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Correspondance addresses for sending articles to following volumes of OLBA:

Prof. Dr. Serra Durugönül
Mersin Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi
Arkeoloji Bölümü
Çiftlikköy Kampüsü
33342-MERSİN
TURKEY

Diğer İletişim Adresleri
Other Correspondance Addresses
Tel:00.90.324.361 00 01 (10 Lines)/162-163
Fax: 00.90.324.361 00 46
web mail: www.kaam.mersin.edu.tr
e-mail: kaam@mersin.edu.tr



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Editör

Serra DURUGÖNÜL
Murat DURUKAN

Bilim Kurulu

Prof. Dr. Serra DURUGÖNÜL
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Teşekkür Ederiz.*

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN CILICIA IN THE ANCIENT TRAVELLERS' NOTES

(LEV. 1-5)

Emanuela BORGIA*

ÖZET

20. yüzyılın başlarından önce çok az sayıda Avrupalı gezgin Kilikia'yı ziyaret etme şansına sahip olabildi çünkü, bölge ücra bir konumdadır ve siyasi durumu karışıktır, pek çok kesiminde sağlıksız iklim koşulları hüküm sürmektedir. Yolculuk güzergahları genellikle kıyılarla, Kalykadnos vadileri ve Kilikia Kapıları ile sınırlı kalmaktadır. Ancak, Kilikia antik anıtlarının zenginliği ile bilimadamları için büyük çekiciliğe sahiptir. Bölgeye gelen ilk gezginler (Wilbrandus de Oldenburg, Bertrandon de la Broquiere ve Giosafat Barbaro) sonrasında şu gezginlerin yapıtları, bugün çoğu tahrip edilmiş olan antik Kilikia kentleri konusunda bilgi edinmemizi sağlamaktadır: Otter, Beaufort, Irby ve Mangles, de Laborde, Langlois, Barker, Collignon, Bent ve Hicks, Heberdey ve Wilhelm. Beaufort, Karamania'da ilk haritacı olarak değerlendirilebilir. G. Bell, Bergiojoso prensesinden sonra Kilikia'da yolculuk eden ilk kadın gezgindir (1905) ve temel ilgi alanı Bizans mimarisidir. Bu çalışmada, gezginlerin notlarından elde edilen bilgilerin büyük önemini en iyi biçimde yansıtabilmek için Kilikia'daki birçok kent seçilmekte ve dikkatle incelenmektedir. Ayrıca, her bir gezginin kişiliği ve özel ilgi alanları da ele alınmaktadır.

“When we consider the great number of European and American travellers who annually visit the Levant, it is strange how seldom any of them extends his journey into Northern Syria, or the adjacent provinces of Turkey in Asia. [...] Northern Syria is almost a “terra incognita” [...] The adjacent territory of Karamania is almost equally unvisited, and only once perhaps in every thirty years does a European traveller painfully make his way through some portion of the province. The only other Europeans who care to visit it are a few buyers of walnut wood, or leech merchants, chiefly Greeks, whose one aim is to forward their trade interests, and on whom the

* E. Borgia, *Vicolo Silvestri*, 6, I-00164 Roma.

wonderful antiquities and surpassing beauties of the country naturally make but little impression.” (Davis, E.J., *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, London 1879; Preface, Alexandria, November, 1878)

Unlike the main provinces of Asia Minor¹ a very limited number of European travellers have had the opportunity to visit Cilicia before the beginning of the 20th century, owing mostly to its location, remote from the principal roads crossing the region, to the difficult and unsettled political situation in those times, and to the unhealthy climate of many areas, still suffering from malaria until present day. And as we can infer from the travel notes that have been left to us, they had to face many troubles during the journeys, which were due both to the isolation and roughness of the country, lacking any kind of comfort, and to the difficulty of understanding the local political status, totally different if compared to the organization of the European countries². Even if the abundance of ruins and ancient monuments could be a great attractive for the scholars, as noted by Walpole (“these countries abound with many of great and varied interests, sufficient to repay the traveller for the difficulties and dangers to which he is exposed³”), the big difficulties and dangers of such a trip were themselves the real obstacle, which is the reason why the country remained largely unknown until the beginning of the 19th century⁴.

¹ A general list of the travellers who visited Asia Minor before 1820 has been redacted by Walpole 1820, pp. 187-193; a similar catalogue can be found also in de Laborde 1838, pp. 3-6.

² The local people and authorities were not always favourably disposed towards foreigners, who needed quite always an escort to be safer during the trip. See for example Langlois 1861, p. VII.

³ Walpole 1820, p. III.

⁴ We can describe this situation with the words of two authors, travelling in the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century. Leake, in Walpole 1820, pp. 185-186: “In Asia Minor among the numerous impediments to a traveller’s success must be chiefly reckoned the deserted state of the country, which often puts the common necessities and conveniences of travelling out of his reach; the continual disputes and wars among the persons in power; the precarious authority of the government of Constantinople, which rendering its protection ineffectual, makes the traveller’s success depend upon the personal character of the governor of each district [...]. If the traveller’s prudence or good fortune protect him from all these sources of danger, as well as from plague, banditti, and other perils incidental to a semibarbarous state of society, he has still to dread the loss of health from the combined effects of climate, fatigue, and privation [...]”; and Beaufort, in Letronne 1919, p. 160: “Ce pays [...] appeloit depuis long-temps les recherches des Européens: la grandeur des souvenirs qu’il rappelle, la certitude de découvrir une multitude de ruines et de monumens antiques, étoient un attrait puissant qui les auroit amenés plutôt sur cette côte, si les difficultés et les périls d’un pareil voyage n’étoient pas de nature à effrayer les plus intrépides; aussi étoit-elle demeurée presque inconnue, à l’exception de quelques points à l’ouest et de la partie orientale, placée sur la route de Constantinople à Alep”.

We owe to the medieval traveller Wilbrandus de Oldenburg the very first information on the region, even if it is highly concise and very poor in details: coming from the Holy Land in 1209 he seized the opportunity to visit the main religious sites of Cilicia, so that the data available regarding the ancient and modern Christian buildings are the most precise⁵.

We owe the very first exhaustive descriptions of Cilicia to Captain Beaufort in 1811-1812 and to Irby and Mangles in 1817-1818. Captain Beaufort was firstly charged by the English Admiralty to survey the South Eastern coast of Asia Minor, but in the course of his observations he was led occasionally to visit and depict the extensive ruins of cities which once flourished in the region and were an evidence of the “former opulence and grandeur⁶” of Cilicia. His attention to “the state of civil degradation” of the country peopled by “jealous and discordant tribes” has to be noted also. “It does appear somewhat strange”, however, according to his opinion, “that [...] this portion of the Mediterranean shores should have remained undescribed, and almost unknown⁷”. Irby and Mangles, after having made a journey along the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea from Egypt to Asia, could not complete the expected itinerary because of their bad health conditions⁸. The situation was gradually getting better in the second half of the century, nonetheless Bent in 1889 states the difficulties on the ground his wife and he had to get over, owing this especially to the peculiar object of their search and to the varied climatic conditions, hot and malarious by the sea and in the mountains exceedingly cold in winter⁹.

Given such circumstances, the travel itineraries could hardly reach the inland regions, whose mountainous nature made them often quite inaccessible, and had to be restricted within the coastal areas or the main

⁵ Laurent 1864, pp. 159-191.

⁶ Beaufort 1818, p. IX.

⁷ Beaufort 1818, pp. V-VI. As an evidence of the problems sometimes occurring with the local people, we must bring to mind the attack suffered on the 20th of June 1812, while Captain Beaufort was at the anchorage in Ayaş (Aigeai): some of the local villagers, firstly favourably disposed towards him and pointing out the ancient inscriptions reused in the tower along the shore, just a few time later started firing against them and their ship, wounding the Captain himself. See Beaufort 1818, pp. 302-306; Barker 1853, p. 265.

⁸ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 529.

⁹ Bent 1890b, p. 445.

settlements located in the Kalykadnos valley or on the road connecting Asia Minor to Syria, through the Cilician and Amanian Gates (fig. 1). This way, chosen by many travellers, such as Bertrandon de la Broquière, Otter, Ainsworth, Belgiojoso, touched partially Cilicia, crossing its eastern corner only. Moreover the very bad conditions of the roads along the shore, mainly re-using the layout of the ancient Roman paved streets, without undergoing any kind of maintenance, is outlined by de Laborde in 1828, during the trip from Silifke to Tarsos¹⁰. Another big problem sometimes occurring to the travellers was that of crossing the large rivers, such as the Kalykadnos or the Pyramos, whose rare bridges were often broken, causing therefore long delays to the trips¹¹.

It is worth pointing out the travel in 1852 of one of the first women in Cilicia, the princess of Belgiojoso, whose itinerary through the Tauros Mountains from Ankara to Adana showed “la société turque telle qu’on peut l’observer dans quelques régions rarement visitées par les Européens. A partir d’Adana on entre dans les contrées de l’Orient que les voyageurs se flattent de mieux connaître, et où du moins l’influence de la civilisation occidentale se fait plus généralement sentir¹²”.

Such a gap in the knowledge of the entire region, particularly of the Tauros area, and the lack of completeness of the previous accounts is clearly exposed by Langlois, whose trip in 1852-1853 was specifically

¹⁰ de Laborde 1838, p. 131.

¹¹ Otter had to stop twice in Adana and in Mopsuesthia because the bridges over the Saros and the Pyramos were broken, Otter 1748, p. 68-75: “Nous nous y arrêames sept jours (in Adana), ne pouvant pas aller outre à cause que le pont étoit rompu par une de ses extrémités [...]. Le pont étant raccomodé, nous partimes le 30, & arrivames après six heures de marche à Misis ou Masisa, autrefois Mopsuestia [...]. Ce n’est aujourd’hui qu’un bourg, situé sur le Dgeïhan qui le partage en deux quartiers qui communiquoient par un pont de pierre. L’on voit encore sur le bord septentrional de cette grande rivière des colonnes rompues, & d’autres marbres antiques, qui font juger qu’il y avoit anciennement de beaux édifices. [...] & nous trouvames le pont rompu. Il avoit été facile de réparer celui d’Adana, mais il n’en étoit pas de même de celui-ci, dont les trois arches du milieu étoient ruinées. Le passage de la rivière fut fort difficile, la rapidité de l’eau entraîna & fit périr quelques-uns de nos plus beaux chevaux”. Davis too found two of the arches broken: “A bridge of nine arches connects the east and west banks; but of these arches one is entirely, and another partially destroyed. [...]. A temporary bridge of wood had been placed across the broken arches [...]”. Davis 1879, pp. 65-66.

¹² Barbiano di Belgiojoso 1858, p. 66.

aimed at an extensive exploration of Cilicia¹³. Nonetheless many ancient sites still remained unknown and, for instance, Bent in 1889 could investigate for the first time the Lamos valley, discovering many new settlements, some of which raised much interest¹⁴.

