

PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE WILSON
TRUSTEES ON TWO JOURNEYS IN ASIA
MINOR, 1901 AND 1902.

I.

As there are some features, which are now and are likely to remain unusual in my tenure of the Wilson Fellowship, I should begin by stating the motives which guided me in offering to undertake the work of the Fellowship. The Trustees are aware that, though the Fellowship has been long in existence, I am only the second Wilson Fellow; but the conditions were peculiar and inelastic, and there was not everywhere among us a very strong desire to make the foundation a practical part of our Aberdeen School of Ancient Letters. I may take credit for having advised the first Fellow to take up the special path in which he attained such brilliant success, and especially for having suggested to him to apply for the Wilson Fellowship, and in some degree for having given him training in the methods of research for a year in Aberdeen before he was elected.

In my actual application for the Fellowship, it would not have been right to do more than describe the work of research which I proposed to carry out with the Fellowship; and the results of that work are briefly described in Part II. of this Report. But I desire now to lay before the Trustees the wider scheme which I had in mind, and which will, I trust, produce a series of Wilson Fellows who will be as distinguished as my predecessor was.

My motive in returning to Asia Minor after ten years' absence was only in part to search for and to find the

answer to the problems that had been cropping up in the investigations and discussions of the intervening years, though that alone was quite sufficient to take me back as soon as there arose a prospect of finding the money necessary. But there was another cause which urged me on. The plan arose in my mind of founding a school of research in Historical Geography. The opportunity for applying this kind of research in the Eastern Mediterranean lands is at present extremely tempting, and offers the prospect of doing a work which will stand out in the history of University enterprise. It is also not unworthy of consideration that accurate knowledge of those lands is likely to prove useful in other ways. The now imminent extension of the Anatolian Railway to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf must become a subject of serious moment; and Great Britain, both from the old reasons and from its position in Cyprus and Egypt, must be peculiarly interested in the questions which will arise. The country is singularly little known geographically: I speak from acquaintance with everything that was known, either to my late friend Professor Kiepert of Berlin (the great authority on the maps of Asiatic Turkey), or in quarters which I should not name here. Moreover the political situation is now distinctly more favourable than it was during most of the years when I was formerly travelling, 1880-91. The attitude of Government officials is often a serious difficulty in those lands; but the favourable disposition which now exists for our students has developed slowly and has every prospect of being permanent.

In these two journeys I had the opportunity of making useful acquaintances among the new men who have in great part taken the place of those that were influential when I was travelling in the country. The young men who can form the school, do the work, and win the rewards, are at hand. I can direct the enterprise, marking out the questions for investigation and the places and conditions

in which the answers are to be found, and giving the needed preliminary training in the methods of research and of co-ordinating the various trains of reasoning which bear upon the problems. I hope it may be in my power to co-operate in geographical research personally in the East Mediterranean lands during the summer of 1904, which is the first year that we can have a properly trained student ready for practical work ; and I am already making preparations and combinations for that purpose. But, even if that be denied me, the case of the previous Fellow has shown how much can be done by a well-trained and able young scholar to whom the questions have been suggested. If, however, my purpose prove feasible, both the scholars' health and work will be better regulated, and any work that I may be able to do will be added to the total of the school's achievement.

As regards the work of young scholars, the great and serious difficulty lies in the matter of finance. Only in one case have we been able to bring together from various sides the needed funds, *viz.*, in the case of Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, the first Wilson Fellow, 1896-1900, who made a European reputation by his work, and is now settled down as a Senior Student and Lecturer in Christ Church, Oxford, where he continues to co-operate with me in the subject, so far as his rather onerous college duties permit. The financial difficulty in that case was overcome by an elaborate and ingenious succession of offices and duties held by the Wilson Fellow—as Assistant-Professor of Greek, Craven Travelling Fellow in Oxford and Research Fellow in Lincoln College, with one or two smaller positions—which were successively combined with the inadequate revenues of the Wilson Fellowship—inadequate for travel and practical work, though abundant for mere study in libraries and Universities.

