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PAULINE AND OTHER  
STUDIES

IN EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY

BY

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XI

ST. PAUL'S ROAD FROM CILICIA TO  
ICONIUM

## XI

### ST. PAUL'S ROAD FROM CILICIA TO ICONIUM.

THE western part of Cilicia is a triangular plain, whose base is the sea, and whose apex lies in a corner formed by the Taurus Mountains bounding Cilicia on the north. In the apex the river Saros issues from its wonderfully romantic course of more than a hundred miles through the lofty Taurus and enters the low sea plain. There was a time when this level plain was a great gulf of the sea. The gulf has been gradually filled up by the two great Cilician rivers, the Pyramos and the Saros, probably aided by slight elevations of the level of the land;<sup>1</sup> and of the two rivers the Saros has been the chief agent in determining the character of the plain.

The road from Syria and the East enters the western Cilician plain by a pass through which the Pyramos also enters the plain. At the western end of this pass the river turns down towards the south, and the road crosses it by a large bridge (Fig. 10). The crossing has always been a highly important point in all military operations in Cilicia. A garrison and a fortress had to be placed there to guard the passage of the river. Thus arose the city of Mopsou-Hestia, "the Hearth of Mopsus" (the Greek prophet and interpreter of the will of the Greek god Apollo, who marks the advance of the old Ionian colonists into the Cilician land). In this

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Christie of Tarsus has observed a series of raised sea beaches.

exposed situation Mopsou-Hestia, whose name has gradually degenerated into the modern form Missis, was exposed to the force of every invasion. Every enemy that would enter the fertile plain must first capture the city, whose situation was not susceptible of any strong defence in ancient warfare. Every successful invader first destroyed the city, and then restored it to guard the passage against future invaders. No city has experienced a more calamitous history and been more frequently captured than Missis.<sup>1</sup>

The road passes on over the plain to Adana on the Saros, which again is crossed by a long bridge (Fig. 11). Adana is situated near the apex of the plain. It is the natural centre of distribution for the whole plain, and capital of the country. In the beginning it must have been the capital of Cilicia; it has a splendid acropolis; and the natural path across Taurus leads up from Adana into Cappadocia. But it is far from the sea, and the mouth of the Saros has never been navigable, so that, when maritime intercourse was important, the presidency of the country passed either to Mallos on the Pyramos, or to Tarsus on the small river Cydnus. Those two disputed the primacy for centuries. In the Turkish period, when navigation ceased to be of any importance, the primacy in the country passed again to Adana.

From Adana the road goes on to Tarsus. In modern time it crosses the river Cydnus just before entering the city (Fig. 12). But in ancient time the river flowed in a different channel through the heart of the city. The change in its course was the work of Justinian in the sixth century after Christ. The channel of the Cydnus required to be carefully kept, in order to provide for the unimpeded course

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1855, p. 410 ff., describes the remains of the city.

PLATE XVII.

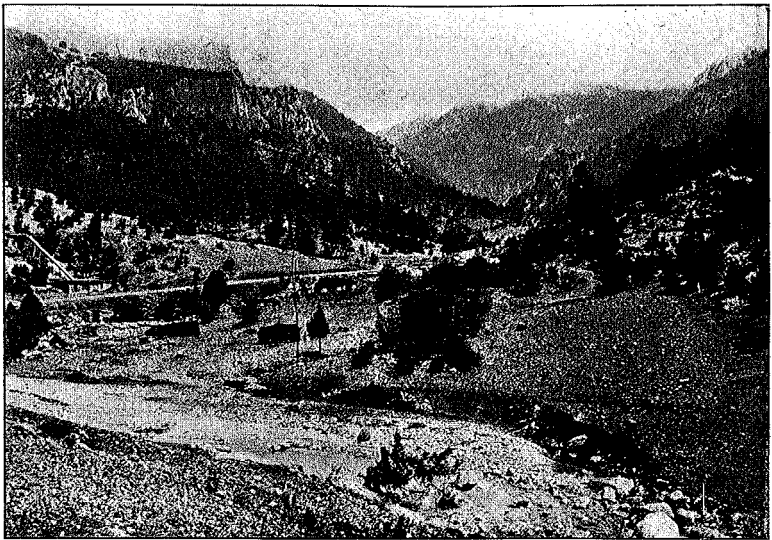


FIG. 23.—In the Vale of Bozanti (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*To face p. 274.*

*See p. 284.*

of the water ; as the energy and prudence of government degenerated in later Roman time, the channel was allowed to get into bad order, and part of the city was liable to be flooded. Justinian cut a relief channel, which was intended only to carry off the surplus water in time of flood and pour it into the channel of a small stream (dry except in time of rain) which flowed parallel to the old Cydnus on the east side of the city. But gradually the bed of the Cydnus within the city was blocked ; and the new channel carried more and more of the water. In early modern time travellers saw both channels flowing ; but now only the new channel carries any permanent flow of water. An artificial water-course for purposes of irrigation diverts part of the Cydnus through the gardens on the north and west of the modern town ; but it does not coincide, either in its exit from the main stream or in its channel, with the old Cydnus bed, which can be traced in the southern part of the city.

The walls of Tarsus have been pulled down in comparatively recent time. There remains now only one fragment, a gateway on the west side of the town with a small part of the wall adjoining. A second gate on the east side, which was in even better preservation, was destroyed only a few years ago. The one remaining gate is popularly called "St. Paul's Gate" (Fig. 13), but there is no justification for attaching the Apostle's name to it. The walls and gates were wholly a work of the mediæval period ; and at "St. Paul's Gate" one sees fine stones of the Roman time embedded in the centre of the masonry. The work though late is of good character ; and it is probable that these walls were substantially the defences built by Haroun-al-Raschid, when he restored and refortified and re-peopled Tarsus about A.D. 780-800, to serve as basis of operations in his attempt

to concentrate the military power of the Khalifate on the conquest of the Roman Empire, though they were often injured and repaired since his time.

The building of the walls implies that Tarsus had sunk into decay. The reason lay in the growth of a second Tarsus on the hills in front of Taurus, about ten to twelve miles north of the city of the plain. The old Tarsus had been defenceless, without a citadel and without strong walls. In the later Roman Empire, when these lands became exposed to invasion, the situation was too unsafe; and a more defensible city gradually formed itself on the high ground, as will be described below. The modern Tarsus on the ancient site was the creation of Haroun-al-Raschid. It has retained the ancient name, which has lasted with only the slightest change from the Tarshish of Genesis x. 4 in the second millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup> to the Tersous of the present day.

The most striking episode in the wars of Haroun, "Aaron-the-Just," is associated with the writing of one of the most remarkable letters in all history. The Romans were in the habit of paying a yearly tribute to the Khalifs; Irene, who made herself Empress by assassinating her own son the Iconoclast Constantine and with difficulty maintained herself in that position through the strenuous support of the Orthodox party, had so slight a hold on the reins of power that she had submitted to accept this mark of servitude. When Nicephorus I. succeeded her in A.D. 802, he wrote to Haroun, refusing to pay any longer the tribute which only a timid woman would have consented to pay, declaring that the rightful relation between the Empires was that the barbarians ought to pay double that tribute to the Roman

<sup>1</sup> On the identity of Tarshish and Tarsus, see the discussion in *Expositor*, April, 1906, p. 366 ff.



PLATE XVIII.

