

THE ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEDIEVAL
FORTIFICATIONS AND RURAL
SETTLEMENTS IN CILICIA 1075-1375

Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	ii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiv
LIST OF PLANS.....	xv
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS.....	xvi
SUMMARY.....	xviii
DECLARATION.....	xix
NOTICE OF COPYRIGHT.....	xx
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xvi
CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIVIDE IN THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA.....	1
1. Unexplored Spaces	1
2. Historiography: the Discovery of the Armenian Kingdom	2
3. Archaeological Research.....	5
4. Misconceptions and difficulties regarding Armenian Studies.....	9
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY.....	12
1. Introduction: Aims and objectives	12
2. Sources.....	18
2.1. The Armenian Sources.....	19
2.2. The Syrian Sources.....	24
2.3. The Greek Sources	25

2.4.	The Latin and Frankish Sources	27
3.1.	The Arabic Sources	32
3.	The Geography of the Armenian Kingdom – Study Areas	35
3.1.	Introduction	35
3.2.	Study Areas.....	38
3.2.1.	Cilicia Trachea (or Rough Cilicia).....	38
3.2.2.	Cilicia Pedias (or the Cilician Plain)	39
3.2.3.	Rubenid and Het'umid Region in the Taurus Mountains.....	41
3.2.4.	Amanus Region.....	43
4.	Geographical Informations System (GIS) and Google Earth.....	45
4.1.	Introduction	45
4.2.	Panoramio.....	47
4.3.	Limitations of the Data.....	47
4.4.	Presentation of the Data.....	48
5.	Chronology.....	51
CHAPTER THREE: UNDERSTANDING FORTIFICATIONS IN THEIR HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE.....		54
1.	Cilicia: Crossroads between the West and East	54
2.	Settlement Patterns in Byzantine Cilicia (450-650)	56
3.	Cilicia on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier: The Construction of the Frontier or al-thughūr	58
4.	Cilicia on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier: A Process of Incastellamento or Kastroktisia	61
4.1.	Byzantine Skirmishing Tactics in the Taurus Region (650-950)	61
4.2.	Process of Incastellamento or Kastroktisia	64

4.3.	Phrouria, Aplèkta, Kastrà, and Kataphygia	66
4.4.	Arab Occupation of the Cilician Plain and Amanus Mountains (650-950)	68
4.5.	Byzantine Re-conquest and Construction of Fortifications	71
5.	Norman Cilicia (1097-1112).....	74
5.1.	The Impact of the Crusades on the Historical Landscape in Cilicia.....	74
5.1.1.	The Historical Landscape of Cilicia before the Arrival of the First Crusade.....	74
5.1.2.	The Arrival of the First Crusade in Cilicia (August-September 1097)	76
5.1.3.	The Presence of Het'umids, Rubenids, Franks and Seljuks in the Cilician Plain (September – October 1097).....	79
5.1.4.	Conquest of the Amanus Region by Tancred	81
5.2.	Norman Re-occupation of Cilicia Pedias and the Battle of Harran (1101-1104)	83
5.3.	The Expansion of the Principality of Antioch and the Treaty of Devol (1106-1112).....	86
5.4.	The Geographical Link between Cilicia and the Principality of Antioch, or the former Duchy of Antioch	89
6.	Komnenian intervention (1081-1143).....	91
7.	Presence of the Military Orders	95
CHAPTER FOUR: MEDIEVAL FORTIFICATIONS IN CILICIA.....		106
1.	<i>Raisons d'être</i> and Functions	106
2.	A Typology for Medieval Fortifications in Cilicia	108
2.1.	Watch Posts	108
2.2.	Quadrangular Enclosure Castle with Projecting Towers (Forts, Quadriburgia, Castellàn, or Castra).....	112

2.3.	Tower Keeps/Hall Houses	115
2.4.	Keep Tower and Bailey	117
2.5.	Castle without Enclosure	119
2.6.	Enclosure Castle	120
2.7.	Fortress/Citadel	122
2.8.	Sea Castle.....	122
2.9.	Conclusion	124
3.	The Byzantine Inheritance.....	124
4.	The Arab Inheritance.....	131
5.	The Crusader Inheritance.....	134
5.1.	Principality of Antioch.....	134
5.2.	Hospitallers.....	136
5.3.	Teutonic Knights.....	142
5.4.	Templars.....	145
CHAPTER FIVE: “THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM PROJECT” – A GOOGLE EARTH PRESENTATION.....		148
1.	Strategy and the Spatial Distribution of Fortifications (1): General Principles.....	148
2.	Strategy and the Spatial Distribution of Fortifications (2): A Google Earth Analysis	153
2.1.	The Spatial Distribution of Fortifications	153
2.1.1.	Introduction.....	153
2.1.2.	Constructions de Novo (1075-1350)	156
2.1.3.	Refortification and Occupation.....	161

2.2.	Land Routes, Rivers and Topography as Variables for the Distribution of Fortifications.....	164
2.2.1.	Cilicia Trachea.....	164
2.2.2.	Het'umid Region.....	166
2.2.3.	Cilicia Pedias.....	168
2.2.4.	Rubenid Region.....	171
2.2.5.	Amanus.....	173
3.	The Idea of Intervisibility.....	175
4.	Towards a more Dynamic Model.....	178
4.1.	Cities.....	178
4.2.	The Het'umid and Rubenid Barony, Two Spheres of Influence (1075-1198).....	181
4.3.	The Armenian Kingdom, Tarsus and Sis (1198-1266).....	184
4.4.	Fortifications and the Mamluk Threat (1266-1375).....	188
4.5.	The Armenian Kingdom, Zones of Concentration (1198-1375).....	193
4.6.	The Role of the Monasteries.....	196
CHAPTER SIX: THE MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARMENIANS IN CILICIA.....		198
1.	Introduction.....	198
2.	The Byzantine Inheritance.....	201
2.1.	Siting and Lay-out.....	201
2.2.	Masonry.....	203
2.3.	Mural Towers.....	206
3.	Architectural Paradigms for Armenian Fortifications.....	206

3.1.	Armenian Masonry	207
3.1.1.	The Choice of Stone	207
3.1.2.	Theoretical Background.....	209
3.1.3.	A Model for Armenian Masonry	210
3.2.	Gateways	220
3.2.1.	Types of Gateways	220
3.2.2.	Posterns	228
3.2.3.	Design of Gateways	230
3.3.	Other Components of Armenian Fortifications	236
3.3.1.	Introduction.....	236
3.3.2.	Curtain Walls	236
3.3.3.	Battlements, Hoardings (bretèche/brattices), and Slit-Machicolation...238	
3.3.4.	Arrow-slits.....	241
3.3.5.	Round - and Horseshoe-shaped Towers	242
4.	Conclusion	244
CHAPTER SEVEN: RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM.....		245
1.	Introduction	245
2.	Catalogue of Settlements	249
2.1.	Aladağ.....	249
2.2.	Andil.....	250
2.3.	Babaoğlan	252
2.4.	Çem	254
2.5.	Fındıkpınar	255

2.6. Oğlan (near Kızlar)	257
2.7. Sinap (near Lampron).....	258
2.8. Vahga.....	260
3. Conclusion	261
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION.....	264
APPENDIX ONE: GLOSSARY.....	268
APPENDIX TWO: A GAZETTEER OF MEDIEVAL SITES IN CILICIA	275
APPENDIX THREE: PLANS.....	317
APPENDIX FOUR: PHOTOGRAPHS.....	337
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	474
Primary Sources.....	474
Secondary Sources	482

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Albert of Aachen. <i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i> , RHC OCC, vol. 4 ; trans. S. Edgington (Farnham, Ashgate: 2013)
AC	Anna Komnene. <i>Alexiad</i> , trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, Penguin: 2009)
AOL	<i>Archives de l'orient Latin</i>
Ar.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenian
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
BIAA	British Institute at Ankara
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BH	Bar Hebraeus, <i>The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus</i> , trans. W. Budge, 1 (Oxford: 1932)
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.</i> (Turnhout: 1953-)
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i> , (Washington D.C.)
Cr.	Crusader
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.</i> (Louvain: 1903-)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , 1 st edition
EI ₂	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , 2 nd edition
FC	Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i> , ed. H. Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg, 1913)

- GF Anonymous. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London: Nelson, 1962); RHC Occ, vol. III: 121-163
- Gr. Greek
- IHC *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, ed. S. de Sandoli, 4 vols, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio maior, vol. XXIV, Jerusalem (1978-84)
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- ME *Matthew of Edessa, Matt'eos Urhayets'i, Zhamanakagrut'iwn Vagharshapat: 1898; trans. A.E. Dostourian, Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelve Centuries : the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MA-New-York-London: 1933)
- Med. Medieval
- MI Michael Italicus, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier, Archives de l'Orient chrétien 14 (Paris, 1972)
- MS Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166/99)*, ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, 4 vols (Paris : 1899-1924)
- Not. Dign *Notitia Dignitatum, Accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et leterculi provinciarum*, trans. O. Seeck (Rome: Berolini 1876); *La Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. N. Faleiro (Madrid: CSIC 2005)
- PG *Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols, Paris (1857-)
- PL *Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols, Paris (1844-64)
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau, Paris (1907-)
- RA *Revue archéologique*
- RC *Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ. vol. III (Paris, 1866): 587-716
- REArm *Revue des études arméniennes*

- RHC* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris (1841-1906)
- RHC Arm* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, 2 vols, Paris (1869-1906)
- RHC Grecs* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens Grecs*, 2 vols, Paris, (1875-81)
- RHC Lois* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Les Assises de Jérusalem*, 2 vols, Paris (1841-3)
- RHC Occ* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols, Paris (1844-95)
- RHC Or* *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols, Paris (1872-1906)
- RRH* *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhricht, Innsbruck (1893)
- ROL* *Revue de l'Orient latin*
- VE* Vahram of Edessa, *Chronique rime des rois de la Petite Arménie*, E. Dulaurier (ed. & tr.), in *RHC Arm*, 1, 491-535
- WT* William of Tyre. *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in *CCCM*, 63, 2 vols (Turnhout: 1986)

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - The Armenian kingdom in Cilicia.....	36
Figure 2 - Cilicia Trachea.....	38
Figure 3 - Cilicia Pedias.....	40
Figure 4 - Rubenid Region.....	42
Figure 5 - Het'umid Region.....	43
Figure 6 - Amanus Region.....	44
Figure 7 - Topography Anavarza.....	49
Figure 8 - Vagha, Port Saint Symeon sgraffito (12th-14th c.).....	52
Figure 9 - Cilicia Prima and Secunda.....	55
Figure 10 - Byzantine Western Frontier Sites (650-950).....	64
Figure 11 - Byzantine Eastern Frontier sites (650-950).....	67
Figure 12 - Arab Sites in Cilicia.....	70
Figure 13 - Byzantine Re-conquest of Cilicia and Antioch (963-969).....	73
Figure 14 - The Rubenid and Het'umid Baronies around 1110.....	75
Figure 15 - Passage of the First Crusade in Cilicia.....	77
Figure 16 - The Principality of Antioch by the Spring of 1099.....	82
Figure 17 - The Principality of Antioch on the Eve of the Battle of Harran.....	84
Figure 18 - The Principality of Antioch at the Time of Tancred's death in 1112.....	88
Figure 19 - Comnenid Intervention (1081-1143).....	94
Figure 20 - Presence of the Military Orders in the Armenian Kingdom.....	97
Figure 21 - Haçtırın, Watch Post along the Byzantine-Islamic Border.....	110
Figure 22 - Hotalan, Topography.....	111
Figure 23 - The Quadriburgia of Aladağ, Kütüklü, Yaka, and Tumul.....	114
Figure 24 - Topography of Ak Kale.....	121
Figure 25 - Byzantine Sites in Cilicia (650-950).....	126
Figure 26 - Byzantine Re-conquest of Cilicia and Antioch (963-969).....	128
Figure 27 - Topography Liman Kalesi.....	138
Figure 28 - Possible Domains of the Hospitallers in Cilicia.....	140
Figure 29 - Kütüklü, Port St. Symeon (PSS) sgraffiato (12 th -14 th c.).....	141

