

SPACE, LANDSCAPES AND
SETTLEMENTS IN BYZANTIUM

Publishers

Digital Clusterproject “Digitising Patterns of Power
(DPP): Peripheral Mountains in the Medieval World”
(Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Long-Term Project “Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB)”
(Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Akademiska knjiga, Novi Sad

© Mihailo St. Popović

© Andreas Külzer

© Akademiska knjiga, Novi Sad, 2017.

ISBN 978-86-6263-191-6

SPACE, LANDSCAPES AND SETTLEMENTS IN BYZANTIUM

Studies in Historical Geography
of the Eastern Mediterranean

Presented to
JOHANNES KODER

Andreas Külzer – Mihailo St. Popović (eds.)



DIGITISING
PATTERNS OF POWER

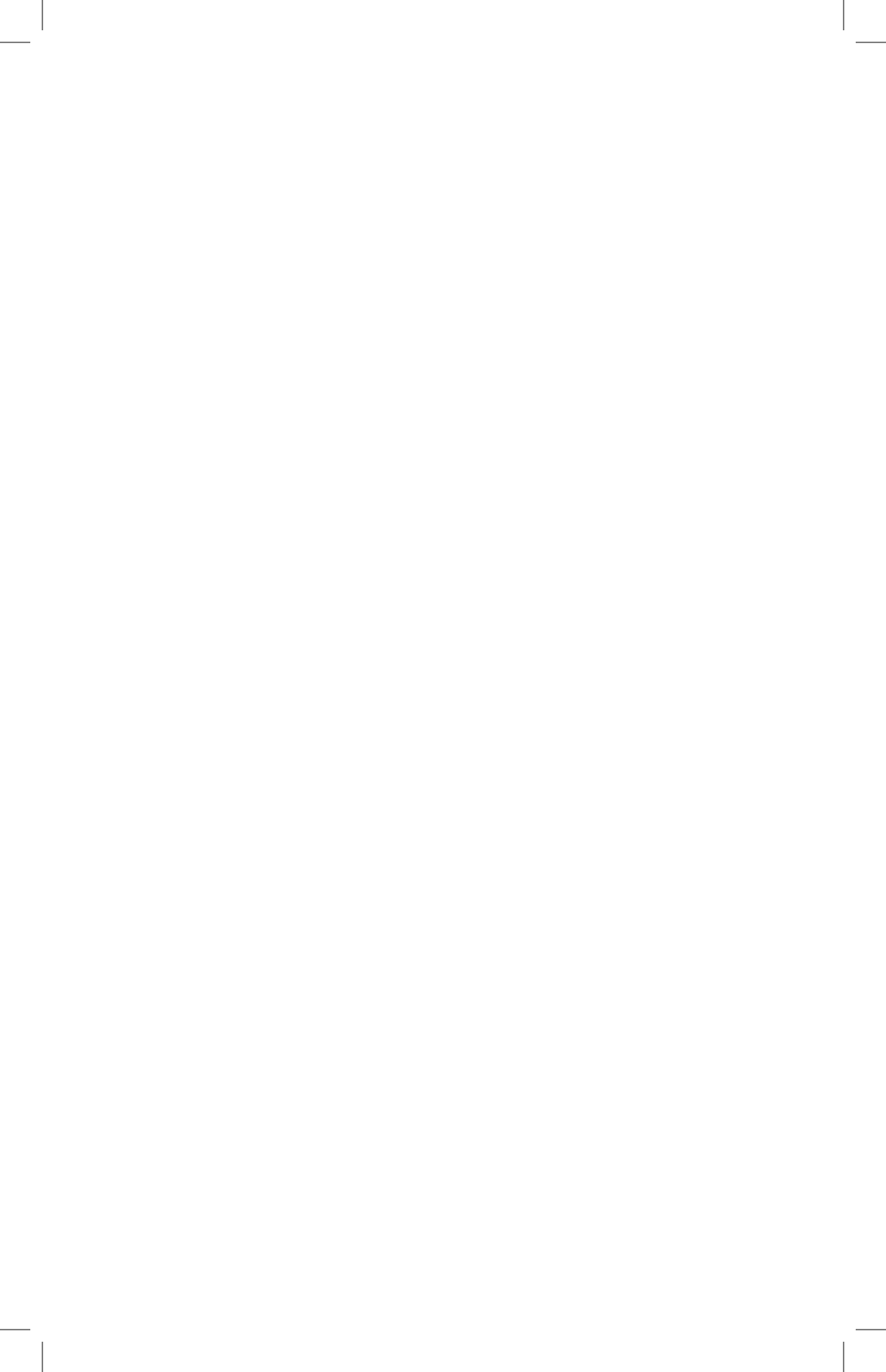


AKADEMSKA
KNJIGA



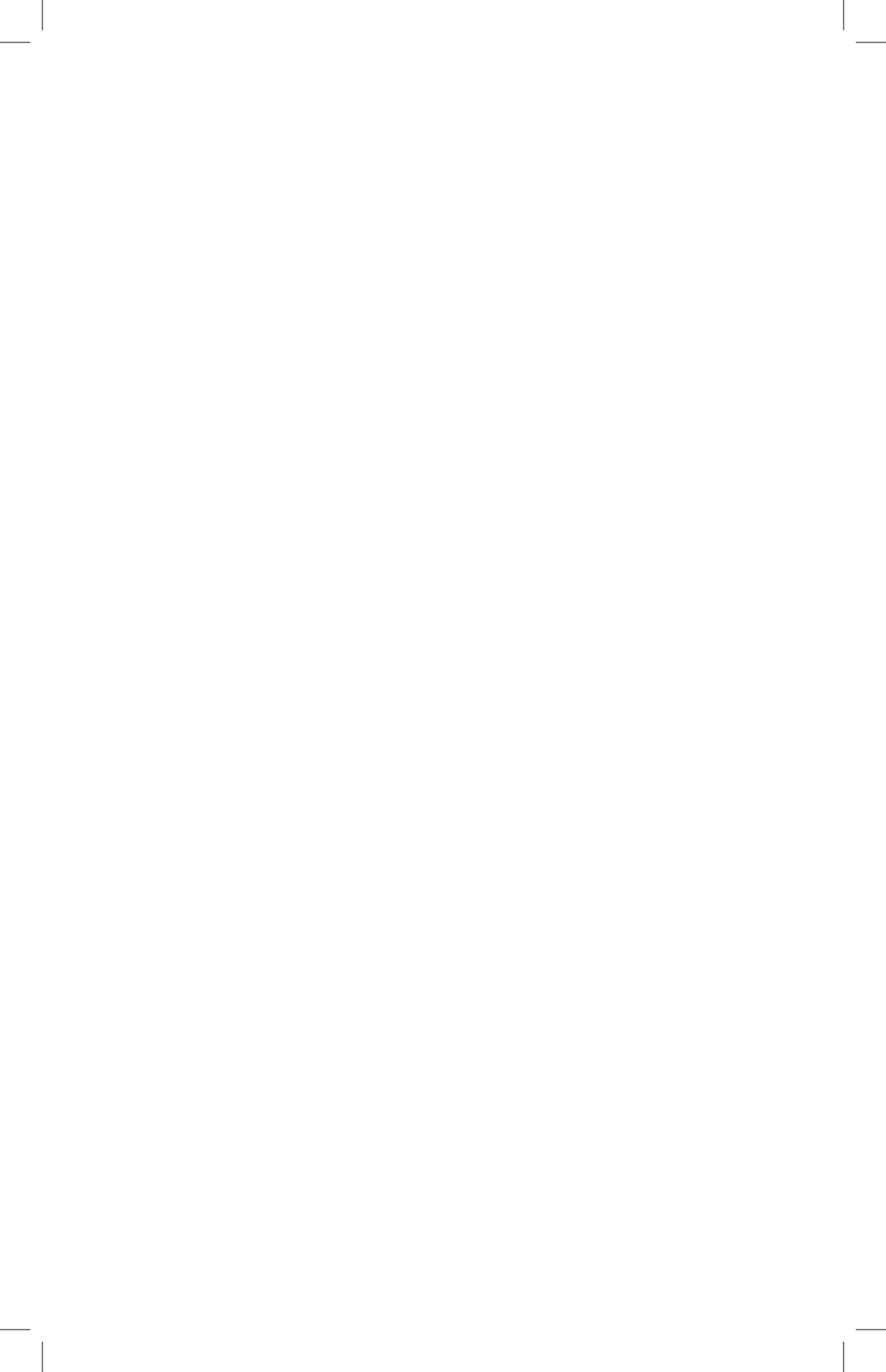
TABULA
IMPERII BYZANTINI

VIENNA – NOVI SAD
2017





Johannes Koder



CONTENTS

I

HALDON, JOHN

The First Austrian ‘Space’-Man? 13

II

ARNAUD, PASCAL

Playing Dominoes with the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*
The Description of Syria: Sources, Compilation,
Historical Topography 15

III

BELKE, KLAUS

Bithynien und Hellespont in der *Tabula Peutingeriana* 51

IV

DAN, ANCA

Die heiligen Kaystros und Kilbis im Byzanz
der Makedonischen Zeit: Anmerkungen zum
Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 247 Fol. 18r–v 75

V

FILIPOSKI, TONI

The *Via Egnatia*, Ohrid and the First Crusade
(1096–1097) according to Western Sources 113

VI

GEUS, KLAUS

‘Alexander’ and ‘Caesar’ in a Middle
Persian Text: Interpreting Some Names
in the *Šahrestānīha ī Ērānšahr* 131

VII

GJUZELEV, VASIL

Бележки за някои технически сполуки,
нововъведения и други постижения на
средновековните Българи (IX–XV век) 145

VIII

HILD, FRIEDRICH

Die Katalanische Weltkarte des Abraham

Cresques von ca. 1375 und die Küste Kariens 159

IX

JACOBS, INE

Security and Insecurity at Sagalassos:

A Short Evaluation of Two Late Fortification Systems 179

X

KÜLZER, ANDREAS

Streifzüge durch das Tal des Kaÿstrios

(Küçük Menderes): Historisch–geographische

Impressionen aus Westanatolien 195

XI

LADSTÄTTER, SABINE

Ephesos im 11. Jahrhundert:

Eine archäologische Bestandsaufnahme 215

XII

LILCHIKJ ADAMS, VIKTOR

The Visual Communication System of the

Early Byzantine Castles along the *Via Axia*

in the Republic of Macedonia in the 6th Century AD 237

XIII

NIEWÖHNER, PHILIPP

Das Rätsel der anatolischen Kreuzsteine:

Evidenz für Kirche und Mönchtum als Faktoren

der byzantinischen Siedlungsgeographie? 251

XIV

PÜLZ, ANDREAS

Zur Ikonographie der sogenannten

Kleinasiatischen Pilgerampullen 265

XV

SAYAR, MUSTAFA H.

