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978-1-108-01453-3 - The Historical Geography of Asia Minor

W. M. Ramsay

Excerpt

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## DEDICATION.



THE Rector and Fellows of Exeter College, Oxford, will, it is hoped, find in the following pages a justification of the indulgence and generosity which they have extended to the writer, and which have at once impelled him and made it possible for him to devote to the present work the needful years of study.

The writer also hopes that the research fellowships, instituted by the enlightened liberality of the college, while held by more distinguished successors, may perhaps be judged hereafter to be not ignobly inaugurated by the first holder with this book.

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## PROLEGOMENA.



THE following work requires some prefatory notice, to explain the delay in its appearance, to apologise for its shortcomings, and to indicate those friends to whose encouragement and help it owes so much.

The Royal Geographical Society, which had liberally helped the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, required from me a contribution; and from the effort to make the lecture worthy of the audience this book has grown.

In May 1886 the first sketch of it was read before the Society. The difficulty of the subject, and the distraction caused by other work both as a Professor (first in Oxford and afterwards in Aberdeen), and as a traveller (I left London for Smyrna the day after reading the paper, and spent considerable part of the summer of 1886, 1887, and 1888 in Asia Minor), delayed the completion and publication of the sketch. In the beginning of April, 1888, I brought the complete MS. with me to London to hand over to the printer.\* I discovered, thirty-six hours after starting from Aberdeen, that the manuscript was no longer in the bag where I had placed it, and which had been for most of the time close to my hand, and I have never found the slightest clue to the time or manner of its loss (I have no other reason to suspect myself of somnambulism). At that time the manuscript was about as long as Part I. of the present work. I have found it impossible to rewrite the paper in its original form. All notes for it had been destroyed, and when, after months spent partly in travel and partly in despair, I began to rewrite it, the task proved impossible. The literary form, which it had been my ambition to give to my treatment of the subject, could not be recovered; not merely had I no time and no heart to go through the work of writing and rewriting, but also I had lost in residence at home the inspiration that formerly arose from intimate familiarity with and love of the country and the scenery. I have therefore worked into Part I. everything that I could recollect of the lost paper; and I have added in Part II. my collection of material for the history and antiquities of the country, so far as it has any bearing on geography and seems to be new.

\* It was practically complete in February 1886, when I read considerable extracts from it before the Aberdeen branch of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

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The organisers of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund and the contributors to it, private individuals and corporations like the Royal Geographical Society, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in England, and the Ottoman Railway Company through their manager, Mr. E. Purser, have been the real authors of this work. The reward they wish for lies in the scientific results, and in estimating these, there must be reckoned not merely the present writer's works (whether those already published or that history which, if circumstances are propitious, may hereafter be completed), but also the works of those who have been trained in the first instance through the expeditions made in connection with the Fund, chief among whom I may reckon Professor J. R. S. Sterrett and Mr. D. G. Hogarth. The brilliant explorations of Prof. Sterrett were inaugurated by four months' preliminary training with our Exploration Fund; and I have his own authority for stating that he would never have thought of Asia Minor exploration, but for the invitation to join in our expedition of 1883. The credit and honour of his admirable work are not diminished by giving a share to the English Fund: indeed, according to the principle laid down by Shelley\* his own share of the glory is only increased by giving away a little of it.

I am specially bound to express my gratitude both to the College and to the Fund,† for the confidence and generosity which they have shown in making so little restriction on me, in leaving so much to my own discretion, and in making me practically complete master of my own time and work during all the period of my connection with them.

To mention in detail those to whom I am indebted for help, and information in the preparation of this work would require a separate chapter. I have utilised everybody I knew in every way possible, and to such an extent that I cannot now even thank them, but mention one or two names as specimens. Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα: the Camden Professor of History, Mr. Pelham, has done so much for the Fund that every one will recognise the propriety of mentioning him before any other.

In one case only I have not availed myself of the best help that I could get, viz., on p. 173. After I had already written my own theory as to the pragmateutes, Mr. Pelham pointed out to me that actor was the proper equivalent. But it seemed to me more fair in this case, as Ben Jonson says, "to put weaker and no doubt less pleasing of mine own than to defraud so happy a genius of his right by my loathed usurpation," and to give Mr. Pelham's view in the Addenda under his own name. The change needed in my text is little more than the substitution of actor for negotiator in two or three cases; all inferences

\* Epipsychidion, 174 ff.

