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# Studia pontica







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# STUDIA PONTICA

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I.  
A JOURNEY  
OF  
EXPLORATION IN PONTUS

BY  
*J. G. C. Anderson*  
**J. G. C. ANDERSON**  
OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,  
FORMERLY FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE



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# A JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN PONTUS

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In pursuance of a scheme of exploration in the central and easterly districts of Asia Minor which I began in 1896<sup>(1)</sup>, I spent the summer months of 1899 in travelling over Eastern Galatia and part of Pontus. During the latter half of July and most of August I enjoyed the pleasure and the advantage of the companionship of Messrs. J. A. R. Munro and F. B. Welch, who joined me at Samsun on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July and explored with me the plain of Tokat (Dazimonitis) and a section of what we hoped to prove, and happily succeeded in proving, to be an important Roman road from the frontier at Satala to the Bosphorus by way of Neocaesarea (Niksar) and Pompeiopolis (Tash Keupru). It was my intention to publish at once an account of the whole journey before the freshness of first impressions had faded with the lapse of time, but I was prevented from doing

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<sup>(1)</sup> The results of my previous journeys have been for the most part published in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1897, p. 396 ff.; 1898, p. 81 ff. and 340 ff.; 1899, p. 34 ff. and 280 ff.

so by the pressure of unexpected occupations and I found time only to select a few tit-bits which appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1900, p. 151 ff. In the same number of the *Journal*, Mr. Munro published the series of milestones which we discovered along the line of the Pontic road (p. 159 ff.), while he has recently contributed a historical study of « Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman » with special reference to the new route (*ibid.*, 1901, p. 52 ff.). The invitation of my friend Prof. F. Cumont, who followed in our track and supplemented and extended our work with brilliant success, now affords me the opportunity of giving a full account of the season's work, so far as it relates to Pontus, interpreted in a liberal sense; for, even if we could accurately define the exact limits of « Pontus », we cannot look at it entirely apart from the adjoining districts.

In the first portion of my account, which deals partly with the borderland between Pontus and Galatia, it has been found necessary in the interests of coherence and clearness of treatment to abandon at times the chronological order of exploration; but thereafter the narrative adheres to the actual line of march. For such deficiencies as the reader may find — I am myself too conscious of them — I would ask his indulgence on the ground that professional duties have pressed so heavily upon me as to leave little leisure for the preparation of my account and for the detailed study which it necessarily involves. But, such as it is, I offer it as a contribution to our inadequate knowledge of an interesting land.

## I. FROM ISKELIB TO AMASEIA

§ 1. ISKELIB. — I entered Pontus from *Iskelib*, which I reached on the evening of June 2, having come thither by way of Ancyra (Angora) and Gangra (Tchangri or Kianghri). The town lies near the line of the Roman road which ran westwards from Neocaesareia by way of Amaseia and Gangra, as is proved by a milestone of Pomponius Bassus built into a bridge over the stream which flows through the town (<sup>1</sup>). This milestone is numbered 80 m. p. (= 74 1/2 English miles or 120 km.), the *caput viae* being obviously Amaseia, which is about 74 miles distant from Iskelib (<sup>2</sup>). The stone would therefore seem to be near its original position; but there can be little doubt that it has been carried up from the Halys valley, for the town lies several miles above the line of the road in a *cul de sac* amongst the hills, whence there is no exit except by difficult foot-paths over the mountains.

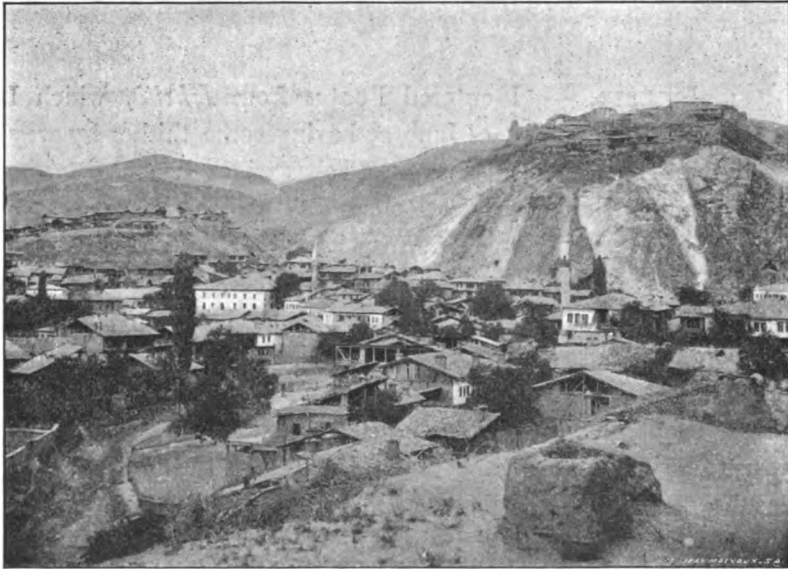
Iskelib belongs to the third rank of Turkish towns, being the residence of a *kaimmakam*. It occupies a picturesque situation at the head of a long, narrow valley filled with gardens and vineyards. In the background the ruins of an ancient fortress stand out in bold relief, perched on the top of a naked rock.

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(<sup>1</sup>) *CIL*, III, *Suppl.*, 6897.

(<sup>2</sup>) Twenty-four hours according to the late Prof. G. Hirschfeld, who discovered the stone.

The interior is now filled with dwelling-houses, but the gateway and the angles of the walls still remain. At the foot of the hill there are two rock-cut tombs of rough work, one with a Doric façade and pointed roof, the other with a circular roof and a pediment supported by two pillars with lions' heads on the



ISKELIB, FROM THE SOUTH

capitals and ornamented with a much worn relief representing apparently two winged figures, the left carrying a vase, the right flying with some object (perhaps a branch) in its hand. Apart from the castle very few remains are to be seen. The present town is said to be a later foundation, the earlier site lying lower down the valley amongst the gardens. The ancient name of the town is uncertain. Kiepert proposed to identify it with Andrapa-Neoclaudiopolis, and his suggestion was accepted by

Ramsay (1), but this view has been disproved by our discovery of an inscription which places that city at Vezir-Keupru (below § 41). We may provisionally suggest Dadybra, which became a bishopric in Byzantine times and is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos as one of the six cities of the Theme Paphlagonia (2).

§ 2. Leaving Iskelib on June 3, I proceeded to explore the line of the Roman road to Amaseia. After winding for an hour or more through the gardens which line both banks of the stream, the road to Tchorum descends the gentle slopes to the Halys, which is reached in 2 1/2 hours from Iskelib. The river is crossed by a ferry-boat of the regular Anatolian type, a flat-bottomed triangular punt propelled by long poles. This primitive mode of transport suffices for present-day needs : for the route has fallen into utter decay and has been abandoned by wheeled traffic. The Roman road was doubtless provided with a bridge, but no traces of it were to be seen. We shall perhaps not greatly err if we suppose ourselves to have now set foot on Pontic soil (3). Ten minutes after leaving the river we passed the *tchiftlik* of *Tuzluburun*, 9.9 English miles from Iskelib (4), and

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(1) *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor.*, p. 320 n.

(2) *De Them.*, p. 30.

(3) The exact frontier line between Paphlagonia and Pontus Galaticus remains uncertain. We now know (§ 41) that on the north side of Tavshan-Dagh Paphlagonia extended a considerable distance across (east of) the Halys; and it may have done so here also. On the other hand, Pontus extended as far as the Halys on the south side of Tavshan Dagh (Strabo, p. 561-2 and § 42 below), and it seems highly probable that at least the plain of Tchorum fell within Pontus Galaticus.

(4) Where distances are precisely stated, they are calculated from measurements made by means of a trocheameter attached to the wheel of the waggon (*araba*) which I used for the conveyance of my baggage. These measurements show that the distance represented by an hour is a very variable quantity.



presently found ourselves ascending a narrow valley in the hills. In 50 minutes from Tuzluburun we reached the village of *Hadji-Bey* on the left edge of the valley, and 27 minutes further on towards the south-east we passed *Baba-oglu* on the opposite side of the glen, whence we made a circuit by *Tut* and rejoined the direct road a mile or two beyond *Baba-oglu*. None of these villages yielded any antiquities. The valley now narrows into a defile (*boghaz*) which winds upwards between scrub-covered hills for about an hour or so to the summit of the watershed between the water-systems of the Halys and the Iris. The path then descends a ravine which opens out into the plain of Tchorum twenty minutes before the traveller reaches the village of *Elimin*. Soon after passing the summit we found the road washed away, and in order to find a path for our waggon we had to ascend on the left. Here we unfortunately lost our way, so that my record of distances was destroyed; but the whole distance from Tuzluburun to Tchorum is about six hours. *Elimin* lies on the edge of the hills which bound the Tchorum plain, an hour and a half distant from the town. Midway between the two lies the village of *Gurdju*, where I found amongst other inscriptions (nos. 208-211) a copy of the alleged correspondence between king Abgar of Edessa and Christ. Another fragment of the same correspondence afterwards turned up at *Hadji Keui* (no. 223).

§ 3. TCHORUM and EUCHAÏTA. The plain of *Tchorum* is shaped somewhat like an irregular 8, consisting as it does of an upper and a lower plain joined together by a neck of valley through which the collected waters of the Tchorum Tchaï flow southwards to join the *Yenidje Tchaï*, a tributary of the *Medjid-Euzu*. The lower plain is the larger and more fertile of the two and produced olives in ancient times (<sup>1</sup>). The straggling, unattractive

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(<sup>1</sup>) See below, § 5.

town lies above the neck, about two miles from the edge of the hills which bound the plain on the east, just at the point where the Gangra-Amaseia road (to which belongs the milestone of Decius, no. 448) is crossed by the great trade-route <sup>(1)</sup> running northwards from Kaisariye (Caesareia) by Yuzgat, Aladja (near Karissa) and Marsovan to Samsun (Amisus). It is to its situation that the town owes its recent elevation to the rank of a *Mutessarifat*. But its importance is not limited to modern times. On slightly rising ground towards the south-east, in a singularly weak position, stands a large, square castle, defended by round towers at the angles and two square ones in the middle of each side, which is said to have been built by the sultan Sulāiman. The walls are almost entirely constructed of ancient materials, — building blocks, columns, tombstones (several of which are inscribed), — while on the inner side, as Hamilton notes <sup>(2)</sup>, a flight of steps « which leads up to the battlements, is built entirely of columns laid transversely ». He adds that the columns and stones used in building the fortress are said to have been brought from Kara (or Kale) Hissar, near Eyuk (below § 10). This tradition is doubtless well founded. Judging from the abundance of old stones in the town and the cemeteries, as well as from the nature and geographical importance of the position, I was at first inclined to regard Tchorum as the principal ancient site of the district; but the evidence leaves little room for doubting that most, if not all, of the ancient remains now in the town have been carried thither <sup>(3)</sup>. In his *Hist. Geog.*, p. 318 ff., Prof. Ramsay identifies Tchorum with Euchaïta, a town of Helenopontus, which is mentioned as having been attacked by

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. § 12 below.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Recherches*, I, p. 378.

<sup>(3)</sup> I am indebted to M. Cumont for some beneficial criticism of my former view.

the Huns in A. D. 508 <sup>(1)</sup>. Euchaita became a bishopric at an early period, being at first subject to Amaseia and afterwards (certainly before A. D. 680) elevated to the rank of *autokephalos*. Prof. Ramsay's arguments are conclusive as to the district within which the town is to be sought, and we may at least admit that Tchorum *corresponds to* Euchaita. The bounds of Helenopontus are tolerably clear. It contained eight cities <sup>(2)</sup>, of which all except Euchaita are now certainly identified, viz. Amaseia, Zela, Ibora (Turkhal § 31), Andrapa (Vezir-Keupru, § 41), Amisus, Leontopolis-Zalikhos (Alatcham) and Sinope. We see therefore that Helenopontus evidently denoted the country between the Halys and a line passing east of Ibora and south of the plain of Zela, together with the strip of coast between the Halys and Sinope. The country round Tchorum is thus clearly included. The epigraphic evidence agrees, so far as it goes : we find the name Helenopontus on three milestones, two of them midway between Tchorum and Amaseia (nos. 450-451), the other near the southwestern edge of the Zela plain (no. 664), while the earlier name Diospontus <sup>(3)</sup> occurs at Vezir-Keupru (no. 434). Further, Euchaita was one day's journey distant from Amaseia <sup>(4)</sup>, and it lay on a road leading to Gangra, whither

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<sup>(1)</sup> Theophanes, p. 161, Cedrenus, I, p. 633. To the references to Euchaita given in the *Hist. Geogr.* we may add Malalas, p. 380, ed. Bonn; *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 11 (reign of Leo V) and p. 354 = Georg. Monach., p. 850, ed. Bonn (reign of Leo VI).

<sup>(2)</sup> Justinian, *Novell. XXVIII*; Hierocles, 701.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. also no. 449, l. 11 (about 15 miles east of Tchorum).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 7, *Comm. praevious*, p. 23 (quoted from the *Acta S. Theodori Tironis* of Amaseia) : *Quaedam autem mulier, nomine Eusebia, ... veniens petiit corpus sancti martyris Theodori, et ... posuit in loculo mundissimo et transtulit in possessionem suam, quae distat a civitate Amasia via unius diei, in locum [s. loco] qui vocatur Euchaita (εἰς οὐλερὸν ἐκστῆς, ἐν πόλει Εὐχαιτῶν, Ms. Graec.)*. Cf. also under June 5, p. 595 = Migne, *Patr. Graec.* 120, p. 1044.

Macedonius fled when the city was on the point of being taken by the Huns (<sup>1</sup>). Now there is no other road from Helenopontus to Gangra but that which we are now traversing (<sup>2</sup>). The conclusion then is clear that Euchaita is to be looked for somewhere near Hadji-Keui, where the modern traveller journeying westwards from Amasia passes his first night.

There is a pretty piece of additional evidence which definitively fixes the ancient town at the village of *Elwan-Tchelebi* or *Tekke-Keui* (<sup>3</sup>), 15 miles east of Tchorum and 4 or 5 miles W.-N.-W. of Hadji Keui. Euchaita was famed as the burial place of its patron saint Theodore, who was said to have killed a dragon in the vicinity (<sup>4</sup>), and the great sanctity attaching to the city which possessed the holy shrine, where many wonders and cures were wrought (<sup>5</sup>), was probably, as Ramsay sug-

(<sup>1</sup>) Theoph., *l. c.*

(<sup>2</sup>) There is, of course, a possible détour from Sulu Ova viâ Osmandjik and Kotch-hissar, but such a route is out of the question.

(<sup>3</sup>) Both names are current. *Elwan Tchelebi Tekkesi* is probably the correct title.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 7. — The town grew up near the spot where the wonder had been performed: Cf. *Johannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae supersunt*, ed. de Lagarde (*Abhandl. Göttinger Ges.*, 1882), p. 205: ἔδραφος τοῦτο ἐξ ἔρημίας ἀβίτου πολυκνδροῦσαν ἔχετε πόλιν, λύμης δλεθροῦ θηρίου και κακῶν ἀνηκέστων και πολυτρόπων ἀπηλλαγμένον; p. 132: ἡ τοῦ μάρτυρος αὕτη πόλις και παροικία ἦν ἐξ ἔρημίας ἀβίτου πολυάνθρωπον πόλιν τε και χώραν ἀπέδειξε. The bishop, who lived in the XI<sup>th</sup> century, describes minutely (p. 160 s.) the splendour of the church, where every year pilgrims gathered from the whole world to the πανήγυρις of the saint (p. 131). — He composed an epigram (p. 34, n. 57) εἰς τὴν ἐν Εὐχάιτοις εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως (Κωνσταντίνου Μονομάχου).

(<sup>5</sup>) Ἐνθα (sc. ἐν ταῖς Εὐχάιτοις) και νῦν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων συναθροίζεται· πολλὰ γὰρ θαύματα και ἰάσεις ποιεῖ ὁ Κύριος διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου (*Life of St. Theodore*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. II, p. 367).

gests <sup>(1)</sup>, one of the reasons of its early promotion to be an autocephalous bishopric. The worship of St. Theodore, who became one of the great warrior saints of the Greek Church, was taken over by the Turks, clothed in a Mohammedan form, and kept up by an establishment of Dervishes at Elwan Tchelebi. Only the memory of the Dervishes and their cult now survives, and the *ἱερός λόγος* has been forgotten. It was different in the sixteenth century, when Van Busbeek [Busbequius] and his fellow-diplomatists passed through the village on their way to visit the sultan Sulaiman I. at Amasia. The Dervishes and their sanctuary are described at some length by Hans Dernschwam <sup>(2)</sup> and more briefly by Van Busbeek in the first of his *Legationis Turcicae Epistolae quatuor*, where he says : « *Post in Theke Thioi [Tekke-Keui] venimus. Hic multa didicimus a monachis Turcicis quos Deruis vocant, qui eo loco insignem habent aedem, de heroe quodam Chederle <sup>(3)</sup> summa corporis atque animi fortitudine, quem eundem fuisse cum nostro D. Georgio fabulantur; eademque illi ascribunt quae huic nostri : nimirum vasti et horrendi draconis caede seruasse expositam virginem. Ad haec alia adiciunt multa ; et quae libitum est comminiscuntur* ». The village is situated close to the scene of the saint's triumph. Dernschwam says, « *Sie sagen auch von einem Drako, der alda gewohnt habe ; auf dem perge ist oben in der hoche ein zeichen 6 schritt lang mit steinen gelegt, als lang der Drako gewesen soll sein. Under dem perge, ein weisser marmelstein, darin sieht man wie hufeisen, soll S. Forgen mirakel sein* ».

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>(2)</sup> Hans Dernschwams *orientalische Reise*, ed. H. Kiepert [in Globus, Bd. LII], p. 54 ff. Kiepert says : « als Scheich-'Alwan-Tekkijessi kennt das Kloster schon die beste Autorität, der Fortsetzer des türkischen Geographen Hadschi-Chalifa ».

<sup>(3)</sup> I. e. Theodori, apparently. Dernschwam calls him « Chedir-Iles ».

The village contains many fine blocks of marble and other dressed stones, built into the handsome mosque and the houses, as well as some inscriptions (nos. 212 sqq.). The monuments of the district supply interesting souvenirs of the worship of St. Theodore in the frequent occurrence of the names *Theodoros* and *Theodora* and the mention of monastery officials (nos. 196-197), and of a hospital superintended by a physician bearing the saint's name (<sup>1</sup>). The modern city has moved further west to a site better suited to the geographical conditions, but something of the old religious enthusiasm which characterized Euchaita has perhaps been perpetuated in its inhabitants, whom the uniform testimony of travellers describes as a bigoted and fanatical set of Mohammedans (<sup>2</sup>).

The village of Elwan Tchelebi lies at the eastern edge of a barren tract of hilly country, now utterly bare, now covered with a low scrub, which the road from Tchorum has to cross before reaching the more pleasant valley of a tributary of the Tchekerek Su (ancient Scylax), along which runs the road to Amasia. Twenty minutes below the village at a fountain beside the *chaussée*, there is a milestone originally set up by T. Pomponius Bassus, the legate of Nerva and Trajan, and afterwards re-inscribed by Aur. Priscianus, a *praeses* of Diocletian and Maximian (no. 449). The Roman road passes onwards along the valley below the villages of *Alviran* (<sup>3</sup>) and *Tchaghana* (<sup>4</sup>),

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(<sup>1</sup>) *CIG*, 9256 = no. 217.

(<sup>2</sup>) Hamilton speaks of "the many fierce and savage glances directed towards me by the bigoted inhabitants" (p. 376). Ainsworth uses similar language, and Humann says "das dumpfe öde Nest hat an 10,000 fanatische türkische und kaum 300 Armenische Einwohner" (p. 85). I thought them rather ungenial people and certainly not interested in antiquities!

(<sup>3</sup>) 45 min. (90°) from Elwan.

(<sup>4</sup>) Ca. 1 1/4 hour (320°) from Hadji Keui. Hamilton's "Tchaana" represents the local pronunciation, *gh* being usually lost between vowels or softened to *y*.

which lie near the foot of the ridge on the north, and between Avghat and Hadji Keui.

§ 4. HADJI KEUI and ETONIA. — *Hadji Keui*, the only place of any importance between Tchorum and Amasia, lies an hour E.-S.-E. of Elwan on the edge of the undulating hill-country which slopes down from the *massif* of Ak Dagħ. It is now the government centre for the district, but both tradition and appearances indicate that it is not the oldest foundation. It is somewhat oddly distinguished from other places of the same name by the title of Avghat Hadji Keui, *Avghat* <sup>(1)</sup> being a village about one hour towards the north [343°] at the foot of the hills. A few minutes to the east there is a mound of no great size, which probably represents an old site, and the village itself is not devoid of remains. Large blocks may be seen in the old mosque and the fountains (beside one of which is an uninscribed stone ornamented with four ox-heads joined by garlands), while stones unlimited have been used up in building a fine new mosque <sup>(2)</sup>. Columns abound, and the pillars of a kiosk beside the mosque are supported on capitals, some of the Corinthian order, some florally ornamented in the Byzantine style, and others of rude late work. But it was stated on all hands that most of these remains had been carried from Avghat, and others were being brought at the time of our visit. An examination of the latter village convinced me of the truth of the assertion; the cemetery is littered with squared and moulded blocks and pillars, and the mosque and fountains are built of old stones, while in the centre of the village are the ruins of a small rectangular building, said (perhaps rightly) to have been a *Hammam* (Bath). Hamilton

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<sup>(1)</sup> Afhat or Aurhat in Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 375; Archat (after Chanykoff) in R. Kiepert's new map of Asia Minor. [Selon le Père Girard, Aelkhat-Hadji-Keui].

