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Pirates

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## THE CAMPAIGNS OF SERVILIUS ISAURICUS AGAINST THE PIRATES

By H. A. ORMEROD.

One of the effects of the defeat of king Antiochus, followed by a treaty of peace whose terms limited his fleet to ten vessels of war and prevented him from sending an armed vessel to the west of the Calycadnus, had been that the slight amount of control, which the kings of Syria had formerly exercised on the coast of Cilicia Tracheia, could no longer be maintained. As yet the Romans themselves had no interest in the districts outside the Taurus. Of the southern coast of Asia Minor, Lycia was handed over to the Rhodians, Pamphylia after some delay to Eumenes, and although western Cilicia remained a part of the Syrian kingdom, the terms of the treaty effectually prevented the nominal rulers from exercising any sort of control. It is scarcely surprising that the wild tribes which inhabited both sides of the Taurus once more betook themselves to occupations which had been natural to them from the earliest times. The piracy which, according to Strabo,<sup>1</sup> now began in these waters, was moreover encouraged by the Rhodians and the kings of Egypt, in so far as it crippled the Syrian power, while Rome, if we may except a tour of inspection by Scipio Aemilianus without armed force, took no cognisance of its existence. Rather the operations of the pirates, as the purveyors of slaves, were regarded, together with the similar activities of the tax-farmers, as an integral part of the economic basis of life.

The first recorded action of any importance on the part of the Roman government was not taken until the years 103–102, when the praetor Marcus Antonius was sent against them. The literary evidence regarding the expedition is small and gives no hint of its immediate cause. But the beginning made at this time had an important result in the creation of a permanent command in Cilician waters, from which the later province of Cilicia grew. Two years later the expedition of Antonius was followed by a law passed in the sixth consulship of Marius,<sup>2</sup> having for its object permanent precautions against the pirates, and inviting the free states and client kings to join in excluding them from their ports. Thus in no uncertain terms the Roman people had declared that the toleration hitherto extended to piracy would no longer be enjoyed; but the disturbances which followed the fall of the Marian government prevented the completion of the move-

<sup>1</sup> xiv, p 668.

<sup>2</sup> See Foucart, *Journal des Savants*, 1906, p. 369. The text of the law has now been published in *Klio*, xvii, p. 172. Since the above was in type my attention has been drawn by Mr. M. N. Tod to

an article by E. Cuq (*C.R.A.I.* 1923, pp. 129 *seqq.*). Cuq shows, I think conclusively, that the accepted date for the inscription must be abandoned, but his proposed identification with the *Lex Gabinia* of 67 B.C. requires further evidence. (See also *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* vol. i, p. 33, no. 161).

ment against the pirates, who, recognising that Rome was now their declared enemy, sought and found a new protector in Mithradates.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the rapid development of the pirate states during the first Mithradatic war; my object at present is to discuss one episode of the long war with the pirates, which may be held to have continued from the expedition of Antonius in 103 B.C. to their final extermination by Pompeius.

There can be no doubt that Sulla was fully alive to the necessity of a rapid settlement with the Cilicians. He had himself held the Cilician command in 92 B.C., and the campaign against Mithradates had taught him the value of their support to his enemy. Security in southern Asia Minor depended not only on the suppression of piracy at sea, but on the reduction of the kindred tribes on both sides of the Taurus range, from whom the sea rovers drew reinforcements, and with whom a refuge could be found in the event of trouble on the coast. The problem to be faced was twofold: the policing of the southern coast of Asia Minor, and a vigorous penetration of the Taurus and reduction of the Highlanders.

The area occupied by the pirates at this time was as follows: In Cilicia Tracheia it is clear that they held the whole of the coast<sup>1</sup> and the interior on both sides of the Taurus. The Pamphylian coast, if not entirely occupied by them, was deeply implicated in their malpractices. Side had long provided a market, second in importance only to Delos, for the disposal of their captives, and the pirate vessels were built in its dockyards.<sup>2</sup> Servilius found it necessary to chastise the people of Attaleia. On the western shores of the Pamphylian gulf a robber chieftain had made himself master of Olympus, Corycus and Phaselis. In the Hinterland of Lycia, in spite of Strabo's encomium of the rule of Moagetes,<sup>3</sup> it is probable that the Cibyratis was disturbed, perhaps as a result of the Mithradatic war. Disturbances in this district constituted a threat to the inhabitants of Lycia, whose loyalty to Rome had been demonstrated in the late war. Moreover, a disturbed population in the Cibyratis offered the same support to Zenicetes and his brigands in Mount Solyma as did the Isaurians and Homanadeis to the Cilician pirates.

The plan of campaign for the pacification of this district, which as I have suggested was evolved by Sulla, comprised an attack by sea on the southern coasts of Asia Minor, together with a simultaneous advance by land along the northern face of the Taurus, so as to attack the pirate country from the north and south. For this purpose Murena, the successor of Sulla, whose share in the pirate war has been largely forgotten,<sup>4</sup> gathered a fleet from the subject states to be used

<sup>1</sup> With the exception, perhaps, of Seleuceia ad Calycadnum (Strabo, xiv, p. 670, πολλὰ ἀφειστώσαν τοῦ Κιλικίου καὶ Παμφυλίου τρόπου.)

ληστροικῶν ἔργων, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμόρους ἐῶσι καθ' ἡσυχίαν ζῆν.

<sup>2</sup> xiii, p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo xiv, p. 664. For the Pamphylians in general see xii, p. 570: οὐ τελῆως ἀφείνται τῶν

<sup>4</sup> Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 93: Μουρήνας τε ἐγχειρήσας αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐξείργαστο μέγα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Σερούλιος Ἰσαυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Μουρήνα.

against the pirates,<sup>1</sup> and by land proceeded to the occupation of the Cibyratis. Of the kingdom of Moagetes, a part, Balbura, Bubon and, as it would appear, Oenoanda, was assigned to the Lycians, the remainder, comprising the later conventus of Cibyra, annexed by Rome. Murena's unfortunate adventure against Mithradates, while interrupting any concentrated action against southern Asia Minor, led to his own recall in 81 B.C. Of his successor, Nero, we know little except that he weakly abetted the depredations of Verres, who was *legatus* to the governor of Cilicia in 80 and 79. That governor, Dolabella, was himself impeached, and it is highly probable that the misconduct of him and his *legatus* created further disturbances,<sup>2</sup> which necessitated the vigorous action of the new proconsul in Cilicia, Servilius. During the years of Servilius' command a forward policy was once more adopted by the Romans, and a beginning made towards the complete reduction of the whole district.

A first examination of the scattered notices which we possess regarding Servilius' campaigns gives the impression that he achieved complete success in the reduction of the whole of the southern coast of Asia Minor, overrunning Cilicia and penetrating the Taurus; but that the effect of his work was undone only by the failure of the Romans to maintain a proper police of the seas as a whole, so that the Cilician pirates, driven from their native haunts, found a refuge elsewhere, particularly in Cretan waters. The later writers in general state that Servilius completely reduced Cilicia, one going so far as to say that it was made tributary.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless in the statements of earlier writers there is nothing, with the exception of one doubtful passage in Sallust,<sup>4</sup> to show that Servilius ever succeeded in even entering Cilicia Tracheia, the principal headquarters of the pirates. I propose to examine these statements and see what ground Servilius can be reasonably held to have covered.

First as to the chronology: Servilius was consul in 79 B.C.<sup>5</sup> According to Cicero,<sup>6</sup> he held the Cilician command for a *quinquennium*, that is to say, during the years 78 to 74, being succeeded in the course of the last year by Octavius, the consul of 75.<sup>7</sup> There is no real inconsistency between the statement of Cicero and that of two later writers to the effect that the war was of three years' duration.<sup>8</sup> In all our accounts Servilius' share of the campaign against the pirates

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Verr.* ii, 1, 90. (Classis) quae contra piratas aedificata sit. See also § 89.

<sup>2</sup> This at any rate was the inference Cicero intended should be drawn from the statement in *Verr.* ii, 1, 56.

<sup>3</sup> Ammian., xiv, 8, 4. Hae duae provinciae (Cilicia and Isauria) factae sunt vectigales. Eutrop. vi, 3. Is Ciliciam subegit. Orosius, v, 23.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 43. Strabo after mentioning the capture of Isaura by Servilius (xii, p. 569) adds *καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πειρατῶν ἐρύματα ἐξείλε τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ*. He tells us, however, of none outside Lycia and Pamphylia.

<sup>5</sup> References in Clinton, iii, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> *Verr.* ii, 3, 211. P. Servilius quinquennium exercitui cum praesisset.

<sup>7</sup> Groebe-Drumann, iv, 408.

<sup>8</sup> Eutrop. vi, 3: *Intra triennium bello finem dedit. Orosius, v, 23: Triennio emenso quo bellum gestum est.* The reconciliation which Maurenbrecher (*Prolegomena*, p. 68) proposes between the two statements can hardly be accepted. According to his view the reduction of Eastern Lycia and Pamphylia was completed in 78 and was followed by a 'terrestre bellum' against the Cilicians and Isaurians, extending over the years 77, 76, 75.

concluded with the fall of Isaura, to reach which the penetration of the Taurus must have been effected not later than the summer of 75, but would have been impossible in the early months of the year in which he was succeeded by Octavius, the consul of 75.