† Directed by a committee consisting of the Provost of Oriel College, the late Mr. Ferguson, and Mr. H. F. Pelham from the first: in more recent years also of Sir C. W. Wilson and Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield, with Mr. G. A. Macmillan as Honorary Secretary.

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follow equally, whichever servile title is used. But in general I have used the best I could find; Prof. Th. Mommsen has often generously interrupted his own work to answer my questions; Mr. Bywater was often a present help; and many friends in Smyrna and other parts of Asia Minor have given me invaluable help in numberless ways which I gratefully remember.

While the opportunity of carrying out the work up to the present has been given me by the Travelling Archæological Studentship, instituted by the late Professor M. Bernard, by the Research Fellowship to which Exeter College elected me, and by the Exploration Fund,\* the training and the incentive are due to Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson, Consul-General in Anatolia from 1878 to 1882, in whose company and by whose invitation I made two long journeys in the country in 1881 and 1882. To him and his subordinate officers, especially Colonel Chermside, Major Bennet, and the late Colonel Stewart, who was killed on his way back from Khartum, I am indebted for help in numberless ways.†

The coins at the British Museum, described to me especially by Mr. Head, or seen by me, have often helped me over a gap: would that the wonderful collection of M. Waddington were public property, whether in a descriptive work or in any other way! Without the constant help of the "Historia Numorum," many trains of reasoning in the present work would not have suggested themselves; and a slight taste of M. Waddington's collection in 1882 enables me to realise how much this book loses for want of better knowledge of it.

Throughout the work I have been helped in various ways by my wife, and numerous slight typographical errors were detected by her in finally reading the proofs.‡

Finally, I am specially indebted to Mr. Hogarth for volunteering to go over the proofs and to make the Index of 'Authors Quoted,' for many salutary criticisms and useful suggestions, and most of all, for that intelligent sympathy which is able to find human life and history in earth and atmosphere, and which is unfortunately so much less common now-a-days in our own country than it was among our older scholars and is still among foreign scholars. The narrowness which would limit the study of antiquity to fireside perusal of a few great authors, is so easy and seductive an error, that few are conscious of its narrowness.

\* It is in justice necessary to add that, quite apart from these sources, and apart also from our own time and work, my wife and myself have been much the largest contributors to the expense of our explorations in Asia Minor.

† I owe to Colonel Chermside the explanation of the term *passus*, viz. that *passus* does not mean a "a pace," but a complete motion of the body involving two paces. A different and far-fetched explanation of the word is given in *Zft. f. Latein. Lexicographie*, 1889, p. 567.

‡ She also compiled the index to Part I., after I had started for Turkey, with even too great minuteness and patience. It is therefore more complete than the index to Part II.; see p. 12.

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Of the references made to ancient authors in the course of the present work, 95 per cent. have been found in my own perusal of the original documents, undertaken for the purpose and still far from complete. The great majority of them have already been used by some one or other of the modern authorities, though no single modern writer has made any tolerable collection of the references; but in a number of cases I have added the decisive passage, which completes the chain of evidence. Even those references which have been already used by modern geographers have not been taken at second hand, nor even merely verified in the original authorities. My scheme has been (after several experiences of the difficulties caused by accepting wrong conjectures of modern writers) to make an absolutely fresh work founded on the ancient authorities alone, in which the geographical situation, the natural surroundings and the commercial advantages of each city, should be set forth in an account of its history. That scheme is interrupted by the present work, in which topography gets the lion's share in Part II., while some general reflexions on the effect exercised by natural situation and surroundings on the history of the population compose Part I.; but though the greater scheme is interrupted for the present, yet my belief is, that the vigorous criticism which I should like to arouse, and the stimulus and precision which I hope may be given to further exploration of the country, may really facilitate the completion of the larger work. Had circumstances permitted, my desire was to complete that undertaking myself; but the current of events, which at one time, by no choice of my own, prescribed this work for me and drifted me into a position of unique advantage for it, is now making it more and more difficult for me to continue. There has, therefore, been always present in my mind, while writing Part II., the intention to make it useful for the successors who may carry out the larger undertaking.\* What they can find elsewhere I do not try to give them.