<sup>(2)</sup> Several old blocks, not re-worked, are visible in the base of the minaret.

saw other ruins which escaped my notice, — if they still exist. He had started from Hadji Keui to visit Avghat. « After descending into the plain », he says, « an hour's ride brought us to low hills on the north, where fragments of columns and blocks of variegated marble were lying among the shrubs and brambles, and near them the remains of substantial walls and vaulted substructions, said to be the ruins of an ancient church . . . ; in the walls of the mosque of Aur-hat and at a neighbouring fountain were several other blocks of similar stone <sup>(1)</sup> ». Here, then, is the site of the town which corresponded to the modern Hadji Keui. No epigraphic evidence has been found to fix its name, but at least one important fact emerged from my exploration of the district. As we shall presently see, our site lies close to the junction of the road from Gangra with the road from Tavium (Nefez) to Amasia, thus described in the Peutinger Table : —

Tauio XIII Tonea XXX Garsi XXX Amasia.

Now a comparison with Ptolemy's map shows that Garsi represents his *Κάρισσα* ξδ' γο'' μζ' γο'' (Bk. V, 4, 9), while Tonea is obviously identical with his *Ἐτωνία* ξε' μα' λ'' (Bk. V, 6, 9); and inasmuch as the former belongs to Galatia and the latter to Pontus Galaticus, it is perfectly clear <sup>(2)</sup> (as Ramsay has pointed out, p. 260) that the Table has repeated the mistake which it makes in regard to the road from Ancyra to Archelais <sup>(3)</sup> and reversed the true order of the stations. Etonia thus becomes the first station on the road from Amasia to Tavium, and the site beside Avghat is the only one that has yet been discovered along the first section of the road. This conclusion necessitates the correction of the number XIII to [XX]XIII[I], for our site is

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 376.

<sup>(2)</sup> The accuracy of Ptolemy's lists of cities for the different divisions of Pontus is confirmed by every known fact and every new discovery.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 254, 260 and *JHS*, XIX (1899), p. 101.



31 1/2 Eng. miles distant from Amasia. The position which Etonia occupies on Ptolemy's map so far agrees with our identification that it lies south-west of Amasia. Its situation south-east of Karissa and east-south-east of Tavium is irreconcilable with the evidence we have cited; but the numbers may not have been correctly transmitted to us, — the correction  $\mu\alpha' \lambda'' \gamma''$  for  $\mu\alpha' \lambda''$  would set matters right, — and in any case his geographical positions can never be accepted without independent confirmation. If any one demurs to this rule, he should reflect that according to Ptolemy Sebastopolis lies N.-E. of Amasia and Zela lies S.-E. of Comana and S.-S.-E. of Neocaesarea!

§ 5. In ancient times the olive flourished in the valley of Etonia, as in most other parts of Pontus, although at the present day it is rarely to be seen. We should be able to infer this fact, even if Strabo had not expressly stated it, from the abundance of weight-stones of ancient oil-presses which are to be found all over the country. The subject of the oil-press is treated in an interesting paper by Messrs. Paton and Myres<sup>(1)</sup>. It is there shown that the press consists of three essential parts, a press-bed, a lever, and a weight-stone either attached to a screw which revolves in a screw-hole pierced through the end of the lever or raised by tackle so as to bear upon the end of the lever. I do not recollect ever having seen a press-bed, which is perhaps not surprising, considering the ease with which such a stone could be converted into the ever-necessary water-trough. But the weight-stones are common. I have noted them at the villages round Hadji Keui, in the lower part of the Tchorum plain, in the valley running south-west from Sebastopolis, in the Artik Ova, in Dazimonitis (Kaz Ova), in the vicinity of Comana, and in the district of Phanaroea *ἐλαιόφυτος καὶ εὐσινος*<sup>(2)</sup>. The Pontic weight-stone implies a press of the type recently in

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(1) *JHS*, XVIII (1898), p. 209 ff.

(2) Strabo, p. 556.

use at Arginunta in Calymnos, described by Mr. Paton <sup>(1)</sup>, where  
 « the end of the beam is traversed vertically by a screw-hole, in

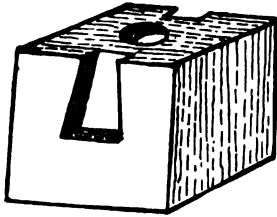


FIG. 1.

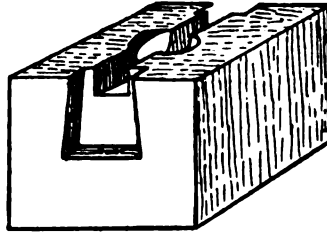


FIG. 2.

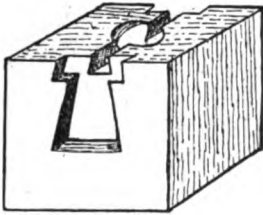


FIG. 3.

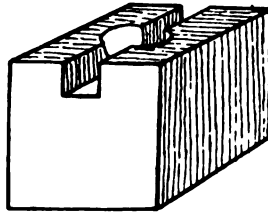


FIG. 4.

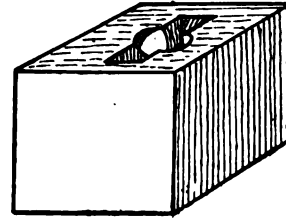


FIG. 5.

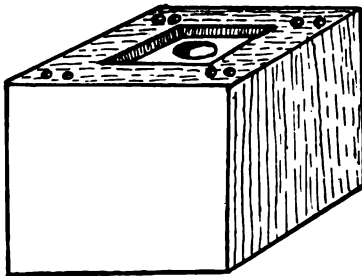


FIG. 6.

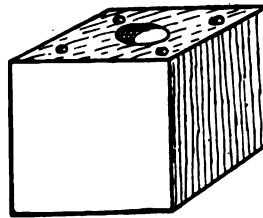


FIG. 7.

#### WEIGHT-STONES OF PONTIC OIL-PRESSES

which the great wooden screw travels, with free point upwards and  
 lever-fitted shank downwards. The wide head of the screw carries

<sup>(1)</sup> *L. c.*, p. 210 f.

a perforated board, from which a large block of stone is suspended by wooden tenons dovetailed into mortised sockets in its sides. The head of the screw revolves freely beyond the board in a cavity in the upper surface of the stone ». The cup-shaped cavity is never absent in the Pontic specimens which I have seen. The commonest type is a square block with central cavity and mortised sockets extending down half the length of the sides (Fig. 1). Frequently the cavity is connected with the mortised sockets by a shallower groove, usually with straight, but sometimes with sloping, sides (Fig. 2 and 3). Sometimes the groove on the upper surface is present without the side sockets (Fig. 4), sometimes it is not continued to the edge (Fig. 5); another specimen (Fig. 6) has neither side sockets nor groove but a square hole in the middle of the upper surface with a rounded cavity in the centre of it and pairs of very small and shallow holes near the corners, while another has one such shallow hole at each corner and a central cavity (Fig. 7). Where there are no mortised sockets in the sides, the stone was evidently set in a regular frame.

§ 6. From Etonia the Roman road continues eastwards along the valley of the Hadji Keui stream <sup>(1)</sup>. At *Keusse-eyib* <sup>(2)</sup>, one hour from Hadji Keui, there is a milestone of Constantine numbered XXXI m. p. with the name of the province Helenopontus (no. 450) and some remains including a few inscriptions (nos. 236 sqq.). An hour and a quarter further on, in a cemetery below the village *Bebuk*, we found another Constantinian milestone of the same series as that at *Keusse-eyib* (no. 451). It was apparently in this neighbourhood that the Busbequians found the milestone given in our appendix as no. 452. Some distance beyond *Kaledjik*, which lies in a *dere* one mile above the road, the valley widens out into a plain of considerable size, which

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 374 ff.; Perrot, *Exploration*, p. 366.

<sup>(2)</sup> Keu-saib in Perrot's map. Keusseib is the local pronunciation.

undulates down towards the Tchkerek Irmak. From the eastern edge of this plain, about three miles beyond Baghlidje, there is a short ascent followed by a steep descent to the beautiful valley of the Iris, the « green river » (Yeshil Irmak) as the Turks call it, whose banks are the garden of Amasia. Our road crosses the river by a bridge of several arches, some of which are of old brick-work constructed probably in Byzantine times, and, skirting the gardens for some two miles, enters the most picturesque of all Anatolian towns, the « Baghdad of Rûm » (1).

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(1) See below, § 8.

## II. FROM AMASEIA TO TAVIUM

§ 7. In following the road to its *caput* Amaseia, my narrative has had to depart for a little from the chronological order of exploration. When I reached Elwan Tchelebi on June 6, I determined not to travel farther eastwards for the time being, but to leave the latter section of the road from Hadji Keui to Amasia to be examined in the course of my journey to the coast at Samsun. I therefore returned to Tchorum, making a detour by *Alviran* ( $\frac{3}{4}$  hr. E.), *Eski keui* ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  hr.), a village due north of Elwan and one hour distant from it (according to report), *Kussura* <sup>(1)</sup> ( $\frac{3}{4}$  hr.) on the opposite side of the undulating valley, and through Siklik Boghaz, without finding anything worthy of note. On June 8, I left Tchorum and travelled in a south-westerly direction towards Tavium. In an hour we crossed the Tchorum stream and emerged from the narrow valley which unites the upper with the lower half of the plain. Sending my *araba* direct to *Yenidje*, a village on the right of the road,  $10\frac{1}{3}$  Eng. miles (reckoned 3 hours) from Tchorum, on the left bank of the Yenidje Tchai, I diverged to visit some of the villages on the east of the road. At *Harsadin*,  $\frac{1}{3}$  hr. E.-S.-E. of *Bozdoghan* (which is  $\frac{1}{2}$  hr. E.-N.-E. of Yenidje), I found a milestone of Nerva numbered 50 m. p. (no. 444) and a fragment of a Greek inscription (no. 250). A short distance south of

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(1) So named on Humann's map, but the true form seemed to be Kush-serai.

Yenidje we reach the long mountain ridge, called Keusse-Dagh, which seems to me to mark the southern limit of Pontus Galaticus. For the next eight days my routes lay within Galatia and they concern us here only in so far as they throw light upon the Harsadin milestone. At first I supposed this stone to belong to a road coming up from S. or S.-W. to Tchorum and it was not until my return to Aladja (July 12) on my way to Samsun that I discovered its real significance. In making enquiries about the road from Aladja to Hadji Keui, I learned that the road which follows the course of the Medjid-euzu was extremely difficult and utterly impossible for wheeled traffic, but that there was another road which diverged from the road to Tchorum at the southern end of the plain and reached Hadji Keui by way of the village Seraï. Recollecting the position of the Harsadin milestone, I hoped that this might prove to be the line of the Roman road to Amaseia, and I was not disappointed. Let me describe the course of the road, passing briefly over the Galatian section.

§ 8. Tavium (Boyuk Nefez) lies at the foot of a long ridge, running east and west, which forms the watershed of the numerous tributaries of the river Cappadox (Delidje Irmak). Our road ascends in a north-westerly direction. Its line is marked by the village of *Tamba Hassan*, 4.82 English miles N.-N.-W. of Nefez, where is the fifth milestone of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, not far from its original position <sup>(1)</sup>. There are a few remains in the village and the similarity of the modern name to the Tomba of the Peutinger Table might tempt us to accept the identification of the two names already proposed by Sterrett <sup>(2)</sup> and Ramsay <sup>(3)</sup>. It is true that the Table places Tomba on the road running eastwards to Euagina, but the confusion caused by

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<sup>(1)</sup> The inscription is published from my copy in *CIL*, III, *Suppl.*, 14184<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Epigraphical Journey*, p. 310.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 261.

the divergence of roads is so great that a transposition may not unreasonably be assumed. In any case the similarity of the names Tomba and Tonea (i. e. Etonia, § 4 above) would help to account for the reversal of the order of the towns on the road we are considering (<sup>1</sup>). I was told that Tamba is a Turkish word meaning « dirty » ; I do not know whether this statement is true, but, even if it is, the fact would be no objection to the identification, but only another instance of the common Turkish habit of giving to ancient names a form which conveyed a meaning in their own language (<sup>2</sup>).

From Tamba Hassan the road winds over the watershed until it comes down on the Boghaz-Keui stream, which it follows to the ruins of Pteria, 15.9 miles or 25 km. from Tavium. From Pteria it crossed the low hills in a north-easterly direction, passing probably east of Kula and reaching below Kidjille the valley of the stream which flows eastwards by Eski-yapar to Aladja.

§ 9. ESKI-YAPAR (Karissa?). — My exploration of this district was not successful : not only did I miss the line of the Roman road, but I unluckily omitted to visit the village *Eski-yapar*. Two months afterwards we learned from the Rev. G. E. White and Dr. Carrington of the American College at Marsovan that milestones and other remains existed at the village. Fortunately Mr. Munro was able to visit the place on his homeward journey to Angora ; and amongst various remains, which included a lion relief, Christian tombstones, and pieces of ecclesiastical architecture, he found two milestones. One of these is much worn and badly superinscribed. The other, erected by Aur. Basileus, *legatus* of Severus Alexander, bears

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(<sup>1</sup>) See above, § 4. It is scarcely probable that Tomba and Tonea are two names for the same place, as G. Hirschfeld assumed (Article « Tavium » in *Sitz. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1883).

(<sup>2</sup>) See however § 11 *fn.* and § 12 *ad fn.*

the number XXIII and must therefore have been carried some distance, for Eski-yapar cannot be less than 30 Roman miles from the *caput* Tavium (1). The village is built beside one of those typical mounds which mark ancient sites and may perhaps represent Garsi of the Table, Ptolemy's Karissa, which Ramsay would look for two or three miles N.-W. of the modern centre, the *mudurlik Aladja* (2). Aladja itself is not devoid of remains, but these may well have been transported from the neighbouring village; amongst them is a milestone formerly exposed to view but now built face inwards into the bottom of a wall in the stream bed.

§ 10. KALE-HISSAR. — The strong fortress of *Kale* (or *Kara*) *Hissar* (3), a few miles north of Eyuk (2 1/2 hours N.-W. of Aladja), deserves a word of mention in passing. It is a bold, isolated, double-peaked rock of trachyte, rising 400 feet out of a little plain in the hills, and at its base are the ruins of several large buildings (apparently Turkish, but partly built of old materials) of which little more than the inner shell now remains. At the neighbouring villages, especially *Kale-Hissar Keui* (half an hour west), there are numerous remains of the Byzantine period, blocks, pillars, capitals, and a few inscriptions. The castle was evidently a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the defenceless Karissa during the troubled times of Saracen invasion, standing to it in the same relation as Acroënos to Prymnessos or Sivri Hissar to Pessinus. Its name must remain uncertain. If we followed Prof. Ramsay's identification (4), we should see in Kale-Hissar the famous *κάστρον Χαρσιανόν* of later centuries, the

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(1) The milestone is published in *CIL*, III, *Suppl.*, 14184<sup>42</sup>. Eski-yapar is reckoned 4 hours from Boghaz Keui, and 1 hour west of Aladja.

(2) *Hist. Geog.*, p. 260, *note*.

(3) Hamilton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381 *f.*

(4) *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 259-260.



military centre of the Charsian Theme. But the original nucleus of this Theme was evidently the former province Cappadocia I (including Basilica Therma, Nyssa, and Podandos with Caesareia as metropolis) <sup>(1)</sup>, and the references in Arabic writers quoted by Tomaschek <sup>(2)</sup> indicate a position much farther east than Kaléhissar, somewhere apparently in the region of Ak Dagħ <sup>(3)</sup>.

§ 11. But to return. From the fertile plain of Aladja, Hussein Ova as it is called, the Roman road runs north through the pass called Hatap Bogħaz to *Baba-oglu Tekke* (Hamilton's Tekiyeh Hatap), where the defile becomes a narrow valley, which opens after a few miles into the lower part of the Tchorum plain, beside the village *Sarisheikh*. Here our road turns eastwards and runs over the open plain on the south side of Harsadin to Serai. At the village *Tekke*, an hour east of Harsadin, is the 57<sup>th</sup> milestone, erected by Pomponius Bassus, which according to my measurements must be very near its original position (no. 445). *Tekke Keui* seems to be an ancient site. There are considerable remains in and about the village, columns, moulded and other blocks, large sepulchral slabs, oil-press weight-stones, and a fine marble chair or throne with a cross inscribed on the side and another on the back. These remains point to the existence of a village and a church here in ancient times. Soon after passing *Serai*, the road begins to ascend the lower slopes of Ak Dagħ and arrives in an hour at *Sheikh Mustafa*, which lies in a *dere* due east of Serai. The distance from Aladja is 32.14 English miles. The village yielded two inscriptions (nos. 252-253).

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<sup>(1)</sup> Constant., *De Them.*, p. 30, ed. Bonn; Gelzer, *Die Genesis d. Byz. Themenverfassung*, p. 101, etc. Cf. Hierocles, p. 698, 5 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, p. 148 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> Tomaschek himself places it east of Sivas between Ipsala (anc. Hypsele) and Kotch Hissar. This position seems to me to be too far east.

From here there is a sharp ascent of 700 feet in forty minutes due north to *Tchalidje*, a village placed on a spur which runs down between the Sheikh Mustafa stream and another brook farther west; here I found one inscription (no. 251). A further rise of 300 feet in half an hour brings us to the summit of the ridge at a height of 1300 feet above the plain, and our road now gradually descends over undulating slopes, wending its way through low oak-scrub and passing here and there patches of cultivated land newly reclaimed by Circassian immigrants, until it reaches in an hour and twenty minutes from the summit the Mohajir village *Tanin*. Here we are not far from the edge of the Hadji Keui valley and a ride of an hour and a half over undulating ground brings us to the town. We have descended about 1000 feet from the *col* and travelled 15.7 miles from Sheikh Mustafa. The road is wonderfully easy and even in its present condition offers no difficulties to wheeled traffic.

The distance of Etonia from Aladja, according to my measurements, is 47.84 Eng. miles (77 km.) or 51 m. p.; the whole distance from Tavium is about 85 m. p. On June 2, 1901 I received from M. Cumont a copy sent by our American friends at Marsovan of a milestone which has recently been found « at Avghat Hadji Keui, in the Medjid-euzu » (1) (no. 446). The stone is said to bear the remarkable number CXXXVI. This is obviously a misreading: there is no *caput* from which Hadji Keui could be 136 m. p. distant. The vague description of the provenance of the stone leaves it uncertain whether it belongs to the Amaseia-Gangra or the Amaseia-Tavium road; but the second alternative seems the more probable, and the easy emendation LXXXVI (L for C) would fit the case admirably

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(1) The Hadji Keui stream must be meant. The Medjid-euzu does not pass Hadji Keui. [In R. Kiepert's new map Medjid Euzu is given as an alternative name for Hadji Keui; perhaps it is the official name.]

and make the milestone a useful confirmation of the conclusions which we have reached.

Our determinations necessitate the alteration of the Table's account :

Tauio XIII Tonea XXX Garsi XXX Amasia, to  
Tavium XXX Karissa XXX [*Tekke Keui*] XXIII  
Etonia XXXIII Amasia.

If the identification of Tomba with Tamba Hassan be correct, we should have Tavium V Tomba XXV Karissa, etc. ; but, as the number XXX seems to represent correctly the distance between Tavium and Karissa (Garsi), the Table may be right in placing Tomba on the road from Tavium to Euagina (§ 12 *ad fin.*). The Table has in all probability lost a station between Garsi and Etonia, and this station is probably the nameless site at Tekke Keui.

### III. MITHRIDATION-EUAGINA

§ 12. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of June I reached the borders of Pontus again. *Keuhne*, or *Geune* as it is sometimes incorrectly called, a little town or magnified village 20 miles (6 hrs.) east of Yuzgat on the road to Sivas, lies in the south-west corner of the old Pontic kingdom. Its name, which means « old » in the sense of « dilapidated », whatever its original application, is an apt description of its present condition. It is a governmental centre, but only a *mudurlik* of an inferior grade. From its favourable geographical situation it might be expected to be a place of some importance, but the foundation and rapid prosperity of Yuzgat condemned it to a position of insignificance by attracting away from its ancient line the great trade-route from Caesareia to Samsun. Being too near Yuzgat to be a stopping-place on the eastward journey, it does not even possess a *khan*. It was very different in ancient times. Three miles or so to the west of Keuhne there was a most important knot in the network of ancient roads, a meeting-point of no less than six routes. Here the road running eastwards from Tavium to Sebasteia cut the trade-route from Caesareia and Basilica Therma (Terzili Hammam) to Amisos, and roads diverged E.-N.-E. to Sebastopolis and N.-E. to Zela. Of these the first is now the highroad to Sivas. The second remained until comparatively recent times the highroad to the Black Sea, — the *djedda yol*, as the natives regretfully tell you, — nor has it even yet fallen into disuse, although

the construction of the *chaussée* has diverted most of the traffic into the loop line by Yuzgat which rejoins the old road some distance south of Aladja. The other two roads to Sebastopolis and to Zela have fallen into decay. At this junction of roads we should have expected a town of some importance; but it was attracted a little way southwards to the magnificent site now called *Kerkennis Kale*, some six or seven miles south-west of Keuhne and an hour or a little more south of the point where the old trade-route to Samsun crosses the Egri-euz, the « crooked stream » which meanders eastward from Yuzgat to Keuhne and thence, under the name of Keuhne-euzu, turns south and then south-west by Kodali to join the Kanak Su somewhere near Osman Pasha Tekke (1). The castle is perched on the top of a bold, well-defined peak towering several hundred feet above the level of the ridge which runs south-west from Keuhne and forms the rim of the hilly country stretching westwards to Yuzgat and sloping down towards the Egri-euz. The edge of this ridge and the river form two sides of a triangle with apex near Keuhne, and the little valley of a tributary of the Egri-euz which flows down from below the Kale across the apex affords an easy line for the road from Aladja which brings it close, under the shadow of the castle on its way to Basilica Therma and Caesareia. The castle catches the traveller's eye as he comes eastward from Yuzgat and

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(1) The course of this river is wrongly given in the maps, which all follow H. Kiepert. Kiepert's latest map made for M. Chantre's *Mission en Cappadoce* went farther astray than his earlier ones; and I am grieved to see that R. Kiepert in his new map of Asia Minor (1 : 400,000) adopts his father's later construction, the consequence being that the whole of the district between Keuhne and Terzili is hopelessly wrong. E. g. Terzili is put too far east (from a point 12 minutes from Terzili in the direction 330°, the highest peak of Argæus reads 177.5°); again Yasili Tash, which is on the Keuhne-Euzu, is placed at least 12 kilometres too far south (it is in reality 15 kilometres from Keuhne).

looms on his horizon for miles in every direction. There can be little doubt that this striking fortress is Mithridation, one of the three  $\varphi\rho\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , of the Troceni, which « Pompey gave to Brogitarus, separating it from the Pontic kingdom » (1). Henceforth it remained in Galatia. The identification is confirmed by the appearance of the remains, which are such as we should expect to find on a Galatian site. On the roomy summit of the acropolis, now overgrown with a low scrub, there is little to be seen beyond traces of the road up and the remains of walls here and there; but the extent of the lower town, which lay on the gentle slope on the north side, is marked by a tumble-down wall of rough, unhewn stones running round three sides of a square, of which the fourth side is occupied by the acropolis itself. The circuit-wall was of the same rough construction as those which we saw on many Galatian sites in 1898. The worked stones have all been carried away : a fair number of them are to be found in the surrounding villages such as *Mehmet-beyli* (2) in the plain below (column shafts and blocks), *Babali* on the north (3) (some blocks and one inscription no. 254), *Keuhne* (columns, blocks, sepulchral slabs, and inscr. nos. 255-256), as well as in the villages north-east of Keuhne. There are some *tumuli* at the village *Giaour Euren*, one hour distant towards the north, but no pottery or other remains are visible.