The reduction of the Isaurians, moreover, was recorded by Livy in the 93rd book, that is to say among the events of 75.<sup>1</sup> The earlier events of the war, which as will be seen constituted a distinct section of the campaign, had already been narrated in the 90th book, covering the events of 78, the year in which Servilius took up his command.<sup>2</sup> It would seem from Sallust that operations connected with what we may call the Lycio-Pamphylian section of the campaign were still proceeding in the year 76, if I am right in the view that the Corycus of fragment 81 of the 2nd book<sup>3</sup> (which covered the years 76, 75 and beginning of 74) was not the Cilician Corycus, as Sallust's words imply, but the Lycian. If I may anticipate the conclusions reached below, I would suggest the following chronology for the campaign: The Lycio-Pamphylian section extended over the years 77 and part of 76, and was narrated by Livy in book 90, by Sallust partly in book 1 of the Histories (covering the years 78 and 77), partly in book 2, the reduction of Eastern Lycia not being completed until 76. The second section of the campaign, that against the Isaurians and the Orondeis, begun possibly in 76 and completed in 75, was narrated by Livy in book 93, and by Sallust in book 2.

That Servilius left Italy in 78 is certain; also that he did so before the death of Sulla. We know from Suetonius that Caesar accompanied him on the expedition, his motives being hostility to the Sullan régime and the general desirability of his absence from Italy.<sup>4</sup> The *quinquennium*, of which Cicero speaks, began therefore in this year. Unless, however, we are to reject altogether the statements of Orosius and Eutropius, it is improbable that active operations against the pirates began until the spring of the following year, the summer and winter of Servilius' first year of command being devoted to the preparations which were a necessary preliminary to such a campaign as was contemplated, in particular to the gathering of a fleet.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 93: P. Servilius procos. in Cilicia Isaurus domuit et aliquot urbes piratarum expugnavit. The campaign therefore preceded the death of Nicomedes (early in 74).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 90: Praeterea res a P. Servilio pro cos. adversus Cilicas gestas continet. *Ep.* 91 opens with the appointment of Pompeius to the Spanish command in 77 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The fragments of Sallust are throughout quoted from Maurenbrecher's edition of 1893.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Julius*, 3: Meruit et sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed brevi tempore. Nam Sullae morte comperta . . . Romam propere rediit. His motive is still more definitely expressed by a fragment of Sallust (i, 57), if Maurenbrecher is right in referring the words to this incident. The Suetonius passage effectually disposes of the view put forward

by Groebe-Drumann (ii, p. 159, note 12), founded on Sallust, i, fr. 127: Itaque Servilius aegrotum Tarenti collegam (i.e. Appius Claudius, the consul of 79, who was bound for Macedonia) prior transgressus, that Appius Claudius' illness at Tarentum followed his appointment as *interrex*. If this was the case it would mean that Servilius' departure for Cilicia did not take place until after the Lepidan revolt. It is more natural to suppose that both proconsuls were preparing to depart for their provinces in the spring of 78, but that Appius was delayed first by illness, and later by the Lepidan revolt.

<sup>5</sup> That a powerful fleet was employed is expressly recorded by Florus, iii, 6: P. Servilius quamvis leves et fugaces myoparonas gravi et Martia classe turbaret et non incruenta victoria superat.

*quinquennium* may therefore be regarded as the total duration of Servilius' command, extending over the years 78 to 74, the *triennium* of later writers as the years of active operations, the campaigning seasons of 77, 76 and 75.

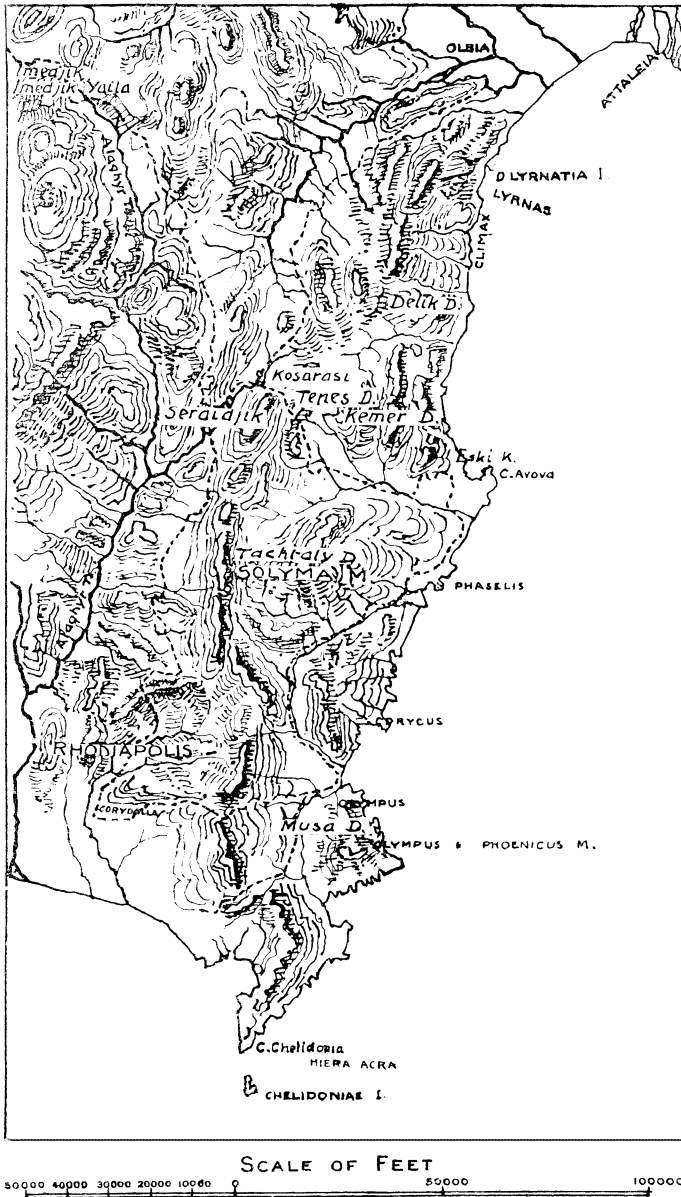


FIG. 5.

The source from which Servilius obtained his ships was doubtless the states previously warned for the duty of providing them by Murena (v. above, p. 36).

It was as an officer of the governor of Cilicia that Verres was able to requisition the *myopara* from Miletus (*Verr.* ii, 1, 86).

Apart from the reduction of Isauria and the alleged overrunning of Cilicia, we have the following definite statements regarding Servilius' movements: That he captured Phaselis, Olympus and Corycus in Lycia<sup>1</sup>; that his operations were extended into Pamphylia,<sup>2</sup> where he took territory from the people of Attaleia.<sup>3</sup> In connexion probably with the campaign against Isauria, he annexed territory from the Orondeis, gaining also for the Romans the otherwise unknown Ager Aperensis and Ager Gedusanus.<sup>4</sup> Cicero gives us a further detail, to the effect that a pirate chief, Nico, about whom nothing otherwise is known, was captured by Servilius, contrived to make his escape but was recaptured.<sup>5</sup> It is noticeable that the information regarding the Lycian cities<sup>6</sup> is common to almost all writers, the campaign on the eastern coast of Lycia being obviously an important part of the whole, in any case the best recorded.

The people of Lycia receive high praise from Strabo<sup>7</sup> for their good behaviour at this time. Though their country offered facilities not less than those enjoyed by the Cilicians, under the good government of the Lycian league they refrained from the piracies practised by the Pamphylians and Cilicians, and were seduced by no motives of base gain. In a later passage, however, he explains the situation which prevailed on the eastern coast and necessitated the interference of the Romans. In this district a chieftain, Zenicetes, whose chief stronghold was the mountain Olympus and town of the same name, had made himself master also of Phaselis and Corycus and many places of the Pamphylians. On the capture of the mountain by Servilius, Zenicetes burnt himself and his household.<sup>8</sup>

It is obvious that the piracy which had broken out in this district was a thing of fairly recent growth. Cicero tells us that formerly Phaselis had not been implicated, but that the Cilician pirates had joined the town to themselves 'primo commercio, deinde etiam societate,' owing to the convenience of its situation.<sup>9</sup> The evidence is still clearer with regard to Olympus. Artemidorus, quoted directly

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius, vi, 3: Ad Ciliciam et Pamphyliam missus.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *de leg. agr.* i, 5: Iubent venire agros Attalensium atque Olympenorum. Hos populo Romano P. Servillius, fortissimi viri, victoria adiunxit.

<sup>4</sup> *De leg. agr.* ii, 50, discussed below.

<sup>5</sup> *Verr.* ii, 5, 79. Ille nobilissimus pirata.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *de leg. agr.* ii, 50 (Olympus and Phaselis) *Verr.* ii, 1, 21 (Olympus); *Verr.* ii, 4, 22 (Phaselis); Strabo, xiv, 671 (Olympus, Phaselis, Corycus); Florus, iii, 6 (Phaselis and Olympus); Orosius, v, 23 (Phaselis, Corycus, 'Olympum montem pervagatus'); Eutropius, vi, 3 (Phaselis, Olympus, Corycus); Sallust, *fragg.* i, 127-132 (Olympus, Phaselis, Corycus); Pseudo-Asconius, in *Verr.* ii, p. 173 (Orelli) (Corycus, Olympus, Phaselis).

<sup>7</sup> xiv, p. 664.