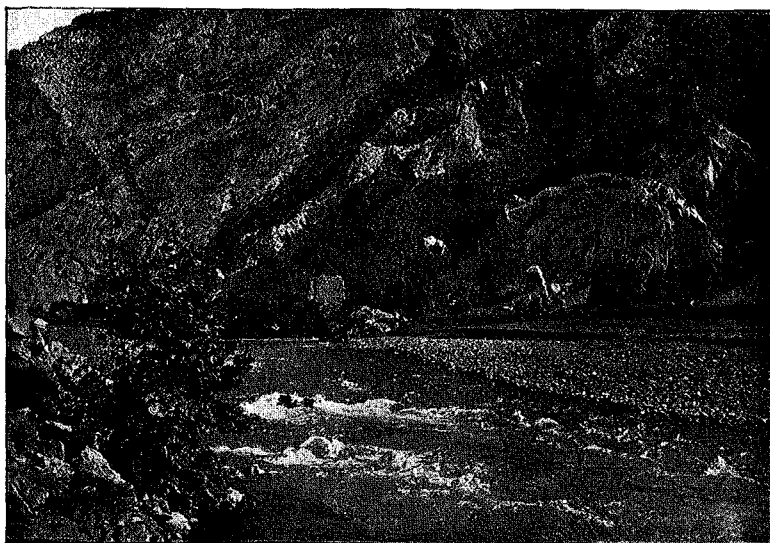


FIG. 24.—Looking up towards White Bridge (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*See p. 286.*

PLATE XIX,

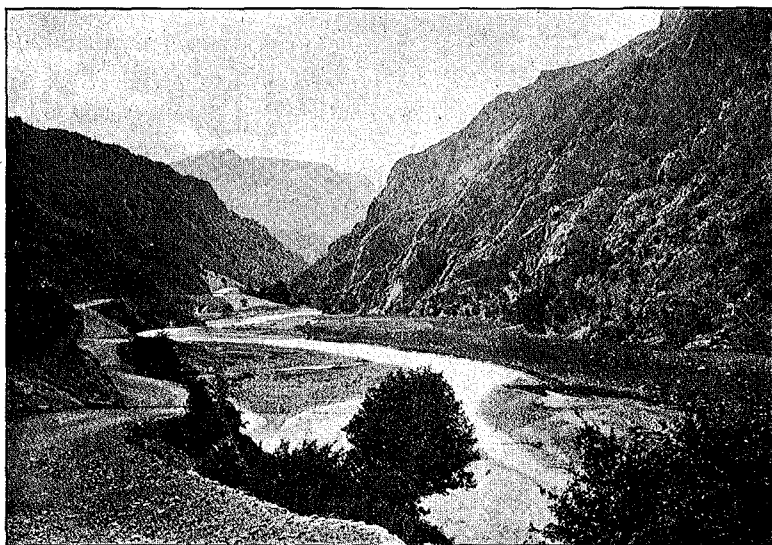


FIG. 25.—Looking down towards White Bridge (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*To face p. 276.*

*See p. 287.*

sovereign, and appealing to the issue of war. The ambassadors, after delivering his letter, which was expressed in the form "From Nicephorus, Emperor of the Greeks, to Aaron, King of the Arabs," were instructed to throw down a bundle of swords before the steps of the Khalif's throne.

The Khalif, according to the story of the Arabs, drew his scimitar of supernatural fabric and hacked the Greek swords in twain without turning the edge of his weapon. Then he dictated his answer to the Emperor's letter—an answer whose brevity left nothing omitted:—

In the name of God the All-Gracious, the All-Merciful,  
Aaron-the-Just, Commander of the Faithful, to the  
dog of the Greeks. I have read thy letter, thou son  
of an infidel mother. The answer thou shalt not  
merely learn, thou shalt see with thine own eyes.

The answer appeared in the march of a mighty army.

Owing to that apparently complete break in the history of Tarsus, there was necessarily an interruption in the continuity of Christian tradition. No memory of Pauline sites could have survived, as there was no continuous Christian society to preserve the recollection. Besides the false "St. Paul's Gate," there is a "Well of St. Paul" shown in the courtyard of a house in Tarsus; but the owner of the house, an educated and intelligent Syrian, of a family settled for three generations in Tarsus, who speaks English with ease and exceptionally good accent, told me that the sole foundation for the name was that a marble plaque bearing the name of the Apostle had been found when his father had had the well cleared out. The plaque was discovered in a small cell or chamber which opened on to the shaft of the well.

The road from Tarsus to the West and to Rome by Derbe and Ephesus has to cross the lofty mountains of

Taurus, snow-clad during great part of the year, as they are seen from the little hill beside the American College (in Fig. 15). This hill is really formed by the accumulation of soil over ancient buildings, and is not a natural elevation. The pass by which the road crosses the mountains carries the only road practicable for wheeled traffic from Cilicia to the central plateau of Asia Minor. The importance of Tarsus in history was to a great extent due to its position at the end of this great historic road. The road had to be cut by hand through the rock for a considerable distance at several points; and it was the energy of the Tarsians in making the road many centuries before Christ which laid the foundation for the future greatness of the city. It was probably the enterprise of the early Greek colonists that planned and undertook this really great engineering work. This artificial road was far superior to the natural path from Adana across the mountains; and there is no proof that the people of Adana ever seriously tried to improve their road.

If the primacy of Cilicia passed from Adana to Tarsus, the reason lay in the superior energy and enterprise of the Tarsians, which counterbalanced the superior natural advantages of Adana. The same activity and boldness were shown by the Tarsians in opening their city to the sea. The Cydnus ran through the centre of Tarsus and entered a shallow lagoon a few miles below the city; it had no direct navigable communication with the sea. A bank of sand over which the sea broke barred the communication. Engineering operations assisted nature, defined the lagoon, formed it into a lake which made a splendid land-locked harbour for ships, cleared and deepened the lower course of the river, embanked and bordered the river and the lake with

PLATE XX.

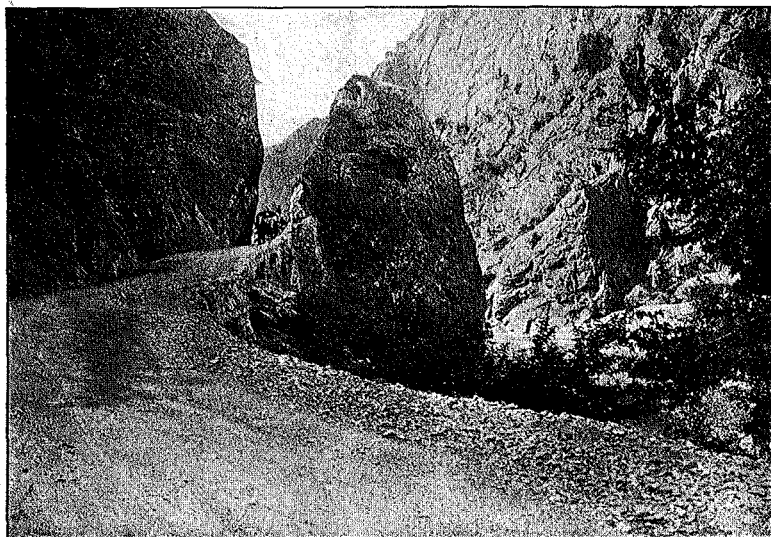


FIG. 26.—Above White Bridge : Rock-gate cut to take the Ancient Road  
(Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*See p. 288.*

PLATE XXI.