Mithridation was a temporary name, which gave place to the older title in Roman and Byzantine times. From the extraordinary confusion of the Peutinger Table one certain fact emerges, that at a point east of Tavium where there is a parting of roads to Zela, Comana, and Caesareia there was situated a town

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(1) Strabo, p. 567.

(2) Situated about 20 minutes (direction 90.5°) from the Kale and 1 1/2 hours from Keuhne.

(3) Situated 1 3/4 hours (direction 8°) from the Kale.

variously named Euagina, Eugoni, or Aegonne <sup>(1)</sup>. The first is the correct form. The name and the position are alike confirmed by Ptolemy's entry <sup>(2)</sup> Φουβάγηνα or Φουβιάγηνα ξδ' ς'' μα' λ'', which occurs in the list of Trocmian towns, the form showing, as Prof. Ramsay points out, that Ptolemy was using a Latin authority <sup>(3)</sup>. The forms Eugoni and Aegonne are perhaps real variants due to the desire to give the native name a more Hellenic sound. The town is placed by the Table at various distances from Tavium. In the description of the road to Zela the distance is given as XXXVI, which tallies exactly with my measurements <sup>(4)</sup>. In the description of the road to Comana Pontica (perhaps viâ Sebastopolis, § 14) we have Tauio XVI Tomba XXII Eugoni etc., and in the account of the road to Caesareia viâ Aquae Aravenae (Terzili Hammam) we have Tauio XVI Euagina XXIII Saralio etc. Now it is a noteworthy fact that Yuzgat is XVI Roman miles (14.92 Eng. miles <sup>(5)</sup> or 24 km.) west of Euagina and XX Roman miles (18.80 Eng. miles or 30 km.) east of Tavium. The existence of a station at Yuzgat would shed light upon these numbers, whether that station be really Tomba after all or Saralio, i.e. Ptolemy's Saralos, which, being a town of the Trocmi, can scarcely be situated where his numbers (ξδ' λ'' μα' γ'') place it, south-east of Euagina.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 260 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> Bk. V, 4, 7.

<sup>(3)</sup> Either the name was falsely written Fuagina or the initial letter was misread by Ptolemy (F often appears as E on milestones).

<sup>(4)</sup> I assume the correctness of Ramsay's ingenious explanation of *Rogmor* in the Table as = [T]roc[m]or[um]; whence the repetition of the number XXXVI.

<sup>(5)</sup> 14.92 miles is the distance from Yuzgat to Babali; the distance to the Kale by the direct road is about the same.

Euagina was re-named Verinopolis <sup>(1)</sup> in honour of Verina, wife of the emperor Leo (A. D. 457-474) and it became a bishopric soon afterwards. In the later centuries it figures as an important fortress first in the Boucellarian Theme and afterwards in the Charsian <sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 247 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> Constantine, *de admin. imperio*, p. 225, ed. Bonn. Cf. Gelzer, *op. cit.*



#### IV. FROM EUAGINA TO SEBASTOPOLIS

§ 13. Keuhne lies in what was in Roman times the extreme corner of Galatia adjoining Cappadocia on the one side and Pontus Galaticus on the other. The boundary of Pontus Galaticus towards Galatia probably passed along the watershed north-east of Keuhne and over the mountains to the southern end of the Tchorum plain, while its boundary towards Cappadocia is marked by a line passing just south of the road from Euagina to Sebastopolis (Sulu Seraï) <sup>(1)</sup>. My efforts were now devoted to an examination of this road, the first section of which is an absolute blank on the maps. Leaving Keuhne on June 17, we followed the direct road to Sivas as far as the hot springs (*Hamman*), 20 min. distant, and then diverged E.-N.-E. over undulating country intersected here and there by streams flowing towards the Keuhne-Euzu. At *Sorkun* <sup>(2)</sup>, a good hour from Hamman, there are some remains which probably belong to Euagina, but no inscriptions were forthcoming. The summit of the watershed is reached at *Karakuz* <sup>(3)</sup>, an hour further on (8 1/2 miles from Keuhne), near which we found a huge circular basin with projecting lip hewn out of the living rock. Hence our road

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Itin. Anton.*, p. 205.

<sup>(2)</sup> The village is placed too far north on H. Kiepert's map. It lies on the left bank of a stream which flows down by Burun-euren towards the Keuhne-Euzu.

<sup>(3)</sup> Hence Mughalleh is one hour distant towards the south.

gradually descends over scrub-covered undulations by *Ahmed Fakirli* (40 min.) and *Yaghdjilar* (40 min., 5 1/2 miles from Karakuz) to the eastern edge of the little valley of the Tekir-Euzu, a tributary of the Tchekerek Irmak. An hour below (north-east of) Yaghdjilar the stream enters the hills, and the road follows the narrow glen, which runs in a north-easterly direction for several miles. In 1 hr. 48 min. we reached the Circassian village *Aiwalli* on the right bank of the stream, whence we diverged to pay a fruitless visit to Tekir, a village lying 35 minutes up the hill side on the left, at the head of a little tributary <sup>(1)</sup>. Thirty-eight minutes beyond Aiwalli the Tekir-Euzu enters a gorge and bends sharply round to N.-N.-W. At the entrance to the narrows we turned eastwards over the undulating slopes for half an hour to *Izebeuyuk* (12.17 miles from Yaghdjilar), which lies about ten minutes south of the direct track.

So far I found but few traces of ancient life and no evidence that I had hit the line of the old road; but the route we followed is the direct one and there is no possibility of a variant line after passing Yaghdjilar <sup>(2)</sup>. A few minutes to the south of Izebeuyuk there is an old site called *Ushakli Hüyük*, but there is little to be seen in the way of remains except a few stones in the cemetery, one of which looked like an uninscribed milestone. Near the crossing of the Tchekerek Irmak (Scylax), a little over half an hour below the village <sup>(3)</sup>, our road is joined by what used to be a considerable trade-route from Caesareia by way of Rumdigin and Kara-maghara to Zela, Amasia, and Samsun, although at the present day the traffic seems to have deserted

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<sup>(1)</sup> Tekir reads about 290° from Aiwalli.

<sup>(2)</sup> And there is very little possibility of a variant line in the earlier part of the route.

<sup>(3)</sup> Yangi lies two hours further east.

this road for the alternative routes by Yuzgat and Sivas, partly owing to the lack of a *chaussée* and to the barrier which Devedji Dag, « the Camel-driver's Mountain », throws across the path. That the importance of this route is not limited to a recent past would be sufficiently proved by the ruins of a solid bridge, now called *Kessik Keupru* (« broken bridge »), which are still used to carry the road across the river. The bridge consisted of two arches resting on a central pier, of which the outer casing has been swept away by the force of the current. The inner shell consists of stones embedded in cement. The two abutments, which are well preserved, are faced with squared stones carefully dressed. The bridge, if not Roman, is at least of the early Seldjuk period.

§ 14. SERMUSA? — The two roads diverge some distance east of *Kaballi*, which lies 5 1/4 miles N.-E. of Izebeuyuk. The trade-route runs up a lateral valley to Kadisheher and then crosses the Devedji Dag to Zela, while the road to Sebastopolis passes up the centre of the main valley, which slopes up to the mountain on the north side and on the southern to a long, narrow ridge which conceals the river from view. Near the forking of the roads we might expect an ancient site and in fact the neighbouring villages, especially *Kaballi* and *Kilisse Keui*, contain numerous remains, — columns <sup>(1)</sup>, moulded pieces, building-blocks, and some uninscribed tomb-stones. The exact site is not clear, but perhaps *Kilisse Keui* (1 hr. N.-N.-E. of Yangi) has the superior claims. Its ancient name may well be *Sermusa*, which Ptolemy <sup>(2)</sup> assigns to Pontus Galaticus and places in a position relatively to *Pleuramis* on the *Euagina-Zela* road (§ 20) which agrees excellently with our site. The town is twice mentioned by the *Peutinger Table*, (1) on the road. : —

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<sup>(1)</sup> One column in the cemetery of *Kaballi* looked very like a worn milestone.

<sup>(2)</sup> Bk. V, 6, 8. For *Sermusa*, cf. *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 262.

Zela XXXII Stabulum XXII Seramisā XVI Neocæsaria, and (2) on a road described thus : —

Euagina XXIII Saralio XXII Zama XXXV Aquas Aravenas [*Terzili Hammam*] XX Dona XX Sermusa XVI Siva [*Yoghun Hissar*]... Mazaca Cæsarea.

The first of these two roads is certainly incorrect, for the road from Zela to Neocæsareia must pass through Comana. Stabulum, which occurs again as « ad Stabulum » on the Euagina-Comana road, may well mean Sebastopolim, which is never mentioned. The second road is a blend of several routes, including a road from Terzili Hammam by Siva (*Yoghun Hissar* or *Yogh'nisa*, as it is locally pronounced) to Cæsareia. Now the double occurrence of Sermusa suggests a position at a junction of roads, and our site lies near the point where the Euagina-Sebastopolis road cuts the road from Zela to Cæsareia, which may well pass through Siva. The number XVI m. p., which occurs each time after Sermusa on the Table, represents with tolerable accuracy the distance between Kilisse Keui and Sulu-Seraï (<sup>1</sup>). But the confusion of the Table is so great that it is almost useless to try to extract evidence from it.

§ 15. If our identification be correct, Sermusa lay a short distance off the road to Sebastopolis, which runs between Kilisse Keui and the river. An hour south-west of *Ulubagh* (sometimes called Alaba), on the bank of a stream which comes down from the slopes of Devedji Dagh and flows through a break in the ridge to join the Tchekerek Irmak, there is a deserted cemetery with many old columns and blocks of various kinds which, like the remains at Ulubagh, probably belong to Sebastopolis. The existence of oil-press weight-stones in several of the villages shows

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(<sup>1</sup>) Kilisse Keui lies half an hour below Kadisheher, whence it is nearly 4 miles to Yondjalik by a road over the hill side. From the latter village to Suluseraï is 12.62 miles.

that the olive was cultivated all over the valley in ancient times. Below Ulubagh the road skirts the edge of a little salt lake and rounds the head of the ridge to *Sulu-Seraï* <sup>(1)</sup>, entering the village by a Roman bridge on the parapet of which lies the well-known inscription (no. 286) which commemorates Arrian's administration of Cappadocia. In a cemetery beside the bridge there is a milestone of Gordian III (no. 472), already published in an incomplete form.

§ 16. SEBASTOPOLIS. — The « well-watered Palace » (*Sulu-Seraï*) is a suitable name for the village perched on the top of a mound between the main arm of the Tchekerek Irmak and a small tributary flowing from the south-east. This mound, as is well known, covers the ruins of Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis. The town was a refoundation of Karana <sup>(2)</sup>, a village which had once been subject to Zela and afterwards formed part of the principality granted by Antony or Augustus to Ateporix, a Gaul of tetrarchic stock. On his death (B. C. 3-2, see no. 286) this little state was annexed to the empire and incorporated in Pontus Galaticus. Karana was now formed into a πόλις by concentrating within the new wall the inhabitants of the surrounding territory <sup>(3)</sup>, and the city made its birthday the starting-point of its era. It would be natural to suppose that it assumed the title of Sebastopolis at the same time. But Strabo makes no mention of the new name. In the same way he mentions Sebasteia only under its old name

<sup>(1)</sup> Sulu-Seraï is 5 1/4 miles (1 1/2 hours) from Ulubagh.

<sup>(2)</sup> Strabo p. 560; see W. M. Ramsay in *Revue des ét. gr.*, 1893, p. 252, where a plausible explanation of Strabo's text by M. Reinach is quoted and approved: τελευταίαντος δ' ἐκείνου (sc. Ἀτεπόριχος) ταύτην μὲν τὴν μερίδα οὐ πολλὴν οὔσαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι συμβαίνει, καλουμένην ἐπαρχίαν (καὶ ἔστι σύστημα καθ' αὐτό) πολίχνην συνοικισάντων (sc. Ῥωμαίων) τὰ Κάρανα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα Καρανίτις λέγεται. The only change in the text is the omission of τὸ after αὐτό.

<sup>(3)</sup> For a similar συνοικισμός at Phazimon-Neapolis, see § 41.

Megalopolis. We might therefore conclude with Ramsay <sup>(1)</sup>, that the new names were not conferred until after A. D. 19. But it is perhaps unsafe to base an argument on the silence of Strabo, for neither does he mention the name of Laodiceia (Pontica), which seems to have been a refoundation of his Kizari (§ 35); and yet the name was certainly current in his time. The question would be settled by an inscription of Coptos published in *CIL*, III, *Suppl.* 6627 (= *Eph. Epigr.*, V, no. 15), if Mommsen's date be accepted. The inscription gives a list of soldiers who carried out certain military works in Egypt and amongst them there is one from Sebastopolis. Mommsen assigns the document to the time of Augustus, and we shall not venture to dispute his view. We may note that it is not likely to be later than the time of Tiberius, for Gangra has not yet assumed the title of Germanicopolis, which was probably adopted in honour of Caligula.

Of the inscriptions which I collected at Sulu-Seraï (nos. 285 sqq.) some have been already published, but not all of them accurately. Of the new ones two are of special interest. From no. 288 we learn that the Severianus whose army was annihilated by the Parthians at Elegeia in A. D. 161 was not, as has hitherto been supposed, P. Aelius Severianus Maximus, legate of Arabia, but M. Sedatius Severianus Iulius Rufinus, who took the command against Parthia as governor of the province Cappadocia, in which Sebastopolis had been included since about A. D. 106 <sup>(2)</sup>. The other, no. 290, gives us a glimpse into the municipal organization of the town, which closely followed the normal Graeco-Roman type. Amongst the public offices those of *Archon*, *Thiasarch*, and *Agoranomos* are mentioned. The references to the Imperial Cultus are of especial importance. There existed at Sebastopolis

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ramsay, *Rev. des ét. gr.*, I. c., p. 252.

<sup>(2)</sup> See commentary to no. 290.

a municipal cultus of the Emperors, the High-priesthood of which had been held by M. Antonius Rufus for life (l. 12-13). In this capacity he had given splendid gladiatorial shows (μονομαχίαι) and exhibitions of wild-beast combats (κυνηγέσια). This proves that the exhibition of *munera* and *venationes* was not confined to the provincial High-priest. It was in all probability one of the duties of the municipal ἀρχιερεὺς to give them, but Rufus had done it with great liberality. Besides filling this municipal High-priesthood, Rufus had held the office of Pontarch or Highpriest of Pontus <sup>(1)</sup> « at Neocaesareia the metropolis of Pontus » (l. 7-8). By « Pontus » is here meant Pontus Mediterraneus, i. e. Pontus Galaticus and Pontus Polemoniacus, which at this time formed part of the province Cappadocia. This district had a *Koinon* of its own formed of representatives of the cities of Neocaesareia, Zela, Sebasteia, Amaseia, Sebastopolis and Comana. Its meetings were held (as our inscription shows) and its games were given (as the coins prove) at the metropolis Neocaesareia. So Armenia Minor, though likewise part of the province Cappadocia, had its separate *Koinon* and Ἀρμενιάρχης (no. 358). Before the annexation of Pontus Polemoniacus in A. D. 63, Pontus Galaticus had probably a *Koinon* for itself meeting at Amaseia, which always asserted its claim to the title of μητρόπολις (cf. l. 24), just as the Paphlagonians had a *Koinon* meeting at Gangra distinct from the tribal Κοινὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν or Γαλατίας (cf. no. 61).

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<sup>(1)</sup> On the equivalence of these titles, see the commentary.

## V. FROM SEBASTOPOLIS TO SEBASTEIA

§ 17. VERISA. — On June 21 I left Sulu-Seraï to continue my exploration of the road *a Tavio per Sebastopolim Sebastiam usque*, as the Antonine Itinerary labels it. Crossing the low ridge which runs down to the river beyond Sulu-Seraï, the road descends into the valley called *Artik Ova*, a long narrow strip of fertile land widening out after 16 or 17 miles into the rich plain of Bolus, over which runs the great trade-route from Sivas to Tokat, Amasia and Samsun. I had looked forward with expectation to this fertile stretch of country and I visited at various times most of the numerous villages which line both edges of the valley and dot the plain, but I was disappointed to find only the most meagre traces of ancient life. There was only one site of any importance in the district, and it is very clearly marked by a conspicuous mound beside the village of *Bolos* (or *Bolos*) half an hour E.-S.-E. of the modern centre, the *mudurlik Tchiftlik*. The ancient name is not far to seek. Without personal knowledge of the district, Prof. Ramsay had already pointed out that a situation at Bolus would fit all the facts known about Verisa (<sup>1</sup>), and the identification may fairly be called certain. According to the Itinerary Verisa was situated 24 Roman miles from Sebastopolis on the road to Sebasteia, and that is the exact distance between Sulu-Seraï and Bolus : from Sulu-Seraï to

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(<sup>1</sup>) Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 327, 329, 262-3, 319, 325.



*Bedir-Kale*, which lies a little off the road, is 20 English miles according to my measurement, and the distance thence to Bolus is about 2 1/2 miles. Verisa is obviously the same town as the Βόρυζα of Stephanus Byzantius (<sup>1</sup>), which would be pronounced *Voryza* from about the second century onwards. It appears as a bishopric under Sebasteia about the middle of the fifth century, having been previously included in the district under the jurisdiction of Ibora (Turkhal, § 31). The modern name seems to be simply the Greek word πόλις, which in Turkish assumes the forms Bol, Boli, or Bolo (<sup>2</sup>). It is possible that the name Verisa is concealed in the Mesyla of the Peutinger Table's road Eugoni [Euagina] Ad Stabulum [Sebastopolis?] XXII Mesyla XVI Comana pontica. The ruins of the town have almost completely disappeared. Some capitals of Corinthian style and a few other stones in the *túrbe*-mosque at Bedir-Kale, some blocks in the mosque at *Dodurga*, a small number of columns and blocks at *Gedaghaz*, *Karwanseraï* and *Eïdir* together with a few Byzantine columns, pillars, and moulded fragments at *Tuzla* represent all that I could discover of the surface remains of the town. On arriving at the village of Bolus, which is built at the foot of the mound on the east side, I observed that in preparing sites for their wretched houses the villagers had deeply scarped the slope of the mound, and a short search discovered numerous potsherds protruding from the edge of the escarpment or lying at the foot of the cuttings amid a profusion of all sorts of bones. The whole mound is of a soft loamy soil : evidently Verisa was mainly built of sun-dried mud-bricks. The fragments of pottery which I collected here are of considerable interest in the present defective state of our knowledge, and I have handed them over to Mr. J. L. Myres

(<sup>1</sup>) Βόρυζα, πόλις Ποντική. τὸ ἔθνικόν Βορυζαίος.

(<sup>2</sup>) Bolo is the Turkish name of the site of Trapezopolis in the Lycus valley.

for publication along with fragments from other parts of the plateau (¹).

§ 18. SIARA to SEBASTEIA. — I had intended to make Bolus the eastern limit of my travels for the season, but I found it advisable to smooth my path by paying a visit to the Vali of *Sivas*. I had thus the opportunity of traversing the remaining section of the Roman road, and I have a few facts to record about it. It followed much the same line as the modern *chaussée*. From Bolus it runs down the plain, which is soon narrowed by the spurs of Tchamli Bel, to the foot of the mountain and ascends up a shallow depression in a fairly straight line to the summit (²), 1400 feet above the plain, whence there is a descent of 750 feet down the side of a ravine to the valley of the Kalan Su, the Bathys Rhyax or Bathyrhyax of Byzantine times, along which the road runs for an hour to *Yeni Khan*. The town has the rank of a *Kaimmakamlık* and it has always been (as it is at the present day) the meeting-point of the roads which converge on Sivas from north and west. It is therefore undoubtedly, as Ramsay suggests (³), the representative of Siara, where according to the Itinerary the direct road eastwards from Tavium rejoins the loop line by Sebastopolis (pp. 204-5, 214). The name is corrupted on p. 204 to Simos or Sinos (⁴), and the form Fiarasi on p. 205 has arisen, as Ramsay notes, from the addition of a correction *si* for *fi* to the erroneous form Fiara, reproduced in Ptolemy's *Φίαρα* (Bk. V, 6, 12). The position assigned to the town on Ptolemy's map agrees admirably with

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(¹) See "Notes on some Early Pot-fabrics of the Plateau of Asia Minor" in *Man* 1903 and *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. XXXIII.

(²) The khan on the summit lies 10° east of south from Bolus.

(³) *Op. cit.*, pp. 262, 266, 308.

(⁴) Perhaps from an alternative form ΣΙΑΛΟΣ (Ramsay, p. 266, *note*): M for AA.