<sup>8</sup> xiv, p. 671. Apart from the curious misplacement of this passage, which occurs in the

description of Cilicia (where from no mountain could a view over Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and the Milyas be obtained), there is a topographical error regarding Mount Olympus: 'Ὁ Ὀλυμπος ὄρος τε καὶ φρούριον ὀμώνυμον ἀφ' οὗ καταπτεύεται πᾶσα Λυκία καὶ Παμφυλία καὶ Πισιδία καὶ Μιλήαις.' This in no way suits Mount Olympus, usually identified with the Musa Dagh (1,000 m.), the view from which is completely shut out to the north by the great mass of Mount Solyma (Tachtaly Dagh, 2,400 m.).

<sup>9</sup> Cicero's statement regarding Phaselis is illuminated by a note of Leake's, who had fallen ill at Alaya (Coracesium) and was compelled to return by sea. *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 133: 'In passing by sea from Alaya to Castel Rosso [Casteloryzo], I was compelled to follow the coast of the Gulf of Adalia, the sailors being afraid in this season [March] of crossing directly to Cape Khelidoni.'

by Strabo,<sup>1</sup> speaks of it as belonging to the Lycian league, and being one of the six cities which controlled three votes. The statement was obviously made before it fell into the hands of Zenicetes.

The district, which Zenicetes controlled, formed a compact principality, cut off from the rest of Lycia by the mass of the Solyma mountains, and ethnically perhaps distinct from it.<sup>2</sup> Zenicetes himself may have been a Cilician pirate, who invaded Lycia from the sea and established himself at Olympus, extending his sovereignty along the coast to Phaselis and into Pamphylia. The description, however, which Strabo gives of his principal stronghold, called by him Mount Olympus, with its wide view over Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and the Milyas, makes it certain, as we have seen, that the mountain in question is not the Olympus already described by him,<sup>3</sup> but the modern Tachtaly Dagh. Zenicetes is probably then to be regarded as a native chieftain of the Solyma mountains, whose power had grown during the disturbances of the first Mithradatic war, when Lycia was invaded by Mithradates, and as we have seen, the *Hinterland* was disturbed. Commanding the Solyma mountains, he

<sup>1</sup> xiv, p. 665. Artemidorus' *floruit* is given as Ol. 169 (104-100).

<sup>2</sup> The approaches by land to this part of the Lycian coast are difficult and few. Arrian's account of Alexander's march from Phaselis to the Pamphylian plain shows the difficulty of the road by the coast. At the present time the inhabitants of Eski Keui at Cape Avova to the north of Phaselis prefer the voyage by sea to Adalia to the difficulties of the Climax route, caiques running frequently between the two places. From the edge of the Pamphylian plain to Phaselis it is a march of not less than eleven hours; although the road round the Climax was found by Mr. Robinson and myself to be easy enough in calm weather, our horses were frequently up to their fetlocks in water, and the road would be impossible with any sea running. (It is perhaps worth recording that remains of an old road, known as Ghiaour Yolu, with an embankment of large blocks were to be seen above us on the cliffs.)

So far as I know, there is only one road to the west over the hills above this coast, the one taken by Hoskyn in 1842, by way of the pass between Mount Climax and the Tachtaly Dagh, and described also by Spratt and Forbes (*Travels in Lycia*, i, p. 199 *seqq.*) At the top of the pass it is joined by an alternative route from the Pamphylian plain by way of the Tchandyr valley, by which an aggressive mountain people could threaten Pamphylia. As a means of communication between Phaselis and the rest of Lycia the road taken by Hoskyn is practically negligible, as it debouches on to the upper valley of the Alaghyr Tchai near Seraidjik, from which the descent into the Limyra plain is an extremely difficult march of not less than ten hours. A route to the north from Seraidjik to the Cibyrtis and Milyas reaching the Elmali plain at Imedjik is impassable during the winter months. (We had difficulty in crossing the snow-drifts at the Imedjik Yaila in the middle of May.)

The track between the Tachtaly Dagh and Mount Climax would, however, present few difficulties to marauding mountaineers descending on Phaselis and the coast from the Solyma uplands, while the 'Robber's tomb' (Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen*, ii, pp. 151-3, figs. 71-2), as Mommsen points out (*Provinces*, i, 337), throws an interesting sidelight on the character of the inhabitants of this district at a later date.

From the south the only practicable road to Phaselis is by way of Olympus, seven hours distant and reached from Phaselis by an inland route entailing a stiff climb. Access to Olympus from the west is less difficult, there being two different roads from the Limyra plain, both of which, however, must cross the ridge which connects the lower slopes of Mount Solyma with the Chelidonian promontory. The range of mountains which extends northwards from this point, viewed from the Pamphylian gulf, presents an almost unbroken mass, its appearance being well summed up by the statement of Strabo (p. 666), that many considered the Taurus to begin with the Chelidonian promontory and islands, *διὰ τε τὴν ἄκραν ὑψηλὴν οὖσαν καὶ καθήκουσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πισιδικῶν ὄρων τῶν ὑπερκειμένων τῆς Παμφυλίας*.

It will therefore be readily understood that the whole of the eastern coast is severed from the rest of Lycia; none of the characteristic Lycian rock-tombs and inscriptions are to be found in this district, and though Olympus, to which access from the west is less difficult, was drawn into the Lycian league, this was at no time the case with Phaselis (Strabo, p. 667). Quite apart from the Greek settlement at Phaselis, the ethnical distinction between the inhabitants of Lycia proper and those of the Solyma mountains goes back, as Strabo points out, to the earliest times (p. 667, cf. p. 573).

<sup>3</sup> p. 666: "Ὀλυμπος πόλις μεγάλη καὶ ὄρος ὁμώνυμον ὃ καὶ Φοινικῶς καλεῖται.



could control the eastern coast of Lycia, and reach Pamphylia by way of the Tchandyr valley. While he held Mount Solyma and the passes, he was secure from attack by land; by sea an alliance with the Cilicians would ensure his safety on that side. The security of the master of Phaselis was a matter of the first importance to the Cilicians, so that the great naval battle of which we hear in this campaign<sup>1</sup> had probably to be fought by Servilius against the Cilician allies of Zenicetes, before he could deliver his attack on the Lycian coast.

Before passing from this section of the campaign, of the extent of which the notices in Cicero and Strabo give us a fair idea, it is perhaps worth while, in view of the statements to be found regarding Cilicia, to observe that Servilius' reduction of the coast of Eastern Lycia is made by later writers to include the whole country.<sup>2</sup>

The campaign against Cilicia Tracheia<sup>3</sup> is generally held by modern writers<sup>4</sup> to have followed the reduction of Lycia and Pamphylia. Maurenbrecher, as already stated, believed the campaign to have been conducted by land, presumably from a base in Pamphylia, since neither the country of the Isaurians was yet in Servilius' hands, nor Cilicia Pedias, occupied nominally by the Seleucids, actually by Tigranes<sup>5</sup>. An advance into Cilicia from the west was practicable only by the coast road, a line of approach effectually barred by the fortress of Coracesium, the chief stronghold of the pirates' power. None of our authorities provides any hint of an attack by Servilius on Coracesium, and it is impossible to believe that the capture of a fortress, whose fall was the climax of the campaign conducted by Pompeius, could have been effected by Servilius without leaving a trace in our records. An attack by sea on the pirate strongholds of the coast is to be traced only in the reported visit to the Cilician Corycus.

The name Corycus is not an uncommon one on the coast of Asia Minor. Strabo mentions four, three of which were on the southern coast. In Lycia he speaks of a Corycus captured by Servilius which, with Olympus and Phaselis, had fallen into the hands of Zenicetes.<sup>6</sup> It is noticeable that a distinction is made here between the Lycian possessions of Zenicetes and those in Pamphylia.<sup>7</sup> This makes it certain that by Corycus he does not mean Attaleia, although as he himself tells us the name of the spot on which Attaleia stood had been Corycus before its enlargement and resettlement

<sup>1</sup> Florus, iii, 6 (quoted above, p. 38).

<sup>2</sup> Eutrop. vi, 3: Lyciae urbes clarissimas oppugnavit, in his Phaselidem, Olympum; Orosius, v, 23: Lyciam et urbes eius obsessas oppressasque cepit. Praeterea Olympum montem pervagatus, Phaselim evertit, Corycum diruit. A similar exaggeration is to be found already in Cicero (*de leg. agr.* i, fr. 3): addicetur omnis ora Lyciorum atque Cilicum, on which passage Treuber (*Geschichte der Lykier*, p. 189) quotes the view of Junge that Phaselis and Olympus were joined by Servilius to the province of Cilicia, which, I think, is correct.

<sup>3</sup> The passages quoted in favour of a reduction of Cilicia are: Velleius, ii, 39, Ciliciam perdomuit Isauricus; Eutropius, vi, 3, Is Ciliciam subegit; Festus, *Brev.* 12, 3, Ciliciam et Isauros . . . subegit.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Groebe-Drumann, iv, p. 409; Maurenbrecher, *Prolegomena*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Appian, *Syr.* 48, *Miibr.* 105; Plut. *Lucullus*, 26.

<sup>6</sup> p. 671 (*v.* above).