Besides this, it is necessary to stress that, until the first half of the last century, large areas, which are densely populated and completely built up today, appeared mostly deserted or inhabited by small groups living in semi-nomadic conditions¹⁵. On the other hand, as a consequence of the increase in population and the growth of villages and cities in Cilicia, a progressive destruction and dismantling of many ancient monuments, in order to build the new constructions, is frequently pointed out by many scholars. Already in 1877, when Duchesne and Collignon travelled along the Cilician coast between Selinous and Pompeiopolis, some monuments and inscriptions which were still visible in the first half of the 19th century, according to the description of Beaufort and Langlois, were by then no longer preserved¹⁶. The most evident case illustrating this process is the city of Soloi-Pompeiopolis, whose ruins were used as stone quarries, the main monuments having been totally plundered so as to furnish materials for the new buildings growing up in Mersin¹⁷. A similar situation has to

¹³ Langlois 1861, pp. VI-VII.

¹⁴ This is the case, for instance, of Tapurelü, which has been identified by Bent with the ancient Bemisos: "it stands on the left bank of the river, about half-way from the source to the mouth, crowning two hills; it had six polygonal towers standing, a valley of rock cut tombs, ruins of temples, theatre, and public buildings, and next to the capital itself must have been the most important town in the Olbian kingdom, yet ancient and modern geographers are entirely silent as to its existence". Bent 1890b, p. 452.

¹⁵ Langlois 1861, p. 406, says relating about Elaioussa: "A la place de ces splendeurs d'un autre âge, je n'ai trouvé qu'un seul village; et encore doit-on donner ce nom à quelques cabanes momentanément abandonnées par les habitants et groupées autour d'un ancien temple dont les colonnes ont été renversées par une commotion souterraine?"; also Duchesne, Collignon 1877, p. 374 report about such a situation in Elaioussa Sebaste and Korykos, but note that owing to this reason their monuments are better preserved. Bent 1890b, p. 455: "We had to dwell amidst ruins, to inhabit tombs when we could find them, and to put up with the tents of the nomads when nothing better presented itself, for there are no towns in this district, no villages unless you can designate by such a title small nests of miserable hovels, which the nomads use as storehouses for their grain, and occasionally during the bad season inhabit themselves".

¹⁶ Duchesne, Collignon 1877, pp. 373-376; Collignon 1880, p. 913.

¹⁷ See ntt. 82-85. Paribeni, Romanelli 1914, cc. 86-88.

be pointed out for Kelenderis, where Collignon in 1880¹⁸ could identify nothing but the mausoleum amongst the monuments seen by Leake¹⁹, Beaufort²⁰, Irby and Mangles²¹ and Langlois in 1852-1853²².

The careful analysis of the notes of the ancient travellers proves to be extremely useful today to the archaeological research in Cilicia, mostly owing to the information we can get on some monuments which have at present disappeared or else have been partially and even totally transformed within the modern cities. In order to better illustrate the extreme importance of the information available in the travellers' journeys, several cities and archaeological sites have been selected, whose different history and evolution offers us varied examples. Of great benefit for the reconstruction of the single monuments is the comparative analysis of the data inferable from the earlier travellers and the more recent descriptions relating to the end of the 19th century. Even in the first photographs we possess, taken by Keil and Wilhelm, a quite similar situation as the one described by the former travellers is observed, bearing however the clear traces of the occurred destructions. Taking into consideration the remarkable changes brought about in many places up to today, it stands to reason that the great destructions had not yet stopped and that the memory of numerous historical and archaeological traces in Cilicia is strictly linked to the travel reports.

The importance of the travellers' notes for the knowledge of no longer existing monuments (Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, Tarsos, Klaudioupolis)

A little known archaeological site, due to the huge destruction carried out since the end of the last century, involving both the urban area and the necropolis, is Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, which is actually quite completely buried under the modern Silifke. It follows that the travellers'

¹⁸ Collignon 1880, pp. 901-902: "C'est à cette activité (de construction de maisons) qu'il faut attribuer la disparition rapide des ruines de l'antique Celenderis, à laquelle la ville moderne a succédé. [...]. Les maçons de Khilindri n'ont respecté qu'un joli petit édifice, un tombeau [...]"

¹⁹ Walpole 1820, pp. 241-242.

²⁰ Beaufort 1818, p. 209.

²¹ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 527.

²² Langlois 1861, p. 177.

notes become basic sources for the knowledge of its disappeared monuments and their topographical distribution.

Following the first visit of the Venetian ambassador Barbaro in 1474²³, the site of Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos has been more than once visited by the ancient travellers. Barbaro tells us about the ruins of the theatre and his description of the Armenian castle above the hill overlooking the plain is so well founded that Langlois doesn't deem necessary to examine it closely²⁴. Cippico, relating about Barbaro's siege of Seleukeia, describes some of the antiquities of this city, between which a square portico, previously unknown and apparently in a very good state of preservation, is worth being mentioned²⁵. Comparing the data of the various reports, it is easy to follow the progressive disappearance of the most important Roman and Byzantine monuments, as a consequence of the reusing of ancient materials as the modern village was evolving into a city (fig. 2). According to Beaufort, in 1811-1812, "the remains of Seleucia are scattered over a large extent of ground, on the west side of the river". His companions could find "the remains of a theatre, partly cut out of

²³ Ramusio 1973, pp. 111-112: "Partendo dal Curcho e andando verso maestro .10. miglia lontano se trova Seleucha, la qual è in cima d'un monte per sotto el qual passa uno fiume che mette in mar apresso el Curcho simel de grandezza alla Brenta; apresso questo monte è uno theatro nel modo de quel de Verona, molto grande, circondato de colonne d'uno pezo con li sui gradi intorno. Ascendendo il monte per andar in la terra, a man manca se vedeno assaissime arche, parte d'un pezo, come è ditto de sopra, separate dal monte, e parte cavade nel proprio monte. Ascendendo più suso se trovan le porte de la prima centa de la terra che sono quasi alla summità del monte, le quale hanno un turrion per lato e sono de ferro senza legname alcuno, alte circa .15.piedi, large la mità, lavorate politissimamente, non meno che si fussero d'argento, et sonno grossissime et forte. El muro è grossissimo, pieno di drento, con la sua guarda davanti, el qual de fuora è cargo e coperto de terreno durissimo, tanto rato che per esso non se puol ascender alle mura. El qual terreno li va d'ognio intorno, et è tanto largo da le mura che da basso lui circonda .3. miglia et in cima el muro non circonda più de uno, et è fatto a similitudine d'un pan de zucchero. Dentro da 'sta centa è el castello de Selleucha con i suo' muri e torrepiene, tra el qual e le mura de la prima centa è tanto terreno vacuo che a un bisogno faria da .300. stara de frumento. Dista la centa dal castello passa .30. e più. Dentro mo' dal castello è una cava quadra fatta nel saxo, profunda passa .5., longa .25. e più, larga cerca .7. In questa erano legne assai da munition et una cisterna grandissima in la qual non è mai per manchare aqua".

²⁴ Langlois 1861, pp. 189-191; see nt. 23.

²⁵ Cippico 1792, pp. 44-45: "Seleucia città antica fu edificata da Seleuco [...]. Restano ancora molte vestigia di edifizii, specialmente sulle rive del fiume. Qui vidi io oltre le rovine di tempj e dell'anfiteatro, una loggia quadrata, la maggior parte della quale era intera, eccetto il coperto, ornatissima di colonne di statue e d'ogni altra scoltura: la qual vedendo mi dolsi che un'opera così rara e di tanta spesa, per la negligenza de' barbari, fusse andata in rovina".

the side of a hill, and facing south-east; and in front of it, a long line of considerable remains with porticoes and other large buildings: farther on, a temple, which had been converted into a Christian church, and several large Corinthian columns, about four feet in diameter, a few of which are still standing²⁶”. In 1852 Langlois could still visit the ruins of the theatre, of which the masonry of the cavea, some steps, the niches and two columns of the scaenae frons were preserved²⁷.

Irby and Mangles²⁸, de Laborde²⁹, Langlois³⁰ and Trémaux (fig. 3)³¹ could yet see the ruins of the Byzantine church built inside the roman Corinthian temple. Their engravings represent the two windowed apse still standing, whose mullioned windows were separated by a little column in red marble. Nearby some other columns in their original position, probably pertaining to another church or to a colonnade, are also recorded by Langlois.

The wide remains of the eastern and south-eastern necropolis, already pointed out by Beaufort³² and Irby and Mangles³³ and carefully described by de Laborde³⁴, Langlois³⁵, Trémaux³⁶ and Collignon³⁷, were still visible

²⁶ Beaufort 1818, pp. 222-225. Beside these monuments, he describes the necropolis, the big water reservoir and the Citadel.

²⁷ Langlois 1858-1859, p. 749; Langlois 1861, pp.115-116: “les ruines du théâtre de Sélefké ont perdu leur revêtement de marbre et leurs colonnes, mais la maçonnerie est restée debout, et l’on peut aujourd’hui [...] circuler autour de cet antique monument [...]. Seules deux colonnes décapitées se dressent au milieu des décombres [...]. Des chapiteaux corinthiens gisent à leurs pieds [...]. Les niches, privées de leurs statues [...]”.

²⁸ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 523.

²⁹ de Laborde 1838, pp. 129-130.

³⁰ Langlois 1858-1859, p. 750; Langlois 1861, pp.187-188. He describes the ruins belonging to two temples “assez rapprochés l’un de l’autre, et situés à environ huit minutes à l’est du village actuel de Sélefké. L’un de ces temples, dont les débris gisent épars sur le sol, était orné à l’intérieur d’une frise représentant des génies ailés qui tiennent d’énormes grappes de raisin. Une belle colonne corinthienne, surmontée d’un chapiteau du même ordre, a quatre pieds de diamètre”.

³¹ Trémaux 1863, Seleucia, pl.5

³² Beaufort 1818, p. 224.

³³ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 523.

³⁴ de Laborde 1838, p. 129.

³⁵ Langlois 1861, pp.117; 188-189.

³⁶ Trémaux 1863, Seleucia, pll. 2-3.

³⁷ Collignon 1880, p. 910. He considers this necropolis as the main archaeological area of the city and carefully describes the various types of tombs.

in the photographs by Keil and Wilhelm in 1925³⁸. The tombs had unfortunately been quite completely destroyed and most of the grave inscriptions copied by the different travellers, particularly by Paribeni and Romanelli³⁹, are at the present time no more recognisable: all of them probably belonged to the Byzantine age and some sketches and copies were made by various travellers⁴⁰. As we can assume from the pictures of Langlois and Trémaux, the most spread type were the rock cut tombs consisting of a façade and an inner square room, while the monolithic sarcophagi with decorated lids were less frequently attested.

The theatre was located on the same slope of the hill as the necropolis. Irby and Mangles⁴¹ and de Laborde describe it as almost completely destroyed, as it can be seen in his engravings⁴², while Langlois just mentions it⁴³ and Collignon could only identify the semicircular hollow being once the site of the building⁴⁴. Of the cavea only a single arched passageway, belonging to the northern sector, is preserved nowadays.