- Historische Geographie des Gebietes um den
Lagunensee bei Büyükçekmece im westlichen
Territorium von Konstantinopel 283

XVI

SCHMID, DAVID – POPOVIĆ, MIHAILO ST. – BREIER, MARKUS

- From the *Via Egnatia* to Prilep, Bitola and Ohrid:
a Medieval Road Map based on
Written Sources, Archaeological Remains and GIScience . . 289

XVII

SCHREINER, PETER

- Konstantinopel: Kaiserhof und Stadt 319

XVIII

SOUSTAL, PETER

- Mosaiksteine zur historischen Toponymie
Makedoniens in spätbyzantinischer und
frühosmanischer Zeit: Zum Beitrag der osmanischen
Steuerurkunden besonders des 16. Jahrhunderts 349

XIX

TOK, EMINE

- Arvalya Basilica 373

XX

VEIKOU, MYRTO – BEIHAMMER, ALEXANDER

- ‘Spatial’ Identities: Literary Spaces and Human
Agencies in Byzantine Smyrna through the Cartulary
of Lembos Monastery (End of 12th–13th Centuries) 385

- JOHANNES KODER – LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 407

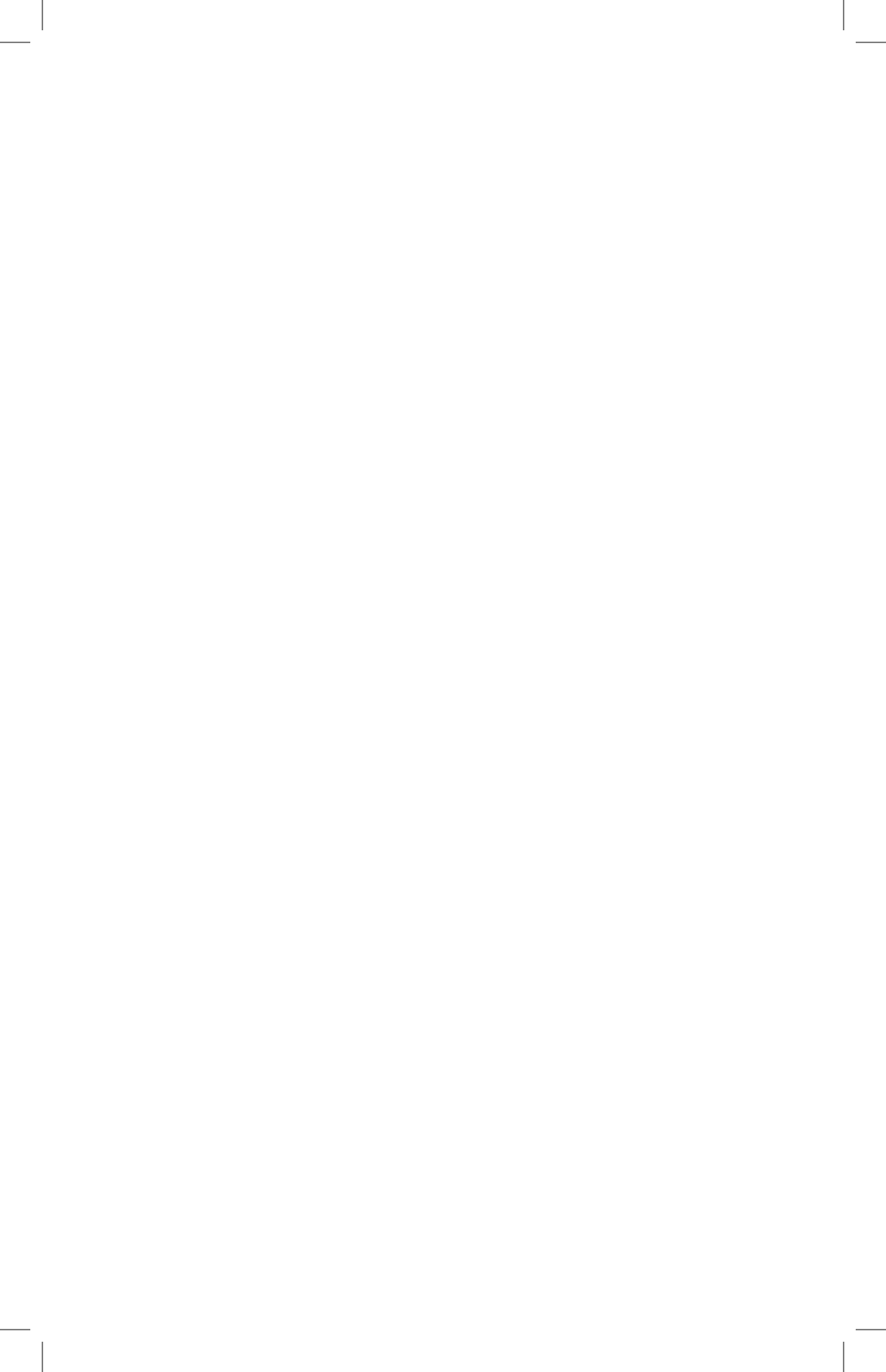
- LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS 437

- ILLUSTRATIONS 441



SPACE, LANDSCAPES
AND SETTLEMENTS
IN BYZANTIUM

*Studies in Historical Geography
of the Eastern Mediterranean*



II

PASCAL ARNAUD

PLAYING DOMINOES WITH THE *STADIASMUS MARIS MAGNI*

The Description of Syria: Sources, Compilation, Historical Topography¹

The so-called *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* is a major source for historical topography, but its story is actually far more complex than most of the scholars that are using it often imagine. It is known by a codex unicus of the mid Xth century kept by Constantine Lascaris when he escaped from Constantinople². This manuscript contains an updated version of Hippolytus' *Chronicon*, and the *Diamerismos*, whose exegetic purpose was bridging the gap between the geography and genealogies of the Genesis and the geography and people of the early Third century AD. The *Diamerismos* is followed in the manuscript by the so-called *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*. Its title, wrote twice in the manuscript, is actually ΣΤΑΔΙΑΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ. The introduction of the *Stadiasmus* links it directly to the *Diamerismos*, and seems to make it a part of Hippolytus' *Chronicon*. Cuntz had already noticed that the style of this introduction is the same as that of other introductions not only in the *Diamerismos*, but also in other treatises as-

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC grant agreement n° 339123.

² Pérez Martín, Inmaculada, Chronography and Geography in Tenth Century Constantinople: The Manuscript of the Stadiasmus (Madrid, BN, Mss / 4701), *Geographia Antiqua* 25 (2016), 79–97.

signed to Hippolytus³. Historians of early Christian literature now widely accept that the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* was part of the *Diamerismos*, and therefore of Hippolytus' *Chronicon*, published late 234 or early 235. They also do consider its insertion in the *Chronicon* consistent with the theological project of Hippolytus⁴. There is no trace in the whole *Stadiasmus* neither of any Christian reference nor of any Byzantine addition. All the evidence found in this booklet clearly belongs to earlier periods. The latest dat-

³ Cuntz, Otto, Abhandlung über den 'Stadiasmus Maris Magni', in: Andreas Bauer (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hippolytos im Matritensis 121*. Leipzig 1906 (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* N.F. 14), 243–276, quoting *Comm. ad Daniel*, 1.1 (ed. G. N. Bonwetsch und H. Achelis, *Hyppolitus Werke 1: Exegetische und Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte]*. Leipzig 1891), 2–3; *De Christo et Antichristo* 1.1. (3 Bontwesch/Achelis); *In Omn. Haeres. X 30.5* (ed. P. Wendland, *Hyppolitus Werke 3: Refutatio omnium haeresium [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte]*. Leipzig 1916, 1–4). For other parallels between Hippolytus and the *Stadiasmus*, see Arnaud, Pascal, Un illustre inconnu: Le 'Stadiasme de la Grande Mer', *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 2017 (in print). We shall not consider here the validity of the hypothesis of the possible existence of two distinct writers behind the name of Hippolytus (Nautin, Pierre, *Hippolyte et Josipe. Contribution à l'histoire de la littérature chrétienne du troisième siècle*. Paris 1947 (*Études et textes pour l'histoire du dogme de la Trinité, 1*). Many have argued against it in the last decades.

⁴ Altomare, Bianca-Maria, Géographie et cosmographie dans l'Antiquité Tardive: la tradition grecque et les modèles latins, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 391/1 (2013), 27; Andrei, Osvalda, Spazio geografico, etnografia ed Evangelizzazione nella *Synagoge* di Ippolito, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 11/2 (2007), 221–278; Ingelbert, Hervé, *Interpretatio Christiana: les mutations des savoirs, cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie, histoire, dans l'antiquité chrétienne, 30–630 après J.-C.* Paris 2001 (*Collection des Études augustiniennes. Série Antiquité*, 166), 125–159; Scott, James M., *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees*. Cambridge 2002, 135–158.

ed evidence is the mention of Caesarea Maritima (§272) founded by Herod the Great under Augustus, but no later foundation or renaming is mentioned. In entire areas, places renamed or founded after the Roman conquest are entirely missing. Here or there, one even finds traces of names that mirror earlier periods, sometimes as old as the late IVth century at the latest⁵. We are therefore facing a jigsaw puzzle of elements from various periods, whose latest contents are not later than Augustus, inserted by Hippolytus in his *Chronicon* in the late Severian period.

Unfortunately, the history and genesis of this text, mainly used as evidence for the scope of reconstructing historical geography, has been little discussed. Before using the preserved text as evidence, it is absolutely necessary to understand the process of its genesis, the way it has been compiled for good or evil, after various sources, sometimes misunderstood by compilers and copyists, with great lots of misspellings and/or phonetic spellings. All these elements make this text everything but a self-evident document. Distances, place-names and details all are suspect and require further investigation. Eventually, it happens that we learn more about the text from its mistakes than from the valuable information it generally also contains.

Often difficult or puzzling, sometimes poorly understandable, it has been widely corrected not only by ancient compilers and copyists, but also (and even more) by modern editors, especially by Müller⁶. He has corrected place-names to make them fit with their supposed stereotypic

⁵ Arnaud, *Un illustre inconnu*.

⁶ Müller, Karl, *Geographi Graeci Minores* 1. Paris 1855, 427–514, whose numbering is being used in this article. This edition is based on many misreadings of the manuscript. A better edition is Helm, Rudolf, *Hippolytus Werke. IV: Die Chronik*. Leipzig 1929 (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 36). This is based on Cuntz critical apparatus and comments (Cuntz, *Abhandlung*). References to the numbering of paragraphs of Helm's edition are identified by the letter H in this article.

form, as he corrected distances to make them fit with the alleged location of the places they were relating to. Entire paragraphs have been added to fit with the idea Müller and his later followers had of what a periplus had to be. This highly corrected text is usually the one that scholars involved in historical geography use and follow, sometimes without the clear consciousness that the text they are using is not at all the original one. The reader will find in appendix the genuine text given by the manuscript for the geographical section under examination in these pages.

I have chosen to focus here on the case study of Syria, for this chaotic section poses a very high number of problems. These arise both from the text itself and from the attempt to reconstruct on its ground a consistent historical topography of the area it describes. For that reason, this section has a paradigmatic value for understanding the issues one faces and the methods to be developed in order to understand and use this text hopefully in a more clever and better way.