<sup>7</sup> Which for Strabo begins with Olbia, τῆς Παιμφυλλίας ἀρχῆς (p. 667).

by Attalus Philadelphus.<sup>1</sup> The view taken by Maurenbrecher that the Corycus which belonged to Zenicetes was the same as Attaleia is therefore improbable.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the passage from Dionysius there is no evidence that, except to the antiquarians, Attaleia was ever known by the name of Corycus after its resettlement, and Strabo himself elsewhere tells us of the locality named Corycus between Olympus and Phaselis.<sup>3</sup>

A third Corycus is described by Strabo in Cilicia, with the famous Corycian cave near by, one of the most striking features of which was the saffron growing wild in the cave.<sup>4</sup> The saffron of Corycus was also mentioned by Sallust in a fragment of the second book: 'iter vertit ad Corycum, urbem inclytam portu atque nemore in quo crocum gignitur.'<sup>5</sup>

Maurenbrecher's fragments of Sallust contain two other allusions to Corycus, one of which is quoted from the first book.<sup>6</sup> It would appear, therefore, that Sallust knew both of the Lycian Corycus,<sup>7</sup> mentioned in the first book in connexion with the operations against Phaselis and Olympus, and of the Cilician, mentioned in the second book in connexion with the operations of the year 76. Here then it may be urged that we have a locality in Cilicia Tracheia which was visited by Servilius or one of his officers in the course of operations in that district.

If, however, we turn once more to Strabo's account of Zenicetes' principality, it will be seen that the whole passage is curiously misplaced. It occurs not in his description of eastern Lycia, to which the places mentioned obviously belong, but follows his account of the Corycian cave and Elaeussa. He has described Corycus with its cave and Elaeussa, and goes on to mention the *συνοικισμός* of Archelaus, to whom Cilicia Tracheia as well as Cappadocia had been entrusted, in order to bring both sides of Taurus under a single control, owing to the prevalence of piracy and brigandage in the Taurus mountains. Then follows the account of Zenicetes and his Lycian principality,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 667. The same information is given by Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀττάλεια, but transferred to the Cilician Corycus. In Photius *s.v.* Κωρυκαῖος Corycus is called a promontory of Pamphylia, *παρ' ᾧ πόλις Ἀττάλεια*. A Corycus in Pamphylia is mentioned also by Dion. Periegetes (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* ii, p. 156), where, if Attaleia is intended, it is badly misplaced.

<sup>2</sup> Note to Sallust, i, frag. 131.

<sup>3</sup> p. 666: 'Ὀλυμπος πόλις μεγάλη . . . εἶτα Κώρυκος ὁ αἰγιαλὸς εἶτα Φάσηλις. Corycus obviously was of no importance in Strabo's time. Its existence, however, is confirmed by the *Stadiasmus*, 227, 228. Phaselis, Corycus, Phoenicus-Olympus. *Ib.* 215: 'ἀπὸ Σίδης εἰς Ἀττάλειαν στάδιοι τν'. ἀπὸ Ἀτταλείας εἰς τὸ [Κωρύκιον] ἐμπόριον στάδιοι τ', ἀπὸ δὲ [τοῦ] Κωρυκίου (Κορακίον codex) [ἐμπόριον] εἰς Σίδην στάδιοι ν'

<sup>4</sup> p. 670. Full references in Hicks, *J.H.S.* xii, 213.

<sup>5</sup> ii, 81, from Nonius, iii, p. 202 (ed. Lindsay): *Crocum generis neutri*. Sallustius *Historiarum Lib. ii*: iter vertit ad Corycum urbem inclytam Pastusque nemore in quo crocum gignitur. Stowasser, portu atque; Havercamp, specu atque. cf Servius, *ad Georg.* i, 56 <nam et crocum in Cilicia apud Corycum nasci Sallustius <mement>.

<sup>6</sup> I. fragment 131. 'Ad Corycum' from Priscian xv: Sallustius in i *historiarum* 'ad Olympum atque Phaselida [= fr. 129]. In eodem 'ad Corycum' [= fr. 131] I could not find fragment 132 'Apud Corycum,' which Maurenbrecher quotes from the same passage of Priscian.

<sup>7</sup> Not the Pamphylian Attaleia, as Maurenbrecher asserts in his note *ad loc.*

<sup>8</sup> p. 671: *κατὰ τε τὰς ἀκρωρίας τοῦ Ταύρου τὸ Ζηνικέτον περατῆριον ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀλυμπος ὄρος τε καὶ φρούριον ὁμώνυμον, ἀφ' οὗ κατοπεύεται πᾶσα Λυκία καὶ Παμφυλία καὶ Πισιδία καὶ Μιλύας κ.τ.λ.*

the insertion of the passage being the more remarkable since he has already described Olympus, Corycus and Phaselis in their correct place. Moreover, the language in which Strabo describes the view from the so-called Olympus has a resemblance, which cannot be accidental, to a fragment of Sallust: *Lyciae Pisidiaequae agros despectantem*.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that Strabo in 671, and Sallust in fragments ii, 81 and i, 130 were following a source which ascribed to the less known Corycus of Lycia features which belonged to the famous Cilician cave.<sup>2</sup> The error of Strabo can only be explained by the supposition that he found the account of Zenicetes in a passage which confused the Lycian and Cilician Corycus. He realised that the description of the cave must apply to the Cilician Corycus, but carelessly went on to transcribe the further details which he found about Zenicetes. If Nonius is right in his citation of Sallust frag. ii, 131 from the second book of the Histories, it follows that operations in Lycia were still proceeding in the year 76.

With the saffron-growing Corycus disappears the only place in Cilicia Tracheia of which we have the faintest record in ancient references to Servilius' campaign. The contrast with the record of the Lycian towns captured, common to almost all authorities,<sup>3</sup> is so remarkable that the only warrantable conclusion is that Servilius never penetrated into Cilicia Tracheia.

There remains the concluding phase of the campaign, the operations against the Isaurians, and the difficult question of the route by which Servilius may be held to have reached their country. There is fortunately no doubt as to the location of the two towns Isaura Vetus and Nova.<sup>4</sup> The former has long been identified with the modern Zengibar Kalesi, the latter, which was previously placed by Sterrett at Dinorna, has now been located with certainty by Sir William Ramsay at Dorla, some twenty miles to the north-east of Isaura Vetus.<sup>5</sup> In addition to these two towns, the territory occupied by the Isaurians comprised several other villages, *ληστῶν ἔπασσαι κατοικίαι*. The district lay on the northern slopes of Taurus, within the boundaries of Lycaonia, marching on the north-west with the territory of the turbulent Homanadeis, with whom, in common with other tribes occupying the northern face of Taurus,

<sup>1</sup> Assigned by Maurenbrecher to the first book (no. 130), but quoted by Servius, *ad Aen.* i, 420, without mention of the book in which it occurred.

<sup>2</sup> ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο. Hopeless confusion prevails among ancient writers whenever Corycus is mentioned. Steph. Byz. (quoted above) confuses the Pamphylian Corycus (Attaleia) with the Cilician. Photius, *s.v.* Κορύκαιος, ascribes the 'Corycian trick' of Strabo's Ionian Corycus (p. 644) to Corycus-Attaleia. Quintus Curtius iii, 10, in a description of Cilicia, has *Monstrabantur Lyrnessi et Thebae, Typhonis quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur*. For the position of Lyrnessus and Thebe (between Phaselis and Attaleia)

see, however, Strabo, p. 667 and 676 (other references in *Geogr. Gr. Min.* ii, p. 156). Obviously Quintus Curtius has fallen into the Corycus pitfall, giving, as neighbours to the Cilician, places which belonged to its Lycian or Pamphylian namesake.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 40, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xii, p. 568: *κόμας δύο ὁμωνύμουσ τὴν μὲν παλαιὰν καλουμένην, ἐνερκῆ, [τὴν δὲ νέαν]*.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the fastness of Isaura Vetus see Davies, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 408 *seqq.*, and for the topography of the whole district, Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, pp. 105 *seqq.*, pp. 149-51; Ramsay, *J.H.S.* 1905, pp. 162 *seqq.*

the Isaurians offered a strenuous resistance to the Roman advance. The police of the northern face of the Taurus, as Ramsay has shown, necessitated under the early empire the establishment of the line of military colonies, based on Pisidian Antioch, and extending from Olbasa in the west to Lystra in the East.

When order had been restored on the Lycian and Pamphylian coast, it was the task of Servilius to attempt the pacification of the tribes inhabiting the northern slopes of the Taurus range. A beginning had already been made in the west by Murena's occupation of the Cibyratis. Two problems, mutually interdependent, present themselves with regard to the operations of Servilius: first, the extent of ground which he covered; secondly, the base from which he operated and the route by which he penetrated the mountain barrier.

It will be convenient to discuss first the reduction of the Isaurians, that being the best attested section of the campaign. Apart from the fact that it was reckoned by contemporaries as the most brilliant of Servilius' achievements, winning for him the title of Isauricus, we have the definite statement of Strabo that both of the towns named Isaura were captured, while a considerable amount of detail is supplied by the long Aurelian fragment of Sallust.<sup>1</sup> The latter passage, however, raises a topographical difficulty, which has a definite bearing on the second of the two problems mentioned, and must, as Sir William Ramsay has shown, be taken into consideration in any discussion of Servilius' march.

The fragment deals with the reduction of two cities, one of which is unnamed, the other being definitely called Isaura Nova. The first was reduced by thirst (*egestate aquae coacta deditio est*); after the surrender an embassy arrived from Isaura Nova to arrange for the capitulation of that town. A passage in Frontinus<sup>2</sup> also alludes to the reduction of 'Isaura' by thirst: *P. Servilius Isauram oppidum, flumine ex quo hostes aquabantur averso, ad deditioem sibi compulit*. But, as was first pointed out by Sterrett, the details here given in no way correspond to topographical conditions at Isaura Vetus. Isaura Vetus (Zengibar Kalesi), situated on the top of the Assar Dagh, was not dependent for its water supply on a river, but partly on cisterns, largely on a spring outside the city walls, now called Bel Punar. Moreover, the nearest river, Gök Su, flows in a cañon, the cliffs of which are several hundred feet high, so that the operation described by Frontinus would have been impossible. Sterrett therefore refers the diversion of the river to Isaura Nova, placed by him at Dinorna, by Ramsay at Dorla, the latter pointing out that the ground at Dorla is exactly of the kind to render such an operation easy and successful.