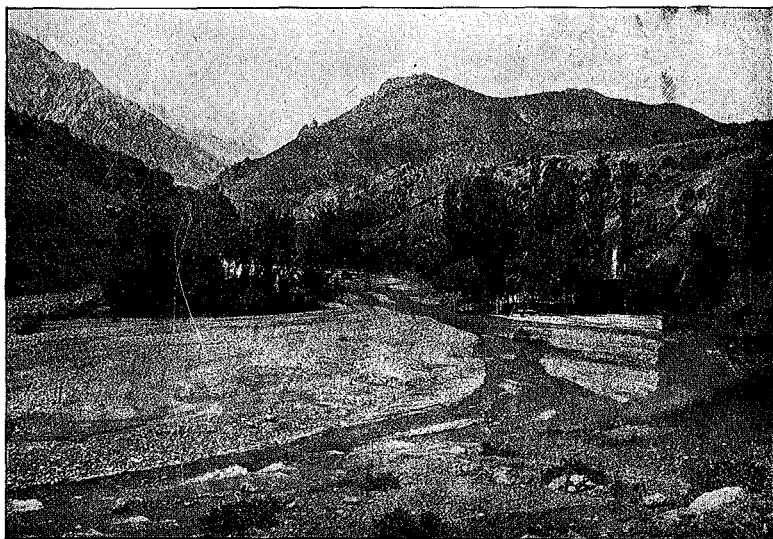


FIG. 27.—At Twin Khan, looking up the Water of Bulghar Maden  
*To face p. 278.* (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*See p. 288.*

piers and docks. Thus Tarsus, like modern Glasgow, made its own river and its own harbour.

Just as the cutting of the road over Taurus gave Tarsus the advantage over Adana, so the great engineering operations in its river and lake made it superior to Mallos, and ousted that city on the great river Pyramos from its old rank as the chief port of Cilicia. In the making of the harbour it stands out clear that the Greek maritime colonists in Tarsus again played the leading part. It was as a meeting-place of oriental Cilicians and occidental Ionians that Tarsus became great. Hence it is mentioned in Genesis x. 4 as Tarshish child of the Ionian (Javan).

The crossing of Taurus is made by way of the great historic pass called "the Cilician Gates," which lies about thirty miles north of Tarsus. The road therefore issues from the city on the north side, and immediately crosses the new channel which Justinian made for the river Cydnus and which is now the only channel. Close above the little bridge is a waterfall, where the river flows over a ledge of rocks in a picturesque and irregular cascade of about ten to fifteen feet in height (Fig. 16). Before the river was diverted into this course the rocks were cut to form graves; and when the water is low many of these graves can be seen, which are hidden from view when the Cydnus is swollen by the melting snows of Taurus.

The modern road was constructed by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt during his gallant attempt in 1832-1840 to overthrow the Ottoman Sultan and to make his father the supreme ruler of Turkey, an attempt in which—after inflicting on Von Moltke, then an officer in the Turkish service, the only defeat which that great general ever sustained—he was finally foiled by the British guns under Sir Sidney Smith

and the bombardment of Acre. The road fell into disrepair after 1840, and was restored by a series of spasmodic efforts made from time to time during the last twenty-six years. It ascends the valley of the little stream, into which Justinian conducted the surplus waters of the Cydnus, and then turns in a winding course west across the undulating hills to enter the glen of the Cydnus at about thirty-seven kilometres (twenty-four miles) from Tarsus, and keeps on up a branch of the Cydnus to the Cilician Gates, fifty-four kilometres (thirty-four miles) from Tarsus.

The Roman road followed a straighter line. It went nearly north over the plateau that divides the glen of the Cydnus from the more open valley which the modern road prefers. Its course can be traced for miles in this part, and the surface is sometimes quite good, being formed of rectangular slabs of stone (Fig. 17). About twelve miles from Tarsus, near the village of Bairamli, it is spanned by a triumphal arch (Figs. 18 f.), which I conjecture to have been built in honour of the Emperor Septimius Severus, who marched down this road towards his final victory over his rival, Pescennius Niger, in the battle near Issus, A.D. 194. A four-horse car, *Quadrigæ*, once stood on the top of the arch; and the place is mentioned on coins of Tarsus under the name *Kodrigai* (in Greek letters).<sup>1</sup> Langlois, in his excellent paper, *Revue Archéologique*, 1856, p. 481, is disposed to date the arch under Constantine.

The arch is near the highest part of a broad ridge, about 1,400 feet above the sea; and it commands a magnificent view of the entire Cilician coast with the gulf of Issus, the

<sup>1</sup> I have described the evidence in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.*, 1898, p. 234. A different view was taken by Professor Kubitschek, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, xxvii., p. 87 f.

PLATE XXII.

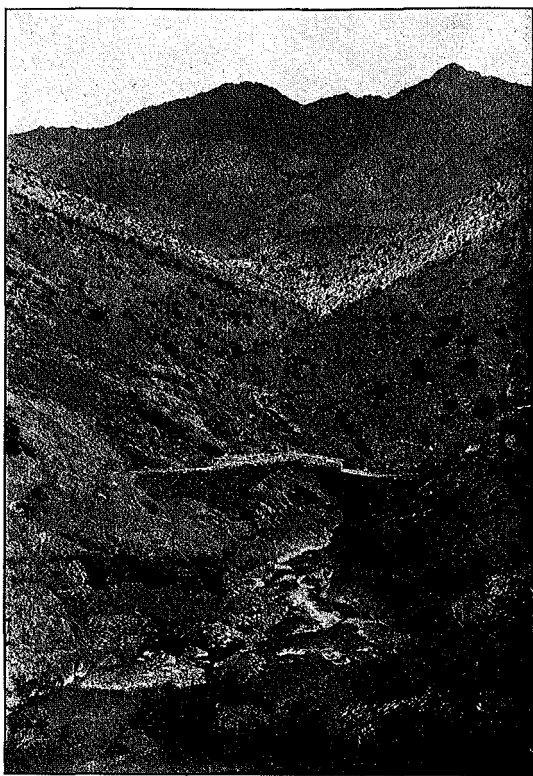


FIG. 28.—Old Turkish Bridge in the Gorge above Twin Khan (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*To face p. 280.*

*See p. 288.*

western plain, and the mountain-wall of Taurus on the north.

Around the arch, and especially on the west, stretching as far as the gorge of the Cydnus, is a bewildering mass of ruins, temples, houses, tombs, sarcophagi, etc., overgrown with brushwood and difficult to traverse. These form a city, strongly fortified by great walls which skilfully take advantage of the hilly ground. We have here a second Tarsus, belonging to the late Roman period, not a mere adjunct to the city of the plain, but a really great city, which however was not independent but merely part of Tarsus, for it stands within the territory of that city. It is shown by the coins that all the territory up to the "Bounds of the Cilicians" belonged to Tarsus (Fig. 20).

Originally, this second Tarsus was doubtless a mere summer city and country residence for the population of the lower town. But, when the danger of invasion made the Tarsians seek for stronger defences, it is probable that this hill city became the principal place, as being a great walled city offering military strength and safety to the whole population of Tarsus. The Jerusalem Itinerary, which belongs to the fourth century, puts Tarsus twenty-four Roman miles south of the Cilician Gates; and probably this hill city was the Tarsus which the Jerusalem pilgrim<sup>1</sup> saw. From this city, then, he turned east to Adana, and never went south to the Tarsus of the plain.