1. The Jump from Utica to Karnè and the Question of the Sources of the *Stadiasmus*

One of the most puzzling features of the *Stadiasmus* is a huge jump between Utica in Africa and Carne on the borders of Phoenicia and Syria Coele, as if the two places were just following each other in geographical order. Although surprising, this huge mistake fits perfectly with the text of Hippolytus' introduction as given by the manuscript. It is therefore older than the insertion of the *Stadiasmus* in the *Chronicon*. Hippolytus thought that the sequence of the places named between Alexandria and the Bosphorus was situated on a continuous line, while it actually ran first westwards from Alexandria to Utica, before jumping thence to Northern Phoenicia and so on until Miletus, when the last preserved quaternion stops. This mistake is also prepared by the regional titles given by the manuscript to the regional sections: all the entries between Leptiminus and Paltos actually belong to one and a same

area called Φοινίκη. The area between Lokroi (probably the South Italian city, given by the source as the point of origin of a distance to Africa, misplaced and wrongly ascribed to Africa by the compiler) and Thapsus was assigned to Σύρτις μικρά. The title Λουπὸν Φοινίκη has been highlighted by the layout of the page with respect to most other titles: it is preceded by a cross and is written at the top of the folio 70v. Utica in Africa and Carne in Phoenicia both did belong to an area called Φοινίκη, which was both the name given by Greek historians like Diodorus Siculus to the territory of Carthage,⁷ and the name of Phoenicia proper. Likely, before Hippolytus inserted the *Stadiasmus* in his *Chronicon*, a compiler stuck together two volumina whose title indicated that one ended with Phoenicia, and the other started with Phoenicia. However, the same name actually referred to two different, homonymous countries. The number of mistakes suggests that the end and beginning of each volume may have been poorly legible by the time when the *Stadiasmus* was being compiled.

This jump seems very old in the story of the text, as pointed out above. Nevertheless, at some older step in the tradition of the source used by the compiler of the *Stadiasmus*, a section started at Ptolemaïs (Acre) and ended at Paltos for the distance between the two places is given in the summary that ends the section⁸ and precedes the title of the following regional section, as usual in the *Stadiasmus*.

With Paltos, which belonged to the Paralia of Aradus,⁹ Phoenicia would end. Nevertheless, in another passage,¹⁰ Strabo, following Simonides (557/6–468/67 BC), considered

⁷ 4.23, 3; 10.18.6; 14.46.2 etc.

⁸ 132 Müller = 383 Helm: Οἱ πάντες ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος παρὰ γῆν παραπλέοντες † εἰσελθεῖν† εἰς Πάλτον στάδ(ιοι) β.

⁹ Strab. *Geog.* 16.2.12 (ed. H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, 7 [*The Loeb Classical Library*, 241]. Harvard/London, 1930), 254.

¹⁰ *Geog.* 15.3.2 (158 Jones): περὶ Πάλτων τῆς Συρίας παρὰ Βαδᾶν ποταμόν, ὡς εἶρηκε Συμωνίδης.

Paltos as part of Syria. It has been assumed that the title Syria Coele would echo an administrative change. The title that appears in the *Stadiasmus* is actually the only ground to support the idea that the limit described by the *Stadiasmus* would have been the administrative boundary between Phoenicia on one hand and Syria Coele on the other hand¹¹. But this ground is not a firm one. One thing only is certain: regional boundaries one does find in the *Stadiasmus* are not the provincial limits of the later Roman Empire. This is true of Syria as well, for in the Later Roman Empire, Rhosos and Alexandria kat'Isson were part of Cilicia Secunda and Syria Coele did not exist any longer as a province. A wider look at the rest of the *Stadiasmus*, especially Africa, shows that the regional divisions do not follow the provinces but rather fit with non-administrative geographical entities. Both Strabo (16.2.12) and Ptolemy¹² placed the limit of *Syria Coele* on the Eleutherus river (Nahr-el-Kebir), South Balaneia, while Pliny the Elder¹³ who probably misunderstood or reported in a confusing and misleading way a source that placed this limit on the Eleutherus River as well, placed it at Aradus. He actually considered Aradus as part of Phoenicia,¹⁴ while Ptolemy

¹¹ Rey-Coquais, Jean-Paul, *Arados et sa Pérée aux époques grecque, romaine et Byzantine*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth. Paris 1974, 29f. and 117f., rightly challenged by Poul Jørgen Riis–Ingolf Thuesen–John Lund–Thomas Riis, *Topographical Studies in the Gabla Plain*. Copenhagen 2004.

¹² *Geog.* 5.15.4 (ed. A. Stückelberger and G. Graßhoff, *Ptolemaios, Handbuch der Geographie*. Basel 2006, 560f.) who ignores *Carne*.

¹³ *HN* 5.79 (ed. D. Detlefsen, *Die geographischen Bücher (II, 242-VI-Schluss) der Naturalis Historia des C. Plinius Secundus [Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie 9]*. Berlin 1904, 106).

¹⁴ *HN* 5.78 (Detlefsen, 105).

listed this among Syrian islands¹⁵. The same Pliny, following a source very close to that of the *Stadiasmus*, as we shall soon see, places Carne, Balanea, Paltos, Gabala in Syria. Paltos still is listed among the cities of Syria Coele by Athanasius of Alexandria in 362,¹⁶ and again in the early VIth century by Hierocles¹⁷. Stephanus of Byzantium alone places in Phoenicia Βαλανέαι¹⁸ and Κάρνη¹⁹. The latter's form is the one given by the *Stadiasmus* and by Pliny, following Ister of Cyrene a writer of III^d century BC²⁰. The sources he was using suggest that Stephanus echoed if not the *Stadiasmus* itself, the tradition this relied on. This is true to some extent only. Stephanus in fact places Πάλτος in Syria,²¹ but locates Γάβαλα either in Phoenicia,²² following Hecataeus or in Syria, following Strabo. All three places (Carne, Balanea, Paltos) listed before the title introducing Syria Coele by the *Stadiasmus* were considered as part of Syria Coele by Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy, but were part of the Peraïa of Aradus according to Strabo (15.3.2), and could be for that reason counted as part of Phoenicia by older sources as well as by some fuzzy reader of the periplus used by Pliny, a source apparently very close to that of the *Stadiasmus*, as the reader shall see soon. This

¹⁵ *Geogr.* 5.15.27 (Stückelberger–Graßhoff, 570).

¹⁶ *Tomus ad Antiochenos* (Migne, Jacques-Paul, *Patrologia Graeca* 26. Paris 1887, 808, 19): Κυμάτιος Παλτοῦ Κοιλῆς Συρίας.

¹⁷ *Synecd.* 711 (ed. A. Burckardt, *Hieroclis Synecdemus*. Leipzig 1893, 38).

¹⁸ *Ethnika* (ed. A. Meineke, *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika*. Berlin 1849), 156, 22–24 sv Βαλανέαι.

¹⁹ *Ethnika* 360, 15–20 (Meineke) sv. Κάρνη.

²⁰ Jacoby, Felix, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 3, *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*. - B. Autoren über einzelne Städte (Länder). Leiden 1954, 334F76.

²¹ *Ethnika* 498, 10–11 (Meineke) sv. Πάλτος.

²² *Ethnika* 191, 19–23 (Meineke) sv. Γάβαλα.

periplus ignored the renaming of Balanea under Claudius, while Pliny lists the renamed city (*HN* 5.82 [Detlefsen 107.1]: Leucadios), among the cities of the interior. This example illustrates quite well how many various traditions that could contradict each other could be collected and assembled by a single author and how important it is to turn back to a renewed approach of *Quellenforschung* for a better understanding of the evidence.

As far as the boundaries of Syria Coele are concerned, the testimony of the *Stadiasmus* is not only entirely isolated. It is also based only on a title whose origin is to be found in a source whose date is older than the compilation used by the *Stadiasmus*. This is a periplus that provided the distance between Ptolemais and Paltos, and is older than the jump between Utica and Carne, for Ptolemais was located in the section that disappeared in this jump. For that reason, it is difficult to use it as a clue for any change in the administrative boundaries of Syria Coele under the Roman Empire, and no chronological information can be driven from the mention of that boundary. It seems more important that the jump stops exactly where Phoenicia would end, according to all ancient geographers. The inconsistency between the title and the limits of the jump through space is just illustrative of the somewhat chaotic way various sources have been compiled.

A look at the information relating to Carne shows that its content is nothing but a mere doublet of that of Utica that precedes. Even the unusual distance of 24 stades is the same. It finds its origin in the conversion in stades of 3 Roman miles of the standard value of 8 stades each²³. The style and contents of this description are also typical of the style of the description of Africa, Crete and Cyprus in the *Stadiasmus*. The end of the jump actually coincides with a full change in the style and contents of description. In fact,

²³ Arnaud, Pascal, De la durée à la distance: l'évaluation des distances maritimes chez les géographes anciens, *Histoire et Mesure* 8/3-4 (1993), 225–247.

significant variations in the descriptive form of the periplus do illustrate that the *Stadiasmus* is the compilation of a small number of sources whose formal characteristics can be identified²⁴.

One, the ‘Periplus A’, uses the formula ‘From A to B, n stades. It is such kind of object and has (ἔχει) this or that feature’. It is characterized by the special attention it pays to water supply and port infrastructure, coastal towers and pagan sanctuaries. It mentions and fully describes dangers, providing instructions (using the imperative form) to manage these in the safest way. It uses a proper 12-rhumb system of orientation (the association of the wind followed by a ship and of the part of the sky the ship was directed to), that is not Timosthenes’ one. It provides the prevailing pattern of the descriptions between Alexandria and Utica, and in both periploi of Cyprus and Crete. In the description of Syria, the first item – the description of Carne – only strictly follows the descriptive pattern of A.

Entirely different form and contents do characterize another source of *Stadiasmus*, or ‘Periplus B’. Its basic descriptive structure reads as follows: ‘From A to the object of such nature whose name (καλούμενος) is B, n stades’. §129. (378 H) provides us with the standard structure of this source: Ἀπὸ Καρνῶν ἐπὶ χωρίων ἐπ’ ἀκρωτήριον καλούμενον Βαλανέας στάδιοι σ’. Such is also the case of §136, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144 and 145 Müller. The arrangement of words, including the use of καλούμενος, is very similar to the one that appears in the so-called Papyrus Gurob (col.II. 20)²⁵.

²⁴ Arnaud, Pascal, Notes sur le ‘Stadiasme de la Grande Mer’: La Lycie et la Carie du Stadiasme, *Geographia Antiqua* 18 (2009), 165–193; Arnaud, Pascal, Notes sur le ‘Stadiasme de la Grande Mer’ (2): Rose des vents, systèmes d’orientation et Quellenforschung, *Geographia Antiqua* 19 (2010), 157–162. For a more detailed account Arnaud, *Un illustre inconnu*.