If Sterrett and Ramsay are right, it is remarkable that both

<sup>1</sup> Maurenbrecher, ii, 87.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 7, 1.

Isaura Nova and the first town captured by Servilius (which perhaps it will be convenient to call 'A') should both have been reduced by thirst. The coincidence has already been remarked by Maurenbrecher in his commentary on the Aurelian fragment, but in itself is not an impossibility. I feel, however, that there is a very great difficulty in referring the Frontinus passage to Isaura Nova, since the

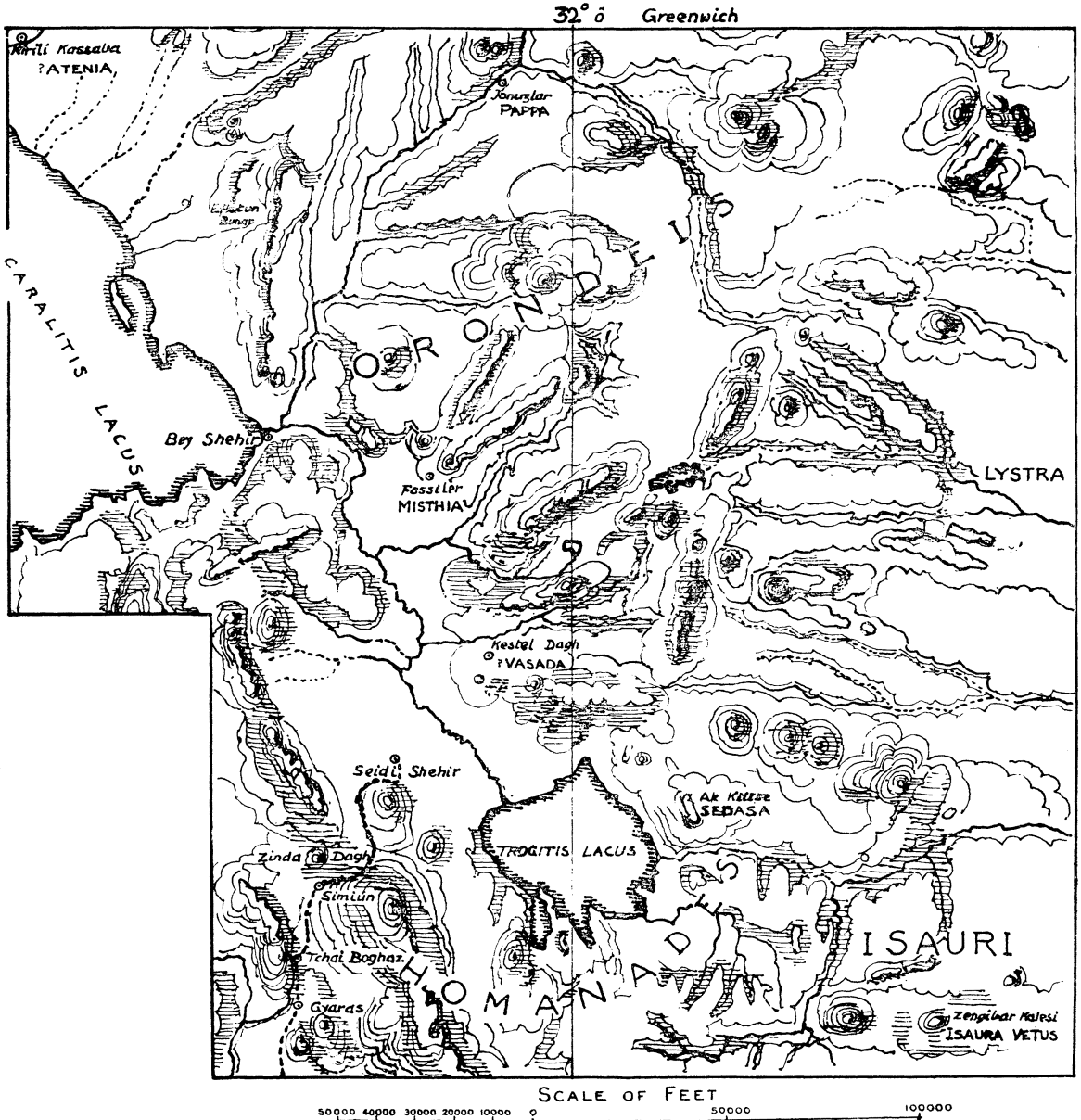


FIG. 6. MAP OF THE TERRITORY OF THE ORONDEIS AND THE HOMANADEIS.

account which Sallust gives of the operations at the latter town makes it plain that the diversion of the stream, however feasible, was unnecessary. According to Sallust, after the reception of the embassy from Isaura Nova,<sup>1</sup> Servilius advanced from 'A' to the walls of Isaura Nova, there receiving provisions and 100 hostages from the city. On his presenting a further demand for the surrender of all weapons of war and deserters, a riot took place in the city, organised by the younger men.<sup>2</sup> Servilius at once occupied a hill outside the walls, commanding a part of the town.<sup>3</sup> The fragment comes to an end without further details, but with this commanding point in his hands it is difficult to imagine that Servilius was compelled to proceed to a formal investment of the town, and to the diversion of the river.

It may well be doubted whether Sallust, as Maurenbrecher assumes, was guilty of the statement that Isaura Vetus was reduced *averso flumine*. The probabilities are that the inaccurate detail was inserted by Frontinus in his brief mention of the capture of the town, the diversion of a river being a well-known *Strategema*, wrongly applied to the case of a town, which was known to have surrendered owing to the failure of its water supply. The final sortie in Sallust's account of the reduction of 'A' reads very much like a desperate attempt on the part of the besieged to regain possession of the water-supply (i.e. the spring at Bel Punar outside the walls), which had been seized by the Romans. *Dein post paucos dies egestate aquae coacta deditio est.*

Further light is thrown on this campaign by the passage in Cicero already quoted, where in addition to the Lycio-Pamphylian conquests of Servilius three other districts are mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

Of these ager Orondicus (or Oroandicus) may be regarded as a certain correction of Orindicus, the Orondeis occupying the hills, which form the eastern boundary of the valley of Lake Caralis, their principal towns being Pappa, fixed definitely at Yonuslar, and Misthia, in all probability at Fassiler.<sup>5</sup> With regard to the otherwise unknown ager Agerensis and Gedusanus, Professor Calder, to whom I am much indebted for assistance in this section of my paper, suggests that the ager Agerensis of the MSS. may represent Ateniensis, Atenia being placed by Ramsay at or near Kirili Kassaba, close to the north-eastern shore of Lake Caralis.<sup>6</sup> Professor Calder further regards

<sup>1</sup> Oppidum incensum et cultores venundati, eoque terrore mox Isaura Nova legati pacem orantes venire, obsidesque et iussa facturos promittebant.

<sup>2</sup> Iuniores primum ex consilio, deinde ut quisque acciderat, per totam urbem maximo clamore tumultum faciunt.

<sup>3</sup> De improviso montem ex quo in fuga oppidi teli coniectus erat occupavit, sacrum Matri Magnae. Fugam A., corr. Mommsen; forum, coni. Hauler. The hill is identified by Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> *De leg. agr.* ii, 50. *Iubet venire . . . agrumque*

*Agerensem et Orindicum et Gedusanum. Haec P. Servilii victoria . . . vestra facta sunt.*

<sup>5</sup> Full references in Ramsay, *H.G.* p. 398, *B.S.A.* ix, pp. 243 *segg.*, *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 165, where the view taken in the text is expressed.

<sup>6</sup> *B.S.A.* ix, pp. 247, 253. The suggestion in Groebe-Drumann, iv, p. 409, n. 7, that the reference is to Aperlae is scarcely tenable. We have no reason to regard Aperlae on the Lycian coast between Kasteloryzo and Myra as falling within Servilius' sphere of operations.

Gedusanum as a probable corruption of Sedasanum,<sup>1</sup> Sedasa which is located on the east of Lake Trogitis being a town of the Homanadeis, whose territory according to Sir William Ramsay lay around three sides of Lake Trogitis, and extended from the neighbourhood of Isaura to the confines of Selge and Katenna.<sup>2</sup>

If these suggestions are accepted, the operations of Servilius were directed against the three peoples of the Isauri, Homanadeis and Orondeis, and extended over a district reaching from Isauria in a north-westerly direction along the eastern shore of the lakes Trogitis and Caralis.

The route by which Servilius reached these uplands was first discussed with reference to geographical and military probabilities by Sir William Ramsay, who suggests three alternatives as a way of approach to the Isaurian country.<sup>3</sup>

1. From the coast of Cilicia Tracheia by way of Laranda. This he sets aside as improbable on military grounds owing to the difficulty of the country. Without a base in Cilicia Tracheia it would have been impossible.