Figure 30 - Possible Domains of the Teutonic Knights in Cilicia.....	144
Figure 31 - Domains of the Templars in Cilicia.....	146
Figure 32 - Sites Occupied by the Armenians (1075-1375).....	155
Figure 33 - Castles built by the Armenians de Novo (1075-1375).....	160
Figure 34 - Garrison Forts with at least one Period of Armenian Construction.....	161
Figure 35 - Armenian Fortresses around 1198.....	163
Figure 36 - Variables in Cilicia Trachea.....	165
Figure 37 - Variables Het'umid Region.....	167
Figure 38 - Variables in Cilicia Pedias (east).....	169
Figure 39 - Variables in Cilicia Pedias (west).....	170
Figure 40 - Variables in Rubenid Region (east).....	172
Figure 41 - Variables in Rubenid Region (west).....	173
Figure 42 - Variables in Amanus Region.....	175
Figure 43 - Represent one Phase of Armenian Construction.....	176
Figure 44 - Armenian Masonry, Sinap (near Çandır).....	212
Figure 45 - Exterior Facing Stone at Çandır Kalesi.....	216
Figure 46 - Illustration of Armenian Gateway.....	233
Figure 47 - Merlons at Anavarza (east-side Southern Bailey).....	239
Figure 48 - Merlons at Yılan Kalesi (Upper Bailey).....	240
Figure 49 - Aladağ, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement.....	249
Figure 50 - Aladağ, Glazed sgraffiato - Port St. Symeon (12 th -14 th c.).....	250
Figure 51 - Babaoğlan, Port St. Symeon Glazed sgraffiato (12 th -14 th c.).....	252
Figure 52 - Babaoğlan Kalesi, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement.....	253
Figure 53 - Çem Kalesi, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement.....	255
Figure 54 - Fındıkpınar, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement.....	256
Figure 55 - Fındıkpınar, Example of Rooftile and Glazed Pottery.....	257
Figure 56 - Oğlan, Standard Green Monochrome Glaze (PSS) and Roof Tiles.....	258
Figure 57 - Sinap, Standard Green and Yellow Monochrome Glaze.....	259
Figure 58 - Vagha, Topography of Fortress and Rural Settlement.....	260

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 - List of Medieval Fortifications in Cilicia.....	15
Table 2 - Arab Sites in Cilicia.....	69
Table 3 - Castles, Casalia, and Localities given to the Military Orders.....	101
Table 4 - Watch Posts.....	109
Table 5 - Quadriburgia.....	113
Table 6 - Tower Keeps/Hall-Houses.....	116
Table 7 - Armenian De Novo Fortifications.....	156
Table 8 - Byzantine Sites in Cilicia.....	201
Table 9 - Spatial Distribution Armenian de Novo Fortifications.....	214
Table 10 - List of sites with Armenian Phases of Repair.....	217
Table 11 - Spatial Distributions of Fortifications repaired with Armenian Masonry....	219

LIST OF PLANS

1. Ak Kale.....	317
2. Amuda.....	318
3. Anahşa.....	319
4. Anavarza.....	320
5. Babaođlan.....	321
6. Çalan.....	322
7. Çardak.....	323
8. Çem Kalesi.....	324
9. Geben.....	325
10. Gökveliođlu.....	326
11. Haruniye.....	327
12. Işa.....	328
13. Kızlar.....	329
14. Mancılık.....	330
15. Saimbeyli.....	331
16. Savranda.....	332
17. Tamrut.....	333
18. Tumlu.....	334
19. Vagha.....	335
20. Yılan Kalesi.....	336

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Ak Kale.....	337
2. Aladağ.....	338
3. Amuda.....	340
4. Anacık.....	342
5. Anahşa.....	343
6. Anavarza.....	345
7. Andıl Kalesi.....	352
8. Andıl Köy.....	353
9. Aşılı.....	355
10. Ayas.....	355
11. Azgit.....	357
12. Babaoğlan.....	359
13. Babıklı.....	361
14. Bağras.....	362
15. Başnalar.....	367
16. Belen Keşlik.....	367
17. Bodrum.....	370
18. Bossek.....	372
19. Bostan.....	373
20. Bucak.....	374
21. Buyuksofulu.....	376
22. Çalan.....	377
23. Çandır.....	379
24. Çardak.....	382
25. Çebis.....	384
26. Çem.....	384
27. Çiğsar, Su Çati.....	389
28. Çukurhisar.....	390
29. Degirmendere Kale.....	391
30. Dokurcun.....	393
31. Esenli.....	393
32. Evciler.....	394
33. Fındıklı.....	395
34. Geben.....	396
35. Geddiği.....	397

36. Gökveliođlu.....	397
37. Gösne.....	401
38. Gülek.....	404
39. Haçtırın.....	405
40. Haruniye.....	407
41. Hebilli.....	409
42. Hisar.....	410
43. Kalealtı.....	411
44. Kaleboynu.....	411
45. Kalkan.....	412
46. Karafrenk.....	412
47. Kız(lar).....	413
48. Kız Kalesi.....	415
49. Korykos.....	419
50. Kumkale.....	422
51. Kütüklü.....	423
52. Kuzucubelen.....	424
53. Lamas.....	425
54. Lampron.....	427
55. Liman.....	430
56. Mamure Kalesi.....	431
57. Mavga.....	432
58. Meydan.....	433
59. Misis.....	435
60. Mitisin.....	436
61. Ođlan.....	437
62. Payas.....	439
63. Saimbeyli.....	439
64. Savranda.....	441
65. Silifke.....	443
66. Sinap (near Çandır).....	446
67. Sinap (near Lampron).....	448
68. Sis.....	450
69. Softa Kalesi.....	455
70. Sulayayla.....	456
71. Tece.....	457
72. Tokmar.....	459

73. Toprak.....	461
74. Trapesak.....	462
75. Tumlu.....	463
76. Vahga.....	466
77. Yaka.....	468
78. Yanik Kale.....	468
79. Yılan Kalesi.....	469

SUMMARY

The migration of the Armenian people into Cilicia in the late 11th century AD was caused by an agreement of several Armenian princes with the Byzantine emperor to leave their homelands to the north in return for imperial military appointments in Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia. Following the defeat of the emperor, Romanos Diogenes, at Manzikert by the Seljuk Turks in 1071, however, the Byzantines gradually lost control of these territories, allowing the Armenians to establish more or less independent chieftaincies there. This culminated in 1198 in the establishment of an Armenian kingdom in the region of Cilicia, which lasted until the Mamluk conquest in 1375. A dearth of historical sources makes it difficult to establish a definite framework for the political history of the period.

This doctoral thesis focuses on the origins, development, and spatial distribution of fortified sites in the Armenian Kingdom (1198-1375). Through the examination of known and newly identified castles, this work increased the number of sites and features to be associated with the Armenian Kingdom. Furthermore, it examines the historical landscape of medieval fortifications and analyzes their relationship with several variables, such as nearby un-surveyed rural settlements. Despite the abundance of archaeological remains, little work had focused on the Armenian heritage. In his 1987 book, Robert Edwards argued that the organization of the Armenians in Cilicia represented the triumph of a non-urban strategy. According to Edwards military architecture developed as a primary alternative to urban organization. It is my aim with this work to refine his ideas with new archaeological evidence. It is an attempt to develop a comprehensive and flexible model that explains the role of the military fortifications not as just the product of one particular strategy. Although many of the sites are still relatively well preserved, the project is also timely, as the continuing expansion of the population into the Cilician Highlands is causing archaeological remains to be plundered for building material.

DECLARATION

The plans used and added in the appendix are published by Robert W. Edwards in 1987. While the copyrights of the plans are in hands of Robert W. Edwards himself, it has been tried to contact him prior to the submission of this thesis without any result.

This work has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed: Vandekerckhove (candidate)

Date: 08/08/2014

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD (insert MCh, MD, MPhil, PhD etc, as appropriate)

Signed: Vandekerckhove (candidate)

Date: 08/08/2014

STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Signed: Vandekerckhove (candidate)

Date: 08/08/2014

STATEMENT 3

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Throughout the way, many people have helped encourage or facilitate this research and I would like to mention some few of them for their useful insights and comments great and small who must be thanked: Dr. James Petre, Dr. Ionna Rapti, Dr. Thomas Asbridge, Prof. Scott Redford, Dr. Asa Eger, Dr. Steve Mills. The fieldwork for this project spanned three summers, from 2011 to 2013. Work in Turkey would not have been possible without the continued financial assistance of the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), the Cyril Fox Fund and Postgraduate Fund of the School of History, Archaeology and Religion Studies (SHARE) at Cardiff University, the Research Training Support Grants of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), and Cardiff Alumni Students. Equally, I am extremely grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the award I received [doctoral award] towards the funding of this thesis. For the plans of the fortifications, I am deeply indebted to the work of Robert W. Edwards.

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While helping me in every possible way, she proved to be the best critic of any new idea. I would also like to say how much I have appreciated travelling companions, such as my parents, who have provided friendship and moral support while visiting obscure heaps of stones in hot and dusty places, and risked life and limb climbing the outlying parts of many castles. I also acknowledge the friendly welcome I have received from so many local people in villages and castles throughout the area; the friendliness of the people will always encourage me to return to Cilicia.

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents, my grandmother
and to Emily Iona Stewart

CHAPTER ONE:

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIVIDE IN THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA

“This [Armenia] is a very strong country, for on one side it is girt by the sea and on the other it is defended by high very rugged mountains, whose entrances are few and strongly guarded, so that if a visitor enters the country he cannot leave without a sealed document of the king.”

(Wilbrand of Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, XVII, trans. Pringle, 2012: 74)

1. Unexplored Spaces

In comparison to the impressive numbers of publications discussing the monumental architecture of the Crusader Castles and the extensive research that has been carried out on the archaeology of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, the principality of Antioch, and to a lesser degree the County of Tripoli, remarkably few attempts have been made to describe the well-preserved castles in the neighbouring Armenian kingdom. Only a handful of such studies exist and this is the first attempt in almost thirty years to investigate their military architecture. This thesis will trace the origins, development, and spatial distribution of fortified sites and examine their relationship to the local topography and rural settlement in the Armenian kingdom centred in and around the region of Cilicia (today Çukurova). It aims to contribute to our understanding of medieval fortifications within the wider context of rural and urban landscape development in the eastern Mediterranean region. Although many of the sites are still relatively well preserved, the project is also timely, as the continuing expansion of the population into the Cilician Highlands is causing archaeological remains to be plundered for building material. Until now, what we knew of these medieval fortifications was confined to a

selection of articles, a few monographs and rudimentary survey work done by some archaeologists, historians and explorers. Because of many political and cultural reasons, the military fortifications have never received the attention they deserve, as a part of the national heritage of Turkey.

This was the task that I began in the autumn of 2010. After three years and three exploratory missions I visited more than half of the medieval fortifications in the region of Cilicia. The 104 sites that I have studied probably constitute the majority of forts within the confines of the Armenian kingdom at its greatest extent. With my surveys I have recorded and mapped several previously undiscovered fortifications in the deep valleys of the Taurus Mountains, which will be attributed in the gazetteer of this thesis. Some fortifications were discovered in the last stages of the writing of this thesis and I have not yet been able to visit them. They will be mentioned in the gazetteer but will not be included in the analysis. In addition to the fortified sites, a large number of rural settlements have been found in close proximity to the medieval fortifications. Their relationship with the nearby fortifications will be discussed in this thesis. Since my surveys have covered all major regions in and around Cilicia Pedias and the Highlands, as well as explorations in Cilicia Tracheia, west of the Calycadnus, a good geographical cross section is represented.

2. Historiography: the Discovery of Armenian Cilicia

The Armenian kingdom centred in Cilicia has been a focus of scholarly studies since the 18th century. It initially emerged with the work of father Michaël Tchamtchian. His study, the *History of the Armenians* (1786), although fundamental, remains difficult to use due to its incomplete references. After Tchamtchian, the history of the medieval kingdom became the focus of other studies. For example, among the abundant works of the French historian and palaeographer Victor Langlois, his *Essai historique* (1860) discusses aspects of the political and social organization in Armenia under the Rubenid dynasty. In this work Langlois presents the introduction of feudalism and the military orders into the Armenian kingdom.

Similarly, in his *Trésor des chartes d'Arménie* (1863), the establishment of the military orders in Cilicia is evoked. In this study Langlois analyzed the donations of Armenian sovereigns to the religious orders, and the relationships between the kings and the orders. From the same period came the studies by the Mekhitarist monk Léonce Alichan, who is considered as the third pioneer. His work *Sissouan* (1899) is very remarkable, not only in its scale, but also in its precision. However, his research, like that of many of his contemporary historians, contains traces of Armenian nationalism, and the sources are not always well cited. These three pioneers in the field of the Armenian-Cilician history, alongside their immediate successors, played an important role in the historiography and translation of the foremost fundamental historical sources (chronicles, colophons, elegies, charters, and assizes).

Developments in the 19th century were amplified by the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (1841-1906), which dedicated two volumes to the *Documents Armeniens* (1869-1906). The manuscripts were translated by Edouard Dulaurier. The first volume contains the translation of several significant extracts relating to the linkage between the Armenians and the Crusades. The second volume contains only brief references to the history of the Armenian kingdom. After the increased interest in Armenian studies or *arménologie*, due to the success of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, the historiography of Cilicia experienced a pause. During the 1930s the history of the Armenian kingdom again became the focus of studies by scholars such as René Grousset, Claude Cahen and Paul Deschamps. They researched the Crusades and the Crusader states more generally than their predecessors. Among the many historical writings devoted to the Crusades and the Latin states, the kingdom of Jerusalem has always received much greater attention than its northern neighbours, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa. Its sources are more abundant and available and the Holy City exercises an especial appeal. But Claude Cahen's scholarly monograph, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (1940) filled this gap and made Antioch, which neighboured Cilicia and

the Armenian kingdom, probably the most exhaustively studied of any of the Crusader states in that time.