An undoubtedly irretrievable loss is that of the so-called stadium, which must be interpreted rather as a circus⁴⁵, and was located along the right bank of the river Kalykadnos to the north-west of the temple; this building was in a perfect state of preservation until the first half of the 19th century, as can be seen from the sketch of de Laborde who describes it carefully (fig. 4): “On entre presque immédiatement dans un vaste stade admirablement conservé sur une étendue de quatre cent trente pas de long et quatre-vingt-seize de large. On ne peut pas déterminer exactement sa longueur, parce qu’il ne reste rien des constructions qui formaient ses deux extrémités; mais les deux grands côtés parallèles se présentent avec leurs

³⁸ Keil, Wilhelm 1931, pl. 8.

³⁹ Paribeni, Romanelli 1914, cc.100-101.

⁴⁰ Beaufort 1818, p. 224; Langlois copied one text on a sarcophagus pertaining to the eastern necropolis, Langlois 1861, p. 189.

⁴¹ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 523. They could see the semicircular shape of the building and the two vomitoria reused as huts by the poor inhabitants of Silifke.

⁴² de Laborde 1838, p.129: “Nous retrouvons [...] l’emplacement d’un théâtre, mais il ne reste rien de sa construction. Un voyageur avait encore vu un vomitoire dans lequel s’étaient établis des habitants; ce vomitoire a disparu [...]”.

⁴³ Langlois 1861, p. 188.

⁴⁴ Collignon 1880, p. 909.

⁴⁵ Spanu 2001, p. 459.

arches soutenant les gradins, dans un état de conservation assez rare. Sur le côté le plus rapproché de la rivière, le côté oriental, on compte encore vingt-sept arches, mais aux deux tiers enterrés; elles s'appuient sur un mur qui avait le double emploi de mur de soutènement pour le stade et de mur d'enceinte pour la ville. Un plan détaillé pourrait seul rendre compte de la disposition des bâtiments annexés aux gradins⁴⁶". The plan and section by Trémaux (fig. 5)⁴⁷ correspond well with this description, but they certainly include a reconstruction of the whole building, consisting of 84 arched passageways on each side, supporting 10 rows of seats, and three entrances, one on the axis of the building and the others along the sides. Since then the circus was slowly spoiled of all the blocks and seats by which it was made up and disappeared under the buildings of the modern Silifke. Its scanty remains lie perhaps a few meters underground, but no actual archaeological excavation has been carried out in order to identify this important and impressive building.

Very little was known of the ancient Tarsos, whose noted importance was due to its role of capital city of the roman province of Cilicia, except for the archaeological research carried out recently on the Gözlü Kule and in the area of the colonnaded street and Donuktaş⁴⁸. Besides the excellent results of the present excavations and the study of the surviving remains, much data coming from the descriptions of Barbaro⁴⁹, Beaufort⁵⁰, Langlois⁵¹, Trémaux⁵² and Davis⁵³ are very important for the study of the topographical layout of this city.

⁴⁶ de Laborde 1838, p. 130.

⁴⁷ Trémaux 1863, Seleucia, pl. 1.

⁴⁸ Baydur 1991; Zoroğlu 1995.

⁴⁹ Ramusio 1973, pp. 113, 276, nt. 222. "El primo logo ch'io ritrovai è Tharsus, bona città, el signor de la qual è Dulgadar, che fu fratello de Sessuar. El paese è sottoposto al soldan, quantunque sia pur ne l'Armenia Minore. La terra volta .3. miglia; ha una fiumara davanti, sopra la quale è uno ponte de pietra in volti, per el qual se ense de la terra; e questa fiumara li va quasi attorno. In essa è uno castello scarpado da doi ladi de una scarpa alta passa.15., la qual è de pietre tutte lavorate a scarpello. Davanti è un logo piano, quadro, eminente, al qual se va per el castello con una scala, el qual è tanto longo e largo che tegniria homini .100. suso. La terra è posta su un montesello non molto alto".

⁵⁰ Beaufort 1818, pp. 272-273.

⁵¹ Langlois 1856-1857.

⁵² Trémaux 1863, Tarsus, pll. 1, 3.

⁵³ Davis 1879, pp. 30-41.

The Donuktaş temple, previously identified as the grave of Sardanapal, was most certainly the building where the main historical and archaeological interests were concentrated. Verzone relates about the first excavations carried out during the years 1837-1839 by the French consul in Tarsos, M. Gillet, aimed at understanding the real nature of the monument⁵⁴. Both in the plan by Trémaux⁵⁵ and in the analysis of its peculiar structure carefully carried out by Langlois⁵⁶ and Davis⁵⁷, it turns out that the temple was already in its present state in the 19th century. What is missing since then are the numerous marble fragments belonging to its decoration, which were seen by Davis and only partially preserved.

Nothing remains of the double city-wall of Tarsos, described by Wilbrandus de Oldenborg in 1209⁵⁸ and Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1432⁵⁹, and which was continuously spoiled by the inhabitants to build new houses, as related by Paul Lucas in 1714⁶⁰ and still noted by Irby and Mangles in 1817-1818⁶¹ and Barker in 1845⁶². The recently restored Cleopatra's Gate west of the city is the only extant trace of these

⁵⁴ Verzone 1957, p. 59, nt. 6.

⁵⁵ Trémaux 1863, Tarsus, pl. 3.

⁵⁶ Langlois 1853-1854; Langlois 1861, pp. 268-269.

⁵⁷ Davis 1879, pp. 37-39.

⁵⁸ Laurent 1864, p. 176: "[...] muro cingitur pre antiquitate mutilato, sed castrum habet in capite sui firmum et bonum [...]".

⁵⁹ Schefer 1892, p. 99: "Cette ville de Tarso est une ville bien ferme de deux murailles et en aucun lieu de trois et est grande, et sont les fossez tous glacissez. Et à ung bout y a ung chastel. Et passe auprez de ceste ville une rivyere et parmy la ville une petite".

⁶⁰ Lucas 1714, p. 273.

⁶¹ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 504.

⁶² Barker 1853, p. 153: "On the ancient wall of Tarsus a hill leaned, which must have been many centuries there, in as much as on its summit, and towards its base, there exists a fabric, the foundation of which are of Roman cement, which was used for the interior of walls, and which, petrifying, becomes a conglomeration of mortar, sand, and pebbles, of different sizes, and harder to break up than the rock itself. The inhabitants of the present town do not trouble themselves to go to the mountains to cut thence the stones they may require for their buildings; they prefer using such as those who lived in the same spot before have left them; and they carry away, wherever they find them, all the large square stones they require. After using up all that they could find on the surface of the ground, they dug up the foundation of the old city of Tarsus. This foundation is now as low down as forty feet under ground [...]".

walls⁶³, the south-eastern gate called Demir Kapı, being no more preserved. This last structure aroused a great interest on the part of many of the travellers, whose recounts remain the only available sources in order to know its original shape. In Trémaux's drawings the gate is still connected with the city walls and on its right side a big rampart in square blocks can be seen (Fig. 6)⁶⁴, while in the later description of Davis the arch appears isolated (fig. 7)⁶⁵, the walls having probably been destroyed in the course of time. The notable differences between the previously mentioned drawings and the one of Langlois⁶⁶ raise doubts as to the reliability of his pictures, which are not convincing even in the case of other buildings.

The theatre was probably already destroyed when Irby and Mangles visited the city, as they did not find it, while Beaufort's officers could yet distinguish its shape under the brushwood near the river⁶⁷.

Aiming at identifying the porticoes and the colonnaded street of the ancient city of Klaudioupolis (Mut), the information coming from Leake⁶⁸, de Laborde⁶⁹, Davis⁷⁰, Collignon⁷¹, Sitlington Sterrett⁷², Alishan⁷³, is the only evidence we possess. They mention the well-preserved remains of rows of columns in different marbles (porphyry, granite, verde-antico),

⁶³ A good description of this gate, when it was still connected to the city walls, can be found in Lewis Burckhardt's notes about a journey in Cilicia, reported by Barker 1853, pp. 355-371: "The western outer gate of the town, through which we entered, is of ancient structure; it is a fine arch, the interior vault of which is in perfect preservation: on the outside are some remains of a sculptured frieze. I did not see any inscriptions. To the right and left of this gateway are seen the ancient ruined walls of the city, which extended in this direction further than the town at present does".

⁶⁴ Trémaux 1863, Tarsus, pl. 2

⁶⁵ Davis 1879, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁶ Langlois 1861, pl. XVIII.

⁶⁷ Beaufort 1818, p. 273; Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 505.

⁶⁸ Walpole 1820, p. 237.

⁶⁹ de Laborde 1838, pp. 126-127.

⁷⁰ Davis 1879, p. 333.

⁷¹ Collignon 1880, p. 909.

⁷² He copied an inscription on an epistyle block: the text mentioned a stoa, which may possibly be identified in the colonnade in the South Eastern area of the city. Sitlington Sterrett 1888, pp. 8-9.

⁷³ Alishan 1899, p. 238.

recorded even by a Greek inscription relating to this portico as a tristoon. In order to identify this monument, particularly significant are the words of Leake who describes the castle, some mosques, baths, temples, the main roads “and long colonnades and porticoes with the lower part of the columns in their original places. Pillars of verde-antique, breccia and other marble lie, half buried, in different parts or support the remains of ruined mosques and houses⁷⁴”. Only by Davis we get informed about the existence of a large gateway whose side stones were preserved⁷⁵.

The same unlucky fate occurred to the necropolis of this city, whose extent seemed to be very large according to the relations of Leake⁷⁶, de Laborde⁷⁷, Alishan⁷⁸; they describe the tombs and sarcophagi, none of which is still visible in situ: “Sarcophagi stand in long rows on either side, some entire and in their original position; others thrown down and broken; the covers of all removed, and in most instances lying beside them. The greater part were adorned with the usual bull’s head and festoons, and had a Greek inscription in a tablet on one side. The letters were sufficiently preserved to indicate the date to be that of the Roman Empire, but we searched in vain for the name of the city⁷⁹”. Copies of some of the funerary inscriptions were made by Sitlington Sterrett⁸⁰.

The travellers’ notes as a contribution in better understanding the partially preserved cities and monuments (Soli-Pompeiopolis, Demir Kapı)

The city of Soli-Pompeiopolis, though much of it had been destroyed similarly to the cases mentioned above, offers us some examples of buildings which had the fortunate fate to be at least partially preserved.⁸¹ Besides the wonderful colonnaded street, as far as the other monuments are

⁷⁴ Walpole 1820, p. 237.

⁷⁵ Davis 1879, p. 333.

⁷⁶ Walpole 1820, p. 238.

⁷⁷ de Laborde 1838, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Alishan 1899, p. 238.

⁷⁹ Walpole 1820, p. 238.

