarised here in the briefest possible manner.

because of the so-called 'Kilikian question' in Hdt.'s account of the road, *i.e.* the extraordinary fact that while Kappadokia is crossed only in twenty-eight stages (104 par. or 3120 stadia) the large district of 'Kilikia,' extending to the Euphrates, requires only three stages (15½ par. or 465 stadia). Now considering the large size of Hdt.'s 'Kilikia' which extends on one side to the Halys (I. 72), on another to Euphrates (V. 52), and also down to the Cyprian Sea (V. 49), the shortness of the distance across Kilikia reasonably excites suspicion. It is possible then that the distances are wrongly distributed between the two districts. This might be due (*a*) to corruption in the text; for it is admitted that the text of the Itinerary is corrupt at least in one place (de la Barre's emendation) and probably in another (Stein's transposition of the three Armenian rivers to Matiene). Or (*b*) it might be due to misconceptions on the part of Hdt. His knowledge of the Royal Road is derived not from ὄψις but from some unknown authority. But in one point Hdt. has misconceived his authority. The διξαὶ πύλαι and διξὰ φυλακτήρια passed by the traveller on the borders of Kappadokia and Kilikia must almost certainly refer to the guard at the Cilician Gates. Hdt. therefore *conceived* the road to pass through the Gates into maritime Kilikia either because he confused the guard at the Kilikian frontier with the guard at the Cilician Gates or because he has put 'together two separate and unconnected facts: he has put the guard of the Cilician Gates on the Royal Road, and he has connected the "Royal Road" therefore with maritime Cilicia (V. 49) whereas it crossed Cappadocian Kilikia (V. 52)' (Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, I. p. xiv. n.). Such an initial error would lead to other distortions of the facts before him, in order to bring them into harmony with the first misconception. We are familiar with the manner in which modern writers, more scientific than Hdt., often strain facts to make them fit into a theory. But apart from this supposition as to the διξαὶ πύλαι, Hdt., while very likely retaining the whole distance (119½ par.), may have modified the Kilikian distances¹ to suit his own ideas of 'Kilikia,' which of course he would believe to be right! 'Kilikia' with Hdt. is no very definite region: it is the 'land inhabited by the Kilikians' as Assyria is that inhabited by the Assyrians, and Egypt by the Egyptians (II. 17),—a convenient cloak for ignorance. Apparently it is made to extend to the Halys and Euphrates, just because these were the two great dividing lines in Eastern Asia Minor of which he knew, though his knowledge was vague enough. But is 'Kilikia,' after all, a large district *in his conception*? The distance between the Halys, the Euphrates, and the Cyprian Sea must have been for him exceedingly small. The source of the Halys must have been near the Euphrates, for it divides Lower Asia ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίου Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον (I. 72); and it is only five days' journey across this narrow isthmus (!). Need we be surprised then that, with conceptions like these to accommodate, 'Kilikia' is crossed in three stages of 15½ parasangs?

The Kilikia of Hdt.'s authority—if Kilikia was mentioned by him—may

¹ *i.e.* if his authority mentioned Kilikia.

have extended to Halys and Euphrates, and he may have given 119½ par. as the whole distance for Kappadokia and Kilikia from the first crossing of the Halys to the Euphrates. If so, his conception of Kilikia differed entirely from the Kilikia of the old well-marked and natural division between Kappadok (the country between Tauros and Euxine, Euphrates and Halys), Kilik (the sea-board country south of Tauros and west of Amanos) and Kumukh (Kommagene): according to which the Royal Road would not pass through Kilikia at all (on any theory now held).¹ We may note that this older division is reflected in Hdt. *e.g.* v. 49, vii. 91, and that the inclusion of 'Posideion on the borders of Syria' (iii. 91), *i.e.* of the strip of coast fringing Amanos, is consistent with the older conception and constitutes no argument for the inclusion of Kommagene in Kilikia.