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a resurgence of interest amongst western scholars for the history of the Armenian kingdom. In this period Marius Canard wrote the article, 'Le royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamelouks jusqu'au traité de 1285', which is of particular importance to scholars studying the later stages of the kingdom (1967). Another standard work in English on the political history of the Armenian kingdom is the chapter of Sirarpie Der Nersessian in the multi-volume *History of the Crusades* edited by Kenneth Setton (Der Nersessian, 1969: 630-59). While this chapter stands independently as a history of the Armenians in Cilicia, it must also be seen in the context of the aims of the whole work that contains it, a history of the crusades. The main criticism to be made of this chapter is perhaps the lack of understanding of the history of the wider Middle East. A reference to T'il Hamdun or modern-day Toprakkale as being one of three 'fortresses on the eastern front' when in fact it is in Cilicia itself may reveal perhaps too great an emphasis on the written sources, and too little attention to the geography of the region (Der Nersessian, 1969: 65).

In the collection *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (1967), Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase compiled and edited six essays from diverse scholars. The title of the collection, however, is somewhat misleading as the essays do not attempt to cover the whole range of the Armenian kingdom. While all chapters are in their way useful, the historical introduction provided by Boase really provides only that. Apart from work by Jonathan Riley-Smith and Anthony Luttrell concerning the Knights Templar and Teutonic Knights on one hand and the Knights Hospitaller on the other, there is a chapter from Arnold Walter Lawrence devoted to the castle of Bağras. There is also a description of the castle of Azgit by John G. Dunbar and William W. Boal, with plans and plates. Boase's Gazetteer is described by him as 'tentative' and 'representing our present knowledge of the subject, gaps, datable points and all' (Boase, 1967: 145). He draws on several disciplines in the effort to identify sites which have had in succession Greek, Latin, Byzantine, Arabic, Armenian, and Turkish names.

During the latter part of the twentieth century *Armenological* studies grew enormously. These studies made use of both quantitative and qualitative methods, and include notably the monographs of Gerard Dédéyan (1975; 1980; 1990), Nina G. Garsoïan (1982), Claude Mutafian (1988), Elizabeth Redgate (1998), Angus D. Stewart (2001) and Richard Hovannisian (2008). In addition to these studies, different thematic approaches to the Armenian kingdom have been used, in order to discover new ground for research. The publications concerning commerce and economics in the Armenian kingdom, including numismatic studies are treated exhaustively in the work *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* by Paul Z. Bedoukian (1979). The presence of the military-religious orders in Armenian Cilicia and their relationship with the Armenian authorities is evoked in certain studies, the most recent study on this topic being there by Marie-Anne Chevalier in *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cilicienne* (2009). Recent studies have also shed new light on the realities of the Armenian kingdom. In the volume *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, Scott Redford suggested a global and innovative approach of the economic dynamics encompassing the territory north of Antioch and Cilicia (Redford, 2012: 297-309).

3. Archaeological Research

At any time the Armenian kingdom would have possessed more than eighty castles in Cilicia, controlled by many vassals, each representing one of the major Armenian families. It is therefore astonishing that our archaeological knowledge of the Armenian kingdom is based merely on twenty detailed architectural surveys and a handful of excavations.

Prior to the 1930s only occasional comments were made on medieval architecture in the travelogues of professional explorers. Works mentioning more than a handful of forts include Langlois's *Voyage dans la Cilicie* (1861) and Father Alishan's *Sissouan ou L'Arméno-Cilicie* (1899). Both authors give brief histories of selected sites but make no attempt to describe or compare them architecturally. The first attempt at a partial survey of Armenian monuments in Cilicia was undertaken by J. Gottwald in the 1930s, published in

Byzantinische Zeitschrift (1936). Unfortunately his descriptions are uneven, and his plans were inaccurately executed without the aid of any measuring devices. From the 1930s onwards more general architectural surveys of the northern Levant have included a few of the larger military fortifications in Cilicia. Among these are the works of Ernst Herzfeld and Samuel Guyer (1930), and Paul Deschamps (1937).

In the 1950s, the first full-scale survey was conducted under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara under Marjory Veronica Seton-Williams (1954: 121-74). Her surveys of Cilicia between 1938 and 1951 were intended to record and examine pre-classical sites in the Cilician plain and around the Gulf of Alexandretta; they do, however, include many of the important classical, Byzantine, and medieval sites. The results showed that many settlements were found under modern villages, which had a later phase of occupation.¹ While she hardly recorded any medieval sites the work has a great value for our current archaeological knowledge of the region.

When Michael Gough completed his survey of modern-day Anavarza (Classical Anazarbos/Anabarza; Arabic Nāwarzā/Ayn Zarba; Armenian Anavarz, Anawarza, Anarzaba, Anarzap), near the village of Dilekayya, he included only a few comments regarding the adjacent Armenian castle, one of the largest fortifications in the Middle East (1952: 85-150). During the 1960s a number of studies were published in the journal of *Anatolian Studies* by J.G. Dunbar and W.W.M. Boal (1964), G.R. Youngs (1965), and F.C.R. Robinson and P.C. Hughes (1969). These surveys describe, with great precision and sensitivity, five of the principal monuments of the Armenian kingdom, such as Gökvelioğlu, Lampron, Tumlu, Vagha, and Yılan. Their choice however was limited to the more easily accessible fortifications of the Cilician plain, while the Taurus Mountains remained untouched.

In the 1960s the Armenian fortifications received brief attention in the works of Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1966), T.S.R. Boase (1967) and Robin Fedden and John Thomson

¹ This has on several occasions been the experience of this author. For example at Amuda the modern village of Hemite has been built over the medieval settlement.

(1968). In 1976 Hansgerd Hellenkemper published one of the few monographs available on forty-two crusader and Armenian sites in the areas once covered by the Latin county of Edessa and the Armenian kingdom. In it he not only collected and summarized what had already been written on the fortified sites, adding supplementary comments and a few new plans, but also attempted to study military architecture in its topographical context. Some years later, Hellenkemper worked together with Friedrich Hild, ultimately publishing the 'Cilicia and Isauria' volumes of the *Tabulae Imperii Byzantini* (1990). The structure of this work sets out a systematic introduction to each area, followed by an alphabetical list of sites, which is indispensable for modern study. This alphabetical gazetteer forms a valuable tool for Byzantine studies and a good introductory text.

The most important and influential work for the research of Armenian fortifications in Cilicia is the study of Robert W. Edwards. His work, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (1987), along with several of his articles, provides information and photographs about seventy-five sites, forty-four of which he suggests to have been constructed by the Armenians. His work is divided into two parts: the first, which consists of seven sections, is essentially a definition of Armenian military architecture, and the second, comprising a catalogue of seventy-five sites, provides a history along with precise descriptions and plans of the medieval constructions. With his explorations in the Taurus Mountains Edwards nearly trebled the number of medieval forts for which we have accurate plans and descriptions. He admits that there are uncertainties in his work, especially regarding the chronology, the scale of the masonry Edwards used in his typology, the medieval toponyms, and the specific identification of non-Armenian forts. I have also noticed when checking the map coordinates of sites, using satellite imagery, that many of the data given by Edwards are imprecise.² Despite that, Edwards' work was an enormous breakthrough for archaeological research, building upon the works of T.S.R. Boase and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, and a necessary starting point for every scholar who is interested in the Armenian fortifications.

² I have updated the list of sites with precise measurements in the Gazetteer of this thesis.

Recent works which deal with the architecture and archaeology of the Armenian kingdom include those of Kristian Molin (2001) and Scott Redford (2000, 2001). Although Molin's research is based on primary sources, it makes a number of interpretations which are, certainly for Cilicia, doubtful, and in any case gives little more than a brief summary. The work of Scott Redford, although not yet published, includes the excavations at Kinet, which is located on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The results of these excavations will be very important for our understanding of the Cilician plain as they uncovered the remains of a Crusader-era Mediterranean port town that dates from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century. The site has been identified by Redford as Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt or Canamella, and according to the first preliminary report, finds at the site indicate industry (iron and glazed ceramic production), agriculture, and animal husbandry as well as regional and international trade (Redford, 2001: 58-138).

Finally, some successful surveys have taken place in Cilicia throughout the past decade. As result of a survey in 2003, conducted by Mustafa Sayar, excavations have started around modern-day Misis (Classical Mopsuestia/Mamistra; Armenian Msis; Arabic al-Maṣṣīṣa; modern-day Yakapınar).³ The project is directed by the University of Pisa, under G. Salmeri and A. L. D'Agata (Salmeri, 2003: 111-15). Though Byzantine and medieval fortifications were revealed, the survey is focusing on the Hellenistic periods and Hellenization of the area. Another survey of the whole plain conducted by Mustafa Sayar focused mainly on inscriptions, while intensive architectural, geophysical, and ceramic survey of 'Ayn Zarba is currently being conducted by Posamentir as a sub-project of the Cilician survey of the University of Pisa. Currently the Mopsus survey, conducted by Lehman, Killebrew and Halpern is studying the south-eastern part of the plain, including the Plain of Issos and the foothills of the Amanus Mountains (Killebrew, Gates, Lehmann, 2007). The Mopsus survey has found 150 sites since 2004, most of which date from the Hellenistic to Late Roman-Early Islamic period. No Byzantine or medieval occupation has yet been

³ In order to avoid confusion, I will refer to this site as Misis in this thesis.

identified. This is mainly due to a lack of knowledge for these later periods by the surveyors as important Byzantine and medieval sites did exist in the Amanus region.

Concluding, it is clear that many surveys have been concentrated on the Cilician plain and have focused mainly on pre-classical or classical archaeology. The archaeology in Cilicia of the Armenian kingdom during the Crusader period is largely unknown, despite the fact that there is an abundance of standing monuments. If more surveys were to be conducted in the Taurus region, it is my belief that this could hugely increase our understanding of the region.

4. Misconceptions and Difficulties regarding Armenian Studies

Analysing the historiography and the archaeological research, it becomes clear that the Armenian kingdom requires fuller consideration in its own right, although there are good reasons as to why it has not been the focus of many scholars in the past. The modern scholar should be aware of some these problems when studying the archaeology of the Armenian kingdom. I will briefly highlight two of them.

One of the most serious problems is the cultural agenda of the Turkish authorities. Nationalist and culture-specific agendas frequently drive the practice of archaeology. The taboo over the Armenian recent past of the area and the slow economic development until very recently, has resulted in our knowledge of the local topography and archaeology developing very little over the last forty years. Certain streams of Turkish historiography go as far even as denying the existence of an independent Armenian kingdom in Cilicia (Kaşgarlı, 1990). Thus, for various reasons, the archaeology of the Armenian kingdom has been ignored from an archaeological standpoint. In comparison to late antique studies and the history of Turkish nomadic groups (in the early eleventh century), the contrast is huge and the scientific potential for research is none the less equally high. The views on the Armenian kingdom served to shut down meaningful research by blindly asserting its lack of value or simply ignoring it.

A second problem is the toponymy of Armenian Cilicia. Edwards rightfully pointed out that 'the printed word can be all too convenient, deceptive, and even intimidating' (Edwards, 1992: 204). On the subject of toponymy, the nomenclature of the Cilician and Syrian area presents us with many problems. Scholars in the past who wished to interpret the events of this Armenian kingdom have earnestly assigned a number of medieval place-names to the surviving Armenian sites. Since the number of known extant medieval sites is far greater (and even more expansive than expected a century ago) than the number of known pre-Ottoman toponyms and continues to grow, speculative conclusions are abundant. As early as the twelfth century, a writer could complain that 'perpetual wars' have brought great changes to the names of these provinces (Benjamin of Tudela, I: 5). Greek, Latin, Byzantine, Arabic, Armenian and Turkish names replace one another to great confusion of the traveller. Even today, the process continues with an official policy of standard Turkish place-names, which are often at variance with local usage. This project should provide a degree of clarification for the reader of this thesis.

Problems arise too because many academics decline or are unable to visit Cilicia to obtain a first-hand view of the monuments in their geographical surroundings. They are content to rely on published descriptions, often more than one hundred years old, which vary greatly in quality. As a consequence the vast majority of Armenian place-names cannot easily be assigned to the surviving medieval sites because the evidence so far is simply insufficient. Often the texts will provide us with only one simple reference to the location of an important fortress. For example, a chronicler might imply that a particular site could be reached in a one-day journey west of Sis, modern-day Kozan. A quick glance at the topographical map around Sis shows that there are immediately a number of possible candidates, but then again we have no idea which roads and passes would have been used. Nineteenth-century travellers, primarily interested in identifying ancient sites, added their hypotheses to the general confusion. In particular, Armenian names have been politically attributed very insensibly. Some of the principal castles and lordships of the Armenian

kingdom can still today not be accurately placed on the map, while buildings as important and well preserved as Yılan and Tumlü have lost their Armenian names and cannot be assigned to any known lordship or historical incidents.