²⁵ *P. Petrie* 2.45 and 3 74 a = Wilcken Ulrich, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde* I. Leipzig 1912, 5 nr 1 = Holleaux, Maurice, Remarques sur le Papyrus de Gourob. *Bulletin de correspondance*

It seems to have been quite usual, and was also found in some of the surviving fragments of Menippus, preserved in Marcian's *Epitome*²⁶. Often the nature of the last named place, rather than its name, is repeated in the following section. This source pays attention to cities and sites situated upstream and to navigable rivers and mountains, and uses categories that A ignores (e.g. χωρίον). It does not mention infrastructure, danger or sanctuaries, often uses the dative participle (Periplus A rather uses the nominative). Direct crossings are oriented and follow a very original wind rose²⁷. These include passages whose toponymy echoes that of the reign of Antiochus IV²⁸. This descriptive form characterizes most of the area between Carne and Telmessus.

In the whole description of Syria, §134 (Ἀπὸ Πελλήτων ἐπὶ λιμένα κείμενον ἐπ' αἰγιαλῷ ἔχοντι καθ' αὐτὸν φάραγγα στάδ(ιοι) κ') is the only other passage whose formulation sounds a bit like that of 'Periplus A'. However, it is clearly an interpolated passage relating to a misunderstood place name, as we shall soon see. The introduction of a new descriptive form was probably puzzling for copyists and/or for the compiler who tended to preserve the formulation of Periplus A he was accustomed to and thus generated a special chaos. When the new formula became more familiar to him, roughly after the Pyramus river, the amount of interpolations and the chaotic state of the text decrease altogether.

hellénique 30 (1906), 330–348 = Bilabel, Friedrich, *Die kleineren Historikerfragmente auf Papyrus*. Bonn 1922, 23–29 nr 9.

²⁶ Müller, Karl, *Geographi* 1, 564–572.

²⁷ Arnaud, *Notes* (2).

²⁸ Especially the mention of Antioch on the Pyramus. See Arnaud, Pascal, Mallos, Antioche du Pyrame, Magarsus: toponymie historique et aléas politiques d'un 'hellenistic settlement', in: Roland Oetjen (ed.), *In Memoriam Getzel Cohen* (in print).

It seems that other sources have been used in the description of Syria. In fact, this uses several times the original formula: ‘from A to the promontory on which lies B’. This is sometimes combined with the expression used by Periplus B and is probably older than Periplus B. This original expression, altogether with other details, indicates that this source, or a source derived from it, was also used by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.79). The parallels between Pliny the Elder and the *Stadiasmus* are so numerous that they necessarily belong to the same tradition although some differences suggest that they are not directly depending upon the same source. Κάρναι (§128), is phonetically identical to the form Καρνῆ given by Ister of Cyrene (Jaoby 334F76) and Pliny (Carne oppidum, *HN* 5.79), while Strabo and Ptolemy, following Artemidorus of Ephesus used the form ΚάρνοϚ. Both form was the transliteration of the Phoenician QRN, which still is the name of the place (Qarnûn). §137 (ἄκραν ἐφ’ ἧς κεῖται πόλις Λαοδίχεια) finds its exact translation in Pliny’s *promunturium in quo Laodicea*; Χαλαδρόπολις (§144) is known only in the *Stadiasmus* and in Pliny, who names it Charadrus. The first place mentioned after Utica by the *Stadiasmus* is also the one Pliny considered as the first Syrian city, after the boundaries of Phoenicia and Syria. Ῥώσσου Τερδνίας (§151) and the relating Ῥωσσιῶν κόλπος / σκόπελος both mirror Pliny’s Rossii (or Rosssiorum) montes. Even the enigmatic Dipolis (E) or Diospolis (EF) of Pliny (*HN* 5.79) seems to find its origin in the same deformation of Ποσειδίων into Πολιὰ/πόλιν-διον and thence into Diospolis at one hand, and Πολιὰ / Σιδωνία πόλις at the other hand.

Changes in formulation do illustrate the general inconsistency of the composition of the description of Syria, and characterize it as a compilation of sources whose date, scopes and structure were different. A quick overlook at the structure of each of the sections that compose the description of Syria shows their total formal inconsistency. §127–128 show the prevalence of the descriptive patterns of the African section, or Periplus A. On the other hand §129–130 introduce the formula ἀπὸ ... ἐπὶ from cape to

cape, but § 129 alone follows the exact pattern of Periplus B. §131, that follows the same pattern, is probably likely but the misleading re-writing of the description of the shallows (βραχέα or βράχη) that followed the cape named in the previous paragraph. §132 uses ἀπὸ ... εἰς to provide the direct distance between the capes mentioned in §130. The second part of the paragraph is the recapitulative sum of the distance from Ptolemais (in the lost section between Utica and Carne) to Paltos. In other words, this sum provided the reader with the measurement of Phoenicia proper (instead of the Libyan Phoenicia), likely following that of Παλαιστίνη between Rhinocorura and Ptolemais. This sum uses the rarer formula ἐκ... εἰς, used in recapitulative sections only in §57 [302 H] (Οἱ πάντες ὁμοῦ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνιάδος εἰς βερνικίδα στάδιοι ,αρν'), but omits ὁμοῦ, normally present in recapitulative sums that conclude each geographical section. §133-134 again use ἀπὸ ... ἐπὶ.

Then §135–138 again use ἀπὸ ... εἰς, and from time to time the formula and orientation system of Periplus B. They again pay much attention to capes. §139 is partly original in its form and uses a formula that, if corrected, is likely the one originally used in §131: Κάμπαντι τὸ ἀκρωτήριον...); §140–142 use only ἀπὸ ... ἐπὶ while §143–144 use again ἀπὸ ... εἰς. The structure of §144, especially the introduction of καλούμενον δὲ, suggests that everything that follows καλούμενον δὲ is an addition. This likely has been taken from a source that followed the structure of Periplus B. The internal inconsistency is once more obvious: the same place characterized as τόπος at the beginning of the sentence, becomes a πόλις (Χαλαδρόπολις, named Χάραδρον – same as Pliny's Charadrus –) in the second part of the sentence. §145, using the same formula as Periplus B, starts from the place-name mentioned in the second part of the sentence, while §146, that uses another formula, starts from the Κάσιος mountain mentioned in the first part of the sentence, and the τόπος (the ms. reads τρόπος) instead of from the last named point. This clearly illustrates again the difficult combination of two sources or more.

Despite these details, with the exception of §146, the formulation strictly follows the pattern of B in all of the §139 to 148. It is found again up to the Rhossaïōn skopelos, and thence, further in the text, to Antioch on the Pyramus, but disappears from the whole gulf of Issus, East of the Rhossaïōn skopelos. With §151, until the middle of §158, ἀπό ... ἐπί is replaced by ἀπό ... εἰς, and the various forms of the verb καλεῖσθαι disappear from the description until an addition, introduced by δέ, made to §158. Here again, it seems that two sources (or more) have been stuck together: one of these covered the gulf of Issus from the Rhossaïōn skopelos to Mallos. All the area around Rhossos is entirely chaotic. At least three names applied to the same place, as Joannes Moschus makes it clear:²⁹ the ‘mountain of Rhossos’, Mons Πτερύγιον and τὸ Σκόπελον (var. ὁ Σκόπελος / Σκόπελος ὁ Ῥωσσικός / Σκόπελος ὁ Ῥωσσιῶν)³⁰. It seems that the sources brought together by the compiler were using at least two, maybe three of the names two of which included the name of the city of Rhossos, no longer mentioned in the Stadiasmus. This place was famous as the cape that marked the beginning of gulf of Issos. Σκόπελος was then changed into κόλπος, but is preserved in §164,³¹ while the misunderstood various names of the Σκόπελος

²⁹ *Pratum Spirituale* 90–91 = Migne, Jacques-Paul, *Patrologia Graeca* 87.3. Paris 1865, 2948 = Migne, Jacques-Paul, *Patrologia Latina* 74. Paris 1879, 162–164), 90 – ἐπάνω ὄρους Ῥωσοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ λεγόμενον Πτερύγιον, πλησίον τοῦ Πιαπὶ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ εἰς τὸ Σκόπελον / supra Rosum in monte qui dicitur Phterigium et iuxta monasterium abbatis Theodosii in Scopulo. 91 – ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ εἰς τὸ Σκόπελον / in montibus monasterii abbatis Theodosii in Scopulo.

³⁰ According to Joannes Phocas (*Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens grecs*. I. Paris 1875, 529): τὸ ὄρος ἔχει τὸν Σκόπελον, καὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Καύκασον; Külzer, Andreas, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam*. Frankfurt am Main, 1994, 266, 288.

³¹ ἀπό τοῦ Σκοπέλου δὲ μὴ κατακοπιζοντι, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ εὐθείας πλέοντι εἰς Αντιόχ(ειαν).

were giving birth to additional place-names (τὰ Γεώργια §149–150; Πώσσοι Τερδνίας, §151). Interpolated distances have linked these place-names with other places³². As a result, the whole description turned to be entirely chaotic.

One of the sources used in that section, as in the rest of Periplus B, applied the orientation system that is characteristic of Periplus B. The chronological inconsistency of the passages using this system of orientation is obvious. On one hand, they mention Balaneïa, whose name sounds Latin, was missing in Artemidorus' periplus of this area,³³ and does not appear before the age of Augustus, as far as we know; on the other hand, distances oriented in that way are measured across the gulf of Issus between the Rhossaiôn skopelos and Antioch-on-the-Pyramus, whose name replaced for a while that of Mallos under the reign of Antiochus IV and disappeared for ever about 150 BC. The combination of two sources is here again evident, for the names of Mallos and Antioch-on-the-Pyramus never co-existed, and likely referred to one and a same place. These actually do appear as the names of two different places in the *Stadiasmus*.

The analysis of identified and unidentified places may help us understand the impact of the process of compilation of the *Stadiasmus* on its documentary value. So far, most scholars have been reluctant to admit that some places named in the *Stadiasmus* never existed or were unidentified doublets of places named otherwise in the work and rather tried to find a place for each of names found in this work. In fact, historical geography, or the desperate attempt to make sites known through archaeology, and names found in ancient geographers, looks a lot like a dominoes game. Sites hypothetically located are

³² Distances recorded in §150 are those we can infer from Ptolemy's coordinates from the Skopelos to Seleucia and to Rhossos.

³³ Stiehle, Robert, Der Geograph Artemidoros von Ephesos, *Philologus* 11 (1856), 229 fgt 112 = Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* 360.15 (Meineke), sv <Κάρνη>.

located in relation to the location of other sites. Would this location change, the whole chain of hypothetical relating locations changes in turn. Would one name be added to the list of places or withdrawn from it, the entire list is to be re-organized, for the scholar is not facing lists, but rather organized sequences. Any move in these sequences has a domino effect. It is therefore necessary to start with the identified places, some of which have been at long under discussion, and recently identified. The most recent synthesis on historical topography of Syria, vol. 15 of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, although more reliable than any previous synthesis on the historical topography of Syria, unfortunately did not always include these new identifications, especially that of Herakleïa, nor the doubts that arose about the existence of other place-names, such as Diospolis³⁴.