From all these considerations it would seem that an undue importance has been attached to the 'Kilikian question' in discussions on the course of the Royal Road. Various solutions of this question are possible: and we must look outside Hdt. for evidence as to the line of the road.

An ingenious theory, which endeavours to explain the three Kilikian stages, has been lately put forward by Mr. Hogarth and accepted by others (see Macan's *Hdt.* iv.—vi., vol. II. pp. 299 ff.). This theory brings the road from Pteria either in a direct line to the head of the Tokhma Su, and thence by Derende to Melitene, or by a *détour* to Caesareia—Mazaka and east to Melitene (as advocated in this paper): but instead of crossing at Tomisa the road is made to turn south from Isoli and run up the basin of the Gerger Tchai by Kiakhta to Samosata, where it crosses the Euphrates and runs across the desert south of Mount Amasius to Nisibis and thence to Nineveh, &c. The difficulties of such a route over Tauros to Samosata and then through the desert to Nisibis, when an easier and more direct route is open, do not predispose one in its favour. What are its advantages? (1) It claims to solve the 'Kilikian question' by making the distance between the spine of Tauros (the frontier of Kappadokia and Kilikia) to Samosata represent the three Kilikian stages of Hdt. Obviously this solution is reached only by an arbitrary interpretation and limitation of Hdt.'s 'Kilikia,' which makes it include Kommagene while denying that it extends north of Tauros. But if Hdt. says that Kilikia extends to the Euphrates, he also says that it extends beyond the Halys, ὅς ῥέει διὰ Κιλικίας (i. 72): and the inclusion of Posideion (iii. 91) does not support the extension beyond Amanos to Kommagene. The reconciliation with Hdt., therefore, disappears. (2) It claims to be supported by Strabo's account (p. 663) of the κοινὴ ὁδὸς to the east. The account, however, after Tomisa, is far from clear. At this point there is a break in the description, where Strabo cites the authority of Eratosthenes as confirming Artemidorus' account of the subsequent route to India and refers to Polybius; we note a vagueness and a lack of sequence in the following words as compared with the description of the Ephesus-

¹ If Hdt.'s authority was an *official* document, should we not expect it to be based upon this division?

Caesarea section; and it looks as if Strabo had mixed up or fused together two separate routes, one crossing the Euphrates at Tomisa and another 'beginning at Samosata' (which is not described and may simply have joined the former road at Amida, so that it would be possible to make a *détour* by Samosata). Anyhow the description is not at all clear. The road goes 'to the Euphrates *as far as Tomisa in Sophene*.' Mr. Hogarth explains that the meaning is that the road 'touched Euphrates opposite to Tomisa but did not cross the river.' But Strabo does not say this: for surely his words ought plainly to mean that the road crosses to Tomisa. Then he goes on: τὰ δ' ἐπ' εὐθείας τούτοις [Τομίσοις? and the dat.?] μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ αὐτὰ κείται καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἄρτεμ. ἄπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρατοσθένει . . . ἀρχεται δὲ [subject? ¹] ἀπὸ Σαμοσάτων . . . εἰς δὲ Σαμοσ. ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῶν περὶ Τόμισα ὑπερθέντι τὸν Ταῦρον σταδίου εἶρηκε 450. The last statement is incorrect: it is about 650 stadia. Mr. Hogarth explains the discrepancy by supposing that 'Strabo reckons from the spine of Taurus on the right bank lower down than Tomisa, which is not in Cappadocia at all': it must at least be admitted that ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Καππ. τῶν περὶ Τόμισα is a singular way of expressing it.