2. From the Cilician Gates, by way of Cybistra, Laranda and Derbe, which he suggests may have been the town which I have called *Sallust* 'A,' captured before Isaura Nova.<sup>4</sup>

3. From a base in the Roman province of Asia by way of Apameia, Apollonia and Pisidian Antioch.

Of the last two routes the latter seems the less probable. There is no record of Servilius' presence at any time in Asia,<sup>5</sup> and Antioch itself at this time was autonomous.<sup>6</sup> Although such a consideration need not have prevented Servilius from marching through its territory, it is difficult, if such was his route, to realise the grounds on which he is stated, to have been the first to penetrate the Taurus barrier.

<sup>1</sup> Zumpt's conjecture, Eleusanum, has a certain plausibility, if the view expressed above regarding Cilicia Tracheia is incorrect. It is difficult, however, to see what can have been intended by Ager Eleusanus. The island of Eleussa on the Cilician coast in which the town of Sebaste was founded by Archelaos in or after 25 B.C. (Strabo xiv, p. 671), before this date had none of the territory on the mainland which it afterwards possessed. The small town of Kanytelideis beside the Olban cave a few miles to the east, which is proved by inscriptions of imperial date to have belonged to Eleussa-Sebaste (e.g. *J.H.S.* xii, no. 4; Heberdey-Wilhelm, nos. 128, 129), at an earlier date can be shown to have been dependent on Olba (Heberdey-Wilhelm, no. 133 from the pre-Roman cemetery, and the still earlier inscriptions of c. 200 B.C. in *J.H.S.* xii, nos. 1 and 2). The territory of Olba clearly came down to the coast at this point. Corycus on the coast to the west was independent of Eleussa at this time, whatever may have been the case after the foundation of Sebaste (Head, *H.N.* p. 720,

autonomous coins of first century B.C.). The coinage of Eleussa itself in the first century B.C. (v. Hill, *B.M. Cat. Cilicia*, pl. xl, 14, with legend Ἐλαιουσίωσ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ αὐτονομίου) is an additional argument against the reduction of Eleussa by Servilius.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* ix, p. 268; *J.R.S.* vii, 247 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> I find the identification of Derbe with this town difficult, if only for the reason that Strabo (p. 569), who has considerable information about the capture of Derbe and Isaura Vetus by Amyntas, has nothing to say about any capture of Derbe by Servilius in a paragraph which follows his mention of Servilius' reduction of Isaura Vetus and Nova.

<sup>5</sup> Certainty, however, is impossible. The two Phrygian dioceses of Synnada and Apameia are known to have been included in Asia from 62 to 56, as the result of a reorganisation which Marquardt (ii, p. 239) would ascribe to Sulla or Murena.

<sup>6</sup> So Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 166, quoting Strabo xii, p. 577.

The route by way of the Cilician Gates implies first that Cilicia Pedias was in Roman hands, which can hardly be said to have been the case,<sup>1</sup> secondly that Isaura Nova fell before Isaura Vetus, if the line of march was from east to west. If, however, *Sallust 'A'* is to be identified with Isaura Vetus, it is clear that Servilius was advancing from the west.<sup>2</sup>

Servilius can be shown to have operated in two districts. First a section of the Lycian and Pamphylian coast, secondly a stretch of country reaching from Lake Caralis to Isauria. There is no evidence as to any other district that he penetrated. The Lycio-Pamphylian section of the campaign was completed by 76, possibly in the preceding year. He was then definitely established in Pamphylia, which could be used as a base for further operations. I would therefore suggest that the march through Taurus was made from Pamphylia, by a route which would bring Servilius directly into the country of the Orondeis. Two routes are possible, both of which are difficult and would necessitate hard fighting with the hillmen.<sup>3</sup> Servilius, however, had by this time an army trained by the campaign in Mount Solyma to all conditions of mountain warfare. The first route is one by which I myself travelled in 1911 from the mouth of the river Melas by way of Akseki-Marula to Seidi-shehir, a road which is used to a considerable extent at the present time.<sup>4</sup> The second, which is perhaps the more probable of the two, was traversed in 1907 by the late Colonel Doughty-Wylie, V.C., by whom a brief itinerary was given to Professor Calder in 1909. I have to thank the latter for permission to reproduce it.<sup>5</sup>

Both of these routes would bring the Roman army into the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Calder tells me that there is a direct route, passable by wheeled traffic, from Derbe to Zengibar Kalessi, by which an invader coming from the east could reach Isaura Vetus without approaching Isaura Nova. But could an invader thus leave Isaura Nova unmasked?

<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the fragment of Sallust i, 128, Fessus in Pamphylia se receperat (Servius *ad Aen.* viii, 232, quoted also in the *Liber Glossarum* with variant 'recept'), has reference to this march, and may indicate that the first attempts to penetrate Taurus (? in 76) were unsuccessful. It is assigned by Maurenbrecher to the first book on the ground that it concerned the Lycian operations, but in neither of the authorities is the number of the book mentioned. (I have to thank Miss F. M. Rees for verifying the quotation in the *Lib. Gloss.*)

Mr. Anderson suggests in *J.R.S.* vii, p. 235, that the presence of Calpurnius Piso in Pamphylia in 13 B.C. is to be explained on the supposition that the attack on the Homanadeis, actually carried out by Quirinius, was first planned to be delivered from Pamphylia. 'A bad line,' as Ramsay says, but suggested by the fact that it had

been the line followed by Servilius when the northern base used by Quirinius was not available.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>5</sup> The route followed was from Konia to Adalia by way of Beishehir. Previously a *chaussée* had been projected by the Turkish government, parts of which had been constructed. The distances are given in English miles from Beishehir:

To Derekeui (28) by way of Bademli (2), Iskelez (10), Tchete (20½) road passable by wheeled traffic.

From Derekeui to the south end of Kambos ova (41), thence by a track fit for pack animals only, between the mountains Loyka and Melik Dag. From Subujaor-Ilzunly (52½), the track is easy to the Enif ova, a small plain c. 8 miles long by 3 broad, with a small *khan* at the SW. corner (64). A steep climb to the Kessik Bel pass, the sea being visible at Demir Kapu (66½). From the foot of the Kessik Bel pass (73) to Karghyl Khan (92), of Seljuk construction, a section of the projected *chaussée* had been built. From Karghyl Khan to Köprü Khan (112) by way of Karamandalar (107) where the *chaussée* recommences. The Köprü Su (Eurymedon) is crossed by the Roman bridge. Thence to Adalia 27 miles.



rolling plain between Lakes Caralis and Trogitis, from which the hill country of the Orondeis could be assaulted. How far the attacks penetrated cannot be said. If the correction of Cicero's Agerensis proposed above is right, they were extended along the whole length of the eastern shores of Lake Caralis; but operations among the Orondeis and Homanadeis may have been confined to the occupation of the valley formed by the two lakes, and to securing a line of retreat, whether into Pamphylia or into Roman Asia, in the event of a reverse at the hands of the Isaurians. If Gedusanus is to be corrected to Sedasanus, the advance from the Orondeis took place along the shore of Lake Trogitis, through the eastern portion of the Homanadeis tribe, who adjoined the Isaurians.<sup>1</sup>

By Servilius' conquests on the northern face of Taurus, the necessary preliminaries had been accomplished for a combined attack on Cilicia Tracheia by land and sea. The following year, 74 B.C., therefore saw the creation of a new command, the *maius imperium infinitum*, conferred on M. Antonius for three years, with orders to clear the whole Mediterranean coast of pirates, a command which anticipated that which was entrusted to Pompeius in 67. Land operations, however, at first delayed by the death of Servilius' successor, Octavius,<sup>2</sup> were indefinitely postponed by the outbreak of the third Mithradatic war. By sea, the Roman plans were stultified by the incompetence of the admiral, before their fleets could even approach the Cilician coast.

Some explanation is needed of the grounds for the belief, held by later writers, that Servilius conquered Cilicia, since it might be urged that the later conquest of Tracheia by Pompeius overshadowed Servilius' exploits to such an extent as to obliterate all record of its former conquest, except the bare fact. The explanation lies, I think, in the ancient use of the name Cilices and the technical application of the word Cilicia by the Romans in the first century B.C. In days when piracy had its headquarters in Cilicia Tracheia, the name Cilician was largely applied to all pirates, whatever their origin, much as 'Algerian' frequently included at a later date all Mediterranean corsairs who were not Christian. A successful campaign against brigands and pirates in southern Asia Minor would be naturally spoken of by contemporaries as a reduction of Cilicians.

In an ethnic sense the name Cilices comprised a number of tribes occupying a much wider extent of country than the actual Tracheia and Pedias on the southern side of Taurus, so that Herodotus was not guilty of an error in geography, when he said that the Halys in part of its course flowed *διὰ Κιλικῶν*.<sup>3</sup> A survival of this extended

<sup>1</sup> On the character of this country, which I have not seen beyond the southern shore of Lake Trogitis, see Ramsay, *J.R.S.* vii, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> i, 72.

application of Cilicia is to be found in the Cilician *strategia* of Cappadocia.<sup>1</sup>

Ethnologically the difference between the peoples on the northern and southern sides of Taurus can only have been slight. We have on the one hand the Homanadeis spoken of by Strabo under the general name of Κίλικες.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, the name Isauria, which is limited by Strabo to the district lying round the towns of Isaura Vetus and Nova and politically within the boundaries of Lycaonia, had also, as would appear, a wider extension over the whole of Tracheia, the name of the later province Isauria bringing into official use the pre-Roman nomenclature of the district.<sup>3</sup>

Historically, therefore, there was justification for the name Cilicia given to the wide district of Asia Minor, which we know from Cicero's correspondence, at the time of the reorganisation by Pompeius. The name at any rate was applicable to the eastern part of the province. Cilicia, however, had been the name of the province since its first occupation, when it comprised none of the Cilician country, in any sense of the term, either on the north or south of Taurus. The northern side was first reduced by Servilius; on the south Pedias had been in the hands of Tigranes and, when he annexed it in 83, it was at the expense of the Seleucids, not of the Romans, who would otherwise have regarded such an occupation as an act of war. With regard to Tracheia there is no justification for the view which Marquardt<sup>4</sup> bases on Appian, *Mithr.*, 75, to the effect that part at any rate of Cilicia Tracheia was already in Roman hands as a result of Servilius' conquests.