⁸⁰ Sitlington Sterrett 1888, pp. 11-12.

⁸¹ For a complete study on the travellers who visited this city in the 19th century, see Erten 2002.

concerned, such as the theatre, the harbour, the so-called Aratus' tomb, the huge remains of the city walls and the necropolis, represented in some of the travellers plans of the city, were continuously robbed and pillaged. A further cause for such poor preservation is the large expansion of Mezitli and Mersin, which went so far as to enclose the ancient city up to the quite total disappearance of even the traces of the buildings scattered inside and outside the urban area. It is worth quoting on this subject both the words of Langlois “Dans les dernières années on a enlevé beaucoup de matériaux sur ce point pour construire un khan à Mersine⁸²” and those of Davis who says with regard to the theatre: “its materials have been entirely removed, not one of its rows of seats remain [...]. Everything else has been removed, and so great is the destruction of the place owing to the proximity of Mersine that in a few years the whole city will have disappeared. In short Mersine has been entirely built of stones brought from Pompeiopolis⁸³”. The plundering process was still going on when Duchesne and Collignon visited the city⁸⁴, and nothing but the traces of the walls and the theatre were left during the first years of the 20th century, as far as Du Loup tells us⁸⁵.

The exact location of the theatre was actually difficult to identify, until the results of the excavations carried out by Remzi Yağcı during the last years. Through the drawings of Trémaux (fig. 8)⁸⁶, and the descriptions of Beaufort⁸⁷, Irby and Mangles⁸⁸, Barker⁸⁹, Langlois⁹⁰, Davis⁹¹ and Du

⁸² Langlois 1861, p. 241.

⁸³ Davis 1879, p. 25.

⁸⁴ Duchesne, Collignon 1877, p. 375.

⁸⁵ Du Loup 1930-1931, p. 715: “Les murs d’enceinte de la ville ont été démolis et enlevés pierre à pierre par les habitants de Mersina. [...] À l’est, à toucher le mur d’enceinte, on reconnaît l’emplacement du théâtre, adossé à une petite colline; il n’en subsiste aujourd’hui aucune pierre importante”.

⁸⁶ Trémaux 1863, Pompeiopolis, pl. 1.

⁸⁷ Beaufort 1818, pp. 262-263.

⁸⁸ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 509.

⁸⁹ Barker 1853, p. 131. Barker is wrong in calling it amphitheatre, but its description is very useful, being complete in the details: “The only public buildings that can be distinguished out of such a heap of ruins are, 1st, the place of the amphitheatre, which was built of white marble, and had at the top all round a cornice with wreaths in alto relievo, between each of which was sculptured a tragic mask. In this place was found the centre part of a Venus of full size, in white marble”.

⁹⁰ Langlois 1853.

⁹¹ Davis 1879, pp. 24-25.

Loup⁹² it was easy to argue that such a building had been located on the western slope of the low hill to the east of the colonnaded street, leaning against the city walls. It was almost destroyed when Beaufort visited the city: “neither the precise dimensions, nor the number of seats can be ascertained⁹³”, while de Laborde could see some of the steps and the foundation of the scenic building⁹⁴, and Davis an archway which connected the outside area and the diazoma⁹⁵. Its horse-shoe shape and its building technique, partly using the natural ground as foundation but with the two aisles of the cavea made by opus caementicium, can clearly be inferred by the careful plan realised by Trémaux. There can be seen eight of the arched substructions belonging to the south aisle of the cavea and six of the northern one, apparently still standing; on the other hand, nothing was preserved of the scaenae frons at that time.

As regards the walls enclosing the urban area, with the help of the plans of Beaufort and Trémaux, it is possible to re-design, their complete layout, with 10 square towers to the north, 11 on the western and 5 on the eastern side⁹⁶.

Concerning the harbour, whose western mole made of concrete with big pebbles and big blocks' facing is still preserved, its elliptic shape is carefully drawn in the plans of Beaufort and Trémaux⁹⁷ and its structure is carefully analysed also by Davis⁹⁸. It is described since 1818 as completely filled in with sand dunes, only the piers still projecting into the sea; when Du Loup visited the site in 1930-1931 the eastern pier had already disappeared⁹⁹.

⁹² Du Loup 1930-1931, p. 715.

⁹³ See nt. 87.

⁹⁴ de Laborde 1838, p. 135: “C’est d’abord le théâtre, assis dans une colline peu élevée, et qui pourrait bien être artificielle, au sud-est de la ville. Il n’a que de petites dimensions, et présente seulement quelques gradins et les soubassements de la scène”.

⁹⁵ See nt. 91

⁹⁶ Beaufort 1818, p. 249; Trémaux 1863, Pompeiopolis, pl. 1; de Laborde 1838, p. 135, passes through the walls to get into the old city but he does not describe them. Davis 1879, pp.21-22: “The best and most expensive construction appears to have been the city wall, of which some few foundation stones remain, well wrought, and of very large size”.

⁹⁷ Beaufort 1818, pp. 259-260; Trémaux 1863, Pompeiopolis, pl.1

⁹⁸ Davis 1879, p. 22.

⁹⁹ Du Loup 1930-1931, p. 715.

Neither the necropolis nor the so-called Aratus' tomb are preserved today and we are obliged to describe the latter with the help of Langlois' words, which bear the first attestation of this monument, ascribing it to Aratus of Soli¹⁰⁰. Leaving aside the problem of the uncertain attribution of this monument to the ancient poet, it is difficult to ascertain whether its exact location was inside the city walls to the north of the theatre, as the map of Trémaux and the description of Davis suggest, or along the seaside according to the engraving of Langlois and the description of Du Loup¹⁰¹.

The colonnaded street has been likewise at the mercy of the plunderers, nevertheless its preservation is by far the best, if compared with the other buildings¹⁰². Paribeni and Romanelli describe quite carefully the

¹⁰⁰ No other traveller had described this monument before, even if it must have been perfectly visible from the road coming from Mersin: Langlois 1861, p. 243: "on arrive à un tertre naturel couronné par une construction en poudingue ou béton, détruite en partie et qui renferme un sarcophage renversé. Cette construction à beaucoup de ressemblance, quand aux matériaux, avec le monument de Sardanapale à Tarsous; toutefois, ses murailles sont moins épaisses que celles de ce dernier édifice, et ses dimensions beaucoup moins considérables. La hauteur de cette construction est d'environ 4 mètres sur 6 de longueur. Le côté occidental s'est écroulé et le sarcophage monolithe est couché sur le côté, dans l'intérieur du monument: son couvercle de forme prismatique est tombé au pied de la construction et en partie caché sous des broussailles. Il n'y a aucune trace d'inscription sur le sarcophage, non plus que sur son couvercle...". For a description of Soloi Pompeiopolis see also Langlois 1853.

It is not easy to argue if Barker's description of some tombs belonging to the necropolis in the outer part of the city includes this monument too: Barker 1853, pp. 131-132: "One (tomb) that is out of the town to the eastward, near the river, in a field, has been opened. It contained two large sarcophagi, more than twelve feet long; one is overturned, and the other still in its place. They are of marble, without any ornament, not having been intended to be seen, but to be completely in the masonry. They have been originally covered all over by a composition formed of pebbles, sand, quick-lime, and pieces of brick, which has become petrified. [...] Another tomb, which has not been opened, lies in the town to the west of the amphitheatre towards the sea, and is overgrown with brush-wood. It appears to be eight times the size of the last described. The French consul some years back tried to force it open; but although he cut the monument nearly half through at the centre, as he did not happen to light upon either of the sarcophagi, they have remained enveloped in their pristine mass of mortar".

¹⁰¹ Du Loup 1930-1931, p. 715.

¹⁰² Beaufort 1818, p. 262; Irby and Mangles 1823, p. 509; de Laborde 1838, p. 135; Barker 1853, pp. 130-132; Langlois 1861, pp. 248-249; Trémaux 1863, Pompeiopolis, pl. 1; Davis 1879, p. 22; Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, p. 23; Paribeni, Romanelli 1914, cc. 88-89; Du Loup 1930-1931, p. 714.

dismantling process that was carried out during their visit to the site by a Yuruk tribe interested in reusing the metal clamps connecting the stone drums¹⁰³.

A restricted number of scholars dwells upon the so-called Amanian Gates, one of the main passes on the way towards Syria. This gate was mentioned for the first time by Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1432¹⁰⁴, but Ainsworth in 1838-1840 gives a most detailed description: “the remarkable stone arch which is called in the Mecca Itinerary, Timour Kapi (Gate of Tamerlane); by Kinneir, Williams, and others, Demir Kapu (Iron Gate); but which has a more remote antiquity, as its Cyclopean style of architecture sufficiently demonstrates, for it is built of polygonal masses of basalt, not arranged in courses, and without cement. In the Memoir previously alluded to I have identified these gates with Pylae Amanica, or Amanian Gates of the Greek and Romans [...]”¹⁰⁵. Barker just mentions it¹⁰⁶.

The still well preserved sites (Korykos, Anazarbos, Hierapolis Kastabala)

The propitious case where the ancient cities and monuments are even until today in a notable state of preservation should be briefly considered. The comparative analysis of the remains still extant at the present time and the previous description of the same sites by the travellers is extremely useful in order to infer the scientific attitudes of the single authors who had been concerned with them.

Notwithstanding the growth of a modern village near the ruins of the city of Korykos, the descriptions transmitted by the travellers correspond even in the slightest details to the present state of preservation. Beaufort's, Irby and Mangles's, Langlois' and Collignon's descriptions of the necropolis, focused on the rock cut tombs sometimes carrying a bas-relief and the great amount of inscribed sarcophagi, are also perfectly true for the

¹⁰³ Paribeni, Romanelli 1914, cc. 88-89.

¹⁰⁴ Schefer 1892, p. 93.

¹⁰⁵ Ainsworth 1842, pp. 89-90.

¹⁰⁶ Barker 1853, p. 265: “[...] and the Amanian gates, near to the Cyclopean arch, called the Tamir Kapu or iron gates”.

monuments which are still visible¹⁰⁷. Regarding the two Armenian castles, we owe the first careful description of their architecture to Barbaro¹⁰⁸ and Cippico¹⁰⁹, but they were first analysed by Beaufort¹¹⁰ and depicted by de Laborde and Langlois¹¹¹.

Such are the conditions of the ancient cities of Anazarbus and Hierapolis Kastabala, which are still in a very good state of preservation, not having been plundered, nor occupied by modern cities. For Anazarbos, we must consider of a great importance the first account by Wilbrandus de Oldenburg in 1209¹¹², but also the following detailed descriptions

¹⁰⁷ Beaufort 1818, pp.242-244; Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 518; Langlois 1855, pp. 137-139; Langlois 1861, pp.109-110; 206-208; Collignon 1880, p. 911. The detailed description by Langlois of the warrior's figure which is still preserved ratify the reliability of his work: "A l'extrémité sud de ce rocher on voit un bas relief représentant un guerrier debout, vêtu d'une tunique qui lui descend jusqu'au genou et qui est retenue à la ceinture par un baudrier auquel est suspendue une épée; de la main droite il tient un labarum. La tête a été cassée (p. 207)".