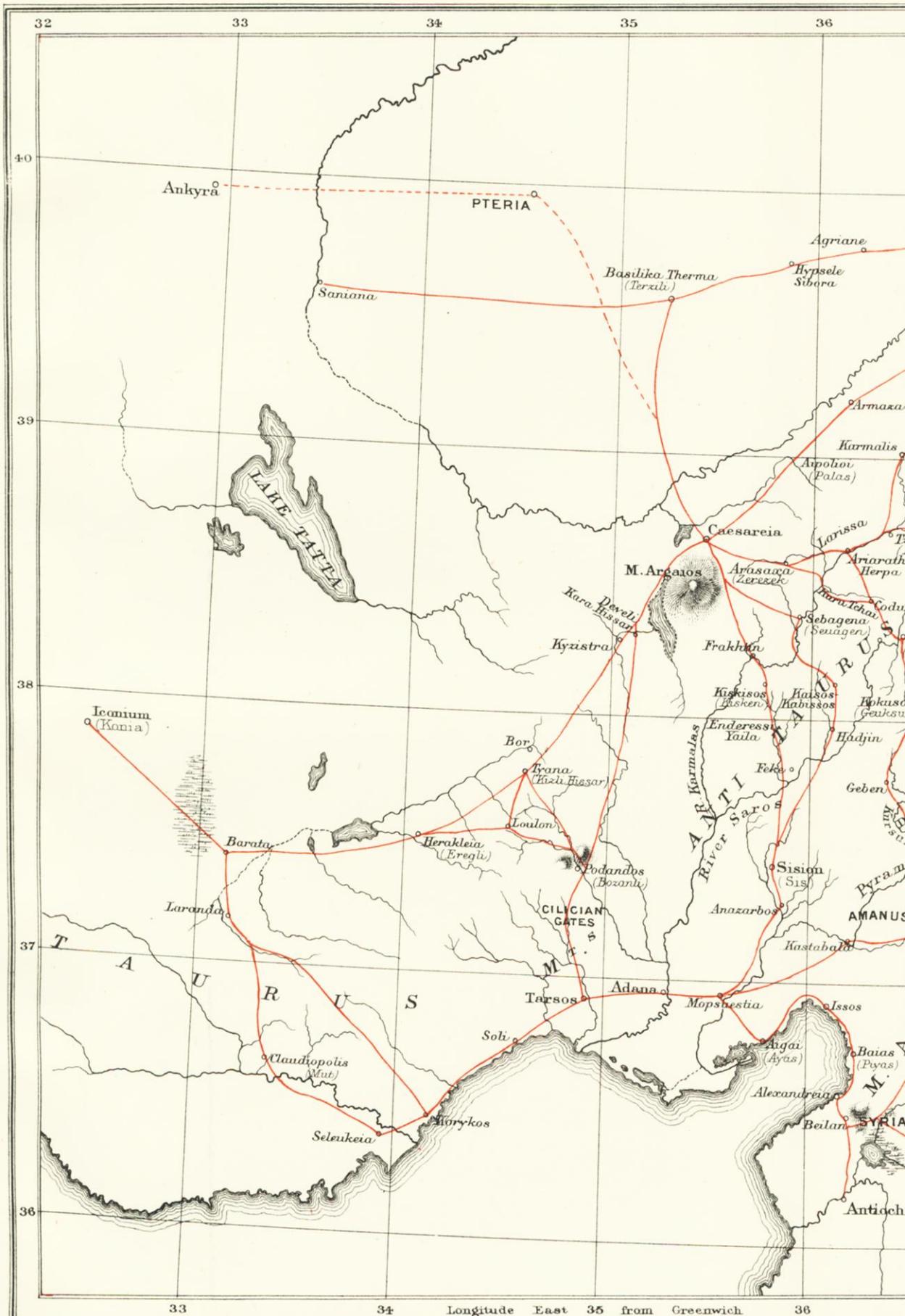
But in any case, even if the description were quite clear, we have to remember that this was a *trade* route and that the Royal Road was not a trade-route but a road for administrative purposes, a road for couriers. The line of a later trade-route would be determined by different considerations; thus, for example, the Royal Road along the upper Hermos is so difficult that it could never have been chosen as a caravan-route. Lastly, the Roman bridge at Kiakhta need only show the importance of this district in a scheme of frontier defence and the road, if it existed, would be used for this purpose.² It is hard therefore to see that this route affords any evidence for the line of the Persian Royal Road.