2. The Identified Places

It is no surprise for the scholar accustomed to the ill treatment of place-names in epigraphy, literature and papyri that place-names found in the *Stadiasmus* are sometimes quite different from their alleged stereotypic form. Not only the idea of the existence a stereotypic form of place-names is probably a misleading one, but also the long and complicated tradition of the text has brought it its lot of variant, due to phonetic transcriptions, palaeographic mistakes, or corrections made to the text by its compiler(s) when they were facing a difficulty. Notwithstanding these variations, it is not difficult to recognize a certain number of identified places that are as many milestones for reconstructing historical topography.

Κάρβαι (§127) is Tell Qarnûn, 4 km North modern Tartûs and 4.5 km north the island of Arwad, the ancient

³⁴ Klaus-Peter Todt–Bernd Andreas Vest (eds.), *Syria (Syria Prôtē, Syria Deutera, Syria Euphratēsia)*. Wien 2015 (*Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 15).

Arados³⁵. The form used is not Κάρνος used by Artemidorus of Ephesus, followed by Srabo (16.2.12), but the phonetic spelling of the form Καρνῆ given by Ister of Cyrene in the IIIrd century BC (Jacoby 334F76), by Pliny (Carne oppidum *HN* 5. 79) and Stephanus of Byzantium (360, sv <Κάρνη,>)³⁶.

Βαλανέαι is the modern Banyas. The text of the manuscript is a bit confusing and led modern editors to important corrections. Banyas was actually a city of a certain importance, not a simple place (χωριον), at least under the Roman Empire. Its location on a cape is somewhat surprising for the city was located on the right bank of the river Banias (ancient Kallirhoas). Artemidorus of Ephesus ignore the name and the place itself³⁷. The first dated occurrence of the name is found on coins struck under Augustus under the signature ΒΑΛΑΝΕΩΤΩΝ³⁸. It was then clearly a city. Between AD 46 and 52, it was re-founded under the name of Κλαυδία Λεύκας and stroke coinage under the signature ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ until the reign of Gordian III³⁹. The question whether it existed as a city

³⁵ Lipinski, Edward, *Itineraria Phoenicia*. Louvain 2004 (*Orientalia Leuvenensia Analecta* 127; *Studia Phoenicia* 18), 272–274; Renan, Ernest, *Mission de Phénicie*. Paris 1864, 97, n. 17; Rey-Coquais, *Arados*, 65.

³⁶ Honigmann, Ernst, Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum (Schluß), *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 47/1 (1924), 1–64, nr 244.

³⁷ Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* 360, sv <Κάρνη,> Ἀρτεμίδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ βιβλίῳ φησὶν “ἔστι Κάρνος καὶ συνεχῶς Πάλτος, εἶτα Γάβαλα πόλις”. Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 928–932.

³⁸ Andrew Burnett–Michel Amandry–Pere-Pau Ripollés, *Roman Provincial Coinage 1. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*. London–Paris 1992, nr 4460; Dow, Joseph A., *Ancient Coins through the Bible*. Mustang 2011, 191.

³⁹ Andrew Burnett–Michel Amandry–Ian Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage 2. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*. London–Paris 1999, nr 2036–2038; Michel Amandry–Andrew Burnett, *Roman Pro-*

before Augustus, and under what name, still is a vexata quaestio, as is the question whether a place named Balaneai (transliteration from a Phoenician name or new Latin name?) may have existed there before the emergence of the city. For the *Stadiasmus*, Balaneai is nothing but a cape and the associated place-name (§132). There is so far no ground to support the hypothesis that Λεύκας was the Hellenistic name of the city⁴⁰.

Πάλτος (§132–133) is perfectly identified with ‘Arab al-Mulk and Belda al-Mulk’⁴¹ (*Fig. II-1*). The site was in antiquity situated on the right bank of the river Nahr es-Sinn, that, in ancient times, emptied in the sea south the city, forming a marked cape, and east of it a sheltered area.

Τάλβαι is a misspelling for Γάβαλα, the modern Jablah/Gibleh. Its identification is made certain by the byzantine sources that, since Anna Comnene, give both the Greek and the Arabic name of the place⁴².

ποταμὸν πλωτὸν καλούμενον <--> (In *Periplus B*, proper names follow the participle καλούμενον). Some proper name clearly went lost at some point, whether before or after the compilation. As already pointed out, a common pattern of *Periplus B* is that proper names are not repeated when used as point of departure. It is the case here. The

vincial Coinage 3. From Nerva to Hadrian (AD 98–138). London and Paris 2015, nr 3812.

⁴⁰ Tcherikover, Avigdor, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*. Leipzig 1927, 64f., 67.

⁴¹ Riis, Poul J., Quelques problèmes de la topographie phénicienne: Usnu Paltos Pelléta et les ports de la région, in: Pierre-Louis Gatiér–Bruno Helly–Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (eds.), *Géographie administrative au Proche-Orient. Actes de la table-ronde de Valbonne, 16–18 septembre 1985*. Paris 1988, 315–324; Riis et al., *Topographical Studies; Todt–Vest, Syria*, 1568–1570.

⁴² Grainger, John D., *The Cities of Seleukid Syria*. Oxford 1990, 129; Rey-Coquais, *Arados*, 40 T 90; Benzinger, Immanuel, *Gabala* (5), *RE* 7.1 (1910), 415; Seyrig, Henri, Monnaies hellénistiques, *Revue Numismatique* 6 (1964), 7–67, here 9–28; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1170–1177.

only noteworthy and possibly navigable river between Gibleh and Lattakieh is Nahr-el-Khebir, although its current mouth is distant only 1.6 nautical miles from the cape of Lattakieh, ras-Ziaret.

Λαοδίκεια or Laodikeia-on-the Sea is the modern Lattakieh. It was founded in the year 300 BC and was built on the cape known as ras-Ziaret⁴³.

Ἡράκλεια (§138) is Ras-Ibn-Hani. The location of Ἡράκλεια has been a matter of discussion during decades, but is now certain since a weight of the city has been discovered during excavations on the site of Ras Ibn Hani, close to the city wall⁴⁴.

Λιμὴν καλούμενος Λευκός (§139–140): The ‘White harbour’ is not named by other ancient sources, but it may be located without hesitation at Marsa al Beida. This has always been called ‘White harbour’: it is the ‘Port Blanc’ of the Crusades and the ‘Marsa al Beida’ – ‘White harbour’ again – of the Arabic. It already was the port of Ugarit, and took its name from the white cliffs that border it⁴⁵.

κόμη καλουμένη Πασιερία (§140–141): Medieval portulans (show the evolution of the place name, which is called Pasera, Passera, Fexero, Faxere, Φερέσιχ ου Φέρσια, and in modern times Farsi, Honigmann thought this was ras-el Fasri (or Fasuri) while Dussaud preferred Mina el-Fasri, just North cape ras-el Fasri. Aliquot recently showed that

⁴³ Cohen, Getzel M., *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*. Berkeley 2006, 111–116; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1429–1449.

⁴⁴ Gatier, Pierre-Louis, Héraclée-sur-Mer et la géographie historique de la côte syrienne, *Studi Ellenstici* 20 (2008), 269–283; outdated Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1107, 1214, 1261f.

⁴⁵ Gatier, *Héraclée*; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1020f.; Saadé, Gabriel, Le port d’Ougarit, in: Marguerite Yon–Maurice Sznycer–Pierre Bordreuil (eds.), *Le Pays d’Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.–C., Actes du colloque International, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993 = Rivista degli studi orientali* 11 (1995), 211.

both were true and that the site actually occupies most of the bay of Minet al Farsi⁴⁶.

Ποσειδίου (§142–143): it is cape Ras-el-Bazit/Basit. The site has been occupied without interruption since the Bronze Age. It was the name of the cape and of the city settled on it; the latter stroke coinage since the last quarter of the IVth century BC. The city flourished during the early Hellenistic period when the mole of the port was built. The identification is confirmed by the medieval names of cape, Pocin, Pomcin, Polcinum, and Polzino⁴⁷.

τὸ Κάσιον (§144): Mount Casius is the Djebel el-Aqra', south the mouth of the Orontes river and south Nymphaion Strabo (16.2.8)⁴⁸. Mina el Qesab and qara Douran would be the limit southern limit of mount Cassius. The advice not to sail along this mountain closer than 20 stades (or 2 nm) is puzzling and likely interpolated, for waters are deep and safe along the coast.

Χαλαδρόπολις, Χάλαδρος (§144–145): The two mentions of this place name are entirely inconsistent. It is mentioned under two forms. The first one, Χαλαδρόπολις, seems to make it a city, while it has been previously described as a mere place or τόπος. The second one, given in the genitive, suggests a nominative Χάλαδρος and is the same as Pliny's Charadrus. Pliny also considers it a city

⁴⁶ Aliquot, Julien, Une mosaïque inscrite de la Syrie côtière et le site de Pasieria, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 172 (2010), 151–154; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1573; Dussaud, René, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*. Paris 1927 (*Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique* 4), 418; Honigmann, *Historische... (Schluß)* 29, nr 360; Honigmann, Ernst, *Syria* (3), *RE*, 4 A2 (1932), 1549–1727 1932, col. 1689;

⁴⁷ Rey, Emmanuel G., Les périples des côtes de Syrie et de Petite Arménie, *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), 334. On the site, see Courbin, Paul, Ras el Bassit, al Mina et Tell Sukas. *Revue Archéologique* 1 (1974), 174–178; Courbin, Paul, Bassit, *Syria* 63/3-4 (1986), 175–220; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1585f.

⁴⁸ Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1375f.

(oppidum). It would be normal to find a torrent (χάραδρος) as the limit of and to consider its mouth the frontier of Cassios. The torrent and the relating valley actually divide Mons Casius from Anticasius. The presence of the word πόλις is probably a consequence of the misunderstanding of (Πο)σιδωνία πόλις as early as the source of the *Stadiasmus*. It characterizes, in both Pliny and the *Stadiasmus*, several places within the coastal area round cape Poseidion, some of which maybe never existed. This misunderstanding may explain the adjunction of πόλις to the name Χάλαδρος, considered a simple locality by the *Stadiasmus*. R. Dussaud proposed to locate Charadrus at Qara Duran, the ottoman transliteration of the ancient name. This would have been the name of the whole bay of Kesab, and would be identical with the medieval portus Vallis. The place name Qara Duran is actually very extensive and for that reason poorly located, for it actually refers to the whole mountain range in early XXth century maps. Its identification with the area where the torrent empties into the sea is nevertheless likely, even if any relationship with a particular archaeological site is a bit hazardous given the vague nature of the name⁴⁹.

Μακρά νῆσος (§145–146): this is Pigeon Island, 5 nm NE Ras-el-Bazit. It provides a good shelter. Its name finds its origin in the shape of the island⁵⁰.

τὸ Νυμφαῖον (§146–147): Strabo (16.2.8) mentions the same place and locates it between the Mouth Orontes River and Mount Casius. It describes it as a sacred cave (σιπήλαιόν τι ἱερόν). The name Νυμφαῖον suggests the existence of a spring. These characteristics allowed its identification with el-Hammam⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Dussaud, *Topographie*, 421; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1060f., 1598.