The Roman road must touch the modern road somewhere near the thirty-third kilometre from Tarsus. It is still undetermined whether it thereafter followed the winding modern line, or went straight on over the hilly ground direct towards

<sup>1</sup> He travelled by land from Bordeaux to Jerusalem and back, A.D. 333.



the Gates. On the modern road, in the Cydnus glen, about thirty-eight kilometres from Tarsus, is a khan called Mazar-Oluk with a large fountain of water. If the Roman road took this course, the fountain would have to be regarded as the ancient Mopsou-krene, Fountain of Mopsus, often mentioned as a station between Tarsus and the Gates, whose name furnishes the proof<sup>1</sup> that Ionian Greek colonists were (as we have said) instrumental in building and cutting that great Tarsian road. But I am disposed to think that the ancient road crossed the modern road at right angles and went straight on over the hills northwards. In that case Mopsou-krene would have to be sought in the hilly ground east of the Cydnus gorge; and its discovery by some explorer may be hoped for.

The whole of this ground over which the road winds is undulating, and the valleys between the rising grounds are cultivated, fertile and well-watered. The wild olive and wild vine abound. The gorge of the Cydnus is very picturesque, and becomes wilder and grander as we travel northward. The country is well-wooded with wild olive, various kinds of fir, plane trees, oaks, cedars, etc.

About kilometre forty-four we reach Sarishek-Khan. Here the Roman road, if it took the short route over the hills, would join the modern road; and here a road comes in from Adana. This is an ancient site.

Thereafter we ascend rapidly, and the scenery becomes grander. We have reached the steep slopes of the Taurus proper. After a few more kilometres, the Cilician Gates (kilometre fifty-four) appear in front of us (Fig. 21), 3,750 feet above the sea. The Gates are a deep gap, worn by the Cydnus through a lofty wall of rock that runs athwart our

<sup>1</sup> See p. 273.

PLATE XXIII.

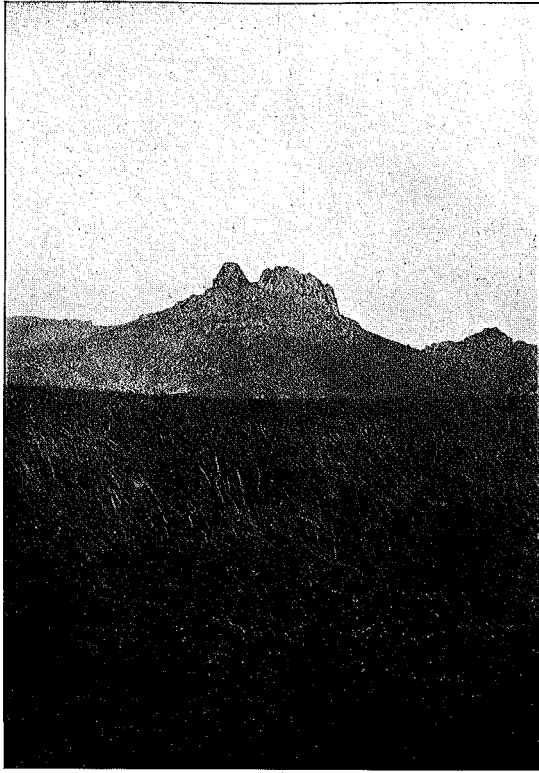


FIG. 29.—The Castle of Loulon (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*To face p. 282.*

*See p. 289.*

path. Originally there was only room for the stream, until the Ionian Tarsians cut out of the rock on the west bank space for a waggon-road. The pass is singularly grand; and a strong wind seems always to blow up it from the hot country of Cilicia to the cold summit of Taurus. A mediæval castle crowns the rock wall at the western edge of the Gates; and there is a path across this mountain wall, by which it would be possible in ancient times for an enemy to turn the flank of the defenders in the Gates. Inscriptions of Roman time on the rocks place here the "Bounds of the Cilicians" (Fig. 22).

That narrow gorge must have been a serious obstacle to the first Crusaders, one of whose armies at least, under Tancred and Baldwin, passed this way. They called it "the Gate of Judas," because it was the enemy of their faith and the betrayer of their cause.<sup>1</sup>

North of the Gates the road rises rapidly for a few kilometres until it reaches a bare broad pass, now called Tekir, about 4,250 feet high, bounded right and left by hills a few hundred feet higher, behind which the mountains rise still more. While the Gates were the natural point of defence in ancient time, the Tekir summit is the line of defence in modern warfare; and here Ibrahim Pasha drew his military lines, when he was compelled to abandon his conquests farther north. On the sides of this bare summit the snow must be deep and even dangerous in winter. In B.C. 314 Antigonus attempted to march from Cilicia northwards, but lost many of his soldiers in the snow, and had to return into Cilicia. A second attempt at a more favourable opportunity was successful.<sup>2</sup> Haroun-al-Raschid crossed the pass in the early winter of A.D. 803-804, and thus took the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, xix., 69, 2.

Byzantine Emperor Theophilus unawares.<sup>1</sup> A hardy traveller, by watching his opportunity, can cross the pass even in the winter season. But the peaceable population in ancient times seem to have regarded the mountains as closed (like the sea) in winter, and to have expected the return of summer before attempting to traverse them.<sup>2</sup> And, in truth, there are times when it would be dangerous for any traveller to attempt the crossing.

Somewhere on the sides or top of the Tekir summit there was a large khan in ancient times for the benefit of travellers. It was probably maintained by the State, and hence is specially mentioned under the name Panhormus.

From Tekir the road, which hitherto has had a northerly direction, descends rapidly towards north-east, down a narrow glen beside a little stream. At kilometre seventy-three we enter the Vale of Bozanti, the ancient Podandos (2,800 feet), a little valley about two and a half miles long from north to south, and one and a half broad, entirely surrounded by lofty mountains (Fig. 23). Basil describes it with horror in his *Epist.*, 64: "When I mention Podandos, suppose me to mean the pit Ceadas at Sparta or any natural pit that you may have seen, spots breathing a noxious vapour to which some have involuntarily given the name Charonian". It is a very beautiful little valley, as we have seen it, in bright sunny weather.

High over us on the right, as we enter the Vale of Bozanti, perched on the summit of the mountains is a Byzantine castle, Anasha-Kale, described by Langlois<sup>3</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> Weil, *Geschichte der Khalifen*, ii., p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> See the quotations in Art. XV. from Basil, describing a country more open and less exposed to snow-drifts than the Taurus Pass.

<sup>3</sup> His paper in *Revue Archéologique*, 1850, p. 481 ff., is well worth study.

PLATE XXIV.

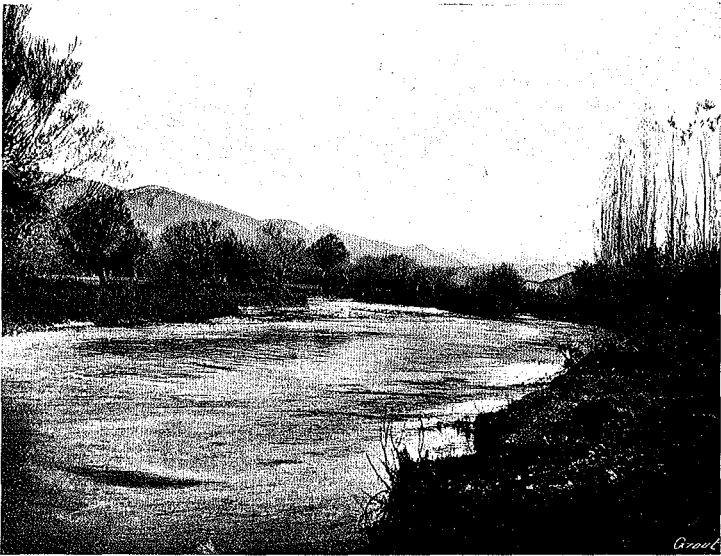


FIG. 30.—Looking South-East up the River towards the Snowy summit of Taurus; Ibriz on the right.