This is not the place for a discussion of the extent of the Roman province of Cilicia during the first decades of its existence. From its first foundation, as a base of operations against the pirates, it can have consisted of little more than the former Attalid possessions in southern Asia Minor, but it was materially increased by the conquests of Servilius. A general who was governor of 'Cilicia,' operated against the brigand tribes of his province known generally as 'Cilices,' annexed the brigands' stronghold of eastern Lycia to the province of Cilicia, restored order on the Pamphylian coast, a part of which (e.g. Side) is known to have maintained close relations with the Cilicians proper, and reduced Cilician tribes to the north of Taurus, could well have

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xii, p. 534, cf. Justin. xxxvii, 1. Full information in Ramsay, *H.G.* p. 335. It is noticeable that Strabo in his definition of Tracheia and Pedias limits them to that part of Cilicia which lies to the south of Taurus (*τῆς Κιλικίας τῆς ἐξω τοῦ Ταύρου*).

<sup>2</sup> xii, p. 569. See Ramsay, *B.S.A.* ix, p. 269: 'Cilices and Homanades are interchangeable on p. 569.'

<sup>3</sup> See on this point, *H.G.* p. 361 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> ii, p. 315 (French translation of 1892): τῶ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Φρυγίαν Εὐμαχος Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐπιτρέχων ἔκτεινε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς

μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν Πισίδας τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὑπήγετο καὶ Κιλικίαν, μέχρι τῶν τις Γαλατικῶν τετραρχῶν Δηϊόταρος ἐπιπολάζοντα αὐτὸν συνεδίωξε. In view of the wider use of Cilicia, it would be extremely hazardous to assert that Eumachus penetrated the Taurus into Tracheia. The same considerations apply equally to the Sallust fragment (v. 14) quoted by Marquardt: Lucullus audito Q. Marcium Regem pro consule per Lycaoniam cum tribus legionibus in Ciliciam tendere. In both these passages, as in Dio. Cass. xv, 1, by Cilicia is meant the Roman province of that name, more particularly the parts north of the Taurus.

been spoken of by his contemporaries as having gained his victories over the Cilicians without having penetrated the district known in the narrower sense as Cilicia Tracheia and Pedias. There is no doubt that Livy in the 93rd book used Cilicia in the wider sense when he spoke of the Isaurians in Cilicia. Similarly in the 90th book, which, as we saw, contained the first section of the campaign, Servilius' achievements are spoken of as performed 'adversus Cilicas.' This would be the natural language to employ of the governor of Cilicia operating against the brigands of the district. But neither Livy nor Sallust, from whom later writers drew such information as they give about the campaign, appears to have known of any operations in Cilicia Tracheia, with the exception of the march to Corycus, which, in fact, was the Lycian.

#### APPENDIX.

An alternative route from the Pamphylian plain to the country of the Orondeis is one which I followed in June 1911, from Side to Akseki-Marula and Seidi-shehir. Though shorter in point of distance, it would appear to be the more difficult of the two roads, particularly in the part between Akseki and Seidi-shehir. At the present time there is a considerable amount of traffic as far as Akseki, a pleasant little town in the hills which is the residence of a Caimakam. To the north of that point the road divides, one track going to Beishehir, the other to Seidi-shehir. The former was followed by Von Richter and Schönborn.<sup>1</sup>

To the south of Akseki the country is an elevated plateau, extending from the gorge of the Manavgat Tchai (Melas) to the lofty range known, during a part of its length, as the Haidar Dagh, which runs parallel with the western shore of Lake Trogitis and is prolonged in a south-easterly direction. The southern edge of the plateau is fringed by a steep parapet, crossed by the Ishak Seidi Bel pass. In spite of reports received in Adalia, the country was found to be singularly destitute of ancient remains. Ruins had been reported to me at Byrgos (= Piklos in Kiepert's map) and the neighbourhood, which led me to make a slight détour from the main road; they proved, however, to consist only of the ruins of modern houses. The country in ancient times, as now, can only have been thinly populated. Kiepert's map is accurate in most respects, being based presumably on information compiled by Schönborn. As, however, the country does not appear to have been traversed in recent years, a short itinerary may be useful:

Side to Manavgat, 1¼ hours. The *khan* is on the right bank of the stream, which is crossed by a ferry to Bazardjik on the left bank. Below the *khan* are the remains of Manavgat Kale, on the right bank of the stream, which is said to be navigable to this point. There is some amount of trade with Cyprus.

Bazardjik to Kara Udja 4 hours (the pace was a slow one, hardly more than 2 m.p.h., the pace of a caravan with which I travelled as far as Kepes). Two hours from Bazardjik are the remains of a small mediaeval fort on a table-like hill above the river. From Kara Udja to the top of the Ishak Seidi Bel is a two hours' climb which is extremely steep. Owing to the heat the caravan was moving by night. After a steep descent and another short climb the going becomes easier. The road passes to the east of and above the village of Kepes (3 hours) to the *khan* or small rest house (4 hours) marked on Kiepert's map. A spring which rises here flows for a short distance to the SW. before disappearing.

From Jendever (= Kiepert's Djendere, 2 hours) the main road runs direct to Ilvat and Sary Hadjilar (= Kiepert's Sary Hanlar, the names of this village and of Ilvat being

<sup>1</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xix, p. 610 *seqq.*

transposed on his map). I turned aside at Jendever to Allah Kisle ( $\frac{3}{4}$  hour) and Byrgos. There are a few worked blocks in the cemeteries of this neighbourhood (e.g. three un-inscribed bases at Jendever), but no other ancient remains. The track from Allah Kisle runs down a valley NW. to Ilvat ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours) where it rejoins the main road. Thence by way of Sari Hadjilar ( $\frac{3}{4}$  hour) to Akseki ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours), a town of fairly modern appearance, consisting of 500 to 600 houses.

To the north of Akseki the country becomes more difficult and broken as far as Ghyaras<sup>1</sup> (5 hours), which lies at the north end of a small plain in the hills. The village and cemetery are full of architectural fragments, one house being built largely of remains of a small Corinthian building. By the door of another stood two Ionic capitals. The site from which these came lies immediately above the village on a small hill with three peaks, all of which are strewn with ancient blocks. The centre peak has been artificially levelled, the platform thus formed being increased by a bastion on the SW. side of very solid masonry. On it and at the foot lies a mass of fallen fragments from at least two buildings. A Corinthian capital and several fallen columns and epistyle fragments were to be seen together with the inscriptions nos. 1-3, 5-6.

1. Large square basis, fallen from above, at foot of centre peak. Ht. '69, B. '87, deeply cut letters '04.

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ  
 ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ ΟΠΛΩΝ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ  
 ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΣΣΙΑΝ ΕΡΜΟ-  
 ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΚΩΝΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ  
 ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΕΣΤΗ-  
 ΣΕΝ Η ΚΑΣΣΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝ-  
 ΔΡΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σελγέω[ν  
 ἐτείμησεν Ὀπλωνα Μουσαίου[ν  
 Ἐρμογένους, καὶ Κασσίαν Ἐρμο-  
 γένους τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ Κῶνιν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῶν.  
 τοὺς δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἀνέστη-  
 σεν ἡ Κασσία μνήμης καὶ φιλαν-  
 δρο]ίας ἔνεκεν.

2. Basis, in form of an architrave. Ht. '40, B. 1'32, Letters '035. Broken above.

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΣ ΔΟΘΕΙΣΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΑΣ  
 ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ  
 ΤΑΤ ΛΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΕ-  
 ΤΗΣΑΝ ΡΩΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΠΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ  
 ΠΑΙΔΕΣ

κατὰ τὰς δοθείσας αὐτοῖς τείμας  
 ὑπὸ τῆς Σελγέων πόλεως τῆς - - -  
 - - - τοὺς δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἀνέ[σ-  
 τησαν Ῥόδων καὶ Ὀπλων καὶ Μουσαῖος  
 οἱ παῖδες [Ἐρμογένους Ῥόδωνος.