⁵⁰ Dussaud, *Topographie*, 418; Honigmann, *Historische (Schluß)*, 14 nr 282.

⁵¹ Dussaud, *Topographie*, 425; Honigmann, *Syria*, 1710.

Ἀντιόχεια and Ὀρέτης River (§147): Antioch-on-the-Orontes is well known and surely identified⁵². It was to some extent connected to the sea through the Orontes and some canals, whose chronology is much uncertain, as is the paleomorphology of the river's mouth in Antiquity. In middle ages, it formed a deep bay⁵³. The mention of cities situated upstream is a specific feature of Periplus B.

Σελεύχεια (§148–149). Seleucia Pieria was founded altogether with Antioch as part of the Seleukis. Its site is well identified on the ground of epigraphic evidence. Its remains, including a large artificial port, are visible south the village of Çevlik. As the camp of the classis Syriaca, it has left a large number of inscriptions⁵⁴.

Ῥωσσιῶν κόλπος (= Σκόπελος) (§150–151). Rhossos is, at least since Alexander, a city located at Uluçınar / Ar-suz⁵⁵. Despite the objections of Honigmann (1932: 1689), κόλπος is an obvious misreading for Σκόπελος, made easier

⁵² De Giorgi, Andrea U., *Ancient Antioch: From the Seleucid Era to the Islamic Conquest*. Cambridge–New York 2016; Downey, Glanville, *Ancient Antioch*. Princeton 1963; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 539–663.

⁵³ Aliquot, Julien, *Des Bateaux Sur l'Oronte, Syria. Archéologie, Art et Histoire* 4 (2016), 215–228.

⁵⁴ Cohen, *Hellenistic*, 126–135; Pamir, Hatice, Recent Researches and New Discoveries in the Harbours of Seleucia Pieria, in: Sabine Ladstätter–Felix Pirson–Thomas Schmidts (eds.), *Häfen und Häfenstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Harbors and Harbor Cities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Istanbul 2014 (*Byzas* 19), 177–198; Todt–Vest, *Syria*, 1712–1719; Uggeri, Giovanni, Seleucia Pieria: The Port of Antioch on the Orontes, *Journal of Ancient Topography – Rivista di Topografia Antica* 16 (2006), 142–176. Inscriptions: Louis Jalabert–René Mouterde, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie* III.2. Paris 1953, 640–646 nr 1183; classis Syriaca: Jalabert–Mouterde, *Inscriptions*, 627–639 nr 1155–1182. Contrary to the opinion of Uggeri, *Seleucia* and De Giorgi, *Antioch*, Seleucia was an independent city, not the port of Antioch-on-the-Orontes.

⁵⁵ Friedrich Hild–Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Wien 1990 (*Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5), 392; Sinclair, Thomas A.,

by the fact that it also marked the entrance of a gulf. This is the Σκόπελος ὁ Ῥωσσικός of Ptolemy (5.15.2), as Müller already noticed, also called τὸ Σκόπελον by Joannes Moschus⁵⁶ and ὁ Σκόπελος further in the *Stadiasmus* (§164). It is also the same as the *Rossii ou Rosssiorum montes* of Pliny (*HN* 5.79). The narrative of Joannes Moschos makes it clear that the same place, to be identified with Hınzır Burun / Akıncı Burnu, that terminated Jebel Arsuz, or the mountains of Rhossos, bore at least three names: ὄρος Ῥωσσοῦ, Πτερύγιον and Σκόπελος (Ῥωσσικός or Ῥωσσιῶν)⁵⁷. It marked the Southern edge of the gulf of Issus.

Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατ' Ἴσσον (§152–153): The city minted coins since the reign of Antiochos IV with the signature ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ and ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤ ΙCCON between Trajan and Gordian III. Under Roman rule, it adopted the Pompeian era that started autumn 67/66 BC. Although its name is preserved in that of the modern Iskenderun, its exact location in or besides Iskenderun remains uncertain⁵⁸.

3. Unidentified Places: Pseudo-Toponyms or Unlocated Places?

Even when unidentified places are named by other authors, their existence is never certain. A change in their

Eastern Turkey: an Architectural and Archaeological Survey 4. London 1990, 308f.

⁵⁶ *Pratum Spirituale* 90–91 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 2948; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 162–164).

⁵⁷ ὄρος Ῥωσσοῦ, Πτερύγιον and, at the times of the Crusades, Καυκᾶ seem to characterize the whole mountain, and Σκόπελος its terminal part on the sea. However, the name of the whole chain may be given to its terminal part as well.

⁵⁸ Cohen, *Hellenistic*, 75; Hild–Hellenkemper, *Kilikien*, 170–172; Levante, Edoardo, The Coinage of Alexandria Kat'issou in Cilicia, *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1966–) 11 (1971), 93–102.

usual name may well lead to their mention aside with their new name. Misreadings may have given birth to the same pseudo-place-names in several authors relying upon the same tradition. It is necessary to be very cautious about the reality of places when no inscription, coinage or parallel with medieval or modern place-names does confirm their existence and location. This even truer when the place-name is a hapax.

ἄκρωτήριον Βραγχίων: the whole sentence is strange and suspect. The syntax, with the plural nominative participle has no parallel in the whole *Stadiasmus*, unless in the following paragraph, where the whole sentence lacks syntactic consistency. Müller had suspected that the original formulation was likely the same as that one finds in §139 (Κάμψαντι δὲ τὸ ἄκρωτήριον) and in §177 (ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατείνοντα βράχεια ὡς σταδίου κ'), and that the sentence would have read as follows: ἀπὸ ἄκρωτηρίου Πάλτου κάμψαντος τὸ ἄκρωτήριον, βράχη ὡς στάδιοι ι'. Cuntz found Müller's conjecture 'entirely unlikely'⁵⁹. Since no segment leaves from that point, the whole section is nevertheless highly suspect. The knowledge one now does have of Paltos and its surroundings shows that the reality of this area would fit entirely with Müller's conjecture⁶⁰. The original formulation may have been ἀπὸ ἄκρωτηρίου Πάλτου κάμψαντι δὲ τὸ ἄκρωτήριον βράχη ὡς στάδ(ιοι) ι'. 'From cape Paltos, when one makes the cape, there are shoals on a distance of about 10 stades'. The copyist may have reconstructed the sentence following the usual pattern ἀπὸ... ἐπὶ. The ἄκρωτήριον Βραγχίων is therefore likely to be a pseudo-toponym.

⁵⁹ Cuntz, *Anmerkungen*, 262 ad §473.

⁶⁰ Rey-Coquais, Jean-Paul, Notes de géographie syrienne antique – III. Les parages de Paltos, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 41 (1965), 211–225; Rey-Coquais, *Arados*, 82; Riis, *Quelques problèmes*; Riis et al., *Topographical*.

Πελλήτα. A location of this place at Tell-Sukas, midway between Paltos and has usually been proposed on the ground of the distances provided by the *Stadiasmus*, but is entirely hypothetical, as is the existence itself of place named Πελλήτα. Although the nominative undoubtedly reads Πελλήτα, the manuscript considers inflective forms either a singular (Πελληταν [sic]) or a plural (Πελλήτων). This illustrates the existence of a problem in the transcription of a simple list. The sequence of the §133–135, where the place is named, is broadly inconsistent. Two sections (§134–135) start from this same place (ἀπὸ Πελλήτων); the first one is followed by ἐπὶ, alike in most of the preceding passages, while the second one is followed by εἰς, alike in most of the passages that follow, and does not introduce a δὲ, as the *Stadiasmus* ususally does when it starts again from the same point (cf. §137: Ἀπὸ (τοῦ) πλωτοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς (...) ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς...). The use and assembly of various sources is therefore likely. In between §134 ἐπὶ λιμένα κείμενον ἐπ’ αἰγιαλῷ ἔχοντι καθ’ αὐτὸν (καταστ Μ) φάραγγα στάδ(ιοι) κ’ makes little sense or no sense at all... λιμην and αἰγιαλός are the exact contrary of one another... The beginning of the sentence uses the formula of Periplus B. “from to the place of such nature”, while the following formula is closer to the one that is found in the areas covered by Periplus A when islands are being described, likely after another source; but κείμενον never applies to a λιμην in the whole *Stadiasmus*; instead, the order of words suggests that καλούμενον would be expected, following the pattern of Periplus B. In A, the verb ἔχειν always applies to infrastructure, or to watering, never to landscape. This confusion seems to indicate that two or more interpolated descriptions have been mixed together.

Most scholars have made a relationship between the name of Paltos and that of Pelleta. Some consider it ‘the little Pelleta’; others, like Müller, make it ‘a village of the people of Pelleta’ χωρίον Παλτηνῶν, but it needs to change the text, and does not fit with the actual meaning of χωρίον. Its location exactly midway between Paltos and Gabala makes the distances very suspect and lets imagine

that this has been mathematically located dividing in two the distance between Paltos and Gabala. It is particularly striking that the sequence of consonants is the same in Paltos and Pelletos: PLT or ‘the Migrants’⁶¹. The two forms are likely to find their origin in two different Greek transliterations of the Semitic name of one and a same place called PLT. The usual Greek form Paltos sounded better to a Greek ear, for πάλτος had a meaning (‘brandished’), while Πελλήτα, had none, except in Thessalian dialect.

Πολιά, Σιδωνία: the sequence of place names between Laodikeia and cape Posidium is now rather well established, with the exception of cape (ἄκρα) Πολιά (§141), and πόλις Σιδῶν (§143) or Σιδωνία (§144). These are two places situated on each side of cape Poseidion, or Ras-el-Bazit / Basit. According to the *Stadiasmus*, ἄκρα Πολιά is supposed to be 120 stades away from Passeria / Mina el-Fasri. Its name is not repeated as the point of departure of a new section, and that makes its mention suspect; πόλις Σιδῶν / Σιδωνία is distant 300 stades from Posidonia / Ras-el Basit and 60 stades from Charadrus. According to Honigmann Polia was ras ‘Isâbegli, a place-name that has admittedly some vague similarity with Polia; but he alone mentioned ras ‘Isâbegli, and nobody could find it after him⁶².

Dussaud had rightly noticed that Πολιά and Σιδωνία were likely a mis-transcription of Ποσειδίων, the cape and city. He rightly followed Müller who considered that the name of the city Ποσιδωνία would have been cut into two pieces and have given birth to two place-names: Πολιά et Σιδῶνα / Σιδωνία, on each side of the cape. Here again, the use of two sources, one naming cape Ποσειδίων, the other πόλις Ποσιδωνία, and their unskilled fitting may explain the mistake. This is likely older than the compilation of the *Stadiasmus*, for Πολιά is mirrored by Diospolis (var.

⁶¹ Thomsen, Peter, Ausgrabungen und Forschungsreisen, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14 (1941), 101.

⁶² Honigmann, *Historische (Schluß)*, 32 nr 378.

Dipolis) in Pliny (*HN* 5.79), after a parent-source. P.-L. Gatier rightly doubts whether a Diospolis or Dipolis ever existed⁶³.