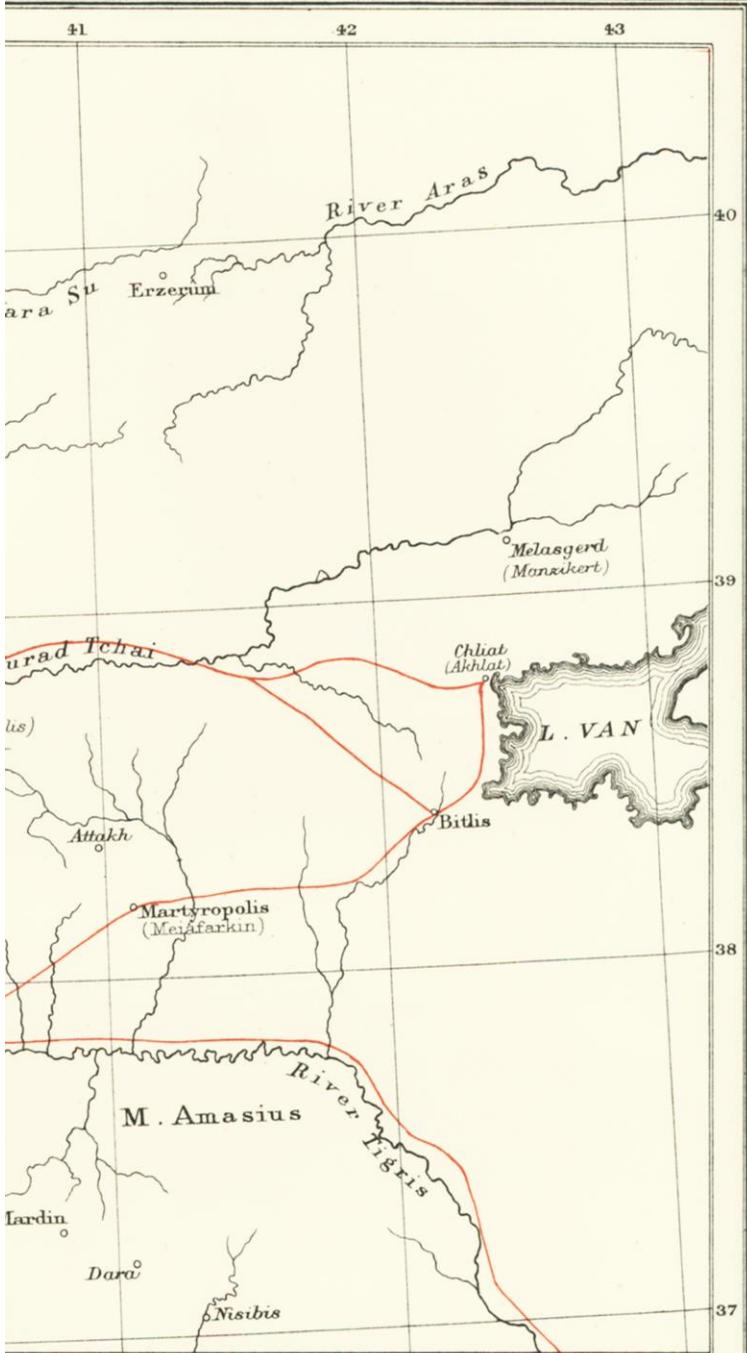
J. G. C. ANDERSON.

¹ It ought to be τὰ δ' ἐπ' εὐθ. τούτοις, etc.

² Cf. the importance attached to the fortifi-

cation of the west bank of the Euphrates in Amm. Marcell. xviii. 7 (*supra* iii.).





MAP OF
 EASTERN ASIA MINOR
 ILLUSTRATING
 THE ROAD SYSTEM.