In order to keep down the size of the book, I have in numberless cases restricted myself to an obscure hint or a dogmatic statement, where I might have spent pages in clothing the bare fact with life, and expressing it in its relations to human history. This rigorous self-denial was necessary if Part II. was to appear before the public at present. The ordinary reader will find it a mere mass of dry dust and lifeless details, but he may be sure that human life is latent in every detail, and that, whether or no the present writer possesses the art of expressing that life, it can be so set forth in a larger picture as to possess the deep interest of real history.

From the arrangement and compression thus imposed on the writer,

\* I cannot resist the temptation to say that an unusual number of the necessary qualities are united in Mr. Hogarth, whose co-operation in the exploration of the country has been my greatest help in recent years.

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arises much that may be found puzzling in the order of exposition and in the proportion of the parts. It may almost seem as if the space devoted to each name were inversely proportionate to its historical importance; and it is almost strictly true that the attention given to any place is in proportion to the difficulty and obscurity of the subject. It would have been easy to write a hundred pages about Ephesos, Celaenae, or Smyrna: it was difficult to avoid writing a score about these and many other great names. The civilising power of the "Mother of Sipylos," in early time, culminating in the Smyrna of the Roman period with its "Golden Street" extending from her temple right across the city to the temple of Jupiter, exercises an extraordinary fascination on all that have come under her influence, and all that is wanting to make the fascination universal on educated minds is the literary art; the artist, however, is still to be discovered. In this book, on the contrary, even the attempt has been precluded by the *lex operis*; and if the reader wishes to find what I have to say about the great cities, he must use the index to Part II., collect the *disiecta membra* from it and from the ordinary authorities, and breathe the life into the fragments by his own historical genius.

Similarly if the reconstruction of the ancient map and the topographical discussions which are given in this work, hit the truth, much light must be thrown on the history of the long warfare between the Saracens or the Turks on the one hand, and the early or later Byzantine rulers on the other hand. The numerous discussions on special points in these campaigns will show how much use has been made of this hitherto almost untouched source of topographical information; but, however delightful a task it would be to write the story of the long struggle waged by Mohammedanism for the possession of Asia Minor, that is not the subject of the present work, and the references to it must be picked out by those who will from the mass of details.

After some preliminary studies published in my earlier papers, I was in 1883-4 driven to the opinion that the only hope of progress in the geography of Asia Minor lay in the discovery of new authorities; and I resolved to read over the Byzantine authors, the *Acta Conciliorum*, and the *Acta Sanctorum*, as well as the ordinary authorities, for the purpose. I know that there is still a great deal more to be learned from these documents; but the reader may be assured that 95 per cent. of my quotations were copied out as I came on them in my reading, and that most of them have been re-read several times in the original authorities while the proofs have been going through the press. As to the remaining 5 per cent., they had escaped me while making my original collections, and my attention has been directed to them by seeing them quoted by modern authorities; but in such cases I have always gone to the original source, studied each passage in its context,

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and copied it out as I read it.\* One or two exceptions, where I had not access to the original authority, are mentioned as such and quoted on the authority of the writer from whom I take them. While making my own independent study of the country, I carefully avoided using any modern works, except of course the indispensable foundation laid by Prof. H. Kiepert in his maps; but my intention has been, after finishing my own first sketch, to peruse afresh all that has been said by modern authorities with a view to comparison, and to give every one the credit for everything that he had said rightly. Absolute want of time, unless the completion of this work was to be delayed for a whole year, has prevented me from doing this as fully as I intended; and I take this opportunity of apologising to any writer whose thoughts I have appropriated either unconsciously through ignorance of his priority or carelessly through forgetfulness of my debt to him. Every instance of the kind is regretted deeply by me and is directly contrary to the plan and intention of my work, which I once hoped would contain an outline of the history of discovery in Asia Minor. In the introduction to Part II. I have spoken more fully about my debt to modern writers.