Before turning our attention to the study of the fortifications, however, it is essential that we first be thoroughly familiar with the methodology and aims of this work.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

“This was written in the year 753 of our [Armenian] Era [A.D. 1304], in the month of July, at the monastery of Xaç’atur, near Barjr-Bert, in the country of Kilikia [Cilicia], by the river Šrkay, in a grotto, and in bitter times. In this month [July] Muhammadan [Mahmetakan] troops arrived from Šamb [Syria] and by peaceful means occupied the fortress of T’il.”

(A.K. Sanjian, Colophons, I: 47)

1. Introduction: Aims and Objectives

In the twenty to thirty years that have followed the publication of Edwards’ *Fortifications*, ideas on the medieval fortifications in Cilicia have progressed very little. This may seem particularly surprising in view of the great advances that have been made in the field of Crusader archaeology in the Levant during the past twenty years. While one explanation may be the lack of sympathy for the Armenians and their fortifications, another was probably that Edwards’ own extensive treatment of the castles appeared to have exhausted all its possibilities for a considerable period thereafter.

In his work *Fortifications*, Edwards attempts to define the military architecture of medieval Cilicia. His research is based on first-hand experience of the region and of its monuments. While description and analysis of seventy-five individual sites takes up the majority of his monograph, the methods followed by Edwards, however, consisted not much more than comparing field notes, while using some of the techniques of the architectural historian. The catalogue is preceded by a short introduction of which the most important section is that in which Edwards lists the characteristics that he has been able to distinguish as typical of Armenian fortifications in the region (Edwards, 1987: 12-17). These include such features as: irregular plans; following natural contours on cliff edges; rounding of external angles and avoidance of quoins; masonry typified by facings of roughly squared ashlar with relatively wide joints and a poured mortar core; a succession of baileys; absence of keeps or

donjons; consistent use of rounded or horseshoe-shaped towers. Edwards' claims that some of these characteristics as slit-machicolation and the presence of chapels in fortifications are unique to Armenian fortifications appears exaggerated, since chapels are to be found in many Byzantine and Crusader fortifications throughout the Levant. Edwards emphasizes, however, that the combination of a number of these features rather than the presence or absence serves to indicate Armenian construction. While Edwards does not claim to have a verifiable scheme for the dating of Armenian fortifications nor any conclusive answers his pioneering research has laid a solid foundation that raised questions and opened perspectives for this thesis, which have not been further explored.

In the introduction of his *Fortifications*, Robert Edwards argues that the organization of the Armenians represented the triumph of a non-urban strategy. His picture of Cilicia as a largely rural society has been largely accepted by many scholars and even emphasized as an enduring tradition of the mountainous migrants. With this study, I would like to consider his views with due scepticism. To identify the supposed mountain-dwelling character of the Armenian people as a determining factor in how the Armenians would choose to settle in Cilicia is an unsatisfactory explanation as any other based on ethnic stereotypes. Moreover, such a view is in sharp contrast with the abundant evidence of Armenian settlement in the cities and towns of the Cilician plain. Rather than directly contesting his hypothesis throughout this thesis, it is my aim to work further on Edwards' observations of fortifications and develop a new comprehensive and flexible model. In order to present a more reliable model, the thesis will be supported with the examination of newly identified castles by this author in the course of this study. As a result the work explains the role of the military fortifications not as just the product of one particular strategy (as is the case with Edwards and Molin). Fortifications were more than mere defensive devices and brought with them also a strategy of management. The research aims to give the reader a better understanding of the origins of these fortifications within the wider context of rural and urban landscape development in the eastern Mediterranean region.

For this research I will examine 104 medieval fortifications and up to eight rural settlements that I found during my surveys in Cilicia. In order to develop a comprehensive model by which we can understand the role of the military fortifications, the research will be worked out in the following four chapters, each with different objectives. In Chapter Two, I will set out the methodology used for this research. It is my purpose to give the reader first a critical outline of the primary sources which have been used for this research. Furthermore I will discuss how the Geographical Information System (GIS), Google Earth, and Panoramia will be used as a research tool for the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the data.

Next, in Chapter Three, I will analyse the historical landscape in which the fortifications were built. How many sites did the Armenians inherit from their predecessors? How many Armenian castles were built out of nothing? In Chapter Four I will present the reader the typology of medieval castles used for this research. I will also discuss briefly the Byzantine, Arab, and Crusader inheritance of standing monuments in the region. Working with the knowledge gained from the historical landscape in Chapter Three and the theoretical background of medieval fortifications in Chapter Four I will present in Chapter Five the *Armenian Kingdom Project*. I have constructed this model in order to investigate the spatial distribution of fortifications. Were most fortifications concentrated towards the borders of the kingdom? Were the fortifications concentrated, as Edwards claims, in the mountain valleys of the Taurus? Where in Cilicia did the Armenians built their new fortifications? In order to understand fully the nature of the fortifications, it is my aim to think beyond the individual site and analyse the spatial relationship between fortifications and six variables. These are topography, proximity to roads and rivers, ecclesiastical institutions, cities, and other fortifications. In conclusion, I work out whether we can refine the current strategy of the non-urban strategy with the archaeological evidence available and develop a more dynamic model.

In Chapter Six I will analyse the military architecture of the fortified sites. In terms of interaction of military architecture in the eastern Mediterranean, can we establish

architectural paradigms? How can newly discovered sites in the Taurus region be dated? Can we ascertain any kind of development in military architecture for Cilicia through the medieval period? The analysis of the military architecture is based on notes and photographs made during my visits in the region and previous studies carried out by Edwards, Hellenkemper, Boase and others. The analysis, however, cannot be restricted to fortifications of which the exact or approximate date was known through historical sources, inscriptions, or excavations, as their number would be far too limited in order to make any kind of comparison. Therefore in this thesis, I have added fortifications that I thought were built during the medieval period. The architecture of each site will be analysed in its study area, and each study area includes the environs of certain well-known fortifications (cfr. the Herakleia region around the castles of Lampron and Çandır). Eventually a small analysis will be made throughout the study areas, in order to test patterns and draw comparisons between the different study areas in Cilicia.

Finally, in Chapter Seven the un-surveyed rural settlements will be briefly discussed, as their relation with the near by fortifications. The combination of all these chapters will give the reader of this thesis a better understanding of the historical landscape in which these fortifications were built, an idea about the spatial distribution of the fortified sites and rural settlements to be found in Cilicia, and an introduction to some architectural paradigms of Byzantine, Armenian and Crusader military architecture.

Four appendices are added to the end of this thesis. Appendix One consists of a Glossary explaining some key concepts in medieval architecture and archaeology. Appendix Two is a Gazetteer which represents an attempt to list all the medieval fortifications known by their surviving remains to have existed within the boundaries of the kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. In Appendix Three, a collection of photographic material will make the reader more familiar with Cilicia and its fortifications. On several occasions in the text references will be made to these photographs. In Appendix Four, a collection of plans are added. The plans were made by Robert Edwards and published in his work *Fortifications* (1987). During the

archaeological surveys of the past three years, a large amount of pottery and ceramics have been found on site. As I did not have an official permit to remove any finds from any site or take any measurements on the sites, I was left with detailed photographs of the ceramics.

Table 1: List of Medieval Fortifications in Cilicia

No.	Place	Location
1	Ak Kale	Taurus
2	Aladağ	Cilicia Pedias
3	Alafakılar	Taurus
4	Amuda	Cilicia Pedias
5	Anacık	Cilicia Pedias
6	Anahşa	Het'umid
7	Anavarza	Cilicia Pedias
8	Andıl Kalesi	Taurus
9	Andıl Köy	Taurus
10	Arslanköy	Het'umid
11	Aşılı	Taurus
12	Ayas (land castle)	Cilicia Pedias
13	Ayas (sea castle)	Cilicia Pedias
14	Azgit	Taurus
15	Babaoğlan	Cilicia Pedias
16	Babıklı	Taurus
17	Bağras	Amanus
18	Başnalar	Het'umid
19	Bayremker	Taurus
20	Belen Keşlik	Het'umid
21	Bodrum	Cilicia Pedias
22	Bossek	Cilicia Pedias
23	Bostan	Taurus
24	Bucak	Cilicia Pedias
25	Buyuksofulu	Taurus
26	Çalan	Amanus
27	Çandır	Het'umid
28	Çardak	Amanus
29	Çebiş	Taurus
30	Çem Kalesi	Taurus
31	Çiğsar, Su Çati	Taurus
32	Çukur Çömelek	Taurus
33	Çukurhisar (Kanc')	Taurus
34	Değirmendere Kale	Taurus
35	Dibi	Taurus
36	Dokurcun, Beyolugu	Taurus
37	Esenli, Esende Kale	Taurus
38	Evciler	Het'umid
39	Fındıklı	Taurus
40	Fındıkpınar	Het'umid
41	Geben	Taurus
42	Gediği	Het'umid
43	Gökvelioğlu	Cilicia Pedias
44	Gösne	Het'umid
45	Gülek	Het'umid
46	Haçtın	Taurus
47	Haruniye	Amanus
48	Hasanbeyli	Amanus

49	Hebilli	Cilicia Pedias
50	Hisar	Het'umid
51	Hotalan	Taurus
52	Iřa Kalesi	Taurus
53	Kalası	Taurus
54	Kalealtı	Taurus
55	Kaleboynu	Taurus
56	Kalkan	Taurus
57	Karafrenk	Amanus
58	Kinet	Amanus
59	Kız (near Dorak)	Cilicia Pedias
60	Kız Kalesi	Cilicia Trachea
61	Korykos	Cilicia Trachea
62	Kozcağız	Amanus
63	Kumkale	Cilicia Pedias
64	Kütüklü	Cilicia Pedias
65	Kuzucubelen	Het'umid
66	Lamas	Cilicia Trachea
67	Lampron	Het'umid
68	Liman	Cilicia Trachea
69	Mamure Kalesi	Cilicia Trachea
70	Mancılık Kalesi	Amanus
71	Mansurlu	Taurus
72	Maran	Taurus
73	Mavga	Cilicia Trachea
74	Meydan	Taurus
75	Milvan	Het'umid
76	Misis	Cilicia Pedias
77	Mitisin	Amanus
78	Ođlan	Cilicia Pedias
79	Payas	Amanus
80	Ritafiye I	Taurus
81	Ritafiye II	Taurus
82	Saimbeyli	Taurus
83	Sarı Çiçek	Taurus
84	Sarı Seki	Amanus
85	Savranda	Amanus
86	Seleukia	Cilicia Trachea
87	Sinap (near Çandır)	Het'umid
88	Sinap (near Lampron)	Het'umid
89	Sis	Cilicia Pedias
90	Softa Kalesi	Cilicia Trachea
91	Sulayayla	Taurus
92	Tamrut	Taurus
93	Tece	Cilicia Pedias
94	Tokmar	Cilicia Trachea
95	Tomuk	Cilicia Pedias
96	Toprak	Cilicia Pedias
97	Trapesak	Amanus
98	Tumil	Cilicia Pedias
99	Tumlu	Cilicia Pedias
100	Vahga	Taurus
101	Yaka	Cilicia Pedias
102	Yanik Kale	Taurus
103	Yeni Köy	Taurus
104	Yılan Kalesi	Cilicia Pedias

2. Sources

The dynamic of this frontier region is understood in its general parameters from the works of historians and military strategists from the medieval period. For our knowledge of the Armenian kingdom we have to rely on what narrative sources we have. Considering the fragmentary and all too often contradictory nature of those primary sources, and the absence of a critical apparatus, it is difficult to write a definitive political and military history of the region. Detailed documents are very rare, and it is difficult therefore to reconstruct the network of Armenian fortifications and settlements.

Particularly important among the Armenians sources are chronicles, liturgical works, colophons and elegies. Many of the medieval Armenian monastic institutions had large libraries of manuscripts, which attracted scholars and scribes alike. A large number of manuscripts, however, have been destroyed as a result of ignorance, plunder, and carelessness. The extant Armenian manuscripts that remain are scattered throughout the world in libraries, museums, and private collections. The oldest complete manuscript dates from AD 887. From the fifth century until the fall of the Bagratuni kingdom in Armenia in 1071 and later under the Armenian kingdom, manuscripts were as a rule commissioned or sponsored by members of the royal family, and the high-ranking clergy, for only these could afford the expense of their production.