¹⁰⁸ Ramusio 1973, pp. 110-111, 271, 274-275, ntt. 202, 213. "Questo Curcho è sul mar; ha per mezzo verso ponente un scoglio che volta un terzo de miglio, in su el qual per avanti soleva esser un castello, monstra d'esser fatto forte, bello e ben lavorato, ma di presente in gran parte è ruinato; ha su le porte maestre certe inscription de lettere le qual mostravano d'esser belle e simel a le armenie, pur in altra forma de quella che usano li Armeni de presenti, conciosia che li Armeni ch'io havea con mi non le sapevan lezer. El castel rotto è lontano dal Curcho a la via de la bocca del porto un trar de balestro, ma el Curcho è parte edificato in su un saxo e parte scorre su la spiazza verso el mar. El saxo in su el qual è da la parte de levante è tagliato in un fosso alto eguale. El sabion verso la spiazza ha un muro scarpado grossissimo, da non poter esser offeso da bombarde. In el castello n'è un altro con le sue mura grossissime e torre fortissime, tutto el qual cengie do terzi d'un miglio. Ha etiamdio lui sopra le porte, le qual son due, certe inscription di lettere armenie. Ogni stantia di questo castello ha la sua cisterna de aqua dolce e ne i logi publici .4. cisterne, tanto grande, tutte de aqua dolce perfettissima, che servivano ad ogni grande città. Ne l'ussir de la porta che è verso levante, per una strada lontana un trar d'arco dal castello, se trovano arche de marmori d'un pezzo, bona parte de le qual son rotte, da un capo como da l'altro de la strada, et durano per insina una certa giesia, mezzo miglio distante, la qual mostra esser sta' assai grande e ben lavorata de colonne de marmoro grosse et altri eccellenti lavori. [...]"

¹⁰⁹ While describing Korykos, Cippico mentions north to this site the island of Elaiousa: "Curco da due parti è bagnato dal mare; dalla parte di terra ferma è fortificato con una profondissima fossa e con doppio muro. Ha il porto dalla parte di ponente; nel quale chi vuol entrare convien che passi presso alle mura della torre. Allo incontro dalla parte di Mezzogiorno trecento passi lungi dalla terra giace l'Isola di Eleusia, tutta occupata da un antico edificio fabbricato eccellentemente di marmo. Questo anticamente fu il palazzo di Archesilao". Cippico 1796, p. 42.

¹¹⁰ Beaufort 1818, pp. 241-247.

¹¹¹ de Laborde 1838, pp. 132-133; Langlois 1855, pp. 139-144; Langlois 1861, pp. 210-216.

¹¹² Laurent 1864, p. 179: "Venimus Naversam, quod est castrum optimum in alto monte situm [...]. In pede huius montis sita fuit quaedam civitas, cuius auctoritatem magnam fuisse quidam mirabilis aqueductus illuc super altas columnas ad spacium duorum miliariorum productus, hodie contestatur".

by Alishan¹¹³, Langlois¹¹⁴, Davis¹¹⁵ are noteworthy for carrying out a thorough historical and archaeological research¹¹⁶. Davis was the first European traveller who, in 1875, had the opportunity to visit the site of Hierapolis Kastabala but could not identify the ancient name of the city¹¹⁷.

On the other hand, as a direct consequence of some recent peculiar restorations, a few Roman and Byzantine monuments have been quite completely transformed, being deprived of the original facing and totally covered with modern cut limestone blocks: this kind of intervention, even if undergone for valid necessities of preservation, caused great damage to the ancient buildings, which have partially lost their previous appearance along with their beauty and fascination. This is the case of the late Roman bridges in Adana and Mopsouhestia, of Cleopatra's Gate in Tarsos¹¹⁸ and of the arched gate in Korykos, to cite only the main examples, and the comparison between the engravings and the present conditions of those buildings is astonishing. Both the bridges in Mopsuhestia and Adana have been described firstly in 1432 by Bertrandon de la Broquière¹¹⁹, who says with regard to Adana: "et passe selon les murs, d'une part une grosse rivyere que on nomme Adena et vient de ces haultes montaignes d'Armenie, sur laquelle a ung pont assés long et le plus large que je veis oncques¹²⁰". The splendid Roman bridge over the Saros described quite always by the visitors of Adana¹²¹ is actually well preserved, while the

113 This work is peculiar for the historical background, Alishan 1899, pp. 281-282.

114 Langlois 1856; Langlois 1861, pp. 434-443.

115 Davis 1879, pp. 140-150.

116 For some sketches depicting the gate (before the collapse of the western arch), the aqueduct, the rock cut reliefs, see Barker 1853, pp. 64, 91, 275, 283; Verzone 1957, pp. 9-25.

117 He calls it with the modern name Boudroun. Davis 1879, pp. 128-134.

118 A good picture of Cleopatra's Gate before restoration can be found in Verzone 1957, p. 58, fig. 11.

119 He relates that the bridge in Misses was in very bad conditions and it had been buttressed with wooden props, Schefer 1892, p. 94 (Mopsuhestia).

120 Schefer 1892, pp. 95-98 (Adana), for the bridge p. 98.

121 Barbaro (Ramusio 1973, pp. 113, 276, nt. 223): "Una zornata lontano se trova Adena, terra molto grossa, davanti de la qual è una fiumara grossissima, la qual se passa per un ponte de pietra in volto longo passi .40"; Lucas 1714, p. 271; Otter 1748, p. 67; Ainsworth 1842, pp. 83-87; Langlois 1854-1855, p. 644 (he could still see the dedicatory inscription on the edge of the bridge); Davis 1879, pp. 49-50; Bell 1906, p. 386.

similar building in Mopsuestia is no more recognisable under the modern limestone covering (fig. 9)¹²².

When the information collected so far is examined, it will be seen that the general lines of the various travellers' works, even if not always rising to a real scientific level, prove they have adopted a rather good approach to their work. Considering their difficult travelling conditions, the general lack of time during the journeys and the limited archaeological research carried out in Cilicia until then, the information collected should be considered on the whole adequate and satisfactory. It is obvious that there are some specific characteristics and even little faults peculiar to each traveller's personality and to the single situations that must be taken into account when analysing them.

Before the beginning of the 19th century there were mainly travellers who visited Cilicia not with the sole intention of a scientific study of its antiquities but only for other, mainly political, religious, commercial or military, purposes, seizing as they could the opportunity to describe briefly whatever interesting monuments they found. Among these we can point out Bertrandon de la Broquière (1432). The Venetian Ambassador Giosafat Barbaro, observing with a sharp curiosity the situation of the areas he visited and particularly interested in the various cultures of the Asiatic countries (he must have had a slight knowledge of the Turkish and Persian languages), participated to the siege and seizure of the fortresses of Korykos and Seleukeia in 1474¹²³. Whenever he could, he did not miss the opportunity to give a short description of the sites and monuments, and while visiting Korykos castles he seemed to be very interested in Armenian epigraphy too¹²⁴.

It is necessary to wait until the works of Beaufort (1818), Walpole (1820), de Laborde (1838) to find such detailed accounts as to be useful to the archaeological research, in spite of the obvious differences occurring

¹²² Some sketches of this bridge in his ancient shape can be found in Barker 1853, p. 110; Davis 1879, pp. 65, 68-69. de Laborde 1838, p. 139 describes the bridge as a very nice building supported by nine arches. Other travellers crossed this bridge, such as Otter 1748, pp. 71-75.

¹²³ Ramusio 1973, pp. 16-20. On the personality of Barbaro see also Cippico 1796, pp. 34-35.

¹²⁴ See note 108.

between their methods and personal capacities. Irby and Mangles, whose trip's main purpose was certainly far from archaeology (1817-1818), collect some very useful and detailed information, especially on some sites previously unvisited, such as Akkale¹²⁵.

As regards one of the first aims of the travels, that is to say the desire to explore the region and to draw up a detailed cartography, Francis Beaufort, a rear-admiral to the British Navy, Captain of His Majesty's ship *Frederikssteen* and later hydrographer, may be considered the very first cartographer of the coasts of Karamania. From his survey (1811-1812) a valuable addition to the geographical knowledge of the southern part of Asia Minor and the Caramanian shore has been derived, while the maps available until then were by far imprecise; for many years after returning to England, Beaufort was engaged in constructing and engraving the nautical charts of his survey. In this line Kiepert's maps were also fundamental for the cartography of the area, where the castle on the island in Korykos was signalled for the first time since Beaufort's work. Before even Beaufort's and Kiepert's contributions, Otter's work (1748) rises to a very high scientific level, collecting many political and geographical data, making a note especially of the latitude and longitude of some cities, rivers and mountains in Cilicia¹²⁶. His narrative is chiefly valuable as being composed of the information extracted from some Oriental and Turkish geographers, such as Mustafa Ben-Abdalla Kalib Tchelebi (Hadji Khalfa) and Abubekr Ben-Behren from Damascus and from the director of the Press at Constantinople, Ibrahim Effendi¹²⁷. Unfortunately his travel was limited to the eastern regions of Cilicia and the information collected appears to be partial. The correction of some errors which prevailed, respecting the geography of Asia Minor, was among the objects of enquiry which Browne had proposed to himself in his journey through that country in 1802, but he reached only the Tauros and Tarsos¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ Irby, Mangles 1823, p. 511.

¹²⁶ Otter 1748.

¹²⁷ Walpole 1820, p. 191.

¹²⁸ Walpole 1820, pp. 124-129.

Langlois offers a rather interesting and valid general study of the physical, natural and also political situation of the region in the introduction of his trip's journal¹²⁹. An important contribution to ancient topography is due to this author, who was able to identify the location of many sites which were previously unknown or whose ancient name had not yet been uncovered (such as the case of the Corycian Cave¹³⁰).

Ramsay must be regarded as a real historian and geographer, and his plan of Cilicia, in view of its exactness in the details and the right identification of the main ancient sites, is still a good basis for the topographical reseaches in the region¹³¹. Hogart and Munro were engaged in studying all the ancient roads through the Tauros mountains towards the sea and their work, together with the maps enclosed, is very accurate and useful in understanding the situation of the country¹³².

We note this kind of precision also in the travel maps of Bent and Hicks, Heberdey and Wilhelm, Keil and Wilhelm, which are still fundamental for the present archaeological research.

Concerning more strictly ancient history and archaeology, the exactness in depicting even the single architectural features is peculiar firstly to de Laborde's works, as some of the previously cited examples illustrate, and the case of the monastery in Alahan confirms¹³³. We must note however a few inexactnesses and wrong interpretations of some monuments, owing this mostly to the fact that the archaeological research in the region was not yet developed enough on a vast scale.

¹²⁹ Langlois 1861, pp. 1-62.