<sup>1</sup> Von Richter calls it Karas; Schönborn, Jaras (Yaras). See their reports in Ritter, *l.c.*

3. Large rectangular basis broken on the left. Ht. 1·50, B. 1·8, Letters '03.

Ε ΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΡΟΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΜΟ  
 ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΟΔΩΝ  
 ΝΚΛΙΙ ΕΝ Λ' ΟΣΟΙ ΛΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΕΡΛΟ  
 Π ΝΔΙΑΣΥΝΤΗΚΙΣΣΙ  
 ΔΙΩΝ

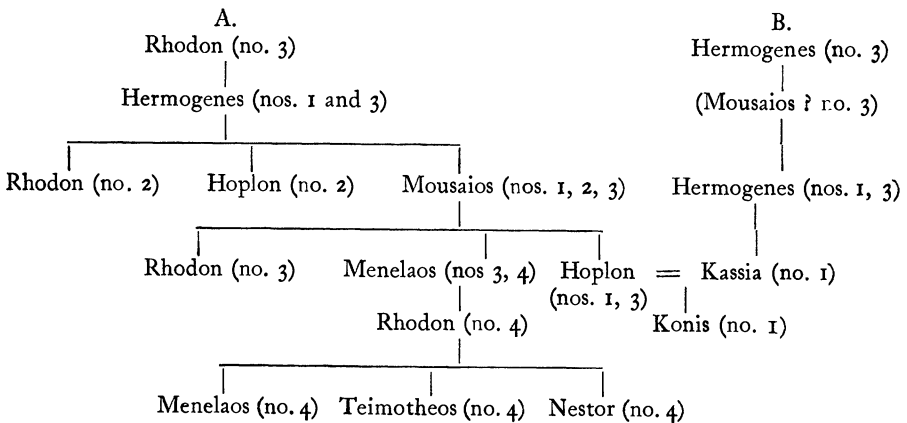
Μουσαῖος] 'Ε[ρ]μογένους 'Ρόδωνος καὶ 'Ερμο-  
 γένης Μουσαίου ?] 'Ερμογένους καὶ Ρόδων  
 καὶ 'Οπλω]ν κ[α]ι [Μ]εν[έ]λ[α]ος οἱ [Μ]ουσαίου 'Ερμο-  
 γένους] Π - - - - ΝΔΙΑ συν τῇ (β)[ά]σ[ε]ι [ἀν-  
 εστήσαμεν'εκ τῶν ἰ]δίω

4. Circular base, built upside down into the village mosque, broken at the top. Present Ht. 1·00, Letters '04.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙΜΟΘΕ  
 ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΣΤΩΡ  
 ΡΟΔΩΝΑ ΜΕΝΕ  
 ΛΑΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕ  
 ΡΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ

Μενέλαος  
 καὶ Τειμόθε-  
 ος καὶ Νέστωρ  
 'Ρόδωνα Μενε-  
 λάου τὸν πατέ-  
 ρα αὐτῶν.

The four inscriptions all deal with the members of two closely connected families the relationship of which would appear to be as follows :



No. 3 was copied by Von Richter and republished in *C.I.G.* iii, 4379. In line 4 the editor conjectured τὸ ἀγαλμ]α συν τῷ[β]ασει, which, as Professor Calder points out to me, is certainly correct, although both von Richter and I read κ. As I have restored the names in no. 3, the dedication is made jointly by Mousaios with his three sons Rhodon, Hoplon, Menelaos, and by Hērmoġenes of family B, whose daughter was married to Hoplon, son of Mousaios (no. 1), the Mousaios of no 2 being held to be identical with Mousaios of nos. 1 and 3. The restored name Μουσαίου which I have introduced into family B in no. 3, line 2, exactly fills the space and is probable on the ground that just as the name Hermogenes is introduced for one generation into family A by intermarriage with the other family, so the Mousaios of nos. 1, 2, and 3 was named after members of family B, although the name is not otherwise recorded. From the recurrence of the family name Rhodon in no. 4, it is probable that Menelaos of nos. 3 and 4 are identical.

The interest of these inscriptions lies in the close relations maintained by the family, as recorded for two generations, with the people of Selge. Although it was a common practice for a decree passed in honour of a foreigner to be engraved in his own town, the site at Ghyaras may nevertheless have been within the territory of Selge. The latter must have included a considerable tract of country, if, as Strabo says,<sup>1</sup> the population was 20,000. If this is the case, the boundary between the Selgians and Homanadeis must be looked for to the east of this point, which would have the effect of confining the Homanadeis on this side to the mountain range which forms the watershed between the Pisidian country and the Trogitis valley.<sup>2</sup>

5. Basis in form of an architrave, ornamented above with egg and dart pattern and leaves. Slightly broken below, but the inscription is complete and well preserved. Ht. .54, B. 1.05, Letters .035.

Ν Ε Σ Τ Ω Ρ

ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑ ΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΤΕΙΜΟ  
ΘΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΥΘΕ ΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ

Νέστωρ

Ουαλερία Τειμοθέου Τειμό-  
θεον Νουθέως τὸν πατέρα

6. The ruins on the platform contained inscribed epistyle fragments from two buildings at least, the two largest fragments, each from different buildings, being engraved :

(a) . . τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τῶ[ν] ἰδίων . . .

(b) . . . ω]ν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνεστ[η]σ . . .

From Ghyaras the road runs northwards by way of the Tchai Boghaz to Tachtaly Kuyu (1½ hours), where it divides, the road followed by Schönborn and Von Richter going NNW. to Budamia and Beishehir, the other running slightly east of north by way of the Tekke Beli to Simiun, a small village lying at the foot of the Zinda Dagh (Zindan in Kiepert), 4½ hours from Ghyaras. A find of gold coins in the neighbourhood had recently been reported to the Caimakam of Akseki, but he had failed to get hold of them, nor did

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xii, p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* p. 560. Συναφεῖς δ' εἰσὶ τούτοις (the Homanadeis) οἱ τε ἄλλοι Πισίδοι καὶ οἱ Σελγεῖς, ὅπερ εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν Πισιδῶν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεόν αὐτῶν (i.e. the Pisidians) μέρος τὰς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Ταύρου κατέχει, τίνες δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Σίδης καὶ Ἀσπένδου Παμφυλικῶν πόλεων κατέχουσι γεώλοφα χῶρια ἐλαιόφυτα πάντα, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ

τούτων ἤδη ὄρεινά, Κατεννεῖς, ἄμοροι Σελγεῦσι καὶ Ὀμοναδεῦσι, Σαγαλασσεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐντος τὰ πρὸς τῇ Μιλυάδι. i.e. the western frontier of the Homanadeis touched that of the Selgians in its northern part, in its southern part that of the Katennēis, who, if Polybius (v. 73) is right in saying that they could put 3,000 hoplites into the field, must also have occupied a considerable tract (? from the middle waters of the Melas to the Haidar Dagh).

I see any in the hands of the villagers. From Simiun it is a four hours' climb over a shoulder of the Zinda Dagh, the pass being known as the Yelidje Beli. Near the top is a small green plain, the Irmassyn Yaila. After a two hours' descent, the last part of which is extremely steep, the level is reached, and Seidi-shehir is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours from the top.

Seidi-shehir had hitherto yielded no ancient remains, and the whole of the town is modern. I saw, however, the two following inscriptions:

7. Square basis upside down and broken below and on the right, used as the well-head of a private house. Measurements were unfortunately not recorded.

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ  
 ΟΥ ΑΣΛ Δ' ΩΝ ΕΤΕ  
 ΜΗΣ ΤΕΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ  
 ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟ  
 ΘΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ

ὁ δῆμος  
 Οὐα[σα]δ[έ]ων ἐτε[ί-  
 μης[εν τὸ] τέτ[α]ρτο[ν]  
 τειμητῆν] διὰ βί[ο]υ  
 θεὸν σεβαστὸ[ν]

Although the face of the stone was much worn, the space in line 4 seemed to have been caused by an intentional erasure. Domitian is called τειμητῆς διηνεκής (= *censor perpetuus*) at Phaselis (*I.G. Rom.* iii, 755), and τε]ειμητῆς διὰ βίου, as restored in an inscription of Myra (*J.H.S.* xxxiv, p. 27).

Vasada has been located at the Kestel Dagh, some 10 miles to the NE. of Seidishehir across the Kizil Irmak.<sup>1</sup>

8. The second inscription from Seidi-shehir was above a rude banqueting scene of four figures, two of whom were reclining. The stone was partly buried in a garden in front of the barracks. Very rude lettering '04, and much worn.

ΦΙΛΟΔΕΣΠΟΙΓΟΣ  
 ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΜΝΗ

In the first line perhaps — — — φ]ιλοδ[έ]σπό<ι>[τ]ος — — — the relief in that case being a dedication by a slave or freedman to his son.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* ix, p. 266. I have not seen the report by Jünther, whose discoveries are cited.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF SERVILIUS ISAURICUS AGAINST THE PIRATES.

A CORRECTION.

In my notes on Inscription no. 3, published on page 54 of this volume of the *Journal*, I inadvertently quoted Professor Calder as approving the restoration τὸ ἄγαλμα σὺν τῇ (β)ἄσ[ε]ι adopted by the first editor in *C.I.G.* iii, 4379. Professor Calder's approval extended only to the reading (β)ἄσ[ε]ι. The restoration which he proposes :

οἱ [M]ουσαίου Ἑρμο-  
γένους] π[αῖδες τὸ]ν Δία σὺν τῇ (β)ἄσ[ε]ι κ.τ.λ.

is clearly the correct one.

He writes regarding no. 2 : ' Perhaps read :

— — — — (accusative) — — — —  
κατὰ τὰς δοθείσας αὐτοῖς τει[μάς (*leaf*)  
ὑπὸ τῆς Σελγέων πόλεως τῆς [λαμπρο-  
τάτ(ης) [ἔτέ]λε[σαν] τοὺς δὲ ἀνδριάντας κ.τ.λ.'

He further points out that no. 8 (from Seidi-shehir) was copied by Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, no. 218, at Orta Kara Viran, some hours distant. This makes it certain that no. 7 (also from Seidi-Shehir) is a migrant, as was to be expected.

H. A. O.