Θρόνος (§143): mentioning a remarkable high mountain situated above a port or city is usual in periplus B. If Θρόνος is not an interpolation, it must be mount Casius,⁶⁴ rather than Anti-Cassius,⁶⁵ that is hardly distinguished from the higher and close by Casius, as seen from the sea. Then, the compiler would have had two sources using two different names for the same mountain

τὰ Γεώργια and Ῥώσου Τερδνία (§149–151). Both names are otherwise unknown. Τὰ Γεώργια is usually located at Kale, on the ground of the location of the Skopelos at Hinzir Burun and of the fact that the place must be situated before it (according to the *Stadiasmus*) – in other words between Seleucia and Hinzir Burun. The presence of a monastery of St George and of hagionyms relating to this Saint have been decisive for the location of τὰ Γεώργια at Kale,⁶⁶ but this evidence is absolutely irrelevant in the case of a place-name mentioned only by the *Stadiasmus*. Linking τὰ Γεώργια of the *Stadiasmus* and the cult of St George is just anachronistic, for there is not a single reference to any late imperial, Byzantine or Christian place-name in the whole *Stadiasmus*. There is actually no ground for any identification of the place, whose nature is not made explicit by the *Stadiasmus* either. Furthermore, the two distances to and from Georgia are highly suspect.

⁶³ Dussaud, *Topographie*, 418, 420; Gatier, *Héraclée*, 278f.; Müller, *Geographi* 1, 161. Todt–Vest, *Syria* still consider Diospolis a real place.

⁶⁴ Müller, *Geographi* 1, 161 ad loc.; Honigmann, *Historische (Schluß)*, 47 nr 466.

⁶⁵ Dussaud, *Topographie*, 421.

⁶⁶ Dussaud *Topographie*, 440; Honigmann, Ernst, *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 46/3–4 (1923), 187, Nr. 188.

The first one, from Seleucia (142 stades) is entirely unusual and does not fit with any system of distances. The distance between Georgia and the Skopelos-kolpos (300 stades) is the same as the one Ptolemy (5.15.2) places between Seleucia and the Skopelos, while the distance between the Poseidion and the Skopelos is equal to Ptolemy's distance between the Skopelos and Rhossos (200 stades).

This strongly suggests that distances have been interpolated or have shifted from one interval to the other. There is a high probability that τὰ Γεώργια be a simple misreading for Πτέρυγιον, this being another name for the Skopelos, as we have seen. The confusion between Τε and Γε is very easy, and the sequence of consonants (ργ) is the same in both names. E. Honigmann⁶⁷ proposed the same interpretation for Ῥώσσου Τερδνία: the word make no sense, unless Τερδνία is a misreading for Πτέρυγιον. Both τὰ Γεώργια and Τερδνία then would be a double misreading for Πτέρυγιον. As pointed out above, the reference to the same place after several sources using different names, the recurrence of the name of Rhossos in relation to at least two places (the city, the mountain and the cape that terminates it) may well have led to the introduction of doublets and to the interpolation of relating distances.

Μυριάνδριος πόλις / Μυριάνδρος (§151–152): The form of the name is the Grecized, euphonic one used in late Hellenistic and Roman times, instead of the classical Μυριάδος⁶⁸. In Herodotus it gave its name to a larger gulf of Issus that extended till cape Triopion. The sustainable existence of a city in fullest sense named Myriandros is itself debatable. It relies substantially on the testimony of Xenophon, who characterizes it as πόλις, ἐμπόριον and χωρίον, and Strabo,⁶⁹ while pseudo-Skylax mentions only a λιμὴν. The coinage once attributed to Myriandros is now

⁶⁷ Honigmann, *Syria*, 1689.

⁶⁸ Hdt. 4.38.2; Xén. *Anab.* 1.4.6; ps.-Skyl. 102 (Müller, *Geographi* 1, 77)

⁶⁹ 14.5.19: ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ πόλις Ῥωσὸς καὶ Μυριάνδρος πόλις.

rather assigned to Issus⁷⁰. Its exact location remains uncertain⁷¹ and its relationship with Alexandria kat'Isson are quite unclear. Myriandros acquired a geographical notoriety when Artemidorus made it part of his measurement of the width of the inhabited world⁷². This likely explains its survival in most ancient geographers, although its name quickly ended up in oblivion, as that of Alexandria was taking more importance. The name of Myriandros no longer appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* between Rosos and Alexandria Catisson; nor does it appear in Hiercoles' *Synecdemus*. Some think that Myriandros and Alexandria are two names for the same city,⁷³ others that there has been a synœcism between the two cities⁷⁴. Whatever the right solution, when the two cities are named and distances are provided, inconsistencies in distances are such that they seem interpolated, and that one may eventually doubt whether the two cities really existed at the same time as separate entities.

4. Distances and their Inconsistency

All the scholars who paid attention to the *Stadiasmus* have noticed that distances are generally far from any reality. In accordance, they have widely corrected the values provided by the manuscript in order to make these fit with their expectations, even when these find confirmation in

⁷⁰ Bing, John D., Reattribution of the 'Myriandrus' Alexanders: The Case for Issus, *American Journal of Numismatics* (1989-) 1 (1989), 1–32.

⁷¹ Dussaud, *Topographie*, 316; Hild–Hellenkemper, *Kilikien*, 362f.

⁷² Stiehle, *Der Geograph*, 197f., after Pliny *HN* 2. 243 and Agathem, 15–16 (Müller, Karl, *Geographi Graeci Minores* 2. Paris 1861, 475f.).

⁷³ Newell, Edward T., Myriandros—Alexandria Kat'Isson, *American Journal of Numismatics* (1897–1924) 53 (1919), 1–42.

⁷⁴ Jones, Arnold H.M., *The Cities of the Roman Eastern Provinces*. Oxford 1971, 197f.

Ptolemy's coordinates. It is especially true of the Syrian section of the *Stadiasmus*. The overall recapitulative distances that close each regional section and are supposed to sum up intermediary distances quoted in that regional section, never fit with the sum of the distances quoted in the same interval. The reason for this discrepancy between data is likely that these sums were not the actual sum of intermediary distances, but were just imported from other sources. It is therefore impossible to use these sums in order to re-establish the values originally present in the archetype, instead of calculating values that would fit with known archaeological reality. Even apparently, far from reality, distances found in the *Stadiasmus* often fit with distances calculated after Ptolemy's coordinates. It is therefore possible to understand what we may learn about the genesis of the text through distances especially when these are obviously erroneous.

It is a common pattern of ancient geography that distances rarely coincide, even roughly, with reality, and that, as ancient authors agreed, there used to be huge discrepancies, and little agreement, between authors about distances⁷⁵. Several factors may explain that situation. Some may find their origin in palaeography or dictation at several steps of the genesis of the final text (that of the manuscript). Others are structural. As there was no technical tool for measuring the seas, distances at sea were either calculated after durations or estimated through the experience of landscapes. When land was measured, it was sometimes measured in heptastades, in Roman miles converted in stades on the ground of a ratio of 8 stades for 1 mile. It also happens that land is measured in an approximate way, using a basic unit of 120 stades, its multiples and sub-multiples. The same scale was being used for measuring short tracks of sea (straits or shores), when a

⁷⁵ Marcian of Heraclea, *Epit Menipp* 5 (Müller, *Geographi* 1, 567f.).

landscape was visible. It seems that this way of estimating distances was based on a customary evaluation of the metrological value of a landscape and of its sections. Other measures of longer sections were based upon the 'normal' duration of a journey made under certain conditions. The key values were 700 or 600 stades per day (700 likely referring to the so-called 'long day')⁷⁶.

It is interesting that we find in the Syrian section two kinds of measures: a large part are fractions of the sailing day of 600 stades (50, 100, 200, 300, 400 stades). These apparently come from a periplus counted in sailing days and divided in fractions of this day. The description of Syria mixes them with fractions of 120 stades, belonging to another system. This is one more proof that this material relies on a large process of compilation.

Distances are often inconsistent. §132 gives the distance in straight line between Balaneia and Paltos, or 200 stades. This is twice higher than the sum of the distances following the coast between the same points as given in the preceding paragraphs. §150 evaluates at 300 stades the interval between Georgia and The 'gulf' of the People of Rhossos, but 200 stades only between Poseidion and the 'gulf'. These two distances are roughly the ones we can calculate after Ptolemy's coordinates (5.15.2) between Seleucia and the Skopelos (300 stades) and thence to Rhosos (200 stades). It seems that in the *Stadiasmus*, some distances have shifted from their original location and have been interpolated when alternative names of places were introduced as supposed new places. Ptolemy's coordinates give between Myriandros and Alexandria the same dis-

⁷⁶ Arnaud, *De la durée*; Arnaud, Pascal, Ancient Mariners between Experience and Common Sense Geography, in: Klaus Geus–Martin Thiering (eds.), *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*. Wien 2014, 42–47.

tance (120 stades) as the *Stadiasmus* did, but this is the actual distance between Alexandria and Rhosos. Both are likely relying on the same tradition. If this distance is really a mistake, this is therefore quite old in the history of the text, and goes back to one of the sources used by both the *Stadiasmus* and Ptolemy. It may be an additional clue that Myriandros and Alexandria were one topographical reality, and that their coexistence as to different places in a text has led to the interpolation of pre-existing distances relating to other places.

Conclusion: The Method of Compilation and the Origin of Mistakes

Although somewhat chaotic, the Syrian section of the *Stadiasmus*, once compared with other written and archaeological evidence, provides enough material to give a form of logics to that chaos. This logic is not mainly to be sought in an archaeological reality it does not always fit with, but rather in a process of compilation that brought together material that named the same places in different ways and had various chronological origins. Compilers – under this name we must also consider the most famous ancient ‘geographers’ – unfamiliar with poorly recorded place-names, especially when these were transliterations from exotic languages that were hurting Greek or Roman ears, failed to recognize that these were relating to places already named, and added alternative names of these places as if they were other places within the sequence of places. The insertion of doublets as new pieces in the dominoes game of the sequence of place-names generated in the text a chain reaction that led to move place-names and to assign information to the wrong places.

Like later medieval portulans, ancient periploï used to be compilations. They have been subject to many additions and changes through time. For good and evil is not the af-

fair of the modern scholar. A. Peretti once spoke of stratification about the periplus of pseudo-Skylax⁷⁷. *Utinam!* This is unfortunately true to some extent only. In the case of the *Stadiasmus*, it is possible to identify quite easily at least three main sources at the origin of the *Stadiasmus* thanks to their formal characteristics; to some extent, and to some extent only, these may be characterized as layers. Here stratification stops. For these main sources in turn were compilations of previous compilations. There is a moment when this addition of elements – rather than layers – having their origin and information in different periods, using a different vocabulary and paying attention to different items necessarily becomes too confusing to be treated as an organized system of dated layers.

That does not mean, obviously, that the *Stadiasmus* is deprived of any value as evidence for topographical history. Because it has preserved ‘secondary’ places or place-names that geographers did not considered worth mentioning (ἀξιόλογοι), and because these places were less familiar to compilers and copyists, the *Stadiasmus* offers a more visible concentration of mistakes than ancient geographers do. But it illustrates a process that affects also more notorious ‘geographers’, like Strabo, and even more Ptolemy, Mela and Pliny, who were using the same second-hand periplographic material, and were subject to the same mistakes.