¹³⁰ In the same years (1852) the cave was visited and identified by Tschihatcheff, but Langlois can be considered the first discoverer: "L'antre de Corycus n'ayant pas été visité par les voyageurs du moyen âge et modernes, M. de Tchihatcheff, qui ignorait mon exploration de la Cilicie Trachée, vers la fin de 1852, a cru qu'il avait, le premier, retrouvé la caverne [...]". Langlois 1861, pp. 217-219. Although de Laborde was very interested in visiting the site described by Stabo and tried to get information on where such a cave could be located, he didn't have enough time to reach it while he was on the road from Silifke to Korykos; de Laborde 1838, p. 131.

¹³¹ Ramsay 1890, pp. 361-367.

¹³² Hogart, Munro 1893, pp. 1-25. The authors are not specifically interested in archaeology, but their description of the churches in Alahan is quite detailed, see p. 12.

¹³³ de Laborde 1838, pp. 124-126.

The works of Langlois (1861), Trémaux (1863) and Davis (1879) in the second half of the 19th century deserve a better analysis, owing to their specific studies of Cilicia and its main archaeological sites. The lack of some precision which can be noticed in the drawings by Langlois is not significant if compared with the exact and detailed written description, together with the careful historical research by means of the information coming from ancient sources. We know of his specific archaeological interests since he obtained the permission to make excavations on the western slope of Gözlü Kule in Tarsos, discovering a large number of terracotta figurines. He must not bear the blame of having immediately sent all these objects to the Louvre, as this was a common and spread behaviour in that period¹³⁴. While visiting Pompeiopolis Langlois firstly decided to draw a map of the site, which seemed to be very important¹³⁵. Barker is not such a reliable source as the previous mentioned Langlois, because his specific archaeological competence was very limited and his interpretation of the remains mostly inadequate; however, as he had the opportunity to visit many sites while he was resident in Tarsos, he sometimes provides useful descriptions of the monuments¹³⁶. The questionable archaeological method he adopted is evident if we consider the tunnels which were dug inside the caementicium of the Donuktaş trying to find treasures or tombs¹³⁷, or the research on the terracotta figurines found in Gözlü Kule, whose nature and function were by far misunderstood.

The travel notes of Princess Belgiojoso (1852), who admittedly was not interested in antiquities, do not offer any kind of information, with the sole exception of the Donuktaş, which appeared to her curiosity so unusual and

¹³⁴ It is astonishing that the difficulties he had to face were due not to the export of antiquities to a foreign country, but only to the fear of the local people that some gold treasures could be found and stolen. Langlois 1861, pp. 87-90. Until the end of the 19th century, the expeditions to the eastern countries nearly always resulted in large number of antiquities being brought to the Museums in Europe. Fortunately at the end of the century the Turks developed a real interest in their own antiquities and produced laws making extremely difficult to export them. On this excavation see also Davis 1879, pp. 30-31; Collignon 1880, pp. 914-915.

¹³⁵ Langlois 1861, p. 103.

¹³⁶ He is mostly interested in the terracotta statuettes found in Tarsos and in the Donuktaş. Barker 1853, pp. 145-261.

¹³⁷ Barker 1853, pp. 132-134 (plan p. 133).

particular to be worthy of mention¹³⁸. Trémaux (1863) seems to be very precise in the rendering of the details, both in his plans and reproductions.

A high degree of reliability must be ascribed to Davis' method, as both his descriptions of some well-preserved sites and monuments and his plans and drawings demonstrate¹³⁹. Comparing the plan of Mopsuestia by Davis (1879)¹⁴⁰ and the more recent ones¹⁴¹, it is possible to ascertain a quite perfect correspondence in the location of monuments, amongst which only the theatre and aqueducts are missing, besides the obvious inexactness due to the lack of modern measuring instruments available today. It should also be stated that Davis' sketch of the triumphal arch in Anazarbos¹⁴² corresponds quite perfectly, as the basic measurements are concerned, to the later plan by Verzone¹⁴³, besides the little differences occurring in the single details, and especially in the outer aisles; nevertheless Davis himself was not sure of his sketch as he tells us: "the subjoined are the measurements which I took of the dimensions of the gateway, but I find that they differ both from those given by Texier, and from the measurements of my companion, which themselves also widely differ¹⁴⁴".

¹³⁸ Barbiano di Belgiojoso 1858, pp. 402-403: "Celui qui m'intéressa davantage est un grand édifice élevé au centre d'une forêt, tellement ruiné que le mur d'enceinte est seul debout, et encore ne l'est-il pas dans toute sa hauteur. Son origine se perd dans la nuit des temps, et aucun archéologue n'a su le définir encore. Etait-ce un temple, un palais, une basilique, ou des termes? C'est un carré long dont les murs, d'une épaisseur énorme, rappellent les constructions dites cyclopéennes. - On n'y aperçoit ni fenêtres, ni portes, mais elles peuvent, les portes surtout, avoir été comblées par l'exhaussement du sol. On y pénètre par une brèche et l'on ne trouve à l'intérieur qu'un terrain labouré par des larges sillons régulièrement tracés, et un tertre en forme de cône élevé à l'extrémité du bâtiment, auprès de la muraille qui le ferme du côté du nord. J'ai peu de goût pour les ruines, surtout pour celles qui son devenues l'occasion de dissertations scientifiques et d'un enthousiasme d'admiration posthume. Mais le monument anonyme de Tarsus ne me rappelait aucun chapitre d'histoire et n'avait pas inspiré, que je suse, de dithyrambes. [...] On m'offrit plusieurs brochures écrites sur le monument de Tarsus, dans le but de résoudre ce problème archéologique; mais je me gardai bien d'accepter la proposition et je conservai soigneusement ma précieuse ignorance".

¹³⁹ This opinion is also shared by Dupont-Sommer and Robert: Dupont-Sommer, Robert 1964, pp. 24-28.

¹⁴⁰ Davis 1879, pp. 66-67.

¹⁴¹ Budde 1969.

¹⁴² Davis 1879, p. 145.

¹⁴³ Verzone 1957, p. 15, fig. 12.

¹⁴⁴ See nt. 142.

Gertrude Lowthian Bell¹⁴⁵, the first woman travelling though northern Syria and eastern Cilicia with archaeological purposes was mainly interested in Byzantine architecture but she didn't fail to describe all the buildings she could identify. The very first archaeological expedition for which G. Bell's records are available was carried out in 1905, in eastern Cilicia and her descriptions of the cities of Epiphaneia, Hierapolis Kastabala, Anazarbos, Elaioussa Sebaste are still well grounded nowadays¹⁴⁶.

Taking into account the copies and drawings of Greek and Latin inscriptions, whose importance involves not only archaeology but also ancient history of Cilicia, it is easy to determine the real capacities of the various travellers, who often took care in depicting even the smallest details. Paul Lucas had a specific interest in epigraphy and at the end of his work he collected all the inscriptions he could copy during his travel, two of which had been found in Adana and one in Tarsos¹⁴⁷.

Beaufort in 1818 reveals a real epigraphic competence, while, describing and copying the inscriptions in the necropolis of Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, he points out that "it is remarkable that four differently shaped alphas are promiscuously used as well as both the curved and square epsilons¹⁴⁸". The same careful analysis was carried out during the visit to the necropolis of Korykos, where a great number of funerary inscriptions had been copied. Ainsworth in his brief speech about Mopsuestia brings to mind an inscription which he could see twice in the site and whose copy was transmitted to Colonel Chesney¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁵ On the personality of G. Bell, see Hill 1976, Mallowan 1976.

¹⁴⁶ The travel notes describing her itinerary in Cilicia have been published in Bell 1906.

¹⁴⁷ Lucas 1714, pp. 271-272; 322-323.

¹⁴⁸ Beaufort 1818, p. 224. He saw various inscriptions, one of them belonging to the Byzantine period, the others, probably Armenian, inside the castle on the top of the hill.

¹⁴⁹ Ainsworth 1842, pp. 87-89: "At that visit (my first visit, four years before), I copied and gave to Colonel Chesney, an inscription that still remains here, and which I suspect is the same as that quoted by Cellarius, after Gruter".

The study of the inscriptions has always raised a special interest even in the later works of Langlois and Davis¹⁵⁰, where some texts and transcriptions together with a few drawings can be found. Langlois was the very first epigraphist studying Cilicia, as he collected during his two years trip a large number of unpublished texts, arising to a total of 182 inscriptions¹⁵¹.

Nevertheless the first real archaeologists and epigraphists travelling in Cilicia and aiming at a scientific collection and analysis of ancient texts were undoubtedly Bent¹⁵² and Hicks¹⁵³, Heberdey and Wilhelm¹⁵⁴, Paribeni and Romanelli¹⁵⁵, Keil and Wilhelm¹⁵⁶, scholars who already fall within a new era of Cilician archaeology.

It is necessary to stress, at the end of this research, how difficult is to reward the various travellers according to their merits, mostly because of their different point of view in comparison to the aims of the actual archaeological research. What we certainly owe to those personages can be resumed by the final words in the *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* by de Laborde: "Après sept mois passés dans cette Asie Mineure, contrée privilégiée, nous quittons ses rives, l'esprit rempli de ses souvenirs, l'imagination exaltée par la beauté de sa nature, par les magnificences ignorées de ses villes ruinées et de ses monuments encore debout. Le temps n'est pas loin où la science, comme autrefois le goût des plaisirs, quittera l'Occident pour venir s'établir dans cette belle partie de l'Orient: alors elle étudiera à loisir ces restes d'une civilisation belle jusque dans ses erreurs; elle décrira ces créations du génie de l'Orient et de l'Occident, éclore par l'effet de leur fusion et sous l'influence de ce doux climat, de cette riche nature; alors aussi on critiquera mes croquis imparfaits, mes descriptions incomplètes, et l'on aura raison, si l'on oublie dans quelles

¹⁵⁰ Davis depicts carefully the two shaped consoles of the colonnade in Pompeiopolis, copying the inscribed texts, to cite only a single example, Davis 1879, pp. 23-24.

¹⁵¹ The inscriptions were published separately from the trip's notes: Langlois 1854.

¹⁵² Bent 1890a, Bent 1890b, Bent 1891.

¹⁵³ Hicks 1890, Hicks 1891.

¹⁵⁴ Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896; Heberdey 1909.

¹⁵⁵ Paribeni, Romanelli 1914.

¹⁵⁶ Keil, Wilhelm 1931.

circonstances je les ai faits et avec quelle absence de prétention je les mets au jour. Si l'on est assez juste pour m'accorder au moins le mérite d'avoir signalé, le premier, la plupart de ces belles ruines, de ces sites enchanteurs, et de les avoir dessinés fidèlement, quoique en courant, de les avoir décrits en détail, quoique en présence de quelques dangers, tandis que d'autres pourront maintenant les étudier à leur aise; si l'on me fait cette juste part, j'aurai obtenu la récompense de mes efforts et une compensation à mes fatigues¹⁵⁷".

¹⁵⁷ de Laborde 1838, p. 140.