But it was a rare chance which enabled all these successive emoluments to be directed to the execution of one

carefully planned scheme of work. As a rule the financial difficulty is with our Aberdeen students almost insuperable; and at first the design which I have indicated took the form of trying to attract interest and helpers in the two leading English Universities, of both of which I have the honour of being a member. In that stage of my design I welcomed gladly the company of Rev. H. S. Cronin, now Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and of Mr. G. A. Wathen, late Scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge, on my journey in 1901. But in the end of 1901 the design took a wider form from the hope that the Carnegie Trust might prove willing to encourage the work of Research Students among the Scottish Universities; and I have watched with pleasure various signs showing that the Trustees are likely to take a wide and noble view of the duties of a University; and the hope that our University may by this help be enabled to take a fit place among the Universities of Europe grows stronger. If the Trust prove willing to grant the means of study and research to an occasional student of ours in the department of History, and especially of Historical Geography, I see at present that we can furnish several first-rate scholars in the immediate future. In the wider form of my design, we should still welcome, but not be wholly dependent upon, the co-operation from other Universities of such workers as the two whom I have mentioned.

In such a subject our most serious difficulty is that the student's judgment is not to be trusted until he has reached the age of twenty-six to thirty. A long apprenticeship and a great amount of acquired knowledge, thoroughly digested, is needed before one can be trusted to investigate problems of so complex and practical a nature. In this respect lies the superiority of the best English or Scottish scholars: they have far more practical and all-round training, while many young scholars, who possess great learning and high academic training, lack the

practical sense, and will look at the problem, think it over, and deliberately and elaborately misjudge it.

But, if some occasional and exceptional intellects among our Aberdeen students are to be trained for the higher stage of original research, they must spend several years after taking their degree here in letting their intellect and judgment grow ripe and in acquiring the large store of knowledge and familiarity with the present instruments of historical research which are needed. Moreover, a thorough scholar requires to experience the training of many different teachers, so as to eliminate the specialities and peculiarities of each and to be made an all-round, well-equipped, sane-minded scholar, and to be free from the trammels of pedantry and the "idols" of the study and the library.

At present I know no training in Europe as good for a student who has taken our course as the Final Schools in Oxford: it is unfortunate that for our purpose Moderations in Oxford is a poor school, and to a large extent a waste of time for our men, in which the element of chance and uncertainty that always attends examinations completed at a single occasion is very great and the intellectual training comparatively small. A second class in the Final Schools may be ranked higher as a proof of general intellectual power than a first in Moderations: though, of course, there are some exceptional cases and almost inexplicable freaks in the placing of men in class-lists. Moreover, for practical value as an introduction to the ladder of promotion, experience of one of the two great English Universities is, in the present state of educational methods and appointment to offices, quite indispensable.

Our best students of Letters in Aberdeen, then, must spend the last years of their pupilage in Oxford or Cambridge, though one would like them to be free to spend a few months occasionally in a German and a French University. But, after that, the few who have the love

and desire for the practice of research, should and will return to us for that purpose, if it be at all made possible for them.

It is of course involved in my design that the results of exploration should be published by the students who take part in it, but under my general direction. On the one hand publication is their means of gaining recognition and reward and also ensures their permanent interest : on the other hand a certain degree of guidance from long experience is generally needed to put the work in its proper relation to the subject as a whole, but this guidance remains practically invisible to the public.

The hope of carrying out this project was a strong factor in sending me out to Asia Minor again in the present year. It is only fair to add that from various sources, the contribution of an English Friend who desires to remain anonymous, and of the Royal Geographical Society, and my own private resources, it was possible for me to devote to the work of the last two years a sum which in all was slightly over twice as great as the gross revenue of the Fellowship. In this total no expenses incurred by my Cambridge coadjutors are included, neither their travelling expenses, nor their proportion of the cost of actual exploration in Asia Minor (derived in part from English foundations).

II.

DURING two journeys in Asia Minor in successive years the following is a rough sketch of the work achieved.

The real importance of all this topographical work lies in its being the skeleton and framework of human history, or (to use another metaphor) the foundation on which our knowledge of history has to be built up. At present, however, it is quite impossible to give any outline, even in the vaguest way, of the general historical results,

which are much the most important part of the whole. A paper, which was begun as a sort of preface to this side of the work, is herewith presented to the Trustees ; and an elaborate study of the religious antiquities of the country, which has been entirely written (except a few pages, selected from old unpublished MSS. on Greek religion) and printed during the last seven months, and contains many observations and new ideas gathered in these last two journeys, will be also presented when the large book of which it forms one part is published some time during next year. These form Parts I. and VIII. of the complete Report.

The minute discussion of Roman roads may seem at the first glance to be tedious and not practically useful at the present day ; but those who have done most for the geography of the country know that the Roman road system is the best possible system of communication, and that a correct map of the Roman roads might be followed unhesitatingly for all purposes of transport.