*To face p. 284.*

*See p. 261.*

built of black marble. This castle, called Rodentos by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was held by the Crusaders for a time, and their historians call it and the vale beneath it Butrentum. On a rock near the castle, overhanging the precipice, are the little crosses which many of the Crusading warriors cut as memorials of themselves. "Those armies were led by the noblest of their peoples, by statesmen, princes and great ecclesiastics. Yet not one written memorial of all those Crusading hosts has been found in the whole country."<sup>1</sup>

The castle of black marble among the lonely mountains beyond the frontier of the Mohammedan land is familiar to every reader of the *Arabian Nights*: it occurs in more than one of the tales, if I remember rightly, but the story whose scene is most evidently laid in the Vale of Bozanti will be mentioned on the following page.

Through the Vale of Bozanti flows a river, called Tchakut-Su or Bozanti-Su, which runs away south-eastwards to join the Saros a little above Adana. The mountains close in around it below the Vale, and its course cannot be followed except by wading through the water, which is too deep for comfort and even safety in some places. Colonel Massy, formerly Consul in Mersina, informed me, on the authority of the engineers who made the survey for the Bagdad Railway, that the mountains actually close in overhead and the river runs through a tunnel; but neither he nor I can vouch for this from eye-witness. This seems to be the only possible route for the Railway, which will be very expensive in this section.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 10, where the illiteracy of the Crusaders, A.D. 1100, is contrasted with the general power of writing possessed by Greek and Carian mercenaries in the Egyptian service B.C. 600.

The Tchakut-Su rises on the central plateau south of Tyana and west of Ulu-Kishla, and offers an easy gradient for the Railway through the Taurus, though much rock-cutting and building for protection against loose rock will be necessary in some parts of its course.

Our road goes north two miles along the western edge of the vale and then turns westwards up the glen of the Tchakut-Su, which is singularly grand and picturesque. The gorge narrows and the mountains rise more and more steep as we advance. After kilometre eighty we cross to the north bank by the White Bridge (Ak-Keupreu), which in 1890, when I first saw it, was a quaint little mediæval bridge with pointed arch and low parapet, but was soon afterwards rebuilt in incongruous style with considerable stone embankments on each side concealing one of the springs of water that rise close to it on the southern side. In Fig. 24 the White Bridge is hid from view at the left side of the picture.

Space does not permit me to repeat here the legends which are told about these fountains, the Black Water (Kara-Su) and Sugar Spring (Sheker-Bunar), and the tale of the fish which caused the death of the Khalif Al-Mamun in A.D. 883.<sup>1</sup> But the connection of the localities with a tale in the *Arabian Nights* demands a word of notice. The tale of the fisherman, who caught the strange fish of four colours, Christian, Moslem, Jew and Magian, had its origin in Tarsus, the city of the Sultan Al-Mamun (who died there). The fish were caught "in a pond situated betwixt four hills, beyond the mountain which was seen from the city". These are the fish of the

<sup>1</sup> They are narrated in an article "Cilicia Tarsus and the great Taurus Pass" (*Geograph. Journal*, Oct., 1903, pp. 391-393); the last also in *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 288 f.

PLATE XXV.



FIG. 31.—The Sarcophagus of Sidamaria.

*To face p. 286.*

*See p. 293.*



Sugar Spring beside White Bridge (now destroyed, but still a picturesque pond as late as 1891, when I saw it for the second time). In the tale the Sultan encamped beside this pond, just as the Khalif Al-Mamun encamped beside White Bridge; and from the pond the Sultan went away alone, "till he saw before him a great building: when he came near he found it was a magnificent palace, or rather a very strong castle, of fine black polished marble," the castle of Butrentum. The crossing of the mountain of Taurus, visible from Tarsus, the descent into the plain between mountains on all four sides, the pond with the marvellous fish, the castle of black marble among the mountains—all these are true details of the Vale of Bozanti.

The ancient road did not cross at White Bridge, but kept on the north bank for some distance down the river. Much cutting was needed to carry it through the rock below White Bridge, and three "Gates" were carved through projecting spurs of the northern cliffs. At the western end of the western "Gate" is an early Byzantine inscription, probably the work of some pilgrim bound for Jerusalem, "Lord! help Martyrius the Deacon". The northern pier and part of the roadway of another mediæval bridge, narrower and older than White Bridge and about one hundred yards below it, can be seen in Fig. 24. At no other place can the work of the ancient road be better studied.

The White Bridge is now the boundary of Cilicia, dividing Adana Vilayet from Konia Vilayet; and it was also the boundary between Ibrahim Pasha's country and the Ottoman territory as fixed in 1839 for a short time.

Above and west of this bridge the gorge grows deeper and gloomier (Fig. 25). On the south a wall of rock, which

one would guess to be 1,500 feet in sheer perpendicular height,<sup>1</sup> borders the stream for more than a mile.

The road follows the north bank, and frequently traces of ancient cutting can be observed beside the easily distinguished blasting for the modern road (Fig. 26). The ancient road was destroyed during the Arab wars between A.D. 660 and 960 in order to render the passage between Arab Cilicia and Byzantine territory more difficult.

The road passes the Wooden Bridge (Takhta-Keupreu), which spans an affluent from the plateau on the north; and goes on due west, until after six or seven miles we reach Twin Khan (Tchifte-Khan), one of the most beautiful spots I have ever seen (Fig. 27). Two waters meet at the Khan, one coming from the south-west down an open glen from the old Hittite silver-mines of Bulghar-Maden, and one from the west through a gorge so narrow that in some places it looked as if one could jump across it a full hundred feet above the water. The water here has cut its way so sharp and clean through a bed of rock, that the walls on each side are perfectly perpendicular and apparently about twelve feet apart.<sup>2</sup> At the bottom of this narrow cleft the water foams and rushes. The road keeps near this water, but ascends to a higher level. Farther on the river-bed opens out a little, and an old Turkish road crosses it (Fig. 28). The modern road, which was excellent in 1902, keeps on a much higher level. In this part the scenery is very desolate and bare for some distance.

<sup>1</sup> It seems actually to overhang, as if from the summit one could drop a stone clear of the rock wall; but the eye is a fallible judge of height and character.

<sup>2</sup> We overlooked the cleft from the road, but did not go down to it: the estimate is mere guesswork.

PLATE XII.



FIG. 18.—The Arch of Severus with Students of the American College in Tarsus (Mrs. Christie of Tarsus).

PLATE XIII.



FIG. 19.—The Arch of Severus at Bairamli (Mrs. Christie of Tarsus).  
*To face p. 288.* *See p. 280.*

PLATE XXVI.