Yeni Khan. The distance XII m. p. from Verisa given by the Itinerary is certainly false, and should probably be corrected to X[V]II (<sup>1</sup>). The ancient remains of Yeni Khan are not numerous, but they have doubtless been to some extent used up in the construction of a spacious Seldjuk Khan, which is built of squared blocks of reddish sandstone. It is a universal rule in Asia Minor that where the Seldjuks built, ancient remains have almost entirely disappeared; and no more striking instance of the rule can be found than Sivas itself.

From Yeni Khan the road runs along the right bank of the Kalan Su for an hour and twenty minutes to the end of the plain, where the river enters a gorge (*boghaz*). Here it crosses to the left bank and, emerging from the defile in half an hour, runs over hilly ground for an hour and seven minutes to the Yildiz Tchaï. A ride of thirty-eight minutes over another ridge brings us to the Indje Su, whence there is a ten minutes' ascent succeeded by a descent of twenty-five minutes to the Halys, which is followed for  $2\frac{3}{4}$  hours to Sivas (*Sebasteia*). The whole distance from Yeni Khan is 24.8 miles. According to the Itinerary, the distance between Siara and Sebasteia is XXXVI (pp. 205, 214) or XL m. p. (p. 204). Both are wrong. My measurement gives the neat correction XXVI.

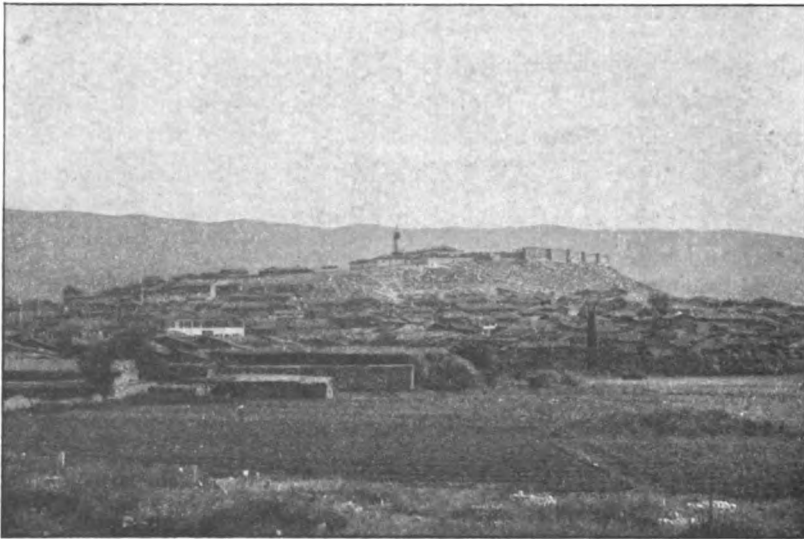
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(<sup>1</sup>) From Yeni Khan to the summit of Tchamli Bel is 7.57 miles by the *chaussée*; from the summit to Orta-euren, a little to the west of the road, is 4.82 miles (measured not by the old *chaussée* which winds in an absurd way up the hill, but by the new loop road which was in process of construction when I passed); and from Orta-euren Bolus is reckoned one hour. These distances give a total of nearly 26 km. or XVII m. p. [Bedir Kale to the summit is 11.48 miles by the old *chaussée*.]

## VI. FROM VERISA TO ZELA

§ 19. After resting two days (June 24-25) at Sivas, where in the absence of the British Consul, Captain Anderson, who graciously left his house at my disposal, I enjoyed the kindly hospitality of his American colleague, Dr. Jewett, I hastened back to resume my exploration of the Bolus plain. A glowing report of ruins at *Kalin Keui*, a village about half an hour from the Halys on the right bank of the Kalan Su, induced me to diverge from my road to visit the place; but I found nothing more than an ancient cemetery (without dressed stones) beside the ruins of an old village on the opposite bank of the river. On June 28, I re-entered the plain of Bolus and hunted through its numerous villages with little result. My next objective was *Zela (Zile)*. I had intended to traverse, if possible, the Roman road from Sebastopolis to Zela, which might be expected to cross the slopes of Devedji Dagh. To do so now would have involved retracing the whole length of Artik Ova, and there were other difficulties in the way. So I abandoned the project and chose another road which follows the right bank of the Tchekerek Irmak as far as *Gunduz* (inscr. no. 275) and then turning up a *dere* or glen in the hills crosses an open upland between Devedji Dagh and Ak Dagh by the village *Kizildja Suyut*, 1 hr. 22 min. N.-N.-W. of Gunduz (inscr. no. 276). After passing the village, the road veers to the left and runs due west through a succession of valleys flanked by hills, the sides of which are dotted with villages, until it joins at

*Sillis* the Roman road from Sebastopolis to Zela, which will be described by M. Cumont. Between Kizildja Suyut and Sillis I found nothing but the most meagre traces of ancient life, and before reaching the latter village I had given up the search. In fact I was too ill to do any effective exploration and I hurried on to Zela without turning to right or left. Fortunately M. Cumont followed in my track.



ZILE (ZELA), FROM THE SOUTH

From an archaeological point of view Zela is a singularly disappointing place. Inscribed stones must have been numerous there, but they have almost entirely disappeared. The stones in the cemeteries have weathered very badly and numbers have been used up in successive reconstructions of the fortress on the insulated hill which Strabo calls the « mound of Semiramis ». Only a few worthless inscriptions have been found in the town

by former travellers (<sup>1</sup>), and I have no more than three of little importance to add to the sorry list, two of which have been brought to Zile by Circassians from an old Christian cemetery near Sulu-Seraï (nos. 302 sqq.).

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(<sup>1</sup>) Hamilton, I, p. 361 f.; Perrot, *Exploration*, p. 379, no. 163 = no. 263 below.

## VII. FROM ZELA TO EUAGINA

§ 20. I left Zela on the first of July and proceeded to examine the country traversed by the Roman road to Euagina, which is described with tolerable accuracy in the Peutinger Table as : —

Zela XXVI Ptemari XXVIII Aegonne.

Crossing the plain in a S.-S.-W. direction, I reached in an hour the village of *Kurubunar*, which lies a little way up the ridge that bounds the plain and parts the water-system of the Iris from that of the Scylax. The discovery in the village cemetery of a milestone of Constantine mentioning the name of the province Helenopontus (no. 467) showed that we had struck the line of the road. Forty minutes beyond Kurubunar we began to descend into a valley of no great size, watered by streams flowing down from Devedji Dagh towards the Scylax. A visit to the villages which lie around the edges of the valley, mostly along the lower slopes of Devedji Dagh, produced no evidence beyond the one fact that the olive was cultivated here in ancient times. The direct road runs by *Alarap* and *Tchiftlik* (13.54 miles from Zela) and presently begins to ascend the ridge which separates this basin from the valley of the Tchekerek. Reaching the summit in an hour from Tchiftlik, our road descends along the bank of a tributary of the Tchekerek for forty-six minutes to *Kamushdjik*, where it leaves the stream and runs down over gentle undulations to the banks of the river

at *Tchuruk*. The whole distance from Zela is 23 miles, and the general direction south-west (<sup>1</sup>).

Arrived at Tchuruk, I found that the village contained a certain number of remains, including two inscriptions (nos. 257-258), and on enquiring for an old site I was directed to a *Kale*, half an hour up the hill side towards S.-S.-W. There can be little doubt that here, at an altitude of 900 feet above the village, is the site of the town which the Table calls *Ptemaris*, and Ptolemy more correctly *Pleuramis* (<sup>2</sup>), at a distance from Zela which tallies exactly with the Table's statement. Entering the site from the north-east side, I came first upon the ruins of a building which is now a fallen mass of blocks interspersed with columns. Opposite it is an ecclesiastical building, of the ground-plan of which I append a rough sketch, so far as I could trace it amidst the debris. It is a rectangular building, about twenty-four yards long and eleven broad, ending in a double apse, from the centre of which a wall runs down three-fifths of the whole length, dividing the inner part of the building into two halves with no access, apparently, from one to the other. This central wall is met by a cross-wall through which two doors are pierced to give admittance to the two sections. The whole building is thus divided into two little chapels with a common narthex, the front wall of which is hidden under the mass of fallen stones. At the apse end the walls still stand to the height of nine or ten feet. Some distance further on we come to a little acropolis fortified by three separate circular walls, the outer of which is five feet thick and

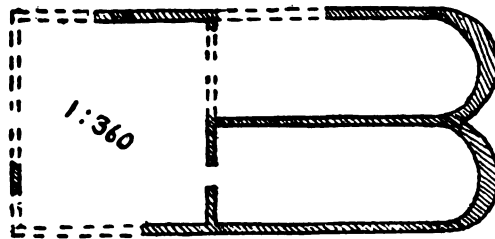
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(<sup>1</sup>) These facts show how inadequate the maps of this district still are. In R. Kiepert's new map (1 : 400,000) the distance between Zela and Tchuruk is 30.45 miles (49 km.), while that between Tchuruk and Keuhne is much too small (see the details in § 21).

(<sup>2</sup>) Bk. V, 6, 8 (ed. Mueller-Fischer, Firmin-Didot, 1901). Older editions give *Pleumaris*.



still stands a few feet above the ground. In the inner circle I noted several beds cut in the rock to receive the stones. Fragments of pottery and tiles are thickly strewn about. Some way down the slope below the site there is a flight of steps descending into the heart of the hill; it is now choked up with rubble, but it obviously led down to a water supply, like the subterranean stair-cases at Amasia, Tokat, Turkhal, Unieh, Karalar (Manegordos), etc. About ten minutes below the site and due west of it, the river was spanned by a stone bridge, now called *Kessik*



PLAN OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDING  
AT TCHURUK KALE

*Keupru*, of which only a fragment remains. It was evidently a solid structure, faced with fine squared stones, much like the bridge below Izebeuyuk <sup>(1)</sup>. In summer the river is easily fordable below Tchuruk. There are a few remains at *Euzviran*, half an hour N.-N.-W. of Tchuruk, where I copied one Christian inscription (no. 259). The modern representative of Pleuramis is the wretched little village of *Isakli*, half an hour south of *Hadji Keui* <sup>(2)</sup>, which is a nominal *mudurlik*.

§ 21. Between Pleuramis and Keuhne the line of the road is clearly marked by nature, but I found no further evidence nor

<sup>(1)</sup> See § 13 above.

<sup>(2)</sup> Hadji Keui is 7 1/2 miles (by road) west of Tchuruk.

indeed any vestige of ancient life until we arrived within an hour or so of Keuhne. A short distance below Kessik Keupru the road leaves the river, which issues from a gorge in the mountains, and ascends the course of a tributary stream to the watershed, whence it comes down on the headwaters of a stream flowing southwards by *Sorkun* to join the Keuhne-euzu and, following its course to *Duraldaïl*, strikes over undulating ground to Keuhne. I append the details in tabular form <sup>(1)</sup>.

A few miles south-east of Isakli an accident happened to my trocheameter, so that I am unable to give the exact length of this section of the road; but the XXVIII m. p. of the Table can scarcely be correct: [X]XXVIII seems nearer the mark.

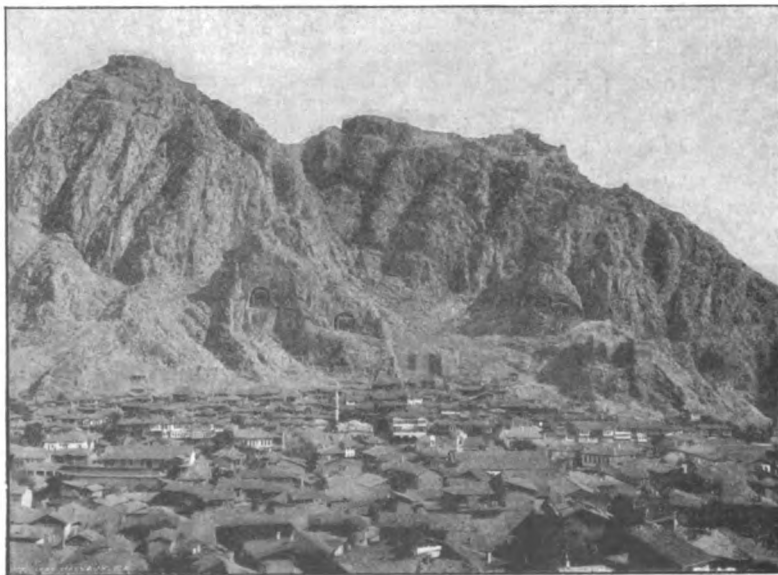
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<sup>(1)</sup> Minutes

0	Isakli.
54	Opposite Tcherkes Keui on right bank.
43	Cross river to right bank.
20	Begin to ascend.
15	Summit (rise of 480 feet).
2	Geuk Dere Keui.
11	Cross to left bank and begin to ascend.
18	Summit (rise of 425 feet).
34	Beyordu.
45	Summit of watershed (rise of 495 feet).
75	Zein-ed-din.
40	Duraldaïl.
ca. 30	Keuti Keui.
ca. 50	Keuhne.

## VIII. FROM AMASIA TO SAMSUN

§ 22. From July 4 to 11 my routes lay within Cappadocia, whence I returned northwards by the old trade-route from Caesareia to Aladja which passes west of Keuhne. From Aladja



AMASIA, WITH THE TOMBS OF THE PONTIC KINGS

I followed the line of the Roman road (already described) to Amasia, which I reached on July 16, three days before I was due to meet my friends, Messrs. Munro and Welch, at Samsun. With

a journey of 71 1/2 miles before me, I could not loiter in Amasia to search for antiquities. I had time only to visit one or two of the rock-tombs and to climb the towering limestone rock from which the castle looks down on the city nestling by the river 750 feet below. Next day I resumed my journey northwards. The road I had to traverse has been an important one at all periods of history and has always followed the same course. My hurried journey over it could not add much to what is already known about it, but there are a few facts which are worth setting down. In an hour and a half from Amasia the road emerges from the gorge of the Tersakan Su into the wide rich plain *Sulu Ova*, the Chiliocomon of Strabo. Near this point diverges an alternative route to Samsun by way of Ladik, Ahmed Serai, and Kavak. Both roads are *chaussées* at the present day and it would appear that both were likewise Roman roads, for the milestone at *Ahmed Serai* <sup>(1)</sup> numbered KI, which is said to have been dug up near the roadside about a quarter of an hour or less to the north-north-west of the village, can hardly be measured from any *caput* but Amasia, which we were informed is 8 hours distant <sup>(2)</sup>; and I have learned from actual measurements that in hilly country an hour often means less than 3 English miles or 5 kilometres. From the parting of the ways our road runs over the plain to the entrance to the pass appropriately named « the Devil's glen » (*Sheitan Dere*), where it crosses the river to the right bank and joining the road from Tchorum and Marsovan follows the narrow valley to Khavsa <sup>(3)</sup>, which according to my

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<sup>(1)</sup> Ahmed Serai to Ladik is reckoned 2 hours, leaving 6 hours from Ladik to Amasia, which agrees with Hamilton's information (I, p. 334, *note*).

<sup>(2)</sup> No. 443 — *Journ. of Philol.*, XI (1882), p. 156. The stone is a massive one and not easy to transport; Prof. Ramsay's memory must have played him false when he calls it one of the smaller milestones. — Cf. below § 36.

<sup>(3)</sup> See below § 37.

measurements is 26  $\frac{1}{4}$  English miles from Amasia. The only piece of new evidence which I came across during this day's ride was a terribly weather-worn milestone in a cemetery near the roadside at *Alevi*, 15 miles N.-N.-W. of Amasia (no. 442).

The road from Khavsa to Samsun is well known and may be dismissed with a few notes. From Khavsa to Kavak is 21  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles by the *chaussée*, and the distance thence to Samsun is 23.65 miles. I noted traces of the ancient road on the slopes of Kara Dagh, an hour and a half from Khavsa; and from the guard-house (*devrent*) on the summit, half an hour further on, it may be seen running alongside of the *chaussée* for eight minutes down the hill-side. At Kavak I made a fresh copy of the milestone published by Messrs. Hogarth and Munro <sup>(1)</sup>. One hour from the village (according to report) in the direction of 170° there is what the peasants call a *Kalé* on the top of a double-pointed, conical hill, on which M. Yenidoumian of Samsun has made some excavations and discovered a number of votive terracottas, chiefly figures of bulls and female torsos (one of which wears a *stephanos*). We did not think it worth while paying a visit to this hill, which is visible from Kavak; but it is evidently identical with the « *colline conique à deux heures environ loin de Kavak au sud-est* », on the summit of which there has been discovered, together with many fragments of pottery and terracotta statuettes, an inscription recording a dedication to Apollo Did(ymeus) <sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *R. G. S. Suppl. Papers*, III, p. 98 (No. 441 below).

<sup>(2)</sup> See inscr. no. 18 = *CIL*, III, 6976.

## IX. AMISOS - PHANAROEIA - NEOCAESAREIA

§ 23. I arrived at Samsun on the afternoon of July 19 and found that my friends had landed from the steamer the same morning. It was delightful after two months' fatiguing sojourn in the interior to find oneself by the placid pale-blue waters of the Black Sea and in the comparative comfort of a Greek Hotel; and I was glad to rest for the few days necessary to make arrangements for our new journey. When we were nearly ready to start, official difficulties suddenly appeared to delay us for another day and we did not set out till late in the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Our chief object was to examine the country lying between Niksar and the Halys with the view of discovering whether this was not the line of a great trunk-road from the Euphrates to the Bosphorus. The establishment of such a route would be a fact of the first importance not only from the point of view of Mithridatic history and Roman administration but as throwing a new light on the principle which guided Pompey in selecting sites for city centres designed to diffuse the Graeco-Roman civilization over the newly conquered country and so to prepare it for full admission into the Empire. A subsidiary object was to explore with some care the vast plain of Tokat now called Kaz Ova, the Dazimonitis of Strabo, which had never been systematically examined by any traveller. On our arrival at the Halys we intended to follow one of the less known routes to Angora, where our joint exploration would come to an end.

In fixing our route two alternatives were open to us: either we might strike the line of our conjectural trunk-road at Khavsa or cross the mountains in the direction of Niksar. Being reluctant to retrace the *chaussée* to Khavsa, we chose the latter route, which diverges from the former at Kavak. When we left Samsun the sky was dark and threatening, and we had not ascended more than 1500 feet when we entered a curtain of thick white fog, which did not lift until we had passed the summit (2525 feet) and were nearing our night-quarters at Tchakal (1300 feet). As we approached the village, a violent thunderstorm with a heavy downpour of rain broke over the hills to the south, but it did not clear the air. Next morning we crossed the intervening ridge to Kavak (2 hours) and followed the road leading to Herek in Tash Ova (Phanaroea), a dilapidated *chaussée* now in process of reconstruction. An hour from Kavak we began to ascend the slopes of Hadjilar Dagħ in a southerly direction and in twenty minutes more reached a Circassian village *Kavalli*. Here we changed our course to S.-E. and, as we rose higher and higher, we soon found ourselves in a dense fog with steady drizzling rain which obscured everything from view and added extreme discomfort to a toilsome journey. Trudging through dripping woods of oak, beech, hazel, and fir, and skirting a patch of green corn here and there, we reached the summit in two hours at an altitude of about 3350 feet above the sea. An hour's descent brought us to the bed of a stream flowing from east to west, which we followed for a mile, and then fording it and turning at right angles to our former course, we crossed a low ridge for half an hour to *Ak Tash* (2700 feet).

§ 24. As we entered the miserable log-built village, we were surprised to see through the mist a marshy sheet of water in the plain below with a high mountain chain beyond, and then we realized that our course had been more southerly than we supposed and that we had reached the north-eastern edge of

*Ladik Geul*, the Λίμνη Στιφάνη of Strabo. We had struck the line of our supposed trunk-road much sooner than we expected, at a point 8 miles east from Ladik (1). Next morning (July 25) we rode half an hour westwards along the north shore of the lake to visit a site on an elevated piece of ground rising like an island out of the marshy water which nearly encircles it. We thought it might prove to be the fortress Kizari or Ikizari, which ἐπίκειται τῇ λίμνῃ (2), but we found that it was only a small site with a few remnants of late walls and fragments of uninteresting potsherds. Returning to the village, we set out in a south-easterly direction. In twenty-six minutes we reached the foot of the hills, where we crossed a stream flowing close by the foot of Ak Dagh to the lake, and in another quarter of an hour we arrived at the summit of the little watershed. Here we may draw the eastern boundary of Phazimonitis, which (to translate Strabo's accurate delimitation) denoted the district extending westwards to the Halys between the ranges of Ak Dagh and Tavshan Dagh on the south and the parallel chain of Hadjilar, Kara, and Nebian Dagh on the north. Descending in Hamilton's track (3), we reached in twenty-five minutes the head waters of the Sepetli Tchaï, which comes down from the right and flows through a picturesque, well-wooded defile, along which our road runs. In an hour we emerged from the gorge into a more open valley, thirteen minutes before reaching the village *Destik*.

So far we had followed what must be the line of our conjectural road, but no evidence could be hoped for where the road has been perpetually carried away by the floods to which the river is liable. Following the line of the *chaussée*, we now crossed the Sepetli Tchaï and ascended the gentle slope on the southern side,

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(1) Ak Tash is 8.03 miles by the direct road from Ladik.

(2) Strabo, p. 560. See below, § 35.

(3) *Researches*, I, p. 338 ff.



bearing gradually away from the river. In half an hour we reached *Boraboy*, a village on a stream flowing S.-E. to join the Iris, and descended along its left bank for another half hour until we came opposite the large hamlet of Khatadi on the further side of the valley. Here we bore away to the left of the stream and after a sharp descent reached the valley of the Iris, which issues swirling and turbid from a deep gorge [in the hills. The valley is here a flat, unhealthy strip flanked by high hills, but a little beyond the wretched village *Gemishembeukeu* (3/4 hr. from Khatadi), where the river is crossed by a long wooden bridge, it begins to open out into the wide plain called Tash Ova, which forms the western half of the ancient Phanaroea. The plain is of triangular shape, the apex lying beside the junction of the Iris and the Lycus, while the base is formed by the low hills sloping gently back to the lofty mountains, Boghalli Dagh and Yailadjik Dagh (<sup>1</sup>), which stretch away southwards to the Kaz Ova. We passed the night at the shepherd village *Yolatchan* on the undulating southern slopes, fifty-three minutes from the bridge, 21.35 miles from Ak Tash.