1. Examination of the site of Colophon and the ancient remains around the city : including the road leading south-eastwards towards the sea and the monuments on it, and two cemeteries on the north. In one of the cemeteries I had the opportunity, through the kindness of the owner of the property, of directing for nine days the operations of his workmen, who were digging to find good stones for building on the estate. They were made to dig in one of the cemeteries, and in the course of their work they disclosed a large number of graves. As the graves were both built on the sides and covered over with large slabs of stone, the work was suited for the immediate utilitarian purpose, while I was able to examine the arrangement and contents of the graves.

2. Exploration of the Lycus valley to settle some disputed points of topography, and especially to examine the famous gorge, described by Herodotus, which the

river enters inside the city of Colossae, and through which it runs for several miles.

3. An examination of the cities of the Seven Churches, for the purpose of a special work on them. Two of them were entirely new to me; and I had never explored the others from the point of view of Christian Antiquities. This needed some considerable time, but is much facilitated by the railways.

4. A brief exploration of two districts of central Phrygia to settle several disputed or difficult points of topography: by good fortune and the assistance of friends resident in the country we were able to compress a large amount of work into the space of forty-eight hours. One of the districts contained the sites of Temenothyrai, Grimenothyrae, Trajanopolis, and an ancient Phrygian town. We devoted one day to this district, and moreover on the way to the other district were able to make some exploration in search of the still undiscovered site of Alia. On the second day and the early morning of the third, we visited Akmonia and Keramon Agora, with two smaller unnamed sites in the territory of the city of Akmonia.

It was possible to do so much in this short time, partly from using railway and horse carriages and thus moving rapidly from point to point, partly from the fact that I had on former occasions explored this region very thoroughly, and knew exactly what precise spot to go to in search of the critical evidence required, and most of all from the experience, acquired in many journeys and through many difficulties and some failures, of how to utilise opportunities and elude difficulties. We took with us on the first day a party of the principal Turks from Ushak, the important modern city of the region, keeping them in a separate carriage; and on the second day, finding that the governor of the Banaz district was very suspicious, we took him in a similar way as our guest, and

drove him to Akmonia, Keramon Agora, etc. He accompanied me at first in my rambles on foot over the steep hill on which Akmonia was built, but after a short experience of this work he retired from active duties and was satisfied to remain in the carriage, or under the shade of the trees in some garden, drinking coffee and talking to Mrs. Ramsay and a group of the principal residents in each place, while I explored, armed with full official authority to enter everywhere. Besides settling finally the exact sites of Grimenothyrae and Trajanopolis in a way different from that which I had advocated, and on this point becoming a convert to the view advocated by M. Imhoof Blumer and Prof. G. Radet, I also learned a good deal about Akmonia and Keramon Agora, confirming the views adopted in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*. The drive in search of Alia was fruitless except that it narrowed down the field in which the city must be looked for. The inscriptions copied on this little exploration are incorporated in a fuller Report in French, of which copies are subjoined forming Part II. of the complete Report.

Exploration on such a scale is expensive (all the more so as one carriage was broken on the bad roads); but yet it costs less than if one spent a week doing the same amount of work.

5. Another small exploration in the neighbourhood of Afion-Kara-Hissar. This proved almost entirely fruitless; though we spent four days at different times there, circumstances were unfavourable, and very little result was gained, though one of my chief objects had been to make a new exploration in the vicinity.

6. An elaborate study of Southern Lycaonia and Eastern Pisidia: this was spread over two years and involved much travelling and long time. The ancient topography and geography of the district had hitherto been extremely obscure. We copied about 400 inscriptions,

of which fully 300 will require publication, while the rest have been already published by other travellers, though almost all of these have been corrected or improved, sometimes to a very great extent. We visited the following places which were already correctly placed either by older travellers or in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Iconium (where we made our headquarters), Lystra (a very careful exploration lasting for five days), and Derbe (two visits): some excavation was made at both of the latter places: an unhoped for large number of unpublished inscriptions were found at Iconium and Lystra.

We also discovered various unknown sites, and proved with certainty or high probability that the following ancient cities or towns were situated there Isaura Nova, Savatra, Prota-Kome, Misthia: even the name Prota-Kome was hitherto unknown. We also discovered and explored the sites of a number of ancient villages, whose names are now lost, but some of which furnished a number of inscriptions.

We revisited several well-known sites, and proved conclusively or probably for the first time that the names Tiberiopolis-Pappa, Vasada, Amblada, and Passala (the names of the last three are preserved in modern forms wearing a Turkish look as Fassiller and Damla-Euren, *i.e.*, Damla-Ruins, and Bossola), belonged to them: of these the first had been suggested by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson as one result of the last journey which he made as Wilson Fellow: these identifications remodel the topography of the border between Pisidia and Lycaonia.