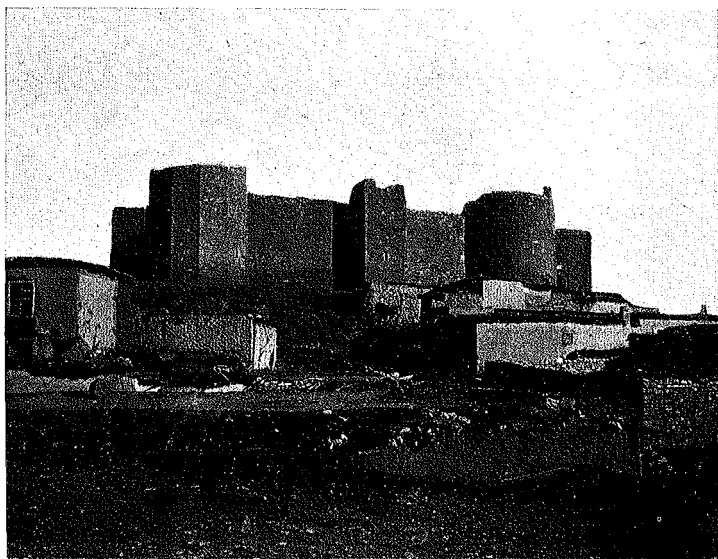


FIG. 32.—The Castle of Karamanat Laranda.

*To face p. 288.*

*See p. 294.*

After four miles we reach a point whence we see the Castle of Loulon in the distance, and overlook the Vale of Loulon, into which the road now descends. This vale is very narrow at the eastern end, but opens out as we go on.

We are now some ten miles north of the front main ridge of Taurus, and are thus able to get a view of it. Previously we were too near to see its summits. It runs east and west, a long ridge about 9,000 or 10,000 feet in height, making an imposing background to the view over intervening hills. Snow lies on it through great part of the year. In June, 1902, with the clouds covering its shoulders, and its long snowy summit rising above them, it offered a strikingly beautiful picture, which a photograph reproduces only imperfectly.

After a few miles the vale forks, where two streams meet: one glen runs up south-west into the hills, the other ascends in a direction slightly north of west and along this goes the road. At the apex of the low hills, which divide the two streams, a little plateau faces us on the left; this is the site of the Roman Colonia Faustianiana, called in Greek *Faustinopolis*; and two miles up the northern stream we find the site of the old village Halala<sup>1</sup> adjoining the road. When the Emperor Marcus Aurelius was travelling along this road, his wife Faustina died at Halala, and the Emperor made a new city to perpetuate her name.

Standing on the road beside Halala, we look up to the Castle of Loulon, on a lofty peak which rises above the village on the north. This castle commands the northern end of the pass which we have just traversed from Tarsus; and hence it played a very important part in the Saracen

<sup>1</sup> See p. 182.

wars, A.D. 660-965. When it was in Byzantine possession, Arab armies could not use the pass except with considerable difficulty, and would have to leave a strong force to confine the garrison of Loulon. When the Saracens held it, the Roman armies could not traverse the pass towards Cilicia; hence Al-Saffsaf (as the Arabs called Loulon) was to them the "Bulwark of Tarsus". The possession of this critical fortress was keenly contested. It often changed hands, but was generally Byzantine, for the Arabs never succeeded in permanently holding any point north of Taurus. The Arab geographer of the ninth century, Ibn Khordadbeh, calls it<sup>1</sup> "the camp of the King of the Romans". Here was the first beacon-fire on the line of communication with Constantinople. As soon as a Saracen army was known to be crossing the pass, Loulon lit its beacon, and flashed the news along a series of fires to the capital. In the photograph, Fig. 29, the tall peak is dwarfed.

A few hundred yards farther on towards the west, the ancient and the modern road alike fork. One branch goes off at right angles to the north through a break in the hills at the western foot of the castle-peak to Tyana and Capadocia generally. The other keeps straight on for four miles along the river to Ulu-Kishla, where the hills on the north end; and the road enters on the open central plateau of Anatolia and attains its highest elevation, about 4,600 feet above the sea. The "long barracks," Ulu-Kishla, are one of the most remarkable old Turkish buildings.

The traveller who is making for Iconium and the West has a choice of routes from this upland to the next important station, Herakleia-Cybistra, about thirty miles west of

<sup>1</sup>Or perhaps a camp in the low ground beneath the castle. The localities need careful examination.

PLATE XXVII.



*To face p. 290.*

FIG. 33.—The "Pilgrim-Father" above Derbe (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*See p. 294.*

Ulu-Kiskla. In modern time waggons keep well out to the north into the open plain; but I believe that the Roman road continued straight on over undulating and hilly country, until it entered a valley with a stream which flows direct to Cybistra. Horses can now use this route; but it could easily be adapted to wheeled traffic, and the Roman road ought to be traced.

Where the valley, just mentioned, opens on the main Lycaonian and Cappadocian plain, about six miles south-east of Eregli (now a railway station), it is joined on the left by the water of Ibriz, and above it on the right rises the last of those outlying northern hills, a peak bearing the strong Castle of Herakleia, called Hirakla by the Arabs. The beautiful glen of Ibriz, with its remarkable Hittite sculpture, is described in Article VI., p. 172 f., of this volume. Hirakla was one of the fortresses most disputed in the Saracen wars, as it guarded and commanded the road to the West; it was often captured, *e.g.*, by Haroun-al-Raschid, and always retaken by the Greeks. Looking back towards south-east, as we stand at the entrance on the Lycaonian plain, we have the view shown in Fig. 30.

Cybistra is generally identified with the modern town Eregli (*i.e.*, Herakleia); but perhaps it may hereafter be found more correct to say that Eregli stands among the gardens of Cybistra, and that the ancient city occupied a stronger position on the hills (perhaps somewhere as yet undiscovered near the Castle of Hirakla).

From Eregli onwards the general character of the road does not vary. It runs on an almost dead level, hardly varying from the elevation of 3,100 to 3,300 feet. The route keeps to the southern edge of the great central plateau. On the left hand rises the outer front of Taurus like a great



wall. On the right spreads out the boundless level plain of Lycaonia. But amid this uniformity there is constant variety in the picture presented to the traveller's eyes. Taurus is sometimes nearer, sometimes more distant, as the road winds; in some places it seems to rise like a continuous wall, in other cases it is broken into distinct peaks of varied forms. The level plain to the north is never monotonous, for it is dotted with lofty islands of mountain that spring bold and sharp from the sea of plain. Due north of Eregli, at a distance of forty to fifty miles, are the beautiful double cones of Hassan-Dagh, the ancient Argeos or Argos,<sup>1</sup> nearly 11,000 feet high. Thirty miles to the west of it, Karadja-Dagh looks like a low blue island on the horizon. In front, about forty miles from Eregli, barring the view to Iconium, is Kara-Dagh, a black volcanic jagged mass, behind which in dark nights of May or June the lightning plays with strangely beautiful effect during the frequent thunderstorms of those months. In the intervals between these mountains stretches the dead level plain, over which nothing except its own weakness appears to prevent the eye from looking away to infinity.

Beyond Eregli the road in ancient times passed along the south-eastern end of the White Lake, close to the hole under the mountains into which the lake discharges its waters,<sup>2</sup> crosses a rocky ridge, where the ancient cutting to carry it is well marked, to a village called Serpek or Ambararassi, the site of the ancient town Sidamaria. Here was found the immense sarcophagus of late Roman time adorned with

<sup>1</sup> It is to be distinguished from Mount Argaios farther east and out of sight.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 172 f. The modern road and railway go direct to Karaman by a more southerly route, shown on the map, p. 48.