§ 25. We now saw that by following the *chaussée* from Destik we had probably diverged from the line of our highway; but as we intended to return ultimately to Phazimonitis, we could leave it aside for the present and meantime set about the exploration of Tash Ova. We spent the next day (July 26) in hunting through the villages as far the *kaimmakamlik Herek*, 13.54 miles distant from Yolatchan. Strabo's description of Phanaroea as the best part of Pontus, *καὶ γὰρ ἐλαιόφυτός ἐστι καὶ εὖοινος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἔχει πάσας ἀρετάς*, is specially applicable to this fine, rich plain, which is indeed a veritable garden producing abundance of grain, fruit, vegetables, and tobacco. The villages lying on or near the southern slopes are embedded in gardens

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(<sup>1</sup>) Perhaps Strabo's Lithros and Ophlimos, p. 556.

watered by streams flowing down from the hills; and if the few which lie nearer the river are less prosperous, the fault lies with the listless inhabitants, not with the soil. We found two milestones in the plain, one numbered XXV at *Tchalgara*, an hour east of Yolatchan and two or three miles S.-S.-E. of Sunisa (no. 454), the other numbered XXX at *Fidi*, forty minutes S.-S.-E. of Tchalgara, in a *dere* in the hill-side (no. 455). Both are measured from Niksar\* and belong to the Neocaesareia-Amaseia road, which is described more or less correctly in the Peutinger Table. Fidi is the modern representative of the town which is there called Pidis (abl.) XXVI m. p. from Neocaesareia, Ptolemy's Pida in Pontus Galaticus. The distance is too small, for our road to Niksar, which cannot have diverged far from the old line, measured 22.27 English miles from Herek, whence Fidi is about 6 miles distant. This would give XXX m. p., the number on the Fidi stone. The village is not destitute of ancient remains. No inscriptions were forthcoming, but numerous building blocks, marbles, and other stones (some of which bear crosses) are to be found in the large old mosque, the fountains, and the cemeteries. I noticed here several oil-press weight-stones as well as a circular stone with a deep socket, which was perhaps a grindstone used in the preliminary process of crushing the olives. The existence of these stones disposes of Hamilton's doubts as to the correctness of Strabo's epithet *ἐλαιόφυτος*. « No olives », he says <sup>(1)</sup>, « grow there in the present day, whether cultivated or wild; and from its elevation and position I should doubt whether they had ever flourished in this plain ». As we have already noted <sup>(2)</sup>, olives flourished in many parts of Pontus, where they are no longer to be seen. The elevation of the plain is only 600 feet, and the heat in summer is intense.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 341.

<sup>(2)</sup> See § 5 above.

§ 26. Leaving the northern part of the plain to be examined on our return journey, we continued our march eastwards to *Niksar*. Strabo's account (p. 556) shows that the district of Phanaroea not only included Tash Ova but also extended as far east as the plain of Niksar. Geographically, the two plains are distinct basins (originally two lakes) <sup>(1)</sup> separated by a long saddle of hilly country, through which the strong, swift stream of the Lycus has cut a channel for itself. On the south side the hills rise up sharply and steeply from the cañon of the river, but on the northern bank the saddle is comparatively low and level, appearing from the higher slopes on the opposite bank as a long, flat terrace projecting from the lofty wall of Paryadres behind. Keeping along the south side of the Lycus, we reached the foot of the ridge, the eastern boundary of Pontus Galaticus, in about forty minutes from Herek (July 27), and for 3 1/2 hours our road wound over the slopes <sup>(2)</sup> through underwoods of oak and pine, rising to an altitude of 890 feet above Herek and gradually descending to the edge of the Niksar plain. Here the river is spanned by an old stone bridge placed just above the mouth of the gorge, three-quarters of an hour to the east of the hamlet of *Herkumbet* on the south bank and a little below *Buz-keui* on the opposite side <sup>(3)</sup>. The bridge consists of seven arches resting on piers strengthened by triangular buttresses <sup>(4)</sup> and a land-wall on the south side. The direction of the current is towards the right bank and consequently the arches on that side have undergone much restoration. The first low round arch on the

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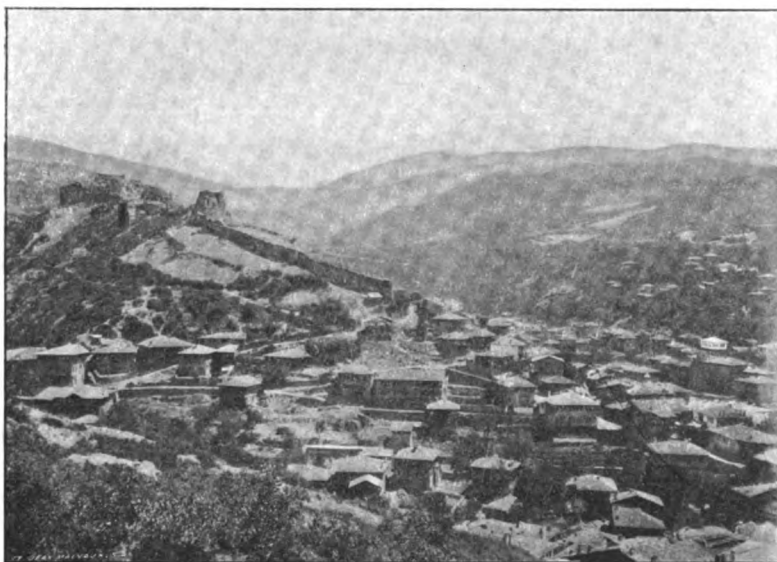
<sup>(1)</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 345.

<sup>(2)</sup> Hamilton's route kept closer to the river for a time at least. This path is more difficult and (we were told) impracticable for wheeled traffic.

<sup>(3)</sup> See below, § 32.

<sup>(4)</sup> Like those in the bridge at Magnopolis (*infra*, § 33) and in Justinian's bridge over the Siberis at Sykeon, figured in *JHS*, XIX (1899), p. 67.

south bank, faced with fine, roughly-worked blocks and backed by smoother rectangular stones, may well represent the original Roman construction. The second is built of darker stones more smoothly worked, several of the blocks being left « free » in the middle. The others (which are all pointed with one exception)



NIKSAR (NEOCAESAREIA), FROM THE SOUTH

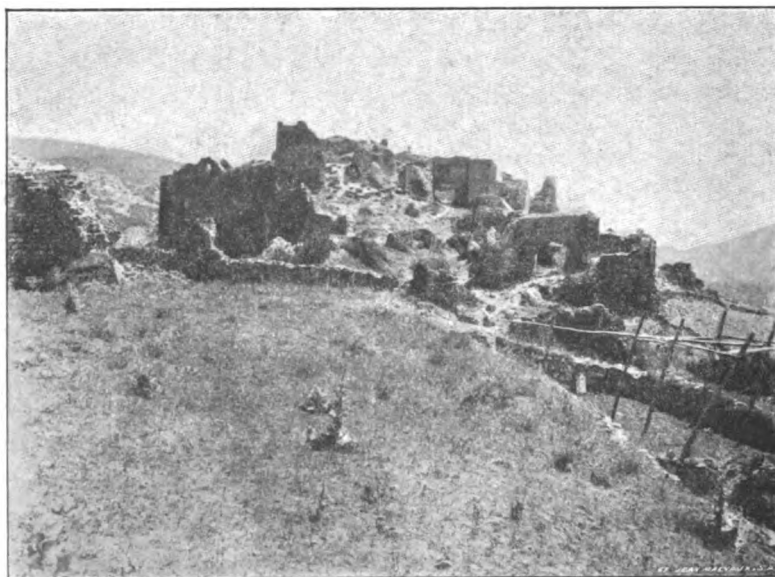
are of quite late and poor construction, composed mostly of small stones cemented with mortar, though older materials are also used ; the last arch in particular is made up of all sorts of miscellaneous blocks, some of which are of the same material and workmanship as those in the second. In the foundations of one of these arches Hamilton found a Greek inscription <sup>(1)</sup> which

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<sup>(1)</sup> *CIG*, 4186 = no. 336 below.

is now in Buz-Keui. Our photograph of the bridge unfortunately failed.

From here to Niksar the road runs over the flat grassy bank for an hour and fifty minutes, bearing gradually up to the mouth of the lateral valley in which the town lies. The whole distance from



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF NIKSAR

Herek is 22.27 miles. At Niksar we found a new milestone of Constantine (no. 456), now used as a base to support a pillar in the verandah of the house of M. Gulgulian, which may belong to any of the three roads that meet at the town. We then visited and photographed the citadel, which crowns a strong isolated rock on the north and commands a fine view of the town and the plain<sup>(1)</sup>,

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<sup>(1)</sup> See Hamilton, I, p. 346; Wilson, *Handbook to Asia Minor*, p. 45.

and on our way back we obtained a photograph of the town itself. Before leaving we went to inspect a fine old mosque (then undergoing re-decoration of the most atrocious kind) and found in it two interesting old candlesticks of bronze inlaid with silver and ornamented with scenes which we interpreted as representations of the Madonna and Child, St. George (or rather St. Theodore) and the Dragon, and so forth (<sup>1</sup>).

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(<sup>1</sup>) [Ces chandeliers ont été transportés à Sivas, et sont réclamés par le Musée impérial de Constantinople. — F. C.]

## X. COMANA AND THE DAZIMONITIS

§ 27. Our next objective was Comana and the plain of Tokat. Starting late in the afternoon of the 28<sup>th</sup>, we crossed the plain of Niksar (<sup>1</sup>) in an hour and twenty-three minutes to *Denekse* (<sup>2</sup>), a village lying at the base of Takhtali Dagħ by the entrance to a wooded defile up which the road runs for an hour between high rocky cliffs to an open, oval-shaped upland (varying from 1570 to 1700 feet above Niksar), which forms the watershed between the Lycus and the Iris. In a quarter of an hour from the end of the pass we came opposite the village *Oktap*, which lies five minutes off the road at the foot of the hills on the right. We diverged to examine the village and, returning to the direct road, passed in half an hour the village *Almush* situated at the edge of the plain on the left.

Ten minutes further on the hills close in, and we begin the descent to the valley of the Iris along the glen of a stream which flows down past *Omala*, where milestones (nos. 464-5) were found several years before by Messrs. Hogarth and Munro. In half an hour the road from Herek over Yailadjik Dagħ comes in on the right and a little beyond the junction of the roads we left

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(<sup>1</sup>) This route has been described by Munro, in *R. G. S., Suppl. Papers* (1893), p. 92 f.

(<sup>2</sup>) A mile-stone from Denekse is published in *Revue des Études grecques*, 1902, p. 333, no. 53 = no. 466 below.







VIEW UP THE VALLEY OF THE IRIS FROM COMANA

the Omala stream and, after following the *chaussée* along the higher ground for fifty minutes, diverged to *Bizeri*, where we arrived after nightfall, having covered a distance of 19 miles. There are a good many old stones in the village, including oil-press weight-stones, but we found no inscriptions. The church of the Armenian Monastery contains a tomb, covered over with a cornice piece of dark marble from Comana (<sup>1</sup>), which is alleged to be the burial place of St. John Chrysostom, the reputed founder of the monastery.

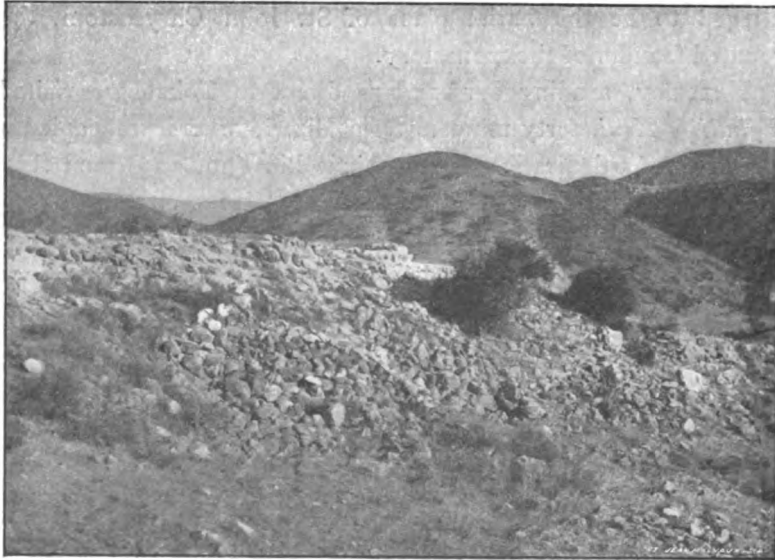
Next day, sending our baggage direct to Tokat, we visited *Djindjife Keui*, forty minutes from Bizeri, where we copied a fragment of a dedication to Antoninus Pius (no. 326), and then crossing the saddle which joins the mountains on the west to a hill in the valley, at the base of which lies *Kizil Keui*, we rode to *Sasera*, a Kizil-bash village one hour distant. From Sasera we bore up towards the right and after a vain search through the hill-side villages descended to *Gumenek Keui*, which lies half an hour above the ruins of the city whose name it has inherited.

§ 28. COMANA. — The site of Comana is marked by a conspicuous mound overhanging the Iris beside the bridge which carries the *chaussée* across the river, about 26 Roman miles from Neocaesarea. As if to label the site and rescue the memory of the holy city from oblivion, the builders of the bridge have inserted in the nearest arch two inscriptions bearing the city name, while one of them gives us the means of fixing precisely the era which it used (no. 313). The mound itself is overgrown with grass and weeds, and there is nothing to be seen on it but some late ruins : a diligent search produced not even a fragment of pottery. Hard by there is a cemetery containing many marble blocks, all refaced or recut ; in the middle of it rises a *turbe* to mark the sanctity attaching to the place. And religious legend

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(<sup>1</sup>) Another piece of the same cornice may be seen in the village cemetery.

still clings to the site. Ten minutes W.-N.-W. of the ruins a large cubical mass of marble rock stands isolated in the plain. It is called *Ziyaret*, a « place of pilgrimage », for here tradition says St. Chrysostom found a retreat during his banishment from Constantinople. Several tombs have been cut in the rock. The



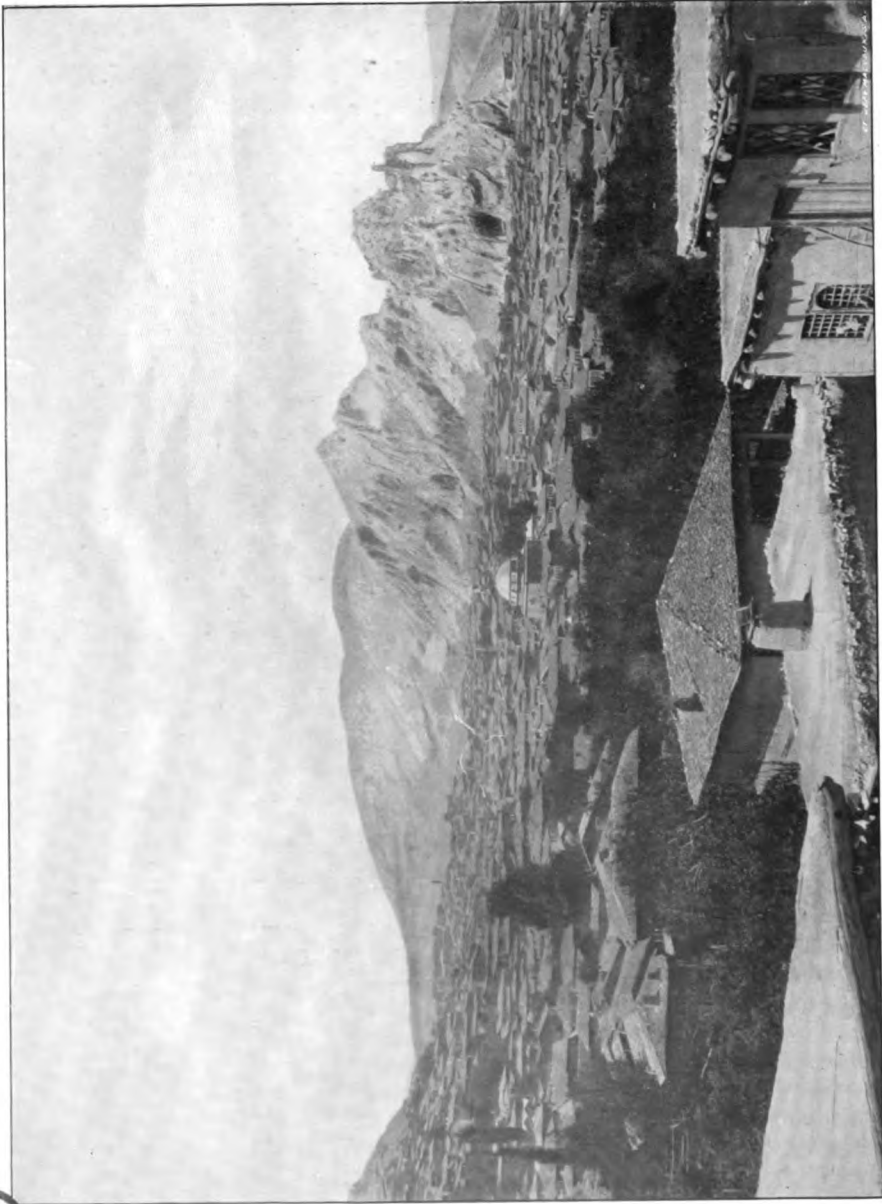
THE RUINS OF COMANA

most conspicuous of them <sup>(1)</sup> faces the river and has a rude pedimental façade with a doorway in the centre. Under the cornice are three arches originally resting on two columns which have disappeared, while underneath the façade is engraved a

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(1) First mentioned by Tavernier (t. I, p. 13, ed. 1679) and after him by Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 350; H. J. Van Lennep, *Travels in little known parts of Asia Minor*, I, p. 323 (with a sketch); G. Hirschfeld, *Sitz. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1888, p. 892.

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TOKAT, FROM THE EAST



simple inscription in two lines, which has been copied several times but never with complete accuracy (no. 316). Below the inscription there is a niche presumably intended to contain an urn and to be covered by a slab, for which fixing-holes are visible. Round the corner on the right there is another chamber with an *arcosolium* in the wall at the back and two sunk graves in the floor, one on either side. Another sunk grave has been cut on the top of the rock.

§ 29. From Comana to *Tokat* is a ride of 1 1/2 hours along the left bank of the river to the mouth of the lateral valley in which the city nestles at the foot of its picturesquely situated castle, the Dazimon of Byzantine times <sup>(1)</sup>. The distance from Niksar is just 30 English miles. Tokat is one of the largest and best supplied cities of the interior, and its prosperity is largely due to its favourable situation on the great trade-route from Sivas to the coast at the point where the road to Niksar diverges. The position seems clearly marked out by nature for the site of a town, and it must have been a mere accident of religious history that the great city of the plain was not situated in ancient times at the junction of the roads. The trade-route was a Roman road throughout its course, although evidence is lacking for the section from Tokat to Bolus (Verisa). The three milestones now at Tokat (nos. 460-462) may belong either to this section or to the Comana-Amaseia road. The only traces of the latter road which have yet been found are the remains of a bridge over the Iris which Hamilton saw about seven miles from Tokat <sup>(2)</sup> and two illegible milestones which we found at Turkhal.

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(1) For the identification see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 329 f., 220. The castle is described by Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 352 f., and by Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

(2) " About 7 miles from Tocat... I suddenly came upon the ruins of an ancient bridge over the Iris. One pier only showed substructions of Roman work, consisting of large blocks of marble; the rest of the bridge and some

§ 30. The identification of Kaz Ova with Dazimonitis is an old deduction from Strabo's lucid description (p. 547). In Roman times the plain (or part of it) was an Imperial Estate, as is proved by the boundary-stone of the emperor Maurice discovered by Messrs. Munro and Hogarth towards the western end of the plain (no. 311). Originally part of the great temple-estate, the *χώρα ἱερὰ* <sup>(1)</sup>, of Comana, it had either been appropriated as a royal domain by the Pontic kings, from whom it descended first to the native princes set up by Rome and then to the Roman emperors, or it became a crown-land when the territory possessed by Dyteutos, the last priestly ruler of Comana, was annexed to the Empire on his death in A. D. 34-35. From the Byzantine Emperors it passed to the Turkish Sultans, in whose hands it still remained in the seventeenth century, as we learn from Tavernier, who says that Tokat « with the lands belonging to it is the appanage of the Dowager Sultana » <sup>(2)</sup>. The centre of the estate was probably always Dazimon (Tokat).

In the hope of discovering some new evidence in this fertile plain, we left Tokat in the afternoon of July 30. As I was suffering from an attack of enteric fever, which had been a regular visitant all the summer, I went direct to *Emir Saïd* on the northern edge of the plain, 9.18 miles distant, while my companions visited the intervening hill-side villages without finding anything but some grey marble columns and blocks at the Greek

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walls on the south bank of the river were of a much later period ». (*Op. cit.*, I, p. 358.) We did not see this bridge : it would now be probably difficult to find, for the centre of the plain is very marshy. But it may be the bridge mentioned at the end of § 31 below.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Strabo, pp. 557, 559.

<sup>(2)</sup> « Cette ville avec ses dépendances est l'apanage des Sultanes mères », *Les six voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1681, p. 10. On the transmission of Imperial estates, cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, p. 10 f., 354.

and Armenian monasteries opposite Tokat. Next day we parted company. My companions took the hill-side villages in order (*Birep, Gurdju, Khat, Nedjib, Zamar, Tcharokses, Ishkozan, Ortakeui, Assardjik*) and rejoined me at *Gurumsheheri* in the plain. They found ancient stones at the first four, especially at Gurdju, where a large building has been plundered to supply an old cemetery, but no inscriptions <sup>(1)</sup>. I examined the villages in the plain with no better result. At *Akhir* (south of Nedjib) there are a few remains, — column shafts, bases, squared blocks, and a sarcophagus. *Kaledjik* (twenty minutes due east of Akhir) seems to be an old site; the village contains numerous old stones, — squared and other building blocks, four or five sarcophagi, a cornice piece in the style of those we saw near Comana, and a few round hollowed stones which perhaps belong to oil-presses; and in the cemetery on either side of the *chaussée* there are many pillars, some of which may possibly have been milestones, two of them having bases like the milestones at Khavsa. From Gurumsheheri (on the *chaussée* five minutes west of Kaledjik), we continued onwards for half an hour to *Karavli* (some remains) on the lower slopes of the hills, which the river gradually approaches as it bends towards the north; and after diverging to visit the ruined Turkish village and Khan, now called *Yükik Khan* <sup>(2)</sup>, in the plain below (37 minutes) we rode along the narrow valley to *Turkhal* (42 minutes), 26 miles from Tokat.