The chronicles will be combined with the invaluable work of historical geographers, colophons, and medieval inscriptions. Regarding the latter, a handful of inscriptions have survived and are discussed in the works of Hellenkemper (1976) and Edwards (1987 and 1993). Some of the inscriptions are so badly damaged today that it is almost impossible to compare them with the nineteenth-century transcriptions of Victor Langlois or deal critically with the translations. Where useful, the most reliable translation of the inscriptions will be given.

The authors of the chronicles, whether they are Armenian, Syrian, Greek, Frankish or Muslim, write about the subjects that are most closely related to their own community. In this section, I would like to present the major sources, allocated according to the function of the language, which was originally used by the author. Therefore we can suggest a division within the accounts composed in the language of the 'oriental' Christians (Armenian and Syrian) and the Orthodox Greek, and those written in the western languages (Latin, French, and Italian), before we conclude our summary with the Arabic sources (Muslim or Coptic). This typology, which is linguistically based, could reflect the major religious/ethnic groups around the Mediterranean during the medieval period.

2.1. The Armenian Sources

The principal chronicles are those of Matt'eos d'Ourha (better known in the western world as Matthew of Edessa), Grigor Yérêts (Gregory the Priest), Kirakos of Gandzak, that attributed to the seneschal (or constable) Smbat and those of Samuël Anec'I (Samuel of Ani), the historian Het'um of Korykos and of king Het'um II, published in the collection which carries the title *Minor Chronicles*.

The chronicle of Matthew of Edessa is probably the most important example of Armenian historiography of the thirteenth century. Matthew was surnamed Ourhayetsi, because he was born in Edessa (Ourha in Armenian), a city where he lived for a long time.⁴ All translations, unless otherwise noted, are from Ara Dostourian's English translation: *Matthew of Edessa, Armenia and the Crusades* (1933). In addition to the translation, the critical analysis of Tara Andrews (2009) has been used. Matthew of Edessa's work and that of his continuator, Gregory the Priest, covers the period from the beginning of the Armenian migration (and the campaigns of the Byzantine Emperors) until 1163 (1140 for Matthew of Edessa). Gregory starts his narrative with the year 1137 and finishes in 1163. Both authors

⁴ Throughout this thesis, I will be citing on occasions the Armenian text of Matthew of Edessa's chronicle, using the 1898 Vagharshapat edition, which relies upon the largest number of manuscripts and includes some critical apparatus (Matt'eos Urhayets'i, 1898).

were eye-witnesses to the events that they chronicled. They share the same antagonism towards the Greeks. The value of the work of Gregory the Priest lies in its account of the expeditions of the Byzantine emperors John and Manuel Komnenos to Cilicia and Syria, from the relation of the Sultan of Iconium and the Rubenid Princes of Cilicia or the Frankish undertakings against Nūr al-Dīn. The chronicles briefly give us bits of information at the same time about the Armenian social organization in Cilicia.

In his *History of Armenia*, Kyriakos of Gandzak (1203-1272) evokes the events that marked the Armenian kingdom since its creation in 1198 and focuses on the reigns of King Levon I (1198-1219) and Het'um I (1226-1270). His account is particularly rich about the Mongol conquests (in which he was taken prisoner) in the thirteenth century in Greater Armenia, but also on the political alliance conducted with the Mongols by Het'um I. He also recounts how the Armenian Princess Zapêl (Isabella) found refuge with the Hospitallers in Seleukia when the bailiff Kostandin wanted to force her to marry his son.

The *Chronicle* falsely attributed to the seneschal Smbat (1206/8-1275), brother of king Het'um I, was written by his brother, Vasil, archbishop of Sis and chancellor, who became the official historian of the Het'umids. There have been recent French and English translations of this chronicle, but these versions end in the 1270s (Der Nersessian, 1959: 143-68; Dédéyan, 1980). Smbat himself died in 1276. The work was also translated by Dulaurier, in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (RHC, I: 580-600), with an anonymous continuation up to the 1330s, as the *Chronicle of the Kingdom of Little Armenia* (Dulaurier, 1896-1906: 605-672). Many of the notices recorded by the continuator are very brief, but even these can be helpful. The original *Chronicle* of Smbat covers a period from the end of the tenth century until the end of the thirteenth and is one of the most complete chronicles from the last century of the Armenian kingdom. Despite the position of the author in favour of the Het'umids, his testimony is credible and of interest. His account of the Knights Templar, whom he calls 'brothers with their cloths marked by the Cross', is glowing, in particular where he describes their courage when they were faced by Saladin after the terrible defeat of Hattin

(Dédéyan, 1980: 62-63). However, while the chronicler mentions most of the essential facts concerning the Templars and Hospitallers in Armenian Cilicia, he does not discuss their quarrel in Antioch with the Prince of that city and the Armenian King Levon I as protagonists. The major importance of the *Chronicle* of Smbat lies with the coronation list. This is the most complete list of the nobles who in attended the coronation of King Levon I (1198/99). In this compilation forty-six nobles and fifty-nine separate place-names are mentioned. The list exists in two versions. The first is in a manuscript of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, not published in its entirety until 1956 (*Chronicle of Smbat*, ed. Akelian) and the second is found in two later, but better-known, manuscripts, published and translated in various ways by Gérard Dédéyan (1980: 136). Of the forty-five holdings listed, twenty-nine can be identified with known places, though even with some of them exact localities are not known. Another list like the coronation list is the list of barons at the Council of Sis in 1307. It gives us some further names of barons, seats of bishops, names of holdings such as *Mikhailagla*, *Sempadagla*, *Cizistra*, *Djofregla*, and *Gigraschentz* (Galanus, *Conciliationis* I: 460). The Council of Adana in 1308 substitutes *Khentzorovid* (valley of apples) for *Cizistra*, and *Ghorriculi* for *Gantchi* (Galanus: 504).

Other Armenian sources furnish the occasional detail. I have made use of two continuations and the chronicle of Samuel of Ani. The details provided in the *Chronography* edited and translated by Dulaurier are generally, with the occasional exception, brief, but are much fuller than the simple entries in the Chronological Tables translated by Brosset (Samuel of Ani, I: 605-72). Amongst the *Minor Chronicles*, collected and annotated by Hakobyan, some are a precious testimony of the Crusades and the history of the Armenian kingdom. The writings of the historians and the celebrated Armenian chroniclers, such as Het'um the Historian and King Het'um II, figure therein; they mention most of the notable facts concerning the military-religious orders in Latin East.

For the later period of the Armenian kingdom, one of the most interesting sources must be *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient* of Het'um, or Hayton (1230/1245- to 1314),

Count of Korykos.⁵ Hayton was the author of several works including one *Chronicle*, published in the *Minor Chronicles*, recording all the notable events that affected the Armenian kingdom, but also the Latin states till 1294, without omitting to mention the masters of the military religious orders every time that they are implicated. His most essential work remains the *Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*, which also includes some events in Cilicia. This was actually dictated by Hayton in French, to a clerk who then translated it into Latin (*Flos Historiarum Terre Orientalis*), for presentation to Pope Clement V in August, 1307. Both Latin and French versions, with variants, are published in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens* (Dulaurier: 113-253 [French], 255-366 [Latin]). The first three books describe the lands of the East, and deal with the history of the Mongols, including passages of some relevance for the history of the Armenian kingdom, many of which Hayton claims to be a witness to; the fourth book is essentially a treatise advocating a *passagium* aimed at recapturing the Holy Land. The intended Papal audience, the 'political' aim of the work, and Hayton's own involvement in the politics of both the Armenian kingdom and Cyprus, are all factors that lead the reader to question the reliability of the *Flor*. Nevertheless, bearing these problems in mind, the *Flor* does provide much information, which can at least be compared with other sources. Hayton was also responsible for the brief and incomplete, though occasionally informative, entries in a *Chronological Table*, edited and translated into French from the Armenian by Dulaurier and Brosset (Samuel of Ani, 1: 461-90). There is also an English translation by Richard Pynson (1517-20) (ed. by G. Burger, 1988), and other 16th century translations into German, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch.

Amongst the works, dealing with the liturgy and the tenets of the Armenian Church, the most important for this research are those of Nerses of Lampron and from Mekhit'ar of Tachir. Nerses of Lampron (1153-1198), a family member of the Het'umids, had as paternal uncle, the famous patriarch Nersês Chenorhali. Throughout his entire life, Nerses of

⁵Throughout this work I have called the writer Hayton, rather than Het'um, in order to distinguish him from his namesake, the Armenian king.

Lampron has tried to bring the Armenians closer together with the Greeks, but most of all with the Latin Church. Many Patriarchs and Armenian princes composed lyrical poems at the end of painful events for the Christians of the East. So, in 1145-1146, Nerses Chenorhali (1102-1173) wrote, twenty years before becoming Patriarch, an *Elegy on the capture of Edessa*, in which he laments the destruction and horrible massacres by the troops of Zengi, the *atabeg* of Mosul and Aleppo, in 1144. At that moment the city was still held by numerous Armenians and Syrians and governed by the Franks. Of the work of his cousin, Gregory IV Tegha (1133-1193), who became Patriarch in his turn in 1173, there only remain five or six letters. One of these letters deals with the reunion of the Armenian Church with the Greek Orthodox Church, while the others were directed against the clergy of Greater Armenia, as is his *Elegy on the capture of Jerusalem*. This poem gives us an insight on the expeditions of the Ayyubid Sultan in the territories occupied by the Franks and the Armenians. This Patriarch distinguishes himself from the rest by his ambivalent attitude towards the Crusade of Frederic Barbarossa. The last elegy is the one of chancellor Vahram of Edessa (c. 1215-1290), made on the demand of King Levon II. His work would be the continuation of the elegy of Saint Nerses Chenorhali. The function of the author, close at the side of his sovereign, made him a privileged eye-witness. He evokes on many occasions the fortifications of Amuda and Bağras, which belonged at that time to the Templars and Teutonic Knights respectively.

Another source are the colophons, which are annotations by the copyist, bookbinders or diverse characters who had the manuscript in their hands, made in the margins or at the end of the work. They are a unique source of information for our knowledge of the history of the Armenian kingdom and were an integral part of the art of manuscript production. For this research I will use the translations of the colophons made by A.K. Sanjian (1969) with the latest corrections of Marie-Anne Chevalier (2009). The colophons deal with such varied domains as cultural and social life, and the economic and political world, despite the numerous biblical references that are entangled with the account of the events. These often

help with points of dating and titles, for example, and by their nature give what are frequently fascinating opinions on events of contemporary scribes. The shifting attitude of the Armenians to the Ilkhans is one area revealed by some of the extracts (Stewart, 2001: 22). It is unfortunate that Sanjian's selection begins so late.

2.2. The Syrian Sources

There are relatively few exploitable Syrian sources for this research project available; however, those few ones are very important. These are the chronicles of Michael the Syrian, the anonymous Syrian, and Bar Hebraeus.

The Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Michael the Syrian or Michael of Antioch (c. 1126-1199), wrote a universal chronicle which is broken down into three registers: the church, history of the states, and natural phenomena, starting from the origins of the world and completed in 1195. He was an eyewitness to some of the events that he describes, and his experience and his travels give the work some very valuable insights. In particular, he spent several years in Antioch and, even before his election to the patriarchate, he went to Acre in order to salute King Baldwin IV (r. 1174-1185), and even to Melitene on invitation of Sultan Kilîdj Arslân. His chronicle is a source of major importance for our subject, because of the practical information the author gives us about the organization of the military orders in the Armenian kingdom. Apart from their structure, Michael the Syrian gives us an insight on their origin, how they lived, what their duties were and their relations with the diverse communities (Franks, Syrians, Armenians, Arabs and Greeks) in the Armenian baronies during the twelfth century.

The Anonymous Syrian wrote several works, amongst them the *Book of ecclesiastical events* and the *Civil chronicle*. In this last work, completed after 1237, the author is interested in the whole of events that touched the Middle East, while paying particular attention to the Armenians of Cilicia. He does not omit to note, on several occasions, the participation of the

Templars and the Hospitallers on the side of the Frankish barons, who were fighting the Muslims. He himself was present when Saladin retook Jerusalem in 1187.

The *Chronography* of Gregory Abū'l-Farāj, better known as Bar Hebraeus (c. 1226-1286), constitutes as one of the major sources for the study of the region. On many occasions, however, Bar Hebraeus copies Michael the Syrian. This universal history was completed in 1297 (after the death of Bar Hebraeus in 1286, his work was without doubt continued by his brother Bar Saumā), and is very useful for our research; it recounts the relations between the military orders and the Armenians in Cilicia and outside. They are addressed on a regular and exact basis, so is the history of the fortresses occupied by the Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in the Armenian kingdom. The latest references on the strongholds in Cilicia, belonging to the military orders, date from 1269, 1278, and 1282. For the twelfth century, the author is often reliant on Michael the Syrian as when he evokes the first intervention of the Templars in the Amanus region, in 1156, or when he recounts the battle of Hârim (1164), where the Armenians and military orders were fighting, between others, side by side.