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Traveller	Charge	Date of the trip	Purpose of the trip	Itinerary in Cilicia	Publications
Wilbrandus de Oldenburg	Priest and Bishop	1209	Journey to the Holy Land	Amanikâi Pylai-Mopsuestia-Tarsos-Adana-Sis-Anazarbos-Canamella-Tarsos-Korykos-Seleukeia	Laurent, J.C.M., <i>Pergrinatores mediî aevi quatuor</i> . Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Iulii, Wilbrandus de Oldenburg, Lipsiae 1864
Bertrandon de la Broquière		1432		Amanikâi Pylai-Kurt Kulaghi-Mopsuestia-Adana-Tarsos-Tauros-	Schefer, Ch., <i>Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière</i> , Paris 1892
Giosafat Barbaro	Ambassador of the Republic of Venice	1473-1478	Diplomatic mission to Uzun Hasan in Persia	(1474) Korykos (June 4th to 6th)-Seleukeia (June 7th to 13th)-Tarsos-Adana-eastwards	Il Nuovo Ramusio. VII. I Viaggi in Persia degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini, (edd. Lockhart, L., Morozzo della Rocca, R., Tiepolo, M. F.), Roma 1973
Paul Lucas				Adana-Tarsos	Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du roi dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique, I, Amsterdam 1714
Jean Otter	Member of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres	1734-1744	Political and Exploration	(1737) Tauros-Adana-Mopsuestia-Kourd Kulaghi-Issos	Voyage en Turquie et en Perse. Avec une Relation des expéditions de Tahmas Kouli-Khan, I-II, Paris 1748

Traveller	Charge	Date of the trip	Purpose of the trip	Itinerary in Cilicia	Publications
William Martin Leake		1800		Klaudioupolis-Kalykadnos-Gülnar-Kelenderis	"Journey through some provinces of Asia Minor in the year 1800, communicated by Lieut. Col. Leake", in Walpole, R., Travels in various countries of the East; being a continuation to European and Asiatic Turkey, &c., London 1820, p. 185 ss.
William George Browne	Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Artillery	1802	Geographical and natural survey	Taurus-Tarsos	"Journey from Constantinople, through Asia Minor, in the year 1802, from the papers of the late William George Browne", in Walpole, R., Travels in various countries of the East; being a continuation to European and Asiatic Turkey, &c., London 1820, p. 106 ss.
Sir Francis Beaufort	Rear-admiral of the British Navy- Cartographer	July 1811- June 1812	Geographical-topographical survey of the coast of Karamania	Selinous-Antiocheia epi Krago-Charadros-Anemourion-Kelenderis-Provençal Island-Aghaliman-Seleukeia-Pershendy-Korykos-Elaioussa Sebastie-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Mersin-Tarsos-Magarsos-Aigeai	Karamania or a brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity, London 1818
Charles Leonard Irby, James Mangles		1817-1818	Exploration of the Eastern Mediterranean coasts	Kilikiai Pylai-Tarsos-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Akkale-Elaioussa Sebastie-Korykos-Seleukeia-Haghia Tekla-Kelenderis	Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor; during the years 1817 & 1818, London 1823

Traveller	Charge	Date of the trip	Purpose of the trip	Itinerary in Cilicia	Publications
Léon de Laborde		1826-1828	Exploration of Cilicia	Alahan-Klaudioupolis-Zeinet-Nouri-Keui-Keukbelen-Seleukeia-Perchendi-Korykos-Elaioussa Sebaste-Tece-Mezitli-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Tarsos-Mopsuestia-Aigeai	Voyage de l'Asie Mineure par Mrs. Alexandre de Laborde, Becker, Hall, et Léon de Laborde, Paris 1838
William Francis Ainsworth	Surgeon and geologist	1838-1840	Geographical and Religious studies	Kilikiai Pylai-Tauros-Adana-Mopsuestia-Pyramos-Amanikai Pylai	Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia, I-II, London 1842
Cristina Barbiano di Belgiojoso	Princess and doctor(?)	1852	Trip to the Holy Land	Tauros-Adana-Alexandreia Adana-Tarsos-Tauros	Asie Mineure et Syrie. Souvenirs de voyages, Paris 1858
Victor Langlois		1852-1853	Geographical, historical, archaeological-epigraphic exploration of Cilicia	Antiocheia api Krago (?)-Anemourion-Kelenderis-Seleukeia-Korykos-Elaioussa Sebaste- Lamos-Kanytelteis-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Mersin-Tarsos-Adana-Sis-Zeithoun-Anazarbos-Tumlo-Mopsuestia-Aigeai-Mallos-Pylai Kilikiai	Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus exécuté pendant les années 1852-1853, Paris 1861
William Burekhardt Barker	English Consul in Tarsus	1845	Historical, geographical, natural description of Cilicia	Lamos-Korykos-Elaioussa Sebaste-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Tarsos-Epiphaneia-"Kastabala"-Aigeai	Lares and Penates: or, Cilicia and its Governors, (ed. William Francis Ainsworth), London 1855
Edwin John Davis	Chaplain of the British Consulate of Alexandria	Summer 1875	Exploration of Cilicia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Cappadocia	Mersin-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Tarsos-Adana-Mopsuestia-Amanos-Pyramos-Hierapolis Kastabala-Anazarbos-Sis-Adana-Kilikiai Pylai- [...]Klaudioupolis-Germanikoupolis	Life in Asiatic Turkey. A journal of travel in Cilicia (Pedias and Trachoea), Isauria, and parts of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, London 1879

Traveller	Charge	Date of the trip	Purpose of the trip	Itinerary in Cilicia	Publications
L. Duchesne Maxime Collignon		Before 1877	Archaeological exploration	Kragos-Selinous-Charadros-Anemourion-Kelenderis-Taurus-Germanikoupolis-Klaudioupolis-Seleukeia-Korakesion-Korykos-Korykion Antron-Elaioussa Sebaste-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Mersin-Tarsos	“Notes d’un voyage en Asie-Mineure. II. Adalia, la Cilicie-Trachée, le Taurus”, Revue des deux Mondes XXXVIII, 1880, pp. 891-917 “Rapport sur un voyage archéologique en Asie Mineure”, BCH I, 1877, pp. 361-376
John Robert Sitlington Sterrett	Archaeologist and Epigraphist	Before 1884		Lamos-Örenkieui-Mara-Klaudioupolis-northwards	The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor [Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, III, 1884-1885], Boston 1888
James Theodore Bent	Archeologist	Before 1890		Elaioussa Sebaste-Korykos_Korykion Antron-Korasion-Kanytellets-Adamkayalar-Lamos-Tapureli-Cambazlı-Olba-Diokaisareia-Mara	“Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia”, Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, VIII, August, 1890, pp. 445-463
James Theodore Bent, Edward Lee Hicks	Archeologists-epigraphists	1890	Archaeological and epigraphic survey	1. Anazarbos-Kars Bazaar-Hierapolis Kastabala 2. Elaioussa Sebaste-Korykos-Korasion-Kanytellets-Korykion Antron-Lamos valley-Tapureli-Cambazlı-Olba-Diokaisareia -	1. “Recent discoveries in Eastern Cilicia. Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia”, JHS XI, 1890, pp. 231-254 2. “A journey in Cilicia Tracheia. Inscriptions from Western Cilicia”, JHS XII, 1891, pp. 206-273
David George Hogart-J.A.R. Munro	Geographers	1890, 1891	Study of the road system in Eastern Asia Minor	1st Itinerary: Kalykadnos valley (Alahan-Klaudioupolis-Karadiken-Zeine-Ala Klisia-Gyuk Belen-Aine Bazar-Seleukeia 2nd Itinerary: Karaman-Korash-Mersin; Kilikiai Pylai-Tarsos	Modern and ancient Roads in Eastern Asia Minor [Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers, III], London 1893

Traveller	Charge	Date of the trip	Purpose of the trip	Itinerary in Cilicia	Publications
Rudolf Heberdey, Adolf Wilhelm	Archaeologists - epigraphists	1891-1892	Epigraphic survey of Cilicia	Mersin-Tarsos-Adana-Mallos-Magarsos-Mopsuestia-Amanikai Pylai-Aigeai-Epiphaneia-Pajas-Alexandreia-Toprakkale-Hierapolis Kastabala-Kars Bazar-Anazarbos-Tumlo-Adana-Mersin.Soloi Pompeopolis-Shahir-Lamos-Akkale-Kanytelles-Elaïoussa Sebaste-Korykos-Korykion Antron-Olba-Diokaisareia-Dösene-Mara.Kelenderis-Aphrodisias-Aghaliman-Seleukeia.Klaudioupolis-Dalisandos-Germanikoupolis.Korakesion-Syedra-Iotape-Selinous-Antiocheia epi Kragos-Anemourion	Reisen in Kilikien ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 [Denk Wien XLIV], Wien 1896
Pierre L'éonce Marcar Alishan	Historian			Anazarbos-Kastabala-Mopsuestia-Adana-Tarsos-Mers-in-Elaïoussa Sebaste-Korykos-Seleukeia-Kalykadnos-Olba-Klaudioupolis-Germanikoupolis-Kelenderis-Selinous-Anemourion	Sissouan ou l'Arméno - Cilicie. Description géographique et historique, Venise 1899

Traveller	Charge	Date of the trip	Purpose of the trip	Itinerary in Cilicia	Publications
Gertrude Lowthian Bell	Archaeologist, diplomatic	1905	Byzantine archaeological remains in northern Syria and Cilicia	Antiocheia-Issos-Epiphaneia-Amanikai Pylai-Toprak Kalesi-Osmanieh-Hierapolis Kastabala-Kars Bazar-Anazarbos-Mercimek-Mopsouhestia-Adana-Tarsos-Mersin-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Lamos-Sheher-Elaioussa Sebaste-Akkale-Kanytelleis-Yemişkum-Ayaş-Korykos-Korasion	“Notes on a journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia”, RA VII.1, 1906, pp. 1-29; 385-414
Roberto Paribeni, Pietro Romanelli	Archaeologists - epigraphists			Mersin-Soloi Pompeiopolis-Tarsos-Jumuk Tepe-Arpaj-khan-Lamos-Elaioussa Sebaste-Korykos-Korasion-Seleukeia	Monumenti Antichi, XXIII, 1914, cc. 85-103
Josef Keil, Adolf Wilhelm	Epigraphists	1925	Epigraphic survey of Cilicia	Seleukeia-Imbriogon-Cambazlı-Drokaisareia-Olba-Örenköy-Tapureli-Sömek-Korasion-Korykos-Korykion Antron-Elaioussa Sebaste	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua. III. Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien, Manchester 1931