§ 31. GAZIOURA-IBORA. — The picturesque but dirty little *mudurlik* is situated between the river and the base of an isolated conical hill, on which stand the ruins of a Byzantine castle, 200 feet above the luxuriant valley. Here beyond all doubt, as Hamilton readily recognized, is the site of the Pontic fortress

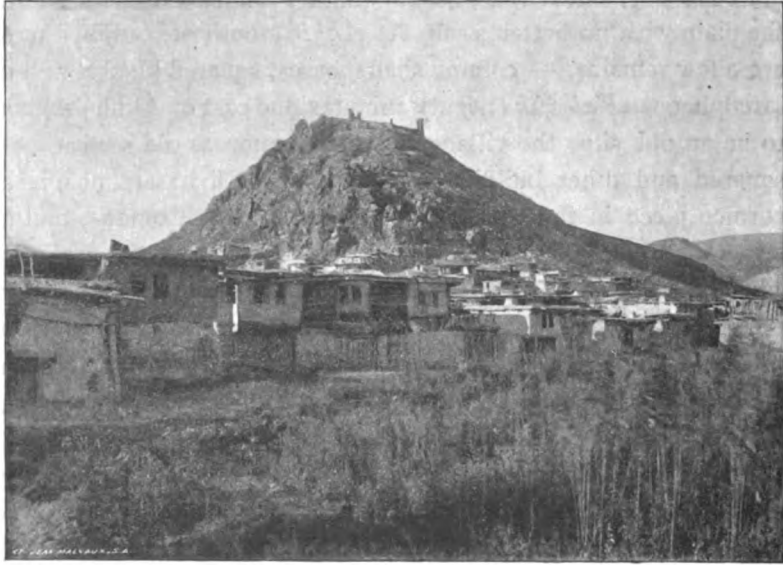
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<sup>(1)</sup> A copy of a Christian epitaph from Gurdju has since been sent to us (no. 310).

<sup>(2)</sup> Hamilton's "Khan Kieui, about 7 miles S.-S.-E. (of Turkhal)", p. 360.



and royal residence Gazioura, which the Iris passes as it bends round from west to north <sup>(1)</sup> and near which Lucullus' lieutenant Triarius was severely defeated by Mithradates in B. C. 67 <sup>(2)</sup>. Deserted in Strabo's time, it revived later as the bishopric Ibora, as is clear from the facts collected by Prof.



TURKHAL (GAZIOURA)

Ramsay <sup>(3)</sup>; and the later name may well be, as Mr. Munro has suggested, only a shortened form of the older <sup>(4)</sup>. The surviving

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<sup>(1)</sup> Strabo, p. 547.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Munro in *JHS*, 1901, p. 58.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hist. Geog.*, p. 326 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> His suggestion is that the two parts of the name Gaz-ioura may have been separable elements and that the latter survived as Ibora, while the former has perhaps been perpetuated in a Turkish guise in the name *Kaz Ova*, = goose

fortifications on the summit of the hill are obviously of the Byzantine period <sup>(1)</sup>; fragments of wooden beams inserted in the masonry are still visible; but we saw no signs of the gateways which Hamilton describes as consisting of large blocks of stone, the lintels, side-posts, and thresholds being formed of single blocks. There is an underground flight of stairs leading down into the heart of the rock, like those at Amasia, Tokat, Pleuramis and other places already mentioned. By the side of the path leading up to the highest terrace there is an interesting inscription (no. 306) cut on a panel in the perpendicular face of the rock, but it has been defaced with the most deliberate care; if my restoration comes near the truth, it would appear to have been a military notice prohibiting strangers from intruding within the lines. The inscription is of an early date and may perhaps belong to the Mithradatic period. On the south side of the hill Mr. Munro came upon many fragments of early pottery, which unfortunately were afterwards lost. They showed concentric circles in brown or purple on a red or buff ground, triangular hatchwork in purple on a red ground, a maeander pattern on a light grey slip, and so forth. The town itself is not devoid of

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plain » (*R. G. S., Suppl. Papers*, III, p. 96 note, *JHS*, 1901 p. 58, note 2). It seems difficult to accept both parts of the suggestion. [Je croirais volontiers que la première partie du nom est le mot perse gaz (γάζα) « trésor ». Gazioura était certainement une des *gazophylacies* de Mithridate, et il est même établi qu'on y a frappé monnaie antérieurement (*Head, Hist. num.*, p. 426). On a dérivé du même mot gaz le nom de la forteresse de Gazaca dans l'Atropatène (*Smith, Dict. of Geogr.*). Gazioura, en adoptant la seconde partie de l'hypothèse de M. Munro, pourrait donc être le « trésor d'Ivora ». Seulement le préfixe (?) gaz entre dans la composition de plusieurs noms pontiques (Γαζακηνή, Γαζηλών), ce qui tendrait à faire croire qu'il appartient à la langue indigène. — F. C.]

(1) Mr. Hogarth in Wilson's *Handbook*, p. 41 says, « the lower courses of the castle walls are of an early period ». I did not find any traces of early construction.

remains. Besides an almost illegible milestone by the side of a street (no. 459) and another with only a few traces of letters remaining, there are several blocks and columns together with a late capital lying by, or built into, the chief mosque, marbles and other stones before another mosque, pillars and blocks by an old *tekke* which still shows some blue tile work; while the bridge carrying the Zela road over the river is full of pillars, moulded pieces, Christian stones with crosses and rosettes, and other blocks. But inscriptions are to seek.

Leaving Turkhal, we spent the afternoon of August 1 and the whole of the next day in visiting the villages which skirt the south side of the Kaz-Ova, with practically no result. At *Dimurta* we found an old bath of three chambers with stone flooring, marble receptacles, and ventilated domed roof, as well as a fragment of an inscription (no. 307) and several old stones, including oil-press weightstones and round blocks hollowed out in the centre which perhaps served as receptacles to receive the pressed oil; at *Dere keui* two inscriptions (nos. 308-308<sup>bis</sup>); and a few remains at *Bazar keui*, a market-village which used to be a *mudurlik*. Twenty-seven minutes east of the last village the Iris flows for six or seven minutes close under the hills and is crossed by a stone bridge of Turkish construction. Three quarters of an hour further on at *Endis* we copied a defaced tombstone (no. 309). The Kizilbash village *Tchertchi* (20 minutes west of *Waras*, which is two hours from Tokat) is built by a low mound on the last dip of the hill-slope, which is clearly an old (perhaps a prehistoric) site. From *Waras* we rode back to Tokat, whence we returned to Niksar (August 4).

## XI. FROM NEOCAESAREIA TO THE HALYS

§ 32. It now remained for us to accomplish the main object of our joint expedition. It had become clear that, if our hypothetical trunk-road really existed, it must follow the right bank of the Lycus to its junction with the Iris and thence run past Sunisa and along the valley of the Sepetli Su to the plain of Ladik. A two hours' ride over the cultivated slopes between the Lycus and the Paryadres range brought us to *Buz-keui*, where there are a few remains <sup>(1)</sup> and at or near which we should perhaps place the intermediate station between Neocaesareia and Pida which the Table calls *Mirones* and places X m. p. from the former town and XVI from the latter. *Buz-keui* lies on the border of the elevated terrace already mentioned (§ 26) which runs out from the high mountain ridge to the edge of the precipitous gorge through which the Lycus flows; this terrace slopes gently up from the Niksar plain and merges almost imperceptibly into *Tash Ova* on the further side, but it is intersected here and there by deep torrent-beds which break the general level of the surface. At the foot of one of these ravines, the *Manas Dere*, forty minutes from *Buz-keui* and half an hour below the village of *Manas* (nearly due east of *Herek*) is a fine single-arched stone bridge, resting on older foundations, which attests the former importance of this route, now fallen into utter decay. From here the road

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<sup>(1)</sup> Inscription no. 336.

runs straight on, avoiding the villages, which lie mostly on the higher slopes or nestle under the shoulder of Paryadres, to Zilkhor in the Tash Ova and thence to the junction of the Lycus with the Iris. While our *arabas* took the direct route, we diverged to ransack the villages in quest of the desired evidence, but the result of the day's search was very disappointing <sup>(1)</sup>. Near the line of the road, a little below the village *Geli-in* (*Gelyin*), which lies some distance beyond (west of) the Manas Dere, there is a beautiful spring of water covered by a vaulted building in the construction of which ancient stones have been used; and an hour and a half further on at *Emeri*, under the shoulder of the mountain, we came upon some remains including a rock-cut tomb, a tiny marble sarcophagus which was doubtless a funeral urn, and in the mosque a large stone slab displaying a legend roughly engraved in a script unknown to us (which we put down as early Armenian) with crosses underneath. We found night-quarters at the prosperous, but inhospitable, village of *Zidi* (about an hour further on), 24 miles from Niksar, and hoped that next day fortune would prove more kind.

§ 33. EUPATORIA-MAGNOPSIS. — On our way to Zidi, we passed above *Zilkhor*, a solitary village in the plain. Next morning (Aug. 6), determined not to let a chance slip, we rode down to the village, which lies 28 minutes S.-S.-E. of Zidi <sup>(2)</sup>. Here in a deserted cemetery we found at last what we longed for, a milestone of Nerva (or Trajan) erected by Pomponius Bassus, the number XXIII  $\kappa\gamma'$  showing that the *caput* was Neocaesarea

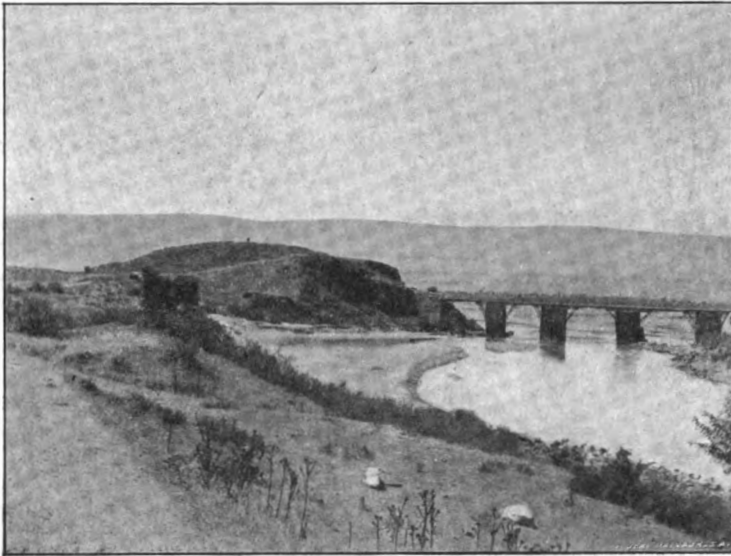
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<sup>(1)</sup> The details of the day's march are as follows : —

Manas (Herek 272°) to Geli-in, 25 min.; Geli-in to Ayat, 35 m.; Ayat to Emeri (Herek 252°), 1 hr.; Emeri to Ferengi (Herek 240°), 12 m.; Ferengi to Kholai (Herek 217°), 11 m.; Kholai to Hossan, 12 m.; Hossan to Zidi (Herek 190°, 1 hr. distant), 32 m. The last five are all close under the mountain.

<sup>(2)</sup> From Zilkhor Herek reads 200°, Zidi 346°.

(no. 420). Taking this milestone in connection with the other milestones of Nerva at Khavsa, we felt that the proof was nearly complete and we rode on with lighter hearts to the junction of the rivers, four miles distant. The site of Eupatoria-Magnopolis, which Hamilton « looked for in vain » and supposed to have



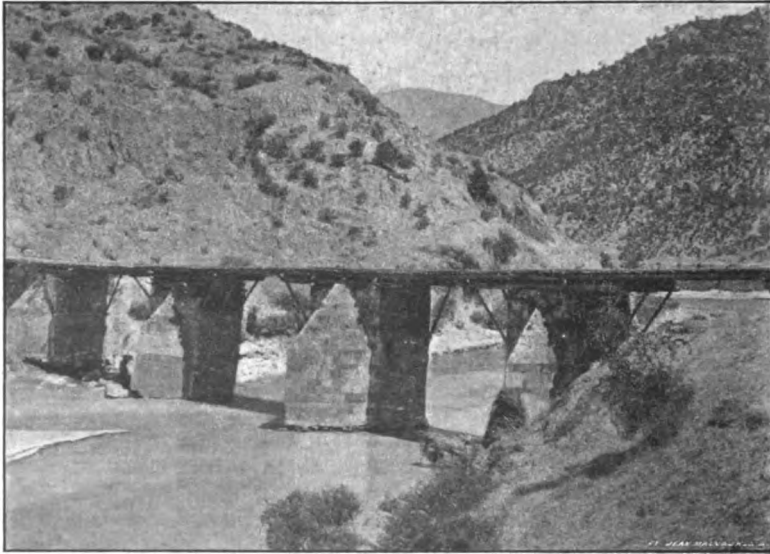
THE SITE OF EUPATORIA-MAGNOPOLIS, LOOKING SOUTHWARDS

disappeared as a result of geological change <sup>(1)</sup>, stands on a rocky knoll adjoining the right bank of the Iris a short distance below the junction and close to the mouth of the gorge by which the river has cut a passage through the wall of mountain separating Tash Ova from the sea. In this position it not only commanded the pass along the gorge to the plain of Themiscyra (Tcharshembe

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

Ova) but also guarded the bridge carrying the trunk road across the river, the piers of which are still utilised to support a rickety wooden causeway. The bridge is now represented by the two abutments and four piers, all so much and so frequently restored that it is impossible to conclude what the original structure was



THE BRIDGE OVER THE IRIS AT MAGNOLIS, FROM THE SOUTH

like. The piers were strengthened with triangular buttresses <sup>(1)</sup>, which have been entirely washed away on the north side, while those that survive on the opposite side are not in every case of one piece with the pier itself. In the restorations cornice pieces and moulded blocks have been freely utilised, and

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<sup>(1)</sup> Similar to those in the bridge carrying the Amaseia-Neocaesarea road over the Lycus (above § 26).

the present appearance of one of the abutments shows that the bridge was arched at least in late times, as is proved by the tile construction and the presence of a Christian stone with an ornamental cross in the remains of the arch. The site itself is absolutely denuded of remains and there is nothing to be seen but



BOGHAZ KESSAN KALE (IMMEDIATELY BEHIND THE VILLAGE)

fragments of late pottery strewn over the knoll. Nor did the surrounding villages yield any new evidence to break the silence of history in regard to the later fortunes of Magnopolis. That it did not actually disappear after the Pompeian period but lived on (perhaps under a different name), is shown by the existence of the neighbouring fortress, now called *Boghaz Kessan Kale* <sup>(1)</sup>,

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<sup>(1)</sup> Hamilton's *Boghaz Hissan Kaleh*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 342.



which occupies a position of the ordinary Byzantine type on a strong, isolated hill about three-quarters of a mile down the gorge. We visited the village (*Kale Keui*) at the foot of the hill, but the noonday heat was so intense that we were induced to accept the assurance of the villagers that no written stones were to be found on the summit and to refrain from the toilsome verification.

§ 34. From Magnopolis to the *mudurlik Sunisa* <sup>(1)</sup> is by uniform tradition reckoned two hours, but it proved to be only a trifle over 5 miles. It is a small, but old village on the gentle slope of the hills which form the boundary of the plain, containing an ancient mosque and Turkish bath and not a few of the remains of Magnopolis, including a possible milestone (without trace of letters) and a few inscriptions of little interest (nos. 331-333). For the next 30 miles we found no further trace of the Roman road. But its line is clearly marked out by nature. It runs over open cornland for half an hour till it comes down on the Sepetli Su, and then follows the gently undulating, fertile valley of the stream to the village of Destik <sup>(2)</sup>, whence we have already described its course to the plain of Ladik. The route offers no natural difficulties, although, being now in many places used as a watercourse for purposes of irrigation, it is naturally not in the best condition for wheeled traffic. Why this route was avoided by the *chaussée* to Herek and Niksar in favour of the less easy and less direct route across the southern side of the ridge is a problem not to be solved by a merely Western intelligence! The only traces of ancient life which we saw in this section of the road were at the large village *Zudaï* (1 hour 10 minutes from Sunisa), which contains several

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<sup>(1)</sup> Hamilton, p. 340.

<sup>(2)</sup> For this section cf. Hamilton's description, *op. cit.*, I, p. 339 f.

fine moulded stones and many fragments of ecclesiastical architecture. From Destik we returned to our old quarters at Ak Tash, on the north side of the Λίμνη Στιφάνη, 22.15 miles from Sunisa.

The line of the Roman road from the eastern edge of Phazimonitis to Khavsa is not quite certain. It would be natural to suppose that it kept along the south side of the lake so as to pass through Laodiceia (Ladik); and, taking this view, we explored that side of the plain, but without result (Aug. 8). The direct road from the Sepetli pass to Ladik has to skirt the edge of the hills for most of the way in order to avoid the swampy ground. Near the south-east corner of the marsh (forty minutes from Ak Tash) there is a little isolated knoll (*tepe*) with steep slopes, bearing on the summit the ruins of a Byzantine building and strewn with fragments of tiles and pottery. No other antiquities were to be seen during the two hours' journey thence to *Ladik*, though the lower slopes of Ak Dagh are dotted with numerous villages.

§ 35. LAODICEIA. — Situated as it is on an alternative route from Amaseia and the south to the coast, which is now a *chaussée* and in ancient times was probably a Roman road (<sup>1</sup>), Ladik must always have enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity, as it does at the present day. It is a government centre of the third class (a *kaimmakamlık*) and, though not a large town, it has evidently grown since Hamilton's time when it was « a small and miserable place, but called a town because it possesses a royal mosque with two minarets ». The only inscription which we found in Ladik is a wretched epitaph built into the wall of a small ruinous mosque, already published from M. Girard's copy by M. Th. Reinach (no. 23). Yet the town is not devoid of remains, some of which adorn the cemeteries,

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(<sup>1</sup>) See above § 22.

while others are enshrined in the mosques <sup>(1)</sup>. On the summit of a high conical rock of limestone which rises behind the town there are said to be the ruins of a fort, which we need have little hesitation in identifying with Strabo's Kizari <sup>(2)</sup>, « a strong fortress now in ruins which lies close to the Lake (ἐπικείται τῇ λίμνῃ), while near it is a royal palace now razed to the ground » (p. 560). This hill is mentioned by Hamilton (p. 337) as a suitable site for the castle, although he had not heard of the existence of ruins upon it. The identification would help to explain the otherwise strange omission of any mention of Laodiceia in Strabo's detailed account of Phazimonitis. The fact that the same omission occurs in Ptolemy's list seems to favour Prof. Ramsay's suggestion that his Κίζαρα has been falsely assigned to Strategia Laviansene and is really identical with Strabo's Kizari. The new town at the foot of the hill, which seems to have derived its name from Laodice the mother of Mithridates Eupator <sup>(3)</sup>, may well have long retained the old native name side by side with the new title (Κίζαρτ ἢ καὶ Λαοδίσεια). The new name finally ousted the old and has survived to the present day, but native names always died hard in Asia Minor.

§ 36. The modern road from Niksar and Herek passes through Ladik and thence runs over scrub-covered, undulating country for 13 miles to Khavsa. We traversed this road as far as the village *Hillas*, 6 1/2 miles from Ladik; but the appearance

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Hamilton, p. 335 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> Vv. II. Κίζαρη, Ἰκκίζαροι. The form Kizari or Kizare is confirmed by Ptolemy's Κίζαρα (Bk. V, 6, 24), whether or not we identify the two. The identification is proposed by Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 69, but he allows that there may have been two places bearing the same name. Such identity of place names in different districts is, of course, not uncommon.

<sup>(3)</sup> Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 54.

of the country, the complete absence of antiquities so far, and the knowledge that a milestone existed at Ahmed Serai led us to suppose that our trunk-road perhaps kept along the north side of the lake. Accordingly we modified our plans and turned towards Ahmed Serai, which we reached after an hour and a half's ride over open undulating country. The village lies on the northern bank of the Tersakan (or Susatcham) Tchai nearly due north of Ladik (whence it is reckoned two hours distant), half an hour west of Salir, and only about half an hour from the other *chaussée* which runs by Khavsa and Kavak to Samsun.

After examining the milestone <sup>(1)</sup> and copying a Greek epitaph, more lengthy than valuable, and two smaller fragments (nos. 20-22), we proceeded to search the other villages in the river valley on the way to Khavsa. Another epitaph (no. 19) at *Tchakir* <sup>(2)</sup>, twenty-five minutes to the west (where there are many ancient stones, some of which have come from a church) was all that we discovered until we reached *Yenidje* on the north bank of the river, an hour and a quarter further west. Here we found serving as a tombstone one half, fortunately the right half, of a milestone with faint traces of lettering. It probably belongs to the Constantinian period, but in any case the number XXIII ΚΓ is certain (no. 421). The only *caput* from which this stone can be measured is, so far as I can see, Vezir-Keupru (Neapolis-Neoclaudiopolis) <sup>(3)</sup>. Yenidje is an hour and eight minutes or about 4 miles from Khavsa, which measures 16 1/2 miles from Vezir-Keupru, so that the present position of the stone is about XXII Roman miles

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<sup>(1)</sup> See above § 22.