2.3. The Greek Sources

The Greek sources that are most important for our subject are the *History* written by Leo the Deacon, the *history* of Michael Attaleiates, the *Synopsis of Histories* by John Skylitzes, the *Chronicle* of John Kinnamos, the *Annales* of Niketas Choniates, the biography of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) by his daughter Anna Komnene and the chronicle of Michael Italicus. In addition to the literary sources, a corpus of Byzantine lead seals of the years 552-1450 have been investigated in order to document the historical landscape of Cilicia before the arrival of the Armenian migrants. The lead seals have been published in three volumes as a result of the close cooperation between George Zacos and Alexander Veglery (1984).

Towards the end of the tenth century, Leo the Deacon wrote a history divided into ten books in which he deals with the period 959-76 and gives a picture not only of the situation in Cilicia for the tenth century, but also includes anecdotes about the military achievements of Nikephorus Phokas (r. 963-969) and John I Tzimiskes (r. 969-976). His work was modelled on the history of Agathias which results in more artificial descriptions, especially of the siege of Tarsus in 965.

The three main Greek sources used to build up the historical landscape of Cilicia during the eleventh century are Michael Attaleiates (c. 1022-1080), Michael Psellos (c. 1017-1078), and John Skylitzes. While Michael Attaleiates was a younger contemporary of Michael Psellos, author of the *Chronographia*, he was at the same time also an older colleague of John Skylitzes, which makes their accounts very interesting to compare. The *History* of Michael Attaleiates was a political and military history of the Byzantine empire from 1034 to 1079 and has recently been translated by Dimitris Krallis (Krallis, 2012). This source offers us valuable information regarding the three campaigns of emperor Romanos Diogenes through Cilicia in 1069-1071. John Skylitzes on the other hand wrote the *Synopsis of Histories*, translated by John Wortley, which covers the reigns of the Byzantine emperors from the death of Nikephorus I in 811 to the deposition of Michael VI in 1057; with a continuation covering the period between 1057 and 1079 (Wortley, 2000).

In the seven books of the Chronicle of John Kinnamos (c. 1143-1185) that have come down to us, the author relates the events that marked the reigns of the emperors John II (r. 1118-1143) and Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180), focusing on the history of the latter. The campaigns of the emperors John and Manuel in Cilicia and in Syria are described in detail. The author is also one of the first to mention the presence of the Templars in the region of Antioch, as he notes their presence in the proximity of the Amanus fortresses from 1137 onwards. For more information about the campaigns of John Komnenos, we can use the account of the witness, although highly subjective, Michael Italicus.

The *Annales* of Niketas Choniātēs start with the reign of John II Komnenos and comes to an end in 1206, two years after the sack of Constantinople by Western European and Venetian Crusaders. The author evokes Cilicia in connection with the expeditions of John Komnenos in this region and to Antioch, in 1137-1138, then in Syria in 1142, with his son Manuel. Niketas Choniātēs mentions in his work the army and the fleet sent by Manuel to Antioch. This is a result of a harassment sustained by the Armenian cities, which were subjected to the Byzantine emperors, thereby the expedition of the emperor in Cilicia, in 1158.

The Greek biography of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), written by his daughter Anna Komnene c. 1140, provides another view of the First Crusade and the early history of Latin settlement in the Levant. For the translation of the *Alexiad* the revised edition by P. Frankopan has been followed instead of the 1969 edition (2009). Anna's account is less reliable regarding events that took place in Syria and Palestine, outside her own environment in Constantinople, and her work is strongly biased in favour of her father Alexios and, therefore, against the Armenians, and early Latin rulers of Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem with whom he came into conflict. The information that she recorded, however, does provide a valuable insight into the Greek perception of relations with their new neighbours and her work includes the only extant copy of the treaty of Devol (1108) between Bohemond and Alexios. The account furthermore mentions the strategic importance of the Cilician coastal cities of Seleukia and modern-day Korykos (Armenian Kiwrikos/Gotigos; Latin Curc[us]), in order to prepare further operations against the principality of Antioch.

2.4. The Latin and Frankish Sources

The passage of the First Crusade through Cilicia provides us with important information regarding the establishment of the first Armenian groups in the region. For the passage of the first Crusader armies through the Cilician Gates, we can rely on the account of Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen, who did not take part in the First Crusade, but do deliver detailed information of the expedition. In contrary, the accounts of the *Gesta Francorum* and Fulcher

of Chartres do not contain much more relevant information. Although both authors participated in the First Crusade, it is almost certain that neither took part in the Cilician expedition.

For the later history of the Armenian kingdom, the papal correspondence deserves special attention. It not only delivers some detailed accounts on of the military orders in Cilicia; the sources furthermore reveal to us the alliances and the conflicts, the confirmation of the donations, the initiation of special operations and the rules how to solve economic, political or territorial conflicts. The correspondence of Pope Innocent III is particularly rich in this regard. The collection of papal acts, *Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis*, edited by Jacques-Paul Migne, but most of all the papal registers published by the French School at Rome, allow us to put the history of the orders in the more general context of the Latin East.

The diplomatic sources have been collected in book form and provide us with precious information about the established contacts between the Armenian leaders and the military orders. Documents related to the Templars up to 1150 are collected in an unfinished *cartulaire* of the Marquis of Albon, and the more recent documents by Pierre-Vincent Claverie in the annex to his thesis. The *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1130-1310)* edited by Joseph Delaville-Le-Roulx (4 vols, Paris) constitutes of the most important collection relating to the Hospitallers. With respect to the Teutonic Knights, the *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, edited by Ernest Strehlke, gathered a great number of acts concerning the order both in the Holy Land, Cyprus, the Armenian kingdom and in Europe. In the second part of *Trésor des Chartes*, by Victor Langlois, there are thirteen charters granted to the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights by Levon I and Het'um I. Certain events are documented in detail, as for example the abandonment of the fortress of Bağras by the Templars in 1268. The latter can also be found in the Rule of the Templars (trans. by J.M. Upton-Ward, Boydell Press, 2008).

Most of the Frankish chronicles written in the East make a place for the history of the Armenian kingdom and pay a lot of attention to the deeds of the military orders there. In his primary work regarding the beginning of the Crusades in the Near East (until 1184), William of Tyre (1130-1186), edited by R.B.C. Huygens (1986) and thoroughly analysed by Peter Edbury and John G. Rowe (1988), was critical enough with regard to the Templars. This was in particular due to the privileges acquired by the latter at the expense of the secular clergy and the growing importance of their influence amongst the faithful. The information he gives about the Armenian kingdom is not always very precise, but proves to be sometimes very interesting, in particular concerning the rebellious Armenian prince Mleh. Amongst the works of his continuators, the one chronicle attributed to Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer, edited by de Mas Latrie (1871), traces affairs in the Latin East and elsewhere from 1100 to the time of writing around 1227. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* mentions the pilgrimage of T'oros II, the Rubenid Baron, to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Furthermore the chronicle clarifies the circumstances that surrounded certain campaigns of Saladin at the frontiers of the Armenian kingdom, such as the siege of the Templar fortress of *La Roche Guillaume* in 1188.

The *Gestes des Chiprois*, composed of several chronicles, written down during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by different authors, adds some information of interest, for example relating to the internal affairs of the Armenian kingdom. In that regard the *Gestes* was very useful for its knowledge of certain facts who are taking place during the quarrel in Antioch, but also on the substance of the relations between the Templars and Julian of Sidon, the Mamluk expeditions that led to the disappearance of the Templars in Armenia between the years 1260 and 1290 and on the implication of religious-military orders and the Armenians during the regency of Amalric of Tyre in Cyprus. The *Gestes des Chiprois* consists of a compilation of three separate texts. The compiler of this manuscript wrote in old French and may have been a Templar himself, who lived in Cyprus at the time when he completed this work. The manuscripts which combined make up the *Gestes* are: '*Annales de Terre Sainte*', '*Estoire et le droit contre de la guerre qui fu entre l'empereur Frederic et*

messier Johan de Ibelin’; *Chronique du Templier de Tyr*. Given this contemporary status, and the close relations between the Armenian and Cypriot kingdoms, it is well worth paying attention to the last manuscript. The most recent editions by Lupa Minervini and Silvio Melani of the *Gestes* were consulted (Minervini, 2000; Melani, 1994).

The author Jean Dardel (who died in 1384), confessor of the last Armenian king in Cilicia, Levon V of Lusignan (r. 1374-1375), collected, meanwhile, memories of the sovereign and combined them with his own in a *Chronique d’Arménie*. It is one of the rare sources known for its history of the kingdom in the second half of the fourteenth century; it is therefore essential for this study, despite the bias of the author for the Cypriot and Armenian interests of Leo, and more widely, the descendants of Amalric, Prince of Tyre. His position was sometimes very critical, even hostile, towards the Armenians.

The *Chronique d’Amadi* is an Italian compilation manuscript that covers the period of the Cypriot intervention in the Armenian kingdom. Surviving in just one sixteenth-century manuscript named after Francesco Amadi, the manuscript’s original owner, the codex contains Italian excerpts and translations of a number of narrative histories commonly found in the Latin East. These include the Old French William of Tyre, the *Gestes des Chiprois*, and the *Annales de Terre Sainte*. While several of these works survive independently, the text contains a unique account for the history of the Armenian kingdom at the start of the fourteenth century. Between 1306 and 1324 the Italian manuscript highlights the intrigues between the dignitaries of the military orders and the Armenians during the usurpation of Amalric of Lusignan (Prince of Tyre), and the fate of the Templars at Cyprus at the moment of the trial and the years following that.

Within the narratives of the pilgrims, the most detailed account on the Armenian kingdom is by the canon of Hildesheim, Wilbrand of Oldenburg (first half of the twelfth century – 1234). He stayed in Cilicia in 1211-1212 and was involved in a diplomatic mission to King Levon I of the Armenian kingdom on behalf of the German emperor Otto IV, in the

company of Hermann of Salza, grand master of the Teutonic Knights, and the envoys of Leopold VII, duke of Austria. Interesting for this research is that Wilbrand mentions in his work the towns and fortresses, which he saw during his trip through Cilicia. Amongst them were several which belonged to the religious military orders, including Bağras, Alexandretta, Canamella, Cumbethfor and Seleukia. The Dominican missionary of Florence, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, also crossed Armenian Cilicia in 1291. In this narrative, the missionary evokes his passage in certain Armenian cities, in particular Ayas, Misis, and Tarsus. One of the most detailed accounts to have come down to us from the thirteenth century is the description of the Holy Land by Burchard of Mount Sion. His book, as represented by the earlier, longer version, is not so much an itinerary as a description of biblical geography, related as far as possible to contemporary events on the basis, in part at least, of his own first-hand experience. In his introduction he explains that he frequently passed through the land on foot and that he had included nothing that he had not seen for himself, even if only from a distance, or had learnt from conversations with local Syrian Christians or Muslims.⁶

Concerning the accounts of travellers, certainly the one of Marco Polo (1254-1324), entitled the *Currency of the world or the Book of Wonders*, is particularly of interest. He describes the cities and provinces through which he travelled till his arrival in China. Most remarkable in his account is the presence of the Master of Knights Templar in Ayas or modern-day Yumurtalık. The Flemish Franciscan, William of Rubrouck, sent by the king of France on a mission to the Mongols in Central Asia around 1253, passed on his way back through Korykos, Sis, and Ayas, as he indicates in his report, presented as an epistolary document, addressed to Saint Louis.

⁶ Burchard's visits to Cilicia and Egypt appear to have been for diplomatic reasons. This was already suggested by Denys Pringle in the introduction of his translation, but has now been confirmed by the discovery of a continuation of his text, made by Jonathan Rubin (Pringle, *Crusades*, 2012).

2.5. The Arabic Sources

The collection of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades (RHC)* offers us important extracts and devotes five volumes to the Eastern (oriental) historians. We can distinguish three categories of Arabic sources among those that give us information about the Armenian kingdom, each of them corresponding to a different period. The first category contains writers who were contemporaries of Saladin, such as ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī and Bahā’ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Rāfi’ Ibn Shaddād. A second category of historians follow the Mamluk Sultans, especially from the beginning of the fourteenth century, with Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir and ‘Abū l-Fīda’, essentially focused on the life and conquests of Baybars. Forming the last category are two Muslim authors, al-Mufaddal and al-Maqrīzī.

Amongst the contemporary historians of Saladin, ‘Imād al-Dīn (1125-1201) was his personal secretary from 1174 onwards, accompanied him in all his travels and wrote an account after the death of the Sultan. He writes about the Seljuks, the Third Crusade and the many conquests of the Sultan in Palestine and Cilicia. In his work ‘Imād al-Dīn gives a detailed account of the seizure of the fortresses of Trapesak and Bağras by Saladin, the battle between the Muslim forces and the Franks at Alexandretta in 1189 and the massacre of the German contingent at Bağras. Those events are also reported by Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (1145-1235) in his biography of Saladin. In combination with the account of Imād al-Dīn, Shaddād is a major source of information for the conquests of the Ayyubid Sultan in Cilicia.