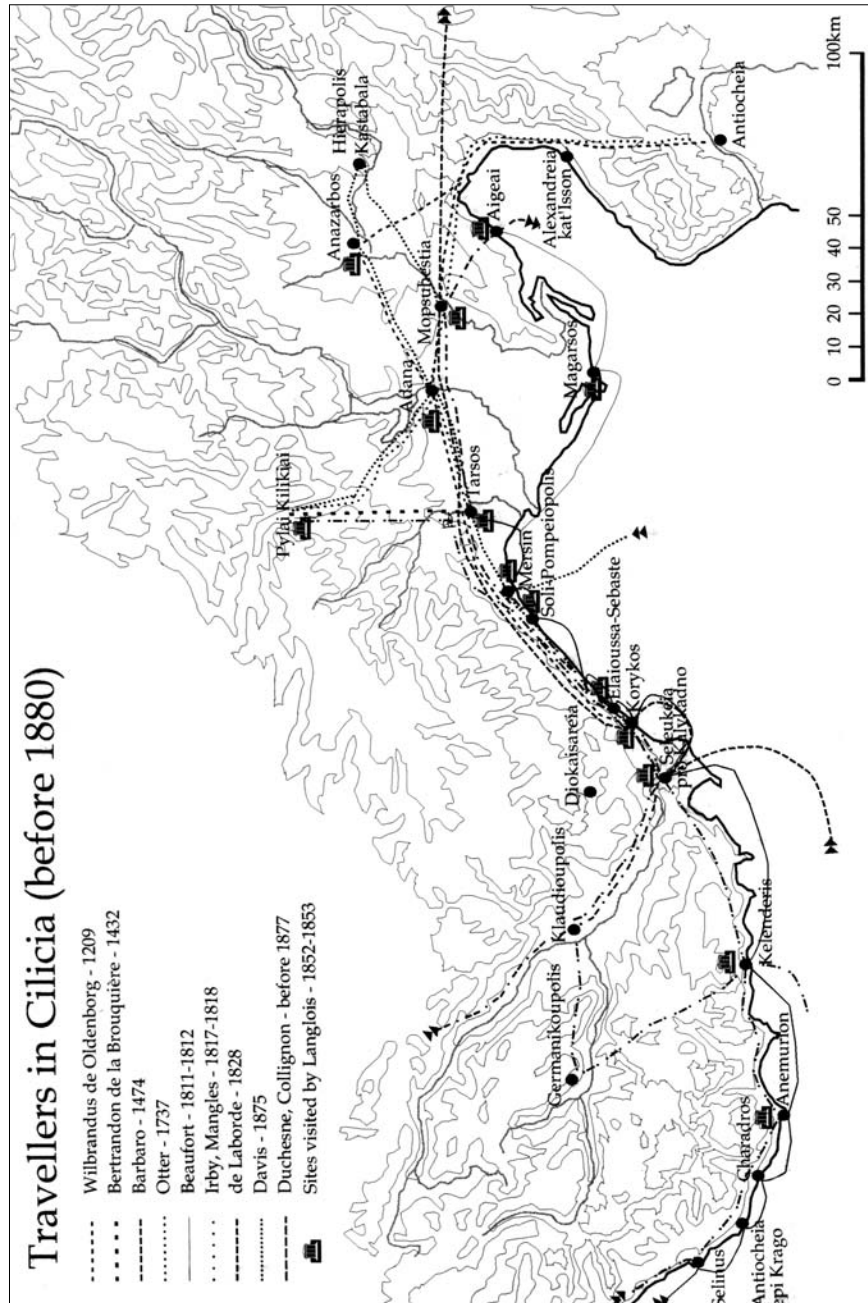


Fig. 1 Travellers' itineraries in Cilicia before 1880

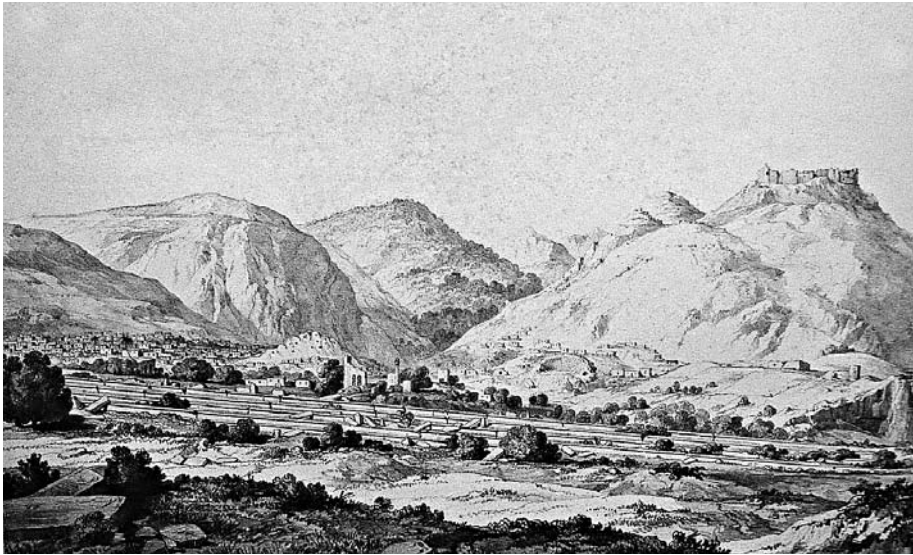


Fig. 4 The so-called stadium in Seleukeia (de Laborde 1838, p. 130, pl. LXXII)

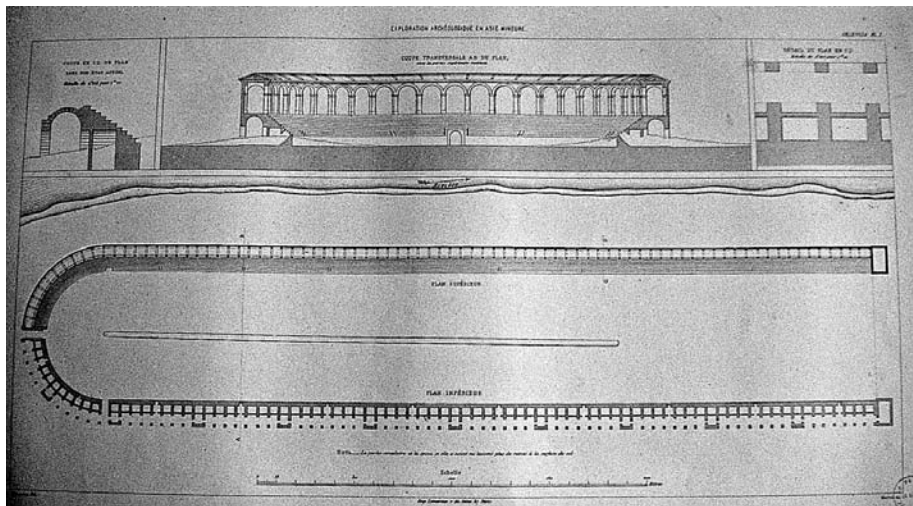


Fig. 5 Plan and section of the so-called stadium in Seleukeia (Trémaux 1863, pl. 1)

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Fig. 6 The Demir Kapı in Tarsos (Trémaux 1863, pl. 2)



Fig. 7 The Demir Kapı in Tarsos (Davis 1879, p. 37)

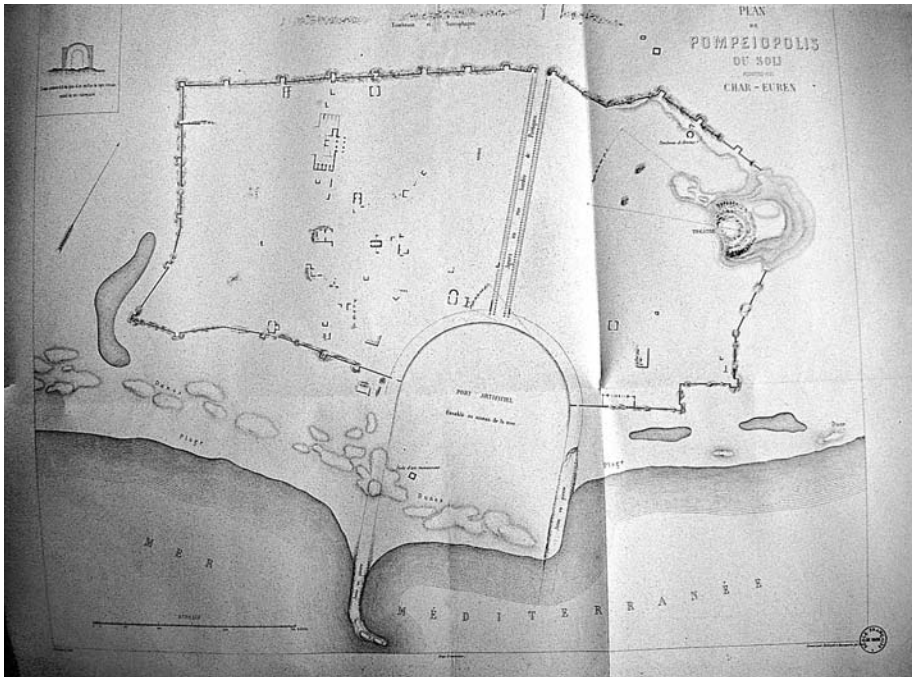


Fig. 8 Plan of Soloi-Pompeiopolis (Trémaux 1863, pl. 1)

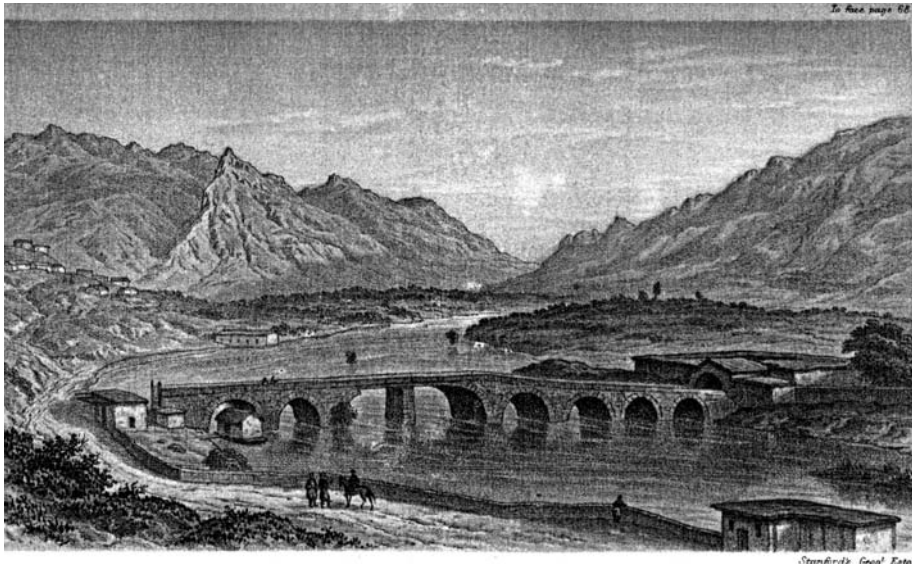


Fig. 9 The Roman bridge in Mopsuestia (Davis 1879, p. 68)