Significantly, more than a little bit of Quellenforschung is nevertheless necessary before using information driven from ancient geography as reliable evidence. Because it is more chaotic than others are, the example of the description of Syria in the *Stadiasmus* has a paradigmatic value for the use not only of the minor geographers, but also of the so-called major ones, who relied on the same

⁷⁷ Peretti, Aurelio, Dati storici e distanze marine nel Periplo di Scilace, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 38 (1988), 13–137.

periplographic material. Many passages of Ptolemy would illustrate the same mistakes⁷⁸. Modern scholarship must be more diffident, more sceptical too in front of these respectable texts before considering them fully reliable evidence. Maybe one day, new evidence will demonstrate that Pelleta, Diospolis, Polia, Sidonia, Georgia Rhossou Tendria were actual places. As long as this is not the case, we should better consider these as literary inventions that make sense in the history of the text rather than as new places to be located in an archaeological map.

Appendix: the Text of the Matritensis 4701

126. (374 H) [f° 70r] Ἀπὸ Κάστρων Κορνηλίας εἰς Οὔστικα στάδ(ιοι) κδ´· πόλις ἐστὶ λιμένα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ σάλος ἔχει ἀσφαλίζου.
- 127–128 (375–377 H). Ἀπὸ Οὔστικῶν εἰς Καρνας στάδ(ιοι) κδ´· σάλος ἐστὶ κοιτῶνας δὲ ἔχει πλοίοις μικροῖς ἀσφαλῶς κατάγου.
129. (378 H) Ἀπὸ Καρνῶν ἐπὶ χωρίων ἐπ' ἄκρω-[f° 71v]τήριον καλούμενον Βαλανέας στάδ(ιοι) σ´.
130. (380 H) Ἀπὸ ἀκρωτηρίου Βαλανέων ἐπ' ἀκρωτήριον Πάλτον στάδιοι 4´.
131. (381 H) Ἀπὸ ἀκρωτηρίου Πάλτου κάμπαντες ἐπ' ἀκρωτήριον Βραγχιῶν στάδ(ιοι) ι´.
132. (382 H) Ἀπὸ δὲ Βαλανέων ἄκρας ἄκρας ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς Πάλτον στάδ(ιοι) σ´.
- (383 H) Οἱ πάντες ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος παρὰ γῆν παραπλέοντες † εἰσελθεῖν† εἰς Πάλτον στάδ(ιοι) β´.

Καὶ λοιπὸν Κοιλὴ Συρία

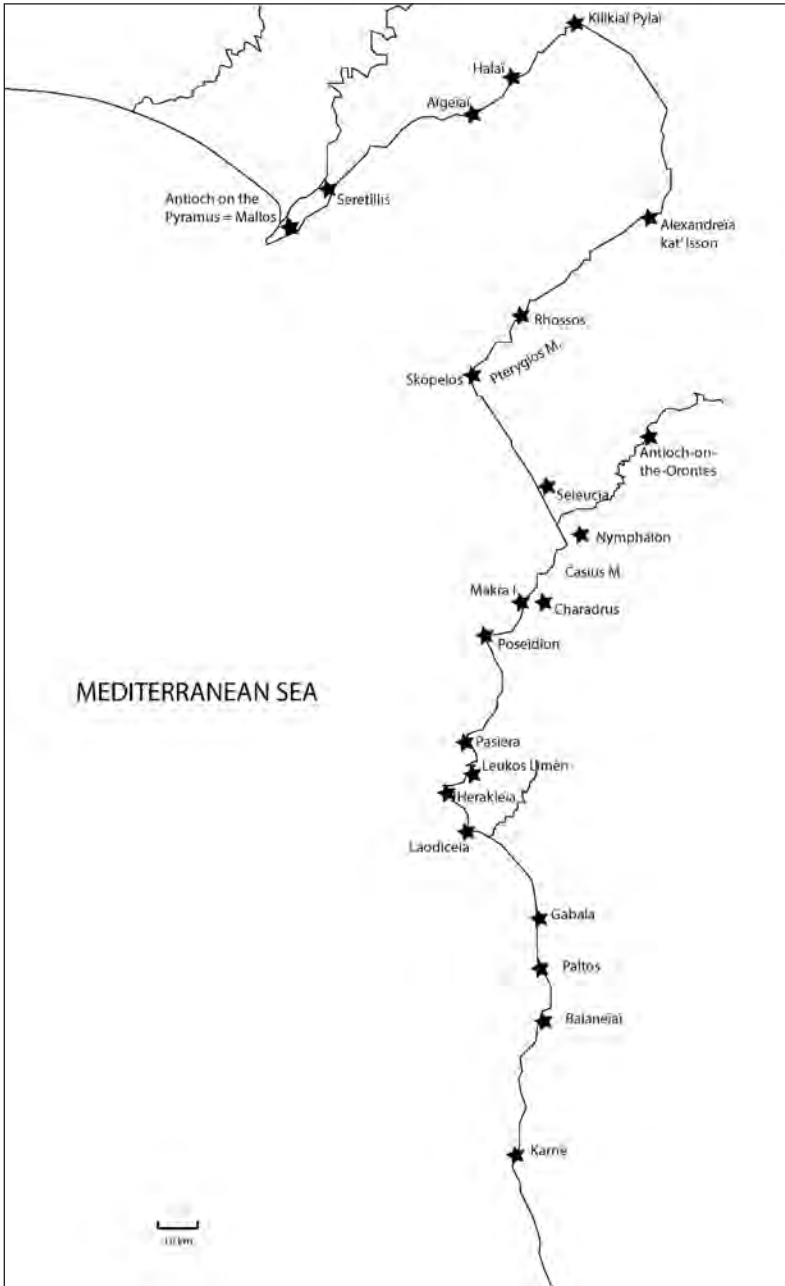
⁷⁸ Arnaud, Pascal, Le traitement cartographique de l'information péri-plographique et diaplographique par Ptolémée: quelques exemples, *Geographia Antiqua* 22/1 (2017) (in print).

133. (384 H) Ἀπὸ Πάλτου ἐπὶ χωρίον Πελληταν στάδ(ιοι) λ´.
134. (385 H) Ἀπὸ Πελλήτων ἐπὶ λιμένα κείμενον ἐπ' αἰγιαλῷ ἔχοντι καθ' αὐτὸν φάραγγα στάδ(ιοι) κ´.
135. (386 H) Ἀπὸ Πελλήτων εἰς Τάλβας στάδ(ιοι) λ´.
136. (387 H) Ἀπὸ Ταλβῶν εἰς ποταμὸν πλωτὸν καλούμενον {-} στάδ(ιοι) μ´.
137. (388 H) Ἀπὸ πλωτοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς ἄκραν, ἐξῆς κεῖται πόλις Λαοδίκεια, στάδ(ιοι) σ´· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς Βαλανέας στάδ(ιοι) σ´· ἀπὸ Βαλανεῶν εἰς Λαοδίκειαν εὐθυδρομοῦντι λευκονότῳ ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς ἠῶ τῆς ἄρκτου στάδ(ιοι) σ´.
138. (389 H) Ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας εἰς Ἡρακλειαν στάδ(ιοι) κ´.
139. (390 H) Κάμπαντι δὲ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον [f° 72r] λιμὴν ἔστι καλούμενος Λευκός· στάδ(ιοι) λ´.
140. (391 H) Ἀπὸ Λευκοῦ λιμένος ἐπὶ κόμην καλουμένην Πασιερίαν στάδ(ιοι) λ´.
141. (392 H) Ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης ἐπ' ἄκραν Πολιάν καλουμένην στάδ(ιοι) ρκ´.
142. (393 H) Ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείας ἐπὶ Ποσειδίων τὸν ἐπίτομον στάδ(ιοι) ρ´.
143. (394 H) Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἄκρας τοῦ ἐπὶ Ποσειδίου εἰς πόλιν Σιδῶνα στάδ(ιοι) τ´· ὑπὲρ ἧς ἔστιν ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καλούμενον Θρόνος.
144. (395 H) Ἀπὸ Σιδωνίας πόλεως εἰς τόπον ὀρίζοντα τὸ Κάσιον, καλούμενον δὲ Χαλαδρόπολιν στάδ(ιοι) ξ´.
145. (396 H) Ἀπὸ Χαλάδρου ἐπὶ νῆσον καλουμένην Μακρὰν στάδ(ιοι) ι´.
146. (397 H) Ἀπὸ Μακρὰν νῆσον ἐπὶ τὸ Νυμφαῖον στάδ(ιοι) ν´. ὁ δὲ ὅλος περίπλους τραχὺς ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου. τοῦτον τὸν τ[ρ]όπον παράπλεε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδ(ιοις) κ´.
147. (398 H) Ἀπὸ τοῦ Νυμφαίου ἐπὶ πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν ἔχουσαν ἐμπόριον καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ποταμὸν Ὀρέτην καλούμενον στάδ(ιοι) υ´· ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ σταδίων ιε´.
148. (399 H) Ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς Σελεύκειαν στάδ(ιοι) μ´· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδίου τὸν ἐπίτομον εἰς Σελεύκειαν πλεόντι ζεφύρω στάδ(ιοι) ρι´.
149. (400 H) Ἀπὸ Σελευκείας ἐπὶ τὰ Γεώργια στάδ(ιοι) ρμβ´.

150. (401 H) [f° 72v] Ἀπὸ τῶν Γεωργίων ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥωσσαίων κόλπων στάδιοι τ´· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδίου ἀκρωτηρίου ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον οὐριώτατα στάδ(ιοι) σ´.
151. (402 H) Ἀπὸ Ῥώσσου Τερδνίας εἰς πόλιν Μυριάνδριον στάδιοι 4´.
152. (403 H) Ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριάνδρου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατισίου στάδ(ιοι) ρκ´.
153. (404 H) Ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὰς Κιλικίας πύλας στάδ(ιοι) σ´.
- (405 H) Ὅμοῦ οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ Πάλτου ἕως τῶν Κιλικίων πυλῶν στάδ(ιοι) βφ´.

Λοιπὸν Κιλικία

etc. ...



II-1



CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотека Матице српске, Нови Сад

911.3:94(495.2)“04/14”(078)

SPACE, Landscapes and Settlements in Byzantium : studies in Historical Geography of the Eastern Mediterranean : presented to Johannes Koder / [editors] Andreas Külzer, Mihailo St. Popović. – Vienna : Digitising Patterns of Power : Tabula Imperii Byzantini ; Akademska knjiga : Novi Sad, 2017. – 526 str. : ilustr. ; 23 cm.

Slika J. Kodera. – Radovi na engl., nem. i bug. jeziku. – Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. – Johannes Koder : list of publications: str. [407]-436.

ISBN 978-86-6263-191-6

1. Külzer, Andreas [уредник] 2. Поповић, Милош Ст. [уредник]
а) Историјска географија – Византија – Средњи век – Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 320729863