There are three chroniclers of the Ayyubid period that are of particular interest to our research. For Claude Cahen, Ibn al-‘Athīr (1160-1233) was ‘the greatest or in fact the only real historian of this period’ (Cahen, 1940: 58). At the same time Ibn al-Athīr was a soldier and man of many letters and historical works such as the *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh’or*. In the *Kāmil* we can find the history of the Muslim world from the early beginnings up to 1231, the account of the conquests of Zengī in Cilicia in 1136-1137, the sieges of Bağras and Trapesak by Saladin fifty years later and the expedition of the Prince of Antioch in Cilicia, in 1226, on the

side of the Seljuk Sultan of Rum (the expedition on which the Templars and the Hospitallers refused to participate). Ibn al-ʿAthīr wrote in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and we must therefore be wary of relying upon his information too heavily. The *Kāmil* was also very much a composite account, drawn from numerous other Arabic sources, which aimed to provide a year-by-year account of events. By its nature, however, this method of recording information can sometimes lead to confusion. More chronicler than historian, Ibn al-ʿAthīr occasionally returned to events that he had already recorded in order to compare them with more recent occurrences.

Kamāl al-Dīn wrote a parallel account to the one of Ibn al-ʿAthīr. In his *Chronicle of Aleppo*, written down in 1243, Kamāl al-Dīn (1191-1262) mentions the conquests of Tancred in Cilicia at the beginning of the twelfth century; and he evokes equally the expedition of the *basileus* John Komnenos in this region. Despite the fact that Kamāl al-Dīn in his work was more focused upon events in the region of Aleppo, his account is particularly valuable for the study of the passage of John Komnenos at Bağras, as the capture of the latter by the Rubenid Prince Levon I (r. 1129/1130-1137) and the reestablishment of the Byzantine authority on the cities in the Cilician plain. Both Ibn al-ʿAthīr and Kamāl ad-Dīn provide indispensable detail about events in Cilicia and northern Syria in the 1120s when most contemporary Latin accounts had already ceased.

The *Book of the Two Gardens* of Abū Shāma (1203-1268), devoted to the reigns of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, is a wide compilation in which the author cites his sources literally. It is therefore completely normal that he describes the same events as his predecessors, such as the expeditions of John and Manuel Komnenos in Cilicia, the seizure of Trapesak by Saladin or the crossing of the Armenian kingdom by the German troops during the Third Crusade. More interesting is his account of the Mongol conquests from the thirteenth century, which constitutes the major part of his work, but is less valuable for this research.

Amongst the historians of the period of the Mamluk Sultans and from the beginning of the fourteenth century, 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (1217-1285) wrote several historical works and topographies. His most important book remains the *Historical Topography of Syria and Jazīra*, written between 1272/3 and 1281/2. The author firstly makes a geographical and archaeological description of the different localities; some of them are situated in Armenian Cilicia and therefore very interesting for our research. Furthermore Ibn Shaddād is interested in the fortresses of Trapesak and Bağras from their origin and mentions their return to the Templars in 1216 after the long dispute over Antioch, the attacks that took place on both sides in 1236-1237, and the definitive conquest of Bağras in 1268 by Shams al-Dīn, an officer of Baybars.

The prince of Hamâ, Abû'l-Fidâ' (1273-1331), in turn historian and geographer, enjoyed a great success with his universal history, covering the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods just till 1329. His narrative gives us much information about the military orders, in particular in the Armenian kingdom. Some of it, however, is second hand, like the description of the conquests of Saladin, the offensive of King Levon I against Antioch or the siege of Bağras by the troops of Tûrân Shâh in 1236-1237. The author offers us, on the other hand, unpublished information on the expeditions and conquests of the Mamluks and the Syrian princes against the Armenian kingdom between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century and consequently about the loss of the marches in the Amanus region of the Templars and Teutonic Knights.

The late compilations were illustrated by the works of al-Mufaddal and al-Maqrîzî. The Coptic historian al-Mufaddal ibn Abû'l-Fadâ'il wrote in the middle of the fourteenth century a chronicle about the political history of Egypt and Syria, while sometimes expanding it to other Muslim regions. His account covers the period from 1260 to 1340, which led him to mention the diverse Mamluk expeditions against the Armenian kingdom and the conquest of the fortresses of the Orders in this kingdom. He does not forget, either, to mention the alliance of the Armenians with the Mongols and, in particularly, their presence next to Ilkhân Ghâzân.

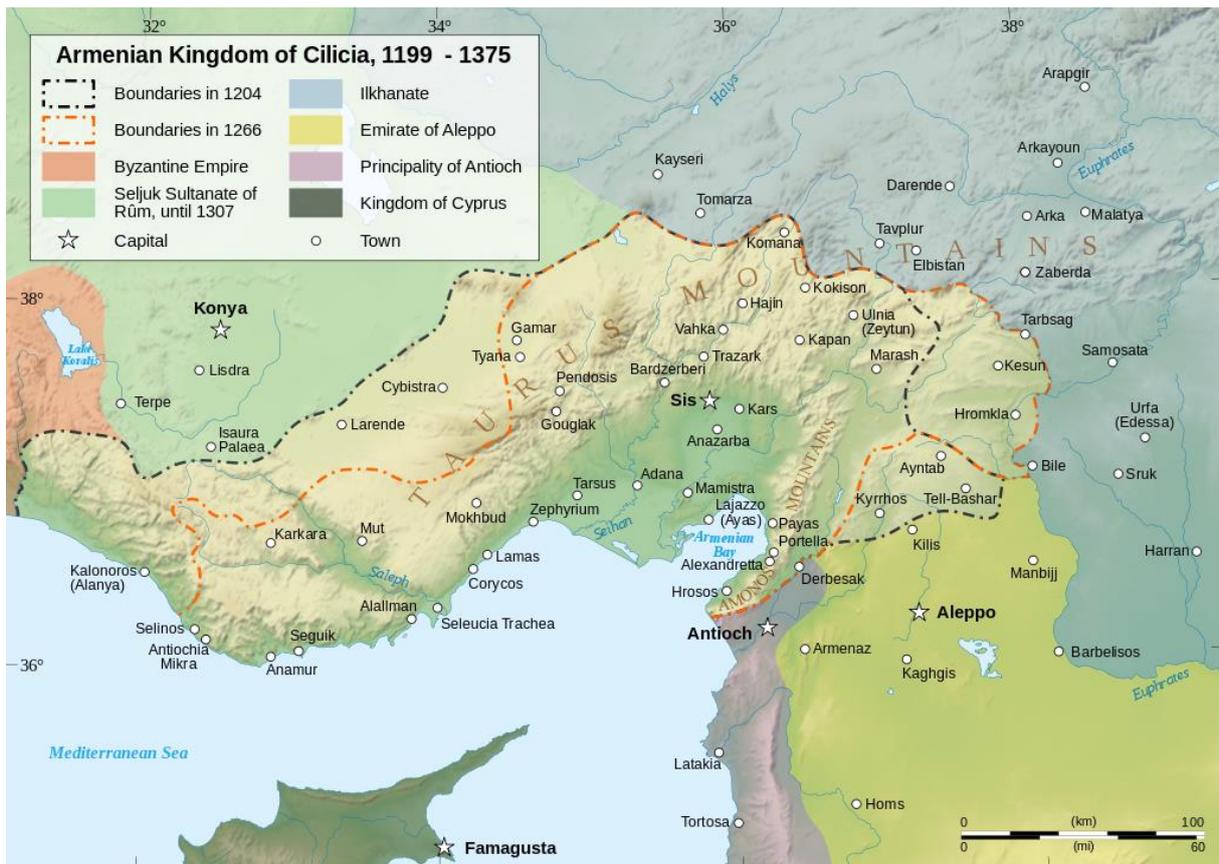
We must attribute to al-Maqrîzî (1364-1442), despite this being a later author, several works from diverse domains. Just like al-Mufaddal, he presents the conquests of Baybars and his successors in Cilicia. In his work, he transmits to us equally a document of much importance proving the intercession of the Templar commander in Cilicia and the Grand Master of the order with Sultan Qala'ûn, that he would offer a truce to the Armenian king of Cilicia Levon II, which would be signed on 6 June 1285.

3. The Geography of the Armenian Kingdom – Study Areas

3.1. Introduction

A work of this kind needs its own boundaries of scale of what to include and what regrettably must be omitted. Therefore it is necessary to decide upon a framework at the outset. Despite the availability of a considerable body of archaeological data, the question arises: should the discussion be limited to the fortified sites which fell within the boundaries of the Armenian Kingdom at its largest extent? Certainly one would like to include sites as Bağras, Trapesak, and Mamure Kalesi. Although they all became only briefly part of the Armenian kingdom at the start of the thirteenth century, these sites have played an important part in the history of the Armenian kingdom. Furthermore it is important to examine their architectural features. What about the cities in the Cilician plain? Following the chronicles the classical cities of Tarsus, Adana, and Misis not only obtained city defences but also citadels which were garrisoned. There are, however, no archaeological remains for their defences to be found today and therefore these will be omitted from the discussion. And what can be said about the monasteries? These too played an important role in the organization of the kingdom and were occasionally fortified. Therefore, the religious buildings will be included in the spatial analysis of Chapter Five, but will be excluded from the architectural analysis in Chapter Six as there is not enough evidence available to formulate any conclusions.

Figure 1 - The Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia



The area settled by the Armenians was much wider than the area later covered by the Armenian baronies of the Rubenids and Het'umids, even when the Armenian kingdom knew its greatest expansion. The Armenians emigrated from their ancestral homelands, the mountainous country in the southern Caucasus and to the north of Lake Van, in the tenth and subsequent centuries due to several external and internal reasons (Dédéyan, 1975: 41-117). By the later eleventh century Armenian governors controlled a vast area, which included Malatya (Classical Melitene; Armenian Malat'ya; Arabic Malaṭya), Mar'ash (Classical Marasion/Marazion; Greek Germanikeia; modern-day Kahramanmaraş), Edessa (Armenian Ourha; Arabic Ruhā; modern-day Şanlıurfa), and Antioch (Arabic Anṭākyā; modern-day Antakya). It is perhaps misleading to refer to the Armenian kingdom, centred in Cilicia as it was, as being merely "of Cilicia", or "Cilician": the Armenian king ruled lands away in the eastern Taurus Mountains to the banks of the Euphrates, in what is the extreme north of Syria.

Throughout this thesis I have tried not to use the ‘Cilician Kingdom of Armenia’ construction. I have sought to avoid the problem of the lack of a single geographic designation for the area covered by the kingdom by calling it the “Armenian kingdom”. In his research of Mamluk, Latin, and Armenian sources, Angus Stewart pointed out that of all contemporary sources only the ‘Western’ ones name the kingdom as “Armenia”, such as the reference found in the *Annales de Terre Sainte* to the *royaume d’Ermenie* (Stewart, 2001: 24-25; *Geste des Chiprois*, I: 52). In his *Chronique d’Arménie* Jean Dardel calls the region of the kingdom *la basse Armenye*, as opposed to *la haulte Armenye*, the Armenian homeland. The Armenian chronicler, Hayton, very interestingly, calls the kingdom Cilicia, but states that ‘verily, this province of Cilicia is known as Armenia’ (Flor, 134 [French], 273 [Latin]). Armenian writers, such as Samuel of Ani or the Constable Smpad, call the region Cilicia (*Kilikia*, *Giligia*, etc.), although the ruler himself may be termed *king of Armenia*. The writers of the colophons collected by Sanjian, even those in Cilicia itself, call the province Cilicia, and its ruler the *king of the Armenians*; the legend on coins from the kingdom describes the ruler in the same way, or even as ‘king of all the Armenians’ (Bedoukian, 1979: 87). With his research Stewart demonstrated that the Arabic writers never call the kingdom ‘Armenia’, but ‘always *bilād sīs*, *the land of Sis*, and at times merely *sīs* itself serves for the whole kingdom as well as its capital’ (Stewart, 2001: 25). Occasionally Stewart found a reference in the Mamluk sources to *the territory of the Armenians*. Some authors, aware that the king and his subjects are Armenians, call him *ṣāhib sīs*, ‘lord of Sis’, or even *takfūr malik sīs*, ‘*Takfūr*, which according to Stewart ‘could be derivation of the Armenian word for king *t’agawor*, king of Sis’ (Stewart, 2001: 25).

Cilicia, nevertheless, was the main, and most important, part of the kingdom. Cilicia lies around and to the north and west of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and the very north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. To the north is the Anatolian plateau, Syria to the south and east. To its north is the Anatolian plateau, Syria to the south and east. In order to make

comparisons the region of Cilicia has been divided into five study areas: Cilicia Trachea (I), Cilicia Pedias (II), Rubenid Region (III), Het'umid Region (IV), and Amanus Region (V).