<sup>(2)</sup> The village lies S.-E. of the *Devrent* on the Khavsa-Kavak road : we came opposite the guard-house 22 minutes after leaving Tchakir.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Infra* § 41.

from Vezir-Keupru. It might appear, therefore, that the trunk-road passed not through Laodiceia, but along the north side of the lake and down the valley of the *Tersakan Su* to Khavsa. The stone, however, may have been carried some distance and the evidence it affords can hardly be called conclusive.

§ 37. *KHAVSA*. — The hot baths of *Khavsa* <sup>(1)</sup>, *Θερμά τῶν Φαζιμωνιτῶν*, are still considered no less *ὑγιεινὰ σφόδρα* <sup>(2)</sup> than they were in ancient times. The only interesting inscription (unfortunately broken in half) which we copied there is an offering of thanks to the Healing God, Ἄναξ Ἀσκληπιός, and others by a sufferer who had derived benefit from a course of the baths (no. 25). We sought in vain for the often published metrical inscription no. 26 and found at last that the building which contained it had been pulled down and the marble broken into fragments, one of which I saw in a wall by the mosque. Two at least of the three milestones now in the town, already published by Messrs. Munro and Hogarth in 1893 <sup>(3)</sup>, belong to the road we are describing. The number XVI shows both that the *caput viae* is Vezir-Keupru, 16 1/2 English miles distant, and that they have been carried a little over a mile and a half from their original position. We succeeded in tracing their provenance. When we were enquiring for antiquities at the village of *Susa-utch*, forty minutes N.-W. of Khavsa, the peasants replied that they had none now, but they used to have two « written pillars » which were found near their village but had been ruthlessly carried off to the *Konak* at Khavsa, — a statement entirely confirmed by our subsequent measurement of the distances.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>(2)</sup> Strabo, p. 560.

<sup>(3)</sup> *R. G. S. Suppl. Papers*, III, p. 96 f. = nos. 422-424 below.

§ 38. From Khavsa we ascended (Aug. 10) the open, cultivated lateral valley at the mouth of which the town lies by the village of Susa-utch (1), where we found some old stones and one inscription (no. 33), to the summit of the ridge forming a watershed between the Iris and the Halys (1 hr. 10 min.). Here, at an altitude of 720 feet above Khavsa, we had a magnificent view over the valley rolling down towards the Halys between the long spine of Tavshan Dagħ (which stretches all the way to the river, walling off the territory of Amaseia and Pimolisa) and the northern range of Nebian Dagħ which separates Phazimonitis from Gazelonitis (about Bafra). On the highest pointed peak (2) of Tavshan Dagħ, which is a prominent landmark from this point onwards to the river, are the ruins of a castle (*kale*) which we may confidently identify with Strabo's Sagylion (3), a Mithridatic fortress overhanging the territory of Amaseia ἐπὶ ὄρους ὀρθίου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ πρὸς ὄξειαν ἀνατείνοντος ἄκραν (p. 560).

Twenty minutes from the top of the watershed, at the village of *Ortaklar*, we came upon a milestone of Decius (no. 425) and two Greek inscriptions (nos. 34-35), one of which appropriately mentions a soldier who had served at Satala and returned to his native land to die, while the other exhibits a noticeable use of the Roman S, which recurs at other points on this road. A descent of forty minutes from the village brought us to the stream called Istavros Tchaï, which comes down from Tavshan Dagħ and flows north towards the Halys, taking its name from the village Istavros on the further bank beside the wooden bridge which

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(1) Susawudji seemed to be the more correct form. It is called Susandji (after Hamilton) in Kiepert's map.

(2) It lies 40° West of South from Vezir Keupru (215° from the western edge of the town).

(3) The suggestion has already been made independently both by Hamilton (p. 332-3) and Munro (*Classical Review*, 1900, p. 442).

spans the stream. On the top of the ridge beyond, ten and a half miles from Khavsa and six from Vezir-Keupru, there are two milestones (nos. 426-427) buried amongst the underwood covering a deserted cemetery, one of Antoninus Pius and one of Severus Alexander. The latter is the VII<sup>th</sup> from Vezir-Keupru and has therefore been carried half a mile (less than a kilometre) from its original position. Thence a long, gradual descent past the village of *Kizildja-Euren* (37 minutes), where we copied three inscriptions (nos. 61-63), brings us in fifty minutes more to the valley and the town of Vezir-Keupru.

§ 39. Before speaking of the town itself, where our epigraphic harvest included four milestones (nos. 431-434), I shall conclude the description of the road. We traced it as far as the Halys, whence we returned by a different route, viâ Tcheltik and Avdan, to the town (Aug. 12-14). The modern road to Boïavad and Tash-Keupru (Pompeiopolis) runs over the gently undulating plain and down a lateral valley by Tcheltik to a ferry over the river (<sup>1</sup>). About a mile out of the town in a field by the side of the *chaussée* we descried a large pillar with a massive square base, which from its similarity to no. 422 promised to be a milestone of Nerva. And so on examination it proved : the legend lay on the under side, but we succeeded in partially turning the block over, to find the letters mostly obliterated but the beginning and the end quite distinct, *Imp. Nerva C(aes.)... mil. I, A'* (no. 435). If not actually *in situ*, the stone is at least not far from its original position. The road now diverges to the left over open undulating cornland to the village *Indje-su*, six miles from the town (<sup>2</sup>), where we copied one Greek inscription in a fountain (no. 89) and three more milestones (nos. 437-439) in a roadside cemetery below the village, one bearing the number VIII, which shows

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(<sup>1</sup>) Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 326 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) Time 1 hour 50 min., giving scarcely more than 3 miles per hour.

that it has been conveyed hither a distance of a mile and a half. Hence we crossed to the valley of the Deli Tchai, a little tributary of the Halys, forty minutes further on and a quarter of an hour below the village *Ashagha Narli* (3.21 miles from Indje-su), whence the road ran over scrub-covered hilly ground <sup>(1)</sup> for an hour and twenty-five minutes (about 4 1/2 miles) to a bridge which spanned the Halys at a point an hour or so higher up than the modern ferry <sup>(2)</sup>. The bridge is now a total ruin : a fragment of a pier on the western side and the massive abutment on the eastern bank overhanging the river in solitary inconsequence are all that remains of what must have been a fine structure. The abutment consists of a core of small stones cemented in a mass and enclosed in a casing of large, carefully worked blocks fitted together without mortar. From the high spring of the abutment the river would appear to have been spanned by a single arch, which must have been over 100 feet in diameter. The current here is strong and looked deep, although lower down beside the ferry Hamilton could ford it in a zig-zag line and find not more than three feet of water <sup>(3)</sup>.

From Narli we returned to Vezir-Keupru by way of *Tcheltik* (just under one hour) and *Avdan*, a village an hour north-west of the town <sup>(4)</sup>. We had heard great reports of remains at Avdan, but its boasted antiquities consisted of little more than two epitaphs (nos. 90-91), one already published from two bad copies, which have afforded MM. Perrot and Kaibel scope for the play of their ever ingenious imagination, an imagination much too brilliant for the capacity of the Paphlagonian versifier.

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<sup>(1)</sup> There are remnants of paving here and there, which may possibly belong to the old road.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Hamilton, p. 326. From the bridge Egri Kale reads 297°.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

<sup>(4)</sup> Vezir-Keupru reads 155°.



So ended on August 14 our joint exploration of 106 or 107 miles <sup>(1)</sup> of the great trans-Asiatic road from the Bosphorus to the Euphrates. Had circumstances permitted, we should have spent more time in the fruitful plain of Vezir-Keupru, and I came away intending to make the completion of our work here a charge on my next journey in Asia Minor. Meantime M. Cumont took up the task and supplemented our work here as well as in other parts of Pontus with great success, and I doubt not that his successor will still find things new and unrevealed.

— § 40. The importance of this highway through the heart of Pontus for purposes of administration and defence, both in Mithridatic and in Roman times, has been well brought out by Mr. Munro in an article entitled « Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman <sup>(2)</sup> ». How clearly Pompey grasped the geographical facts is shown by his selection of sites for the cities which he founded as centres of Graeco-Roman civilization in this citiless Oriental land <sup>(3)</sup>. No less than five out of his seven Pontic foundations were planted on this road, — Nicopolis at Purkh on the upper Lycus; Diospolis on the site of Cabeira at Niksar, re-named Sebaste by Pythodoris and subsequently Neocaesareia; Magnopolis, the Mithridatic Eupatoria, at the junction of the Lycus and the Iris; Neapolis at Vezir Keupru (on the site of Andrappa, a village near Phazimon), whose later title Neoclaudiopolis, adopted in honour of Claudius, gradually gave place to the old native name; and Pompeiopolis at Tash Keupru in the Amnias valley. It took a long time for the newly conquered country to reach the standard of civilization necessary for definitive incorporation in the Empire; but when at length,

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<sup>(1)</sup> My measurements give 102 miles from Niksar to Narli.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, XXI (1901), p. 52 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> The value of Pompey's work in promoting city life in the East is fully appreciated by Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.*, Bk. V, ch. 4 [Eng. Tr. IV, 143 ff.].

after a period of pupillage as a client-state, one district after another <sup>(1)</sup> was deemed fit for admission, and the bounds of the Empire gradually advanced to the Euphrates, the Pontic highway must at once spring into prominence. The long process culminated under Vespasian in the annexation of Armenia Minor and the inclusion of it together with nearly the whole of the old province of Galatia <sup>(2)</sup> in the vast governorship of Cappadocia, which was now elevated from its former insignificant position to the rank of a consular province, garrisoned by an army stationed at Satala <sup>(3)</sup> and Melitene (A. D. 72-74). We might therefore be inclined to look for traces of the construction of the Pontic road in Vespasian's time; but such traces are hardly to be expected, for the pressure then lay on the immediate frontier <sup>(4)</sup>. The first construction of the road seems, so far as the evidence goes, to have been carried out under Nerva, whose milestones are the grandest and the most carefully executed of the series; and the care with which it was kept in repair is sufficiently shown by the nine restorations recorded between the reign of Nerva and that of Constantine. The early construction of the road to Satala as compared with the parallel route through Cappadocia to Melitene, which does not seem to have been laid out till nearly a century later <sup>(5)</sup>, was doubtless due (as Mr. Munro

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<sup>(1)</sup> The order being Paphlagonia (B. C. 6-5), Pontus Galaticus (B. C. 3-2), Comana and district (A. D. 34-35), Pontus Polemoniacus and Cappadocicus (A. D. 63), — all included in Galatia, except perhaps the last, if the name dates from A. D. 63.

<sup>(2)</sup> Except Pisidia, which was merged with Lycia and Pamphylia in one province (cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, p. 308, no. 120-1).

<sup>(3)</sup> There is every probability that Satala was from the first a station of troops (Mommsen, *Rom. Prov.*, I, p. 324, *note*, Eng. Tr.; cf. Munro's remarks in *J. H. S.*, XXI (1901), p. 61, *note* 3).

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. no. 477 = *CIL*, III, 306 (milestone at Melik Sherif), referred to below.

<sup>(5)</sup> See D. G. Hogarth's description in *R. G. S.*, *Suppl. Papers*, vol. III. The

points out) to the fact that it was the most direct route between the Euphrates and the legionary camps on the Danube, whence troops were constantly drafted to the East; while communication with Melitene was, for the time at least, sufficiently secured by the frontier road from Satala, which was being constructed as early as A. D. 75 <sup>(1)</sup>, and by the shorter branch road diverging from the main route at Olotoedariza (near Aivanous) to join the frontier road at Carsaga (near Gerdjanis) <sup>(2)</sup>.

Though it was always an important administrative route, the Pontic trunk road does not figure largely in military history. In later centuries when the pressure of foreign attack fell on the south-eastern borders, military operations necessarily moved along the more southerly routes and the northern road declined in importance. In modern times it has fallen into complete decay: here and there a local road follows the same line, but, as an artery of communication between west and east, the overland route has been supplanted by the coasting steamers which ply between Constantinople and Batûm.

§ 41. VEZIR-KEUPRU. — But to return to Vezir-Keupru. The town, which is a governmental centre of the third class (*kaimmakamlık*), has a pretty situation at the meeting of two streams flowing down from Tavshan Dagħ, which afford a sufficient water-supply for the irrigation of its numerous gardens. Viewed from a distance (especially on the west side

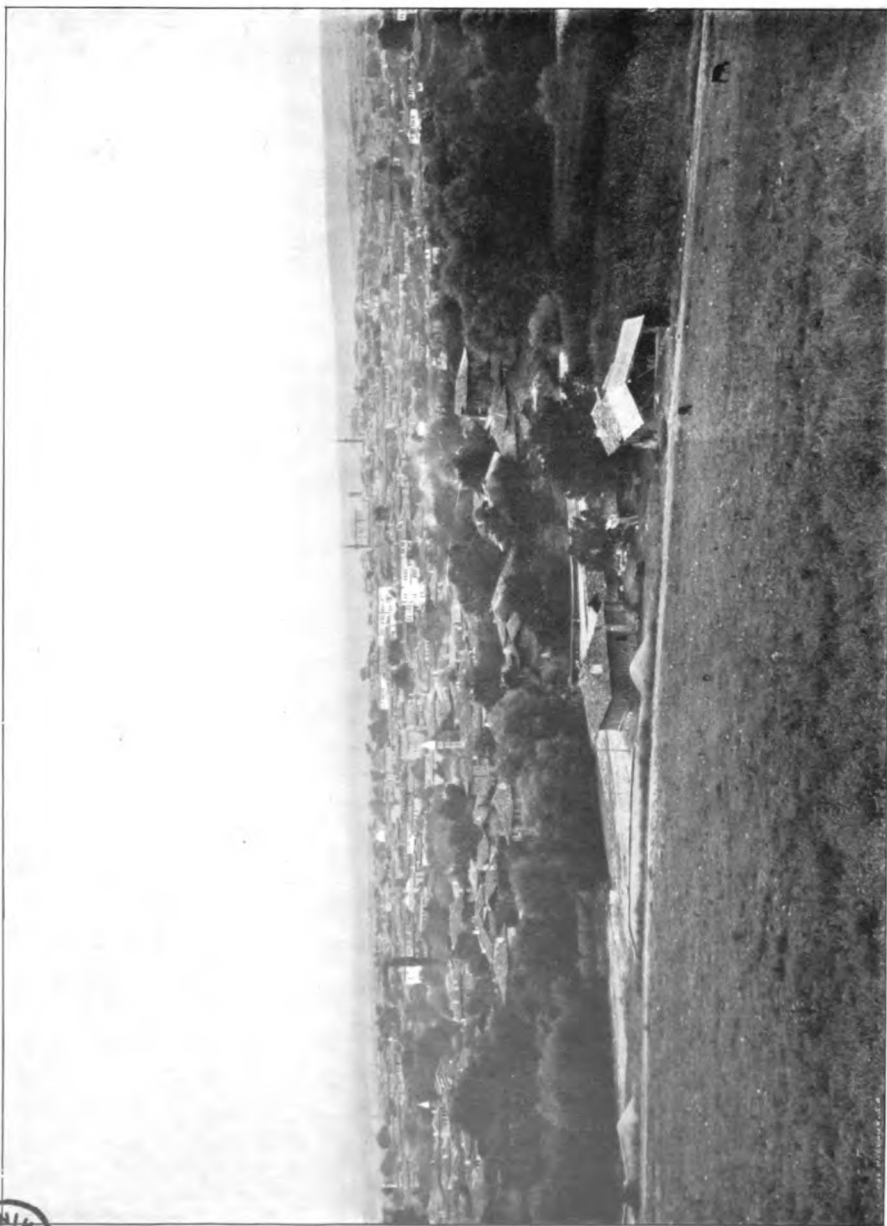
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earliest milestones are those of Septimius Severus, which record a reconstruction (*restituit*).

<sup>(1)</sup> No. 477 = *CIL*, III, 306.

<sup>(2)</sup> From no. 476 we see that this road was constructed before the time of Hadrian. The *Peut. Tab.* gives another loop road from Nicopolis joining the frontier road at Analibla on the R. Sabrina (Kara Budak Su) above Zimara. This road is indicated by Taylor, *Journ. Geogr. Soc.*, XXXVIII, p. 301 ff., but has not been explored. Ἀνάλιβλα is = Armenian anali-blh, *salsloser Sprudel* = (Tomaschek, *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, p. 139).





VEZIR-KEUPRU (NEAPOLIS, NEOCLAUDIOPOLIS, ANDRAPA), FROM THE WEST

from which our photograph is taken), its glittering minarets and whitewashed, tiled houses showing against the green foliage of the trees lend it a cheering air of comfort and prosperity; but on a nearer acquaintance it is found to be a dirty and tumble-down place. With the utter decay of the old routes towards west and east, the town came to lie in a *cul-de-sac* and was condemned to insignificance. In ancient times it was far otherwise, as might be inferred from what has already been said. Hamilton's visit in 1836 proved that the town was on or near an ancient site; he saw what no one who had travelled in the district with Strabo's unusually clear and precise description in his mind could fail to see, that the town « falls within the boundaries of the district of Phazimonitis »; and he threw out the suggestion that it might be the representative of Phazimon-Neapolis <sup>(1)</sup>. For our own part, we were so confident about the correctness of this identification that we eagerly scanned each new inscription that we came upon to find documentary evidence in support of it; and when at last we found one (no. 67) with the promising formula ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος followed by Ne..., we rushed to the conclusion Νεαπολειτῶν but were forced to spell out Νεοκλαυδιοπολειτῶν and let our hopes be dashed!

It was a great surprise to find at Vezir Keupru the name for which I had vainly hunted at Iskelib, provisionally following Kiepert's suggestion <sup>(2)</sup>, which seemed fairly probable <sup>(3)</sup>. The

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 329 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> Above § 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> The fact that Kiepert's proposed position, while harmonizing with other known facts, contradicted the text of Ptolemy was by no means a serious objection to the identification. Those who have used Ptolemy most know best that the statements in his text are not to be accepted without confirmatory evidence (cf., for example, the instances quoted in § 4 *fn.*). In the case of Andrapa-Neoclaudiopolis the progress of discovery has proved him to be more or less right, but it has often enough proved him (or his text) utterly wrong.

discovery of this inscription created at first sight a difficulty about the identification of Phazimon-Neapolis. As these names disappear from history after the time of Strabo, the natural inference was that Neoclaudiopolis-Andrapa were later names for the same town; but then the question arose, How could there be two native names, Phazimon and Andrapa, for one and the same place? Surely, then, Neoclaudiopolis with its native title Andrapa is a different place from Neapolis with its native name Phazimon, and the latter must be placed elsewhere <sup>(1)</sup>? But closer consideration showed that the apparent difficulty was not a real one and was caused by a misreading of Strabo (p. 560). When Prof. Ramsay pointed out to me that here we probably had a case for the application of the principle he had so often employed in Phrygian topography, e. g. in dealing with Oinia and Lysias <sup>(2)</sup>, the whole difficulty vanished. Just as Lysias, a general of Antiochus the Great, planted among the Oiniatai (Oinan-Ova, N.-E. of the *campus Metropolitanus*) a Greek city Lysias on a site about a mile and a half from the village Oinia (modern Oinan), *κατὰ Οίνιαν κώμην*, so Pompey planted among the Phazimoneitai a Greek city Neapolis on the site of the village Andrapa, a short distance from the village Phazimon and lying over against it (*κατὰ Φαζημῶνα κώμην*) <sup>(3)</sup>. The correctness of this reasoning was presently proved and the identity of Neapolis-Neoclaudiopolis established by the notable inscription discovered by M. Cumont in Vezir Keupru and published by him in the *Revue des études grecques*, 1901, p. 26 ff. (= no. 66 below). In the commentary accompanying the inscription M. Cumont gives on the suggestion

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Munro in *JHS*, XXI (1901), p. 60 f., where Khavsa is suggested as a possible site. But Strabo's description did not seem to imply that Neapolis was actually at the Hot Springs, and analogy was on the whole against it.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, p. 754 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> Strabo, p. 560.

of M. Th. Reinach an explanation of the existence of the two native names which is in perfect accord with that which we have outlined, supposing « *que le village, choisi pour siège de la nouvelle cité, ait été situé à quelque distance du bourg de Phazimon* <sup>(1)</sup>, *qui donna son nom au district* ». Not the least valuable result of these two discoveries is the complete establishment of a principle of explanation which has been found to throw light upon many dark problems of topography <sup>(2)</sup>.

From the previous inscription (no. 67) two further facts follow, both of which are confirmed by the later evidence. In the first place, it enables us to determine the eastern limit of Paphlagonia. When the site of Neoclaudiopolis-Andrapa was fixed, Ptolemy's statement (already supported by the numismatic evidence) that the town belonged to Paphlagonia led at once to the conclusion that Paphlagonia extended eastwards as far as the *Θερμὰ ὕδατα τῶν Φαζιμωνιτῶν* at Khavsa ; and there could no longer be any doubt as to the district to which Strabo was alluding when he remarked <sup>(3)</sup> that part of the territory possessed by Mithridates in inland Paphlagonia extended east of the Halys. From a geographical point of view the line of demarcation is natural enough, running as it does along the eastern slopes of the ridge which forms the watershed between the Halys and the Iris. The rest of Phazimonitis fell within Pontus Galaticus.

Secondly, the inscription by a piece of good fortune settles the debated question of the era used by the group of Paphlagonian towns consisting of Neoclaudiopolis, Pompeiopolis, and

<sup>(1)</sup> The correct spelling is established by the inscription.

<sup>(2)</sup> In the MSS. text of Strabo, p. 560, no correction seems to be needed except the old and obvious emendation *Νεαπολίτιν* for *Μεγαλόπολιν*, if we punctuate thus : *ἦν Πομπήϊος Νεαπολίτιν ὠνόμασε, κατὰ Φαζιμῶνα κώμην ἀποδείξας τὴν κατοικίαν καὶ προσαγορεύσας Νεάπολιν.*

<sup>(3)</sup> P. 544, quoted below.



Gangra. In his *Griechische Münzen* (p. 584) M. Imhoof-Blumer had fixed B. C. 4 as the latest possible starting-point of the system. Subsequently Prof. Ramsay showed <sup>(1)</sup> from an inscription of Pompeiopolis that it probably commenced in the autumn of B. C. 6, and his inference is established by our inscription. A similar argument is used in the commentary to no. 313 to fix precisely the era of Comana Pontica.