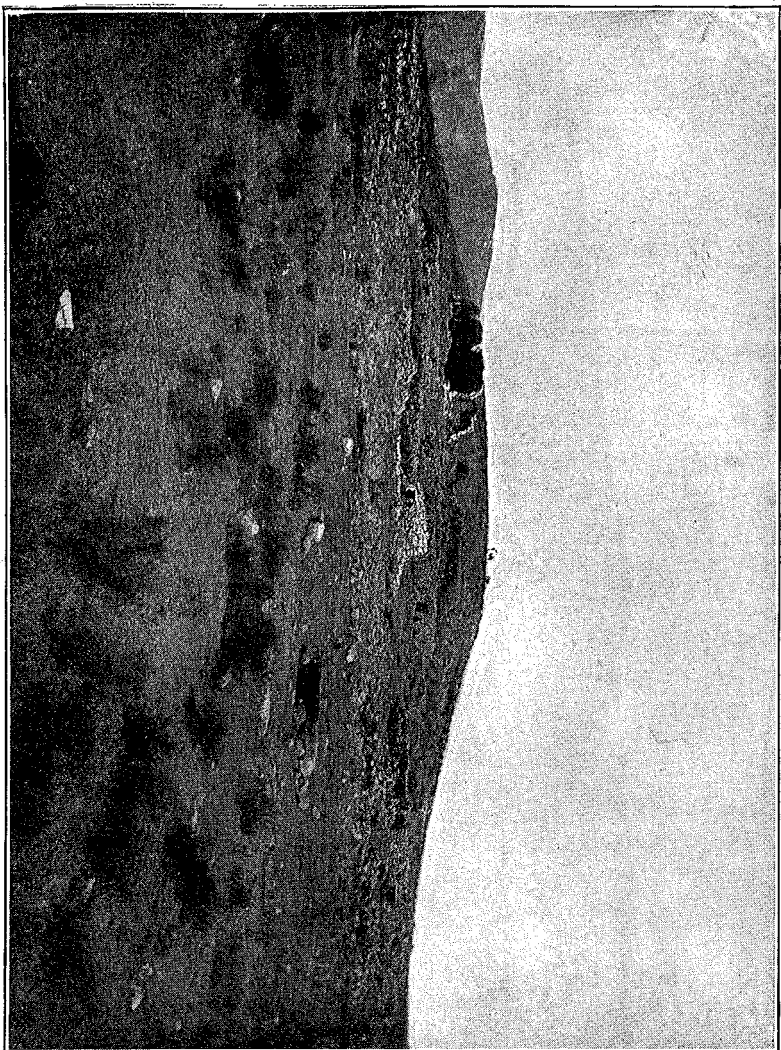


FIG. 34.—The Acropolis of Derbe.

To face p. 292.

See p. 295.

elaborate sculptures—probably the largest known sarcophagus of Greek or Roman time—which is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. When I was travelling with Sir Charles Wilson in 1882 he had this monument dug up; and, as the heads of the two colossal figures on the top of the sarcophagus have long since disappeared, we are assumed to have broken them off and carried them away. The sole foundation for this idea, which is openly declared by high Turkish officials, is that there were two ancient heads and two Englishmen. As a matter of fact there were no heads on the figures when we uncovered them; and had there been, the art of the two figures is so bad, and the heads would have been so weighty (as the figures must be about twelve feet long) that there would have been no temptation to carry them away. Their sole interest would lie in keeping them attached to the bodies (Fig. 31).

The character of the subject shown in the accompanying photograph of one side of the sarcophagus is discussed in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*,<sup>1</sup> p. 59.

Ambararassi lies in the level plain, but three miles on to the west is the true ancient site, a fortress on a hill at Kale-Keui (Castle Village). Beyond this the road, which hitherto has been going straight towards the dark mass of Kara-Dagh, turns south-west, passes the old fort of Sideropalos on a mound in the plain, now a formless ruin two miles from the railway station Sidirvar (Sidivre), and reaches Karaman, the ancient Laranda, metropolis of South-eastern Lycaonia from the beginning of history, now a railway station, 103 kilometres from Iconium and 87 kilometres from

<sup>1</sup> London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1906. See also M. Th. Reinach in *Monuments Piot*, and M. Mendel in *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellén.*, 1902.

Eregli.<sup>1</sup> It lies in a triangular recess of the Taurus, where the mountains recede and the level plain stretches far south; and the road makes a great southward bend in order to reach it, attracted by its economic importance. The view of the castle on a hill in the centre of the city is given as a specimen of a kind of military architecture common in this country, and probably early Turkish in origin. The old name Laranda is known to the Greeks, a small body of whom preserved a continuous existence through the Turkish period; but the name of an old Seljuk chief, Karaman, has replaced it in Mohammedan use (Fig. 32).

We now turn north of west past Ilistra (which keeps its ancient name) to Cassaba, the old Pyrgos, a picturesque little town, in the open plain, entirely surrounded by high mediæval walls.<sup>2</sup> Thence the modern road goes straight over the plain north-north-west to Iconium; but the Roman road in the first century went on a little north of west past the villages Passola or Possala (which retains the ancient name) and Losta, which are one ancient town, to Derbe. Over all three towers a huge conical mountain of bare limestone rock, of singularly grand and bold outline, which presides like a giant guardian over Southern Lycaonia, and assumes an element of personality even to the unimaginative Turks. This mountain is called the "Pilgrim Father," Hadji-Baba; and it is a striking feature in the view from all Southern and Central Lycaonia, until one crosses the ridges of Boz-Dagh, behind which it is concealed from view; but if the traveller continues to go north, it emerges

<sup>1</sup>The road by Ambararassi is distinctly longer than the railway line.

<sup>2</sup>That was the case when I saw it in 1890; but old walls are frequently pulled down, and sold as building material; the price passes into the pocket of officials [an isolated case of local resistance to such jobs, by a Protestant native, is described in *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 233].



*To face p. 294.*

FIG. 35.—Walls within the Hill-fortress above Derbe (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).

*See p. 295.*

again after some distance and rises sharp over the long low line of the Boz-Dagh as one looks back from the higher ground in Northern Lycaonia. As is usual with photographs, the effect of its height is dwarfed in Fig. 33.

Near Derbe on the east, close to the road, lies a tombstone with a dedication to Paul the Martyr. The Christians of the district regard this stone as a proof that Paul visited the place, but are ignorant that it is the site of Derbe. The place was deserted, and the tradition perished<sup>1</sup> (see Fig. 38 on p. 322). A view of the deserted site is given in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, page 55, and is here repeated. The Byzantine ruins shown in the photograph (Fig. 34) have all been pulled down to get building material for the new village.

There are at least three cities or settlements connected with Derbe: the Greek and early Roman Derbe on a mound in the plain, the late Roman and Byzantine city at Bossala and Losta, and an early hill-fort high above the plain on a peak of Taurus (west of the Pilgrim Father), a view in which is shown in Fig. 35.