It will be found that I have referred more frequently to the errors of modern authorities than to their excellencies. This is greatly due to the above-mentioned failure to complete the plan of the work; and every one who takes into consideration that more faults are pointed out in Prof. H. Kiepert's works than in those of any other modern scholar, and who at the same time is able to appreciate Kiepert's absolute devotion to truth, his marvellously wide knowledge, and the liberality with which that knowledge is placed at the service of students, as well as my own conviction that it is almost an impertinence in me to praise him, every one who does this will understand that my corrections are really a homage to the authority and the value of the writers criticised: I should rarely criticise them were it not necessary to prevent their deservedly high authority from giving wide currency to their occasional faults. If I succeed in rousing any one to make a minute and sharp criticism of this book, I shall be grateful for the salutary medicine he may administer, provided he teaches me better.

I can truly say that it gives me far greater pleasure to confirm an identification proposed by previous geographers than to correct one that seems to me mistaken. The contemplation of human error impresses one with the vanity of human effort, and the sense that one's own turn to be corrected must soon come. Moreover the correcting of a previous error has often involved pages of extra argument, which I would gladly have spared myself and my readers.

\* Circumstances prevented me from making a final revision of the references, but I hope to do this before the book appears, and add a list of errata.

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Among the acknowledgment of previous work made in the beginning of Part II., I observe that too little has been said of the *École Française d'Athènes*. Besides the statement made on p. 101, that its journal, the '*Bulletin de Correspondance*,' has done more than any other to aid the student of Asia Minor, I feel bound to add that the first young travellers in the interior of Asia Minor were members of the *École Française*. MM. Duchesne and Collignon in 1876, set the example of plunging boldly into the heart of what was then an unknown land. They had little in the way of proper equipment, and had everything to learn about the method of travel in Mohammedan lands. Accordingly they have suffered the fate of most originators in research. Their work has been superseded by other more elaborate and better equipped investigations, which in their turn must suffer the same fate at the hand of subsequent workers in the same field. But no account of exploration in Asia Minor will ever be complete without an honourable mention of their names.

In the Epilogue to Vol. V. of his great work, '*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*,' p. 899, Monsieur G. Perrot says "ce sera un travail pour les bibliographes de l'avenir, que de réunir les titres de tous les articles où M. Ramsay a éparpillé, dans je ne sais combien des recueils différents, les précieux renseignements qu'il a recueillis. Que de peine il leur aurait épargnée en écrivant un livre!"

I can answer only by the question, "who would publish the book?" In the present instance my best thanks are due to the Royal Geographical Society, through whose liberality this book is able to appear. The text has been altered and cut about during the printing in a way that has at once greatly shortened the time of its composition, and increased the expense of its printing. In many cases, where my reasoning depends on the balancing of many different arguments drawn from widely separate sources, the task has been much facilitated by having the whole of my previous work always before me in a printed yet only provisional form. The correcting and revising of the proofs took in many places more time and work than the first composition. I give as a single example the following. In August 1889, ten complete and undivided days' work was devoted to about fourteen pages of print, which during that time grew into nearly twenty pages.

During great part of the period since the printing began, it has been in my power to correct freely what was in print; and while I have fully availed myself of this power, I have been much encouraged by finding that, although I was continually discovering new matter and new arguments, and have often been able to cut out the word "perhaps" from my pages, and to substitute comparative certainty for probability, I have rarely been obliged after expressing in this book an opinion about the situation of any city, to alter that opinion, even when it was formed on grounds that were in my first draught expressly said



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to give a mere probability. Yet so closely does the whole of Part II. hang together, that the addition of a sentence or the specification of another site in the later parts of the work has frequently necessitated a score or more of slight modifications throughout the proofs. My views have changed greatly while writing, but the change has been almost wholly in the way of steady growth. Minor changes have been innumerable; some specimens are given at the end of this preface.