3.2. Study Areas

3.2.1. Cilicia Trachea (or Rough Cilicia)

The study area of Cilicia Trachea or Rough Cilicia is characterized by the spurs of the Western and Central Taurus Mountains which often terminate in rocky headlands with small sheltered harbours. This area was surveyed to some extent by Bean and Mitford in their journeys along the coastline (Bean & Mitford, 1965: 21). The small sheltered harbours made this coastline in the Classical period an ideal place for pirates. The study area extends in the west to the environment of Koracesion, near modern-day Alanya. This was already mentioned by the Greek geographer Strabo who stated: '*Koracesion was located near the forts of Cilicia*' (Strabo, XIV 5, 2: 669). This line of fortifications would historically form the administrative border between the Roman provinces of Pamphylia and Cilicia (Hild/Hellenkemper, 1990: 17-20).

Figure 2 - Cilicia Trachea



In the east of Cilicia Trachea, the Lamas River formed the historical and geographical boundary with the region of Cilicia Pedias. For this research, however, the eastern border has been pushed eastwards towards the classical city of Zephyrion or modern-day Mersin. Between Seleukia and the Lamas River, the coastline is a very narrow, rough and stony strip, which only becomes well earthed and fertile beyond the Lamas. Despite the more fertile soil, there are only three fortifications located on the eastern side of the Lamas River (**no. 93** Tece; **nr. 98** Tumul; **nr. 101** Yaka). The study area is watered by the Goksü River (Classical Calycadnus) and was covered in ancient times by forests, which supplied timber for Phoenicia and Egypt (Jacoby, 2001: 119-25).

3.2.2. Cilicia Pedias

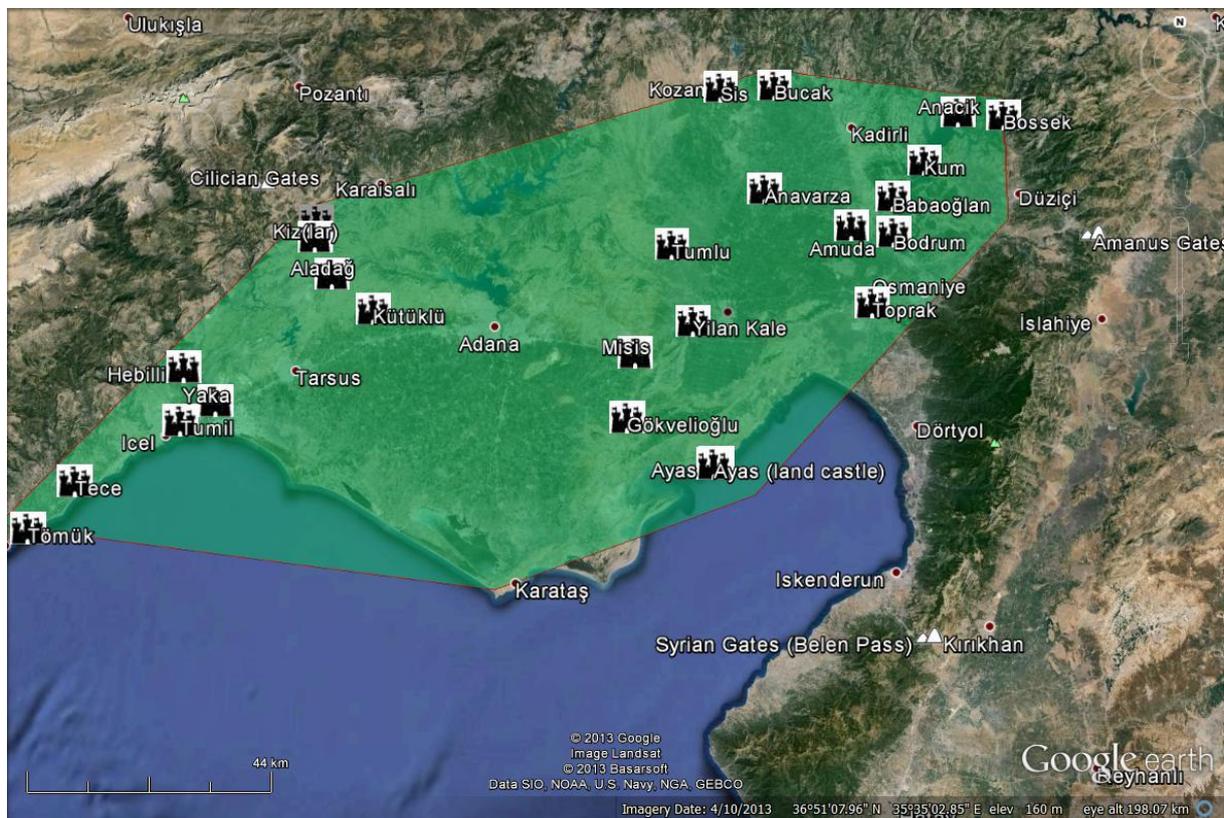
The landscape of Cilicia Pedias is characterized by the sharp contrast of a vast plain enclosed by the steep slopes of the middle Taurus to the north and the Amanus Mountains to the east. The large lowland alluvial Cilician plain extends from the Lamas River and Taurus Mountains in the west along the Mediterranean Sea around the Gulf of Alexandretta and includes in this way the Plain of Issos (or Black Cilicia).

The Cilician plain is fertile, and in summer very hot: the climate is characteristically Mediterranean, and modern irrigation programmes have led to the creation of citrus plantations. For the industry in this region cotton is still today a major product. The plain is drained by two main rivers and their tributaries, the Seyhan (Classical: Sarus; Armenian Sahan; Arabic Sayḥān) and the Ceyhan (Classical: Pyramus; Armenian: Chahan; Arabic: Jayḥān). The rivers contribute to an extremely fertile and arable landscape and at times in history, an extremely marshy wetland.⁷ These marshes dominated the plain near the outlets of the Seyhan and the Ceyhan and the land along the coast between them. Travellers in the

⁷ One impediment to the idea that marshes were settled is the assumption that they were malaria ridden environments. F. Braudel states that malaria may have been a significant factor in the decline of Rome (Braudel, 1972, I: 63–65). MacNeill, however, argues that flourishing coastal plain cities in ancient until Seljuk times implies that malaria was not a rampant concern but a relatively recent one, as indicated by the abandonment of many coastal plain settlements during the summer from the seventeenth to twentieth century, particularly in Anatolia (MacNeill, 1992: 345).

nineteenth and early twentieth century remarked on the extensive marshes of the southern Cilician plain that by recent history had few settlements but used mainly as pasture for the fields of clover that covered the areas in spring when the winter flood waters receded (Naval Staff Intelligence Department [British Admiralty], 1919: 13; Cuinet, 1890-95: 23). The area south of Tarsus to the coast and watered by the Tersus Çay (Classical Cydnus; Arabic Nahr al-Baradān) was also a marshland as was the coastal plain around Arsuz and modern-day Iskenderun (Classical Alexandretta; Arabic Iskandarūna) (British Admiralty, 1919: 19).

Figure 3 - Cilicia Pedias



The main cities of Cilicia, such as Tarsus (Latin Tursolt; Arabic Ṭarsūs), Adana (Classical Hadriana/Severiana; Arabic Adhana), Misis, and Sis, the capital of the Armenian kingdom (Classical Pindenissus/Flaviopolis/Sision; Arabic Sīsīya; modern-day Kozan) are all located in the Cilician plain. The port of Ayas (Classical: Aigai/Aegea; modern-day Yumurtalık) was situated on the west side of the Gulf of Alexandretta. Despite the fact that the Cilician plain is largely flat, several occasional limestone outcrops are to be found primarily in the eastern part of the plain. A good example is the site of Gökvelioğlu, which sits

atop the southernmost spur of the Cebelinur Mountains (Misis Dağı) with the small village of Güveloğlu at its base. To the north, west and east the plain is surrounded by the natural fortress of the Taurus Mountains. This natural barrier, which has been noted and described by many explorers throughout the past centuries, has played a decisive factor in the history of Cilicia.

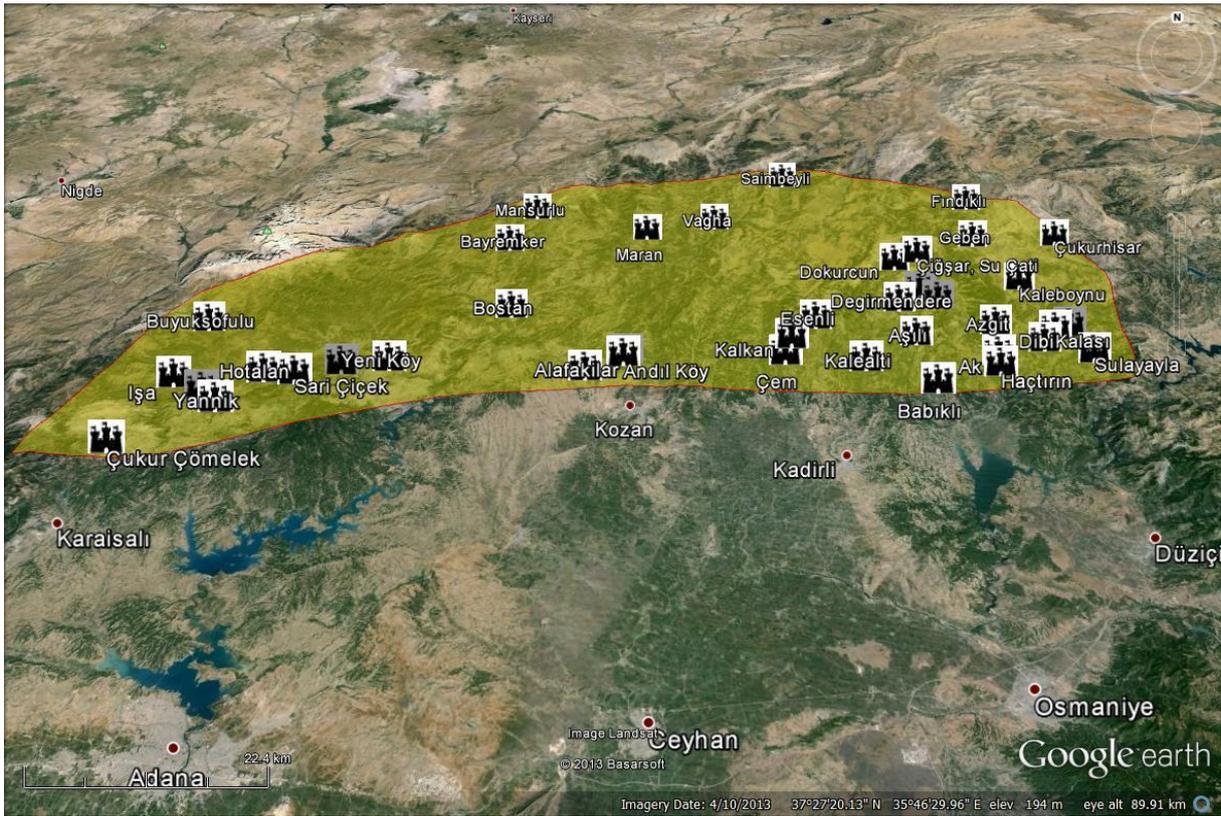
3.2.3. Rubenid and Het'umid Region in the Taurus Mountains

The Taurus Mountains run parallel to the Mediterranean shore of Turkey, beginning in the west near lake Eğridir and extending eastward as far as the Seyhan River. Beyond that is the long curve of the Anti-Taurus, slicing into eastern Turkey. On the map the Taurus appears a long sinuous range, but on the ground it is a confusing array of massifs and peaks, arranged randomly at all angles. The relief is rugged, often precipitous. The great block of the Taurus Mountains is at some places 100 km in breadth. At two points along the length of the Taurus, rivers cut through from the Anatolian plain to the Mediterranean: at Mut (Classical Claudopolis), in the southerwestern Taurus, where the river Calycadnus flows by, and at the Cilician Gates in the central Taurus, carved out by the Çakıt River. Smaller rivers, some merely seasonal watercourses, link the mountains and nearby plains.

The Taurus Mountains consists mostly of porous (karstic) limestone, and its soil is limestone-derived, although there are pockets of volcanic soils here and there.⁸ The mountainous nature of the region makes communications very difficult. Centres of population tended to be small, situated on routes of access or passage through the mountains. The region of the Taurus Mountains, which span a distance in length of more than 200 km, has been divided into two study areas: the Rubenid region and the Het'umid region. The reason for this division is mainly political, as these two study areas represent the two centres of power in Cilicia from the late eleventh onwards and differ from each other in many ways. This division will be used to analyse differences between these two major Armenian families.