The great Roman Imperial road during the first century went north-west from Derbe, entered the Isaurian hills after a few miles, and reached Lystra in the most northerly valley of those hills, about twenty-five miles from Derbe. From Lystra it went to Pisidian Antioch, passing a few miles to the south-west of Iconium, with which it was connected by a side-road. As one approaches from Derbe, the first glimpse of Lystra and Khatyn Serai, "Lady's Mansion," the modern village a mile south-east of the ancient site, is picturesque with trees and greenery to a degree rare in Lycaonia (Fig. 36). The hill of Lystra, very similar to the

<sup>1</sup> The modern village is a recent erection by refugees from Roumelia.

site of Derbe, is shown in Fig. 37, taken from the *Church in the Roman Empire*, page 47, where a description is given (as also by Rev. H. S. Cronin in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904).

But the importance of Iconium was far too great to allow it to remain on a mere branch-road. Lystra was only a hill town, whose sole claim to importance was that it had been selected as a Roman garrison and colony at the time when the Pisidian and Isaurian mountaineers were a pressing danger. When that danger passed away, not even the honour of a Roman colony could maintain its consequence in the country. Even Derbe was only a second-rate city. Iconium was the natural and inevitable metropolis of Western and Central Lycaonia. Derbe and Lystra therefore passed out of the system of Roman roads, and the line of communication went direct from metropolis to metropolis, from Laranda by Pyrgos to Iconium, across the level plain. About half-way, or a mile beyond half-way, is a low ridge, from which the traveller gets the first view of Iconium. Straight behind the city rises a remarkable conical peak, about 2,000 feet above the level of the plain, called Takali by the Turks, Dakalias by the Saracens in the ninth century, and St. Philip by the Greeks at the present day. If we now look back towards Laranda, the Pilgrim Father attracts and fills the view. As we look east the Kara-Dagh shuts out everything else from sight. Away to the north of Iconium, above Laodicea (Ladik), and screening it from view is a massive peak, conspicuous alike from the south and the north. In Byzantine times all these doubtless got Christian titles; but long before that they were probably considered to be the guardians of the land. The belief in the divinity of mountains is as natural as in the divinity of

PLATE XXX.



FIG. 36.—Distant View of Khatyn-Serai and Lystra from the South-East (Mrs. W. M. Ramsay).  
*To face p. 296.*

*See p. 295.*



ivers, and is attested for the Anatolian land. Argaïos towers over Cæsareia-Mazaka and is represented on all the city-coins. Mount Viaros (probably the tall peak of Egerdir) is a common type on coins of Prostanta.

Those four mountains of Western Lycaonia are the most prominent and imposing,<sup>1</sup> and the Christian names of three are known or can be guessed. The Christians celebrate a Panegyris of Araba Georgi, St. George of the Car, near the peak over Ladik annually on 23rd April; and there as the story goes, "at dawn water and milk flow in a dry place" (see p. 188). St. Philip still dominates Iconium, and the Greeks hold a Panegyris there on 24th November. Hadji-Baba may be taken as a Turkish rendering of a title describing the travelling Apostle Paul as the guardian of Derbe. We remember how Ephesus extended from St. Paul by the sea to St. John on the eastern hill; and we may look for similar cases in many parts of Anatolia. The Christian names exemplify the permanence of older religious feeling under Christian forms (Article VI.).

A mile farther on towards Iconium the road descends a hundred feet to a river which flows from the heart of the Isaurian mountains, and is lost in the plain north-east of Kara-Dagh. The water of the Lystra Valley would flow into it, if it could reach so far; but it is dissipated in the plain and used up for irrigation or to supply the villages. The Arabs called this stream Nahr-el-Ahsa, the River of Subterranean Waters. This is doubtless a reference to the fact that the water of the great lake Trogitis (Seidi-Sheher-Giol) was formerly brought into it by a cutting through the

<sup>1</sup> They are not the loftiest, but they dominate the plain. Ala-Dagh is loftier than Hadji-Baba, and Elenkilit than the other three; but both are far from the plain, in the heart of mountainous districts.

rock. The purpose of this cutting was partly to keep the lake low and set free a large tract of fertile soil for agriculture, partly to supply water for irrigating the great plain of Iconium. The latter project has been revived in recent years, and the engineers who surveyed the route for connecting the lake with the river discovered the old cutting, which is now blocked. In 1905 the water of the lake Trogitis rose so high that villages and a great deal of cultivated land around it were submerged. From the bridge which carries the road over this river it is about twenty-four miles to Iconium, whose acropolis is crowned with the church of St. Amphilocheus (Plate III., p. 170).

Between Iconium and Derbe lies a region rich beyond all others in early monuments of Christian art. Four examples are given in Figs. 7 (p. 162), 9 (p. 216), 14 (p. 300), 31 (p. 322) and 39 (facing p. 1), taken from Miss Ramsay's article on Early Christian Art in this region, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, 1906, pp. 23, 34, 38, 54, 61.

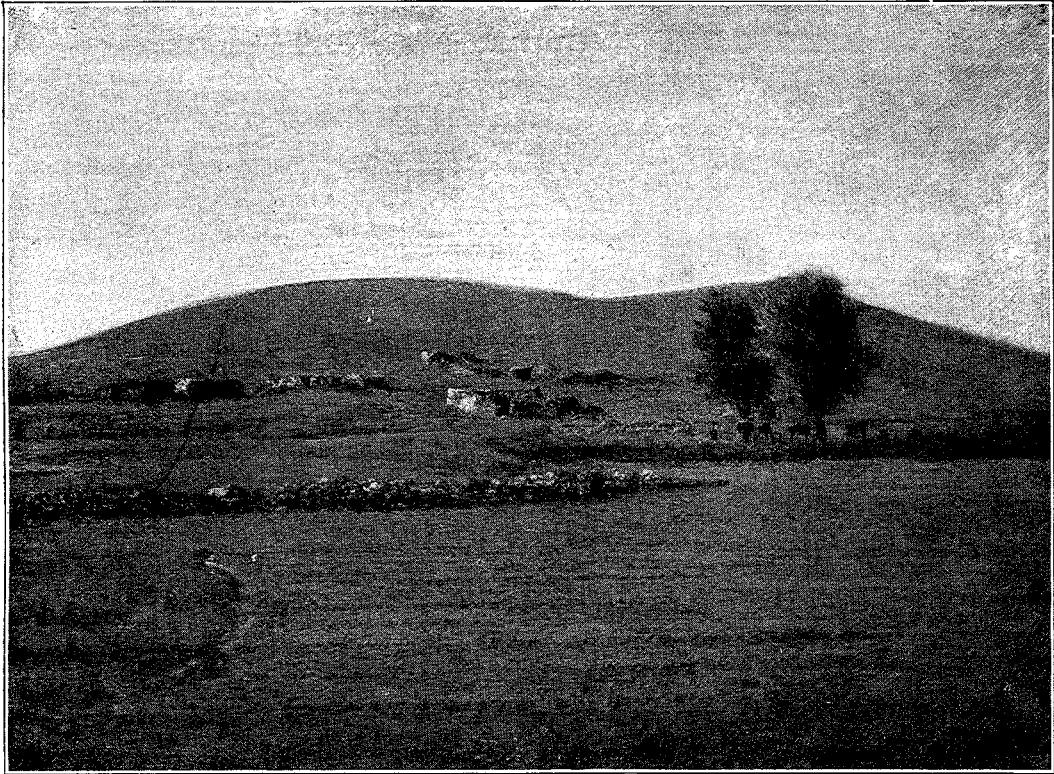


FIG. 37.—The Acropolis of Lystra.

*To face p. 298.*

*See p. 296.*