The era used by this group of Paphlagonian towns is reckoned from the date of their definitive incorporation in the Empire. Two members of the group, Neapolis-Neoclaudiopolis and Pompeiopolis had been included by Pompey (B. C. 64) in his Ποντική ἐπαρχία <sup>(2)</sup>. But Pompey's arrangements were soon afterwards modified <sup>(3)</sup>. These two districts, like the regions afterwards called Pontus Galaticus and Pontus Polemoniacus <sup>(4)</sup>, had been prematurely admitted into the empire and were presently handed over in the usual way to native princes to be educated and disciplined up to the standard required by Rome. Neapolis and Pompeiopolis were undoubtedly assigned to the princes of eastern Paphlagonia <sup>(5)</sup>. In the settlement of B. C. 64 inland Paphlagonia

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Revue des Études grecques*, 1893, p. 251 f. Cf. G. Macdonald in the *Journ. Intern. d'archéologie numismatique*, 1899, p. 17 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> Strabo, p. 544, 560-1 (Phazimonitis), 562 (Pompeiopolis). Cf. *JHS*, XX (1900), p. 153, and M. Cumont in *Revue des Études grecques*, 1901, p. 37 (= p. 12 of the offprint).

<sup>(3)</sup> Strabo, p. 541, ὕστερον δ' οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνες ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους ἐποίησαντο μερισμούς, βασιλέας τε καὶ δυνάστας καθιστάντας κτλ.

<sup>(4)</sup> Strabo, p. 561, *fn.* (Amaseia), p. 560 (Sebastopolis-Karana), p. 558 ff. and 560 (Comana Pontica), p. 560 (Zela and Megalopolis-Sebasteia). I am not inclined to maintain the view (referred to in *JHS*, XX, p. 155, note 6) which seeks to establish a relation between the X cities of the Province Pontus, i. e. half of the dual *Pontus et Bithynia*, in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century of our era (*BCH*, 1898, p. 492) and the XI πολιτεῖαι into which Pompey divided his Ποντική Ἐπαρχία in B. C. 64. Cf. *Revue des Études grecques*, 1901, p. 139.

<sup>(5)</sup> Perhaps by Antony.

had been partitioned between Pylaemenes <sup>(1)</sup> and Attalus <sup>(2)</sup>, the former getting the western half and the latter the eastern. In B. C. 40, the year of the death of King Deiotarus, Attalus' portion of Paphlagonia was assigned by Antony (along with Galatia) to the younger Castor <sup>(3)</sup>, grandson on the mother's side of Deiotarus, and on his death in B. C. 36 it passed to his son Deiotarus Philadelphus <sup>(4)</sup>, who governed it with the strongly situated fortress of Gangra as his capital till his death in B. C. 6-5, when the district was finally annexed by Augustus.

On its annexation, this district of Paphlagonia was incorporated in the province of Galatia. The common era used by the towns included in the district is by itself sufficient to prove this, when one realizes the place which was at this time occupied by the province of Galatia in the gradual extension of Roman power towards the East and the relation in which it stood to the client states adjoining it <sup>(5)</sup>. A different view, however, has been put forward by Mr. Munro <sup>(6)</sup>. He holds that, while Gangra was attached to Galatia, Neapolis and Pompeiopolis were included in Pontus until the time of Ptolemy <sup>(7)</sup>. In support of this view he advances two arguments : (1) an interpretation of Strabo p. 544, (2) the fact, striking at first sight, that the names of *legati* do not appear on the milestones found in the eastern corner

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Strabo, p. 541.

<sup>(2)</sup> Appian, *Mithrid.*, 114; Dio, XLVIII, 33.

<sup>(3)</sup> Dio, *l. c.*

<sup>(4)</sup> Strabo, p. 562 *fn.* Galatia was given to Amyntas. Cf. Niese's excellent article in *Rhein. Museum*, XXXVIII (1883), p. 584 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> Marquardt *Staatsverwaltung*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 359, Ramsay in *Revue des Études grecques*, 1893, p. 251 ff. and Introduction to his *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, § 12, which contains a clear account of the principles guiding the Roman policy.

<sup>(6)</sup> *JHS*, XX (1900), p. 160 f., and XXI (1901), p. 61, note 1.

<sup>(7)</sup> Who assigns them to Galatia, Bk. V, 4, 4.

of Paphlagonia (between Khavsa and the Halys), although some of these milestones were erected in the very same year as other milestones of the province Galatia on which the legate's names are inscribed (<sup>1</sup>).

Now, in the first place, we may note that the later evidence furnished by M. Cumont's inscription (no. 66) is dead against the theory. That inscription, which records the swearing of the oath of allegiance to Augustus in B. C. 4-3 by the Paphlagonians in general and by one particular section of them, the Phazimon-eitae (who erect the stone), proves indubitably that Neapolis was then in the same province as Gangra (<sup>2</sup>). Nor do the arguments adduced in support of the view appear, on examination, to be well founded. (1) The passage in Strabo is as follows : τῆς δὲ χώρας ταύτης [sc. Παφλαγονίας] διηρημένης εἰς τε τὴν μεσόγειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ διατείνουσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄλυσος μέχρι Βιθυνίας, ἑκατέραν τὴν μὲν παραλίαν ἕως τῆς Ἡρακλείας εἶχεν ὁ Εὐπάτωρ, τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας τὴν μὲν ἐγγυτάτῳ ἔσχεν, ἧς τινα καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἄλυσος διέτεινε· καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ Ποντικὴ ἐπαρχία ἀφώρισται· τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἦν ὑπὸ δυνάσταις καὶ μετὰ τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατάλυσιν (p. 544). This passage has been variously interpreted.

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(<sup>1</sup>) E. g. the name of T. Pompon. Bassus is absent from nos. 424, 435, but present on 420, 444, 445, 449, 460 etc., while that of A. Larcus Macedo is absent from nos. 423, 431 but generally appears on Galatian milestones (*CIL*, III, 310, 313, *Suppl.*, 14184<sup>47</sup>, 14184<sup>58-61</sup>). Mr. Munro regards these facts as evidence in favour of a theory as to the distribution of milestones in « districts », which coincide with administrative or political divisions.

(<sup>2</sup>) M. Cumont's interpretation of the procedure and especially of the meaning of κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ (l. 36) and ὁμοίως τε (l. 39) is so obviously correct that one can scarcely imagine that any other could be entertained (see p. 41 = p. 16 ff. of the *tirage à part*). If the Phazimonites had been in a different province, they would beyond all doubt have received a separate imperial order and they would have put this order at the head of the inscription, not one sent to others with whom they had nothing whatever to do.

That the Ποντική ἐπαρχία denotes the province of Pontus as constituted by Pompey in B. C. 64 seems clear enough <sup>(1)</sup>. This province, says Strabo, included as much of inland Paphlagonia as had been possessed by Mithridates. Mr. Munro lays stress on the perfect tense ἀφώρισται, which he interprets as implying that this arrangement still existed at the time when Strabo wrote. Now, if this passage were our sole evidence on the matter, this interpretation could certainly be maintained; but as it is, we have to ask whether the assumed implication is necessary. As a fact it is not. The perfect tense does not necessarily imply the continuance of the result of the action down to the present time. This rule holds in classical writers and it is certainly the case in Strabo. Examples abound, and I shall only quote one which comes ready to hand on p. 584 (Bk. II, 7), where Strabo speaking of Homeric times says, πεπρόθηται δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα τῇ Λέσβῳ κτλ. <sup>(2)</sup>.

(2) The argument based on the appearance and non-appearance of the legates' names, though at first sight somewhat disquieting, is shown by even a cursory survey of the evidence to be altogether valueless, since we find that the names of Imperial *legati* sometimes appear on the milestones and sometimes do not. Their non-appearance is merely a local variation, a sporadic difference proving nothing except that human nature is not governed by a law of uniformity. A few instances of such variation will show what conclusions would result from the employment of this argument. Larcus Macedo's name does not appear on two milestones of A. D. 122 in the Neapolis district

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<sup>(1)</sup> So on p. 562 *init.*, ἡ ἐκτὸς [from the point of view of Amaseia just described] "Ἄλλοις χώραις τῆς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας ἢ περὶ τὸν Ὀλγασσὺν (i. e. the district of Pompeiopolis).

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Goodwin, *Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses* (1889), § 46. It is obvious that "I have been" often implies not "I am", but the very opposite.

(nos. 423, 431); but neither does his (or possibly his successor's) name appear on a milestone of the following year <sup>(1)</sup> which is undoubtedly in the province Galatia. There is no legate's name on another of Hadrian's milestones in the same district <sup>(2)</sup> belonging to A. D. 128 <sup>(3)</sup>, yet it is in Galatia. Two milestones of Severus Alexander (A. D. 222) in the Neapolis district bear the legate's name (nos. 427, 433), but two erected in the following year (A. D. 223) in the Ancyra district do not <sup>(4)</sup>; shall we therefore conclude that Neapolis-Neoclaudiopolis was then included in Prov. Galatia but Ancyra was not? Or if we find no legate's name on the same emperor's Cappadocian milestones of A. D. 222 <sup>(5)</sup>, are we to infer that Cappadocia was not an Imperial Province under a legate? Again, the Severus-Caracalla milestones near Neoclaudiopolis (no. 438) and near Tavium <sup>(6)</sup> bear the legate's name (A. D. 198), but another <sup>(7)</sup> south of Ancyra (A. D. 208) does not. Examples might be multiplied <sup>(8)</sup>, but these will suffice to show that the absence of legates' names from Nerva and Hadrian's milestones in the Vezir Keupru

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<sup>(1)</sup> *CIL*, III, *Suppl.*, 6968.

<sup>(2)</sup> The western edge of the Limnai (Hoiran Geul).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 6967.

<sup>(4)</sup> *CIL*, III, 316, and *Suppl.*, 6901.

<sup>(5)</sup> Hogarth, *R. G. S. Suppl. Papers*, III (1893), p. 51, no. (ii) and p. 66, xciv (i) = *CIL*, III, *Suppl.*, 12211, 12169.

<sup>(6)</sup> See § 8.

<sup>(7)</sup> *JHS*, XIX (1899), p. 104, corrected on p. 318 = *CIL*, III, *Suppl.*, 14184<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>(8)</sup> No. 425 bears the name of the *praeses*, but Decius' Cappadocian milestone (*CIL*, III, 12201) has no legate's name. No governors' names are inscribed on Caracalla's milestone (A. D. 212-213) at Ancyra (*CIL*, III, 314) or on Aurelian's *miliaria*, *CIL*, *Suppl.*, III, 6902 (S.-W. of Ancyra), 14184<sup>49</sup> (S. of Ancyra); other examples of non-appearance are 14184<sup>51</sup> (Diocletian and Maximian), 14184<sup>58</sup> (Const. and Licin.), etc.

district proves nothing as to the province to which the district belonged.

§ 42. DIACOPENE AND PIMOLISA. — Only a few notes need be added about my homeward journey through Diacopene and Pimolisene to Angora. On August 14 we left Vezir-Keupru and returned to Khavsa, whence we turned southwards to *Marsovan*, following the road to Amasia for an hour and three quarters and then diverging along the northern edge of Sulu Ova, the ancient Chilioconon, an uninteresting treeless plain mostly under corn. According to the native reckoning the journey from Khavsa takes five hours; we took a little over four hours, and the trocheameter measurement gave the distance as 15 English miles. Marsovan is a prosperous town, pleasantly situated behind a belt of gardens and vineyards on the last dip of Tavshan Dagħ. It is at the present day the residence of a *Kaimmakam*, and it has sometimes been identified with Phazimon-Neapolis (<sup>1</sup>) in defiance of Strabo's clear and precise description (p. 560). The town seems to be a purely Turkish foundation: at least there is no trace of any ancient settlement, and indeed there are very few old stones to be seen in all Marsovan. After a pleasant stay of a day and a half at the American College, where we were received with the most kindly hospitality, I separated from my companions who decided to return to Angora by way of Eyuk and Pteria, while I chose the route by Hadji Keui, Osmândjik and Tosia, not with the intention of attempting any serious exploration (for my time was limited and my energies exhausted), but from a desire to traverse a new piece of country and especially to visit Osmândjik. The modern road to the Halys crosses the low spurs which run down from Tavshan Dagħ to Sulu Ova and reaches in 2 1/4 hours the edge of the little plain of *Hadji*

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(<sup>1</sup>) By H. Kiepert and W. M. Ramsay (*Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 440, 446, 447; cf. *Handbook to Asia Minor*, p. 13). So still in R. Kiepert's new map.

*Keui*, where it enters the district called in ancient times Diacopene <sup>(1)</sup>. Here I diverged from the *chaussée* and rode to *Gumush*, a village one hour and twenty minutes distant, at the foot of the hills on the south side of the plain, not far from the silver mines (*Gumush Maiden*), which are no longer worked, though they are said to be rich in ore <sup>(2)</sup>. Here I copied five inscriptions (nos. 172 sqq.) and, after visiting a monastery on the hill-side, proceeded north-eastwards to Hadji Keui, fifty minutes from Gumush and 11 1/2 miles from Marsovan (according to my trocheameter measurement). The town is the seat of a *Kaimmakam* and is distinguished from other places of the same name by the title of *Gumush Hadji Keui* <sup>(3)</sup>. A brief search through the town revealed nothing of interest and I continued my journey westwards. In half an hour we reached the edge of the plain and, crossing a low ridge, descended into the valley of the Devrent Tchai, the sloping sides of which are dotted at intervals with villages. As we approach *Devrent Keui*, 6 1/4 miles from Hadji Keui, the valley begins to narrow into a defile which opens out again at *Hadji Hassan*, an hour and a half further on. The road hence follows the left bank of the stream for about three miles, then crosses to the right, and presently bears away from the river over sand hills to the fertile plain of *Osmândjik*. The town is reached in two hours and a half from Hadji Hassan, the whole distance from Hadji Keui being 21 3/4 English miles.

*Osmândjik* <sup>(4)</sup> is the residence of a *Kaimmakam* but it is

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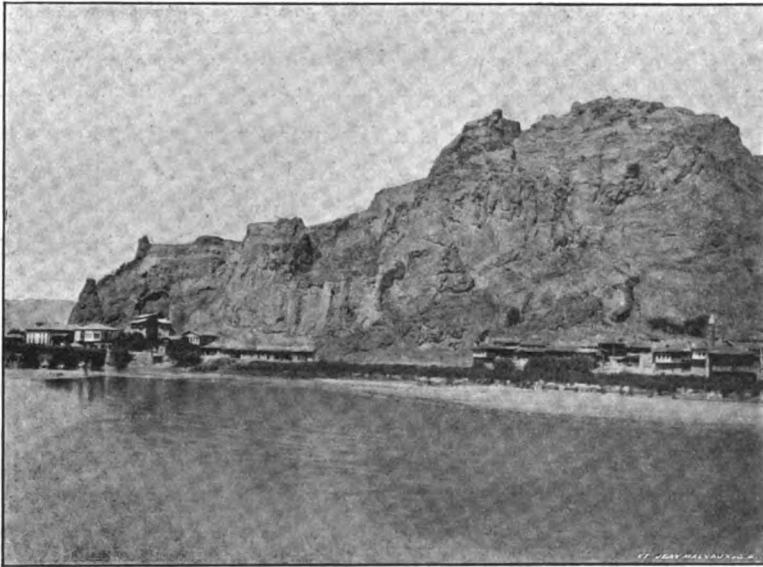
<sup>(1)</sup> Strabo, p. 561.

<sup>(2)</sup> Immediately adjoining Gumush on the west is the village Kara Keui; both together are said to contain about 1000 houses. From Hadji Keui Gumush reads 215° (magn.), Kara Keui 222°.

<sup>(3)</sup> Just as Hadji Keui between Tchorum and Amasia is distinguished by the title of Avghat Hadji Keui (p. 12 above).

<sup>(4)</sup> The latest accounts are those of von Flottwell, *Aus dem Stromgebiet des*

a small place with a population of somewhere about 4000. One quarter (called Gemidji Mahallési) is built on the left bank of the Halys, but the older and main part of the town lies on the right bank at the foot of a steep hill of rock which rises abruptly from the plain to a height of 400 feet. This rock was in ancient times



OSMANDJIK : THE CASTLE ROCK

converted into a strong fortress, of which little now remains except a fragment of wall with a solid gateway flanked by towers at the base of the hill on the river-front and another wall with triangular buttresses designed to fortify one of the more accessible

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*Kyzyl Irmak* (*Petermanns Mitth., Ergänzungsheft, n<sup>o</sup>. 114, 1895*) and G. Maercker, *Das Stromgebiet des unteren Kyzyl Irmak* in *Zft. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, XXXIV (1899), p. 374 ff.*



parts of the hill. These ruins are probably an early Turkish reconstruction of Byzantine fortifications. Half a century ago the ruins seem to have been in a much better state of preservation, for earlier travellers, especially Ainsworth, speak of two different castles with loop-holed and casemated ramparts following a zig-zag direction along the precipitous sides of the cones of rock, one of these castles having been added by the sultan Bayezid to keep in check the prince of Kastamuni <sup>(1)</sup>. On the east side of the hill there are some rock-hewn tombs which I did not see <sup>(2)</sup>. I found only three inscriptions in the town (nos. 180-182), but there is a fair number of remains, mostly building-blocks, pillars, and sarcophagi (some of which have been dug up on the western bank of the river).

The old identification of the site with Pimolisa, first suggested I believe by H. Kiepert, may fairly be regarded as certain. Strabo's clear account (pp. 561, 562) together with the unusually apt description of Cedrenus <sup>(3)</sup>, τὸ προῦριον τὴν Πημόλισσαν (πέτρα δὲ ἡ Πημόλισσα παρὰ τὸ χειλὸς κειμένη τοῦ Ἄλως ποταμοῦ) leave little doubt as to the position of the town. Pimolisa (Πιμόλισα) was one of the outposts of Mithradates' Pontic Kingdom and formed one of a group of towns (including Laodiceia, Gazioura, Cabeira, etc.) which « were allowed to issue bronze coins with uniform types, evidently dictated by Mithradates himself, but in each case accompanied by the name of the city » <sup>(4)</sup>. This coinage ceases after the Mithradatic period.

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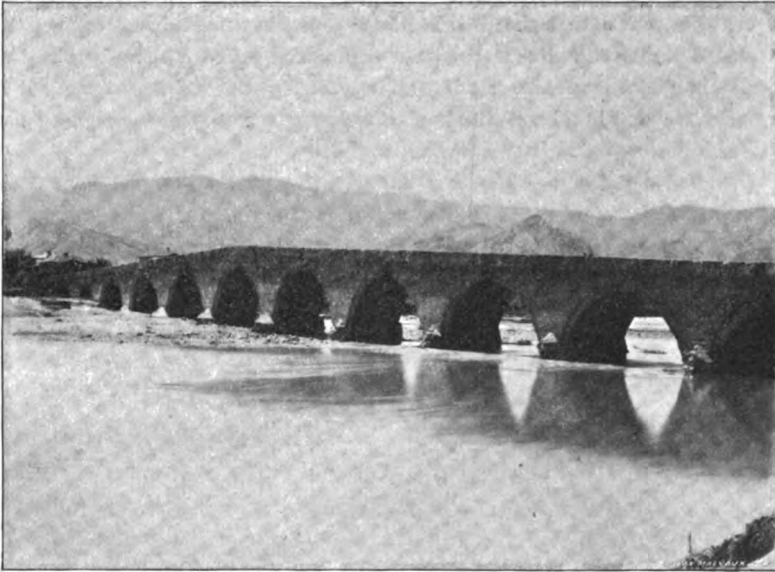
<sup>(1)</sup> Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches* (1842), p. 97 f. ; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Bd. IX, p. 399 ff. Ainsworth's sketch of the town and castle of Osmandjik bears no relation to the reality ; and perhaps his description is not altogether accurate. Tavernier (I, p. 9, ed. 1679) says only : *Ozeman est une petite ville assise au pied d'un costeau sur lequel il y a un fort chateau...*

<sup>(2)</sup> Ainsworth, *op. cit.* ; Von Flottwell, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>(3)</sup> P. 626, ed. Bonn, quoted by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 328.

<sup>(4)</sup> W. Wroth, *B. M. Catalogue of Pontus*, etc., p. XIII.

In Strabo's time Pimolisa, like Gazioura, was in ruins (p. 562). It reappears about the XI<sup>th</sup> century in the ecclesiastical lists, where we find it joined with Ibora under one bishop (<sup>1</sup>). In the Turkish period it rises again into prominence. During the gradual but slow extension of the Ottoman power over north-eastern



BAYEZID'S BRIDGE OVER THE HALYS AT OSMÂNDJIK

Asia Minor, Osmândjik must necessarily be a position of great importance, and concrete evidence of the fact still exists in the shape of the fine bridge of 15 arches, 228 metres long, which carries the road across the river. This bridge was probably built by Bayezid II (<sup>2</sup>) and marks a stage in the consolidation of the

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Notitia*, III, ed. Parthey-Pinder.

(<sup>2</sup>) Cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 399. The *Kaimmakam* of Osmândjik, a very

Ottoman conquest of Asia Minor. In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century the town was still a halting-place on the great trade-route from Constantinople to Erzerum and Persia, which has now fallen into decay <sup>(1)</sup>.

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pleasant and intelligent man, told me that the Turkish inscription erected against the rock near the head of the bridge commemorated its construction and named Bayezid as the builder; and the date which he gave indicated that the Sultan in question was Bayezid II, not Bayezid I, as is sometimes stated. It is unfortunate that I did not think of taking a squeeze of this inscription; but probabilities are all in favour of the later date.

<sup>(1)</sup> Tavernier, l. 1. — The traveller admires the bridge: *La rivière de Guzelarmac (sic) large et profonde passe le long de la ville, et on la traverse sur un des plus beaux ponts que l'on puisse voir. Il y a quinze grandes arches toutes de pierre de taille, et c'est un ouvrage qui marque la hardiesse de l'entrepreneur.*



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