We confirmed (without revisiting the places), against objections and discordant identifications by other scholars, my published views respecting the sites of Karallia, Kaballa, Parlais, Neapolis and others.

We revisited several other ancient sites and applied tentatively, but on the whole probably, to them the following names, which had hitherto been placed elsewhere or

left unplaced: Dabinai (Sabinai in Hierocles), Tenia or Atenia, removing from them the names wrongly applied by myself or by others.

As the result of the newly discovered evidence, we were able to lay down a complete scheme of the ancient topography of Pisidia, including several new identifications which, while they make a great difference to the map of the country, are confirmed by the preservation of the ancient names in a position corresponding with the order of the Byzantine lists, especially that of ~~Himodol~~ ~~especially~~ Malos, now called Male-kalesi or Malek-kalesi. The territory of the tribe Homonades is fixed nearly as in the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, but the bounds are enlarged and rendered more precise, and the reason made obvious why the tribe appears in the later lists of Bishops as part of the Province of Pamphylia as well as of Lycaonia. Several other identifications in this region, advocated in the *Historical Geography*, have been strengthened, and the controversies about them and rival hypotheses have probably been ended.

7. South-eastern Lycaonia and South-western Cappadocia. Several new routes were traversed in this country. Sidamaria and Sideropalos, obviously companion cities, belonging probably to the same tribe, have been placed about fifteen miles from one another on the road from Iconium to the Cilician Gates: the site of Sideropalos and the very name of Sidamaria were hitherto utterly unknown. Sideropalos was an important frontier fortress in the long wars against the Saracens. The great Byzantine fortress Loulon and the Roman Colonia Faustianiana or Faustianopolis we fixed with the most perfect precision, confirming and completing the vaguer reasoning in the *Historical Geography*. The arguments in that book regarding the cities of Hyde, Barata, and the fortresses of Thebasa, Argos or Argaios, and others have also been strengthened and confirmed.

An entirely unknown route from Heracleia-Cybistra to Iconium was followed, five days journey, with the not unimportant negative result of proving that it was entirely unused in the Roman time, thus confirming my previous views. The roads radiating from the Pass of the Cilician Gates have been rendered much more precise both geographically and from the point of view of ancient topography.

We also revisited Eregli, which preserves the name of the ancient Heracleia-Cybistra, and which has hitherto been unanimously identified with that ancient city. We discovered, however, the actual Byzantine fortress, "the strong castle of Hirakla," as the Arab geographer calls it, on a peak about six miles south-east of Eregli, on the extreme eastern spur of a detached ridge running east and west on the north side of the Roman road which led from Iconium direct to the Cilician Gates (by way of Faustianiana Colonia). The fortress is now called Tont Kalesi, and I should be disposed to look for the true site of the Roman city of Cybistra near Tont or Janafer, where the Roman road entered a pass leading eastwards. The modern site has arisen at a village in the territory of Cybistra, where the water and the orchards made a tempting summer residence, while the older situation needed an artificial water-supply, which Turkish engineering could not keep in order: the same cause has led to many changes of situation of cities in that country, as has been shown in the *Historical Geography*, chap. viii. This hypothesis needs verification by further travel; but if confirmed it will set the history of the district in a new light.

8. The topography and geography of Cilicia. This piece of work has been completed in a very satisfactory way, and results in a great increase of our knowledge of the formation and history of the West Plain; but as a long MS. is ready to go to the press in October containing

a careful study of the subject, it is unnecessary to say more than that there is involved in it—if the historical and topographical views stated are correct—a remarkable remodelling of the history, topography and mutual relations of almost all the numerous cities and towns of Western Cilicia (except Soloi, which I have never seen and about which probably nothing more can be learned without excavation). The study will be laid before the Trustees in a printed form as soon as it is ready: Part VI.

9. The great historic road leading north through the Cilician Gates from Tarsus. This road, so famous in history from the first dawn of knowledge onwards, has been observed and worked out, with the help of the official Turkish measurements, with the most satisfactory certainty in the northern half and with great probability in the southern half. The Pass is between seventy and eighty miles in length. There is now nearly ready in MS. a study of the Pass, which will go to print in October, if all goes well, and will then be submitted in a printed form to the Trustees as Part VII.

The duty of publishing the epigraphic results and the more outstanding topographical results has been undertaken by Mr. Cronin in accordance with the principle stated above, and the first part of his work is now presented to the Trustees, while the second is already in type, and a sequel is in preparation. These form Parts III.-V. of the complete Report.