On the other hand I have now found it necessary to alter in this general and more mature study a number of opinions stated in my earlier papers, founded on a narrower view of single districts. Few changes (though many additions) are needed as yet in my "Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands," 1887-8, or in my "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Part II.," 1887.\* More are required in "Cities and Bishoprics, Part I.," 1884,† and still more in earlier papers. But I can still point to the following identifications, made in consequence of the experience of 1881 and 1882, and printed years ago, as justifying confidence in my maturer opinions of 1890: the very names show how obscure and difficult were the problems that were solved in many of these cases—Brouzós, Hieropolis and Otrous and Stektorion approximately, Akroenos, Augustopolis, Aquae Sarvenae, i.e. Basilika Therma (the widely divergent opinions since expressed by Kiepert and Hirschfeld prove how difficult it is to attain certainty about them), Anaboura, Metropolis with Rhotrini or Rhocreni Fontes, Amblada with various small Pisidian villages, Larissa and Aigai in Aeolis, Neonteichos, Temnos, Sasima, Nazianzos.

The chronology of the various parts of the book is of some consequence to those who may use it, inasmuch as the arrangement of topics, which has a rather haphazard appearance, is to a great extent the order of discovery, tempered by consideration of the convenience of printing (a consideration which is, I fear, not so apparent as to be recognizable without an express statement).

Part I., Chapters I.-III., and Part II., Chapters L to S and part of T, were written in the autumn of 1888, after returning from Asia Minor, and were printed in the early months of 1889. The work was interrupted by the Aberdeen University Session, during which I find that no work involving the comparison of many authorities is possible.‡

\* A complete change is made as regards Temenothyrai, Germa and Eudokias of Galatia.

† Keretapa, Sanaos, Soa, Tiberiopolis, and the arrangement of part of the comparative table, are the chief changes.

‡ There is no inconsistency between this statement and the fact that my "Study of Phrygian Art, I.," "Laodiceia and Sinethandos," "Syro-Cappadocian Monuments in Asia Minor," "Inscriptions Inédites d'Asie Mineure," and four papers on "Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia" were written during the winter. Such papers, involving little research at the moment, but merely stating results of previous study, can be written piecemeal, being taken up in occasional hours of leisure.

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Part II was almost finished, the proofs corrected, and the whole set up in pages during the five months, May to September, 1889. I had hoped to finish the work during that time; but two papers for the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' took up too much time, and at the end of September the task was still incomplete. October to December, 1889, were entirely taken up, partly with college duties, partly with an engagement rashly entered into with Dr. Westcott to give a lecture in Cambridge on October 18; during these months Mr. Hogarth and Mrs. Ramsay helped me by reading the proofs. In the next three months, the brief Christmas vacation and occasional hours of leisure in the intervals of college work sufficed only to finish Part II., pp. 407-451,\* to write the Addenda, to prepare the maps and to revise the whole. Part I., Chapters IV.-VIII., together with this preface, were written in April and May, 1890: owing to a change of plan in the printing, it became necessary either to alter the entire paging of Part II. with the index of authors and all the references, or to fill up exactly pages 1-88. As the least of two evils the latter course was preferred.†

Besides the time indicated in the preceding paragraph, I have been collecting material with the view to a "Local History of Asia Minor" since 1883, and most of this material has been equally applicable to the present work in accordance with my principle of giving everything I can say about all but the great places, except what has been already correctly said in the ordinary authorities.

In stating my opinions I have tried to steer between two dangers, on the one hand merely leaving a choice between alternatives to the reader, on the other hand stating my own opinion too absolutely, as if there were no difficulty in the choice. It is easier for one who knows the country to make the choice, and I have put as clearly as possible the opinion to which I incline in each case. Of the two dangers it is preferred to incur the charge of dogmatism and confidence rather than of helplessness. My principle has been to carry out each train of reasoning to its extreme consequences and present a definite result: it is a real step to have a distinct theory to test by subsequent discovery, even where the proofs are confessedly incomplete.

A series of indexes are required to make such a work as this thoroughly useful; and I am conscious that the two which are given are not sufficient. But to make a sufficiently minute set of indexes would have added seriously to the expense and would have postponed the publication for another year: a new expedition to Asia Minor in 1890 will take up my whole time till the beginning of college duties. The index of authors will show where most remains undone by the

\* Hence the very summary way in which the last provinces, Pamphylia, Caria, Lycia, are treated: pp. 452-460 were added in May, and a footnote, p. 454, in September.

† Miscalculation of my MS. produced some inequalities in the execution; and a concluding chapter has been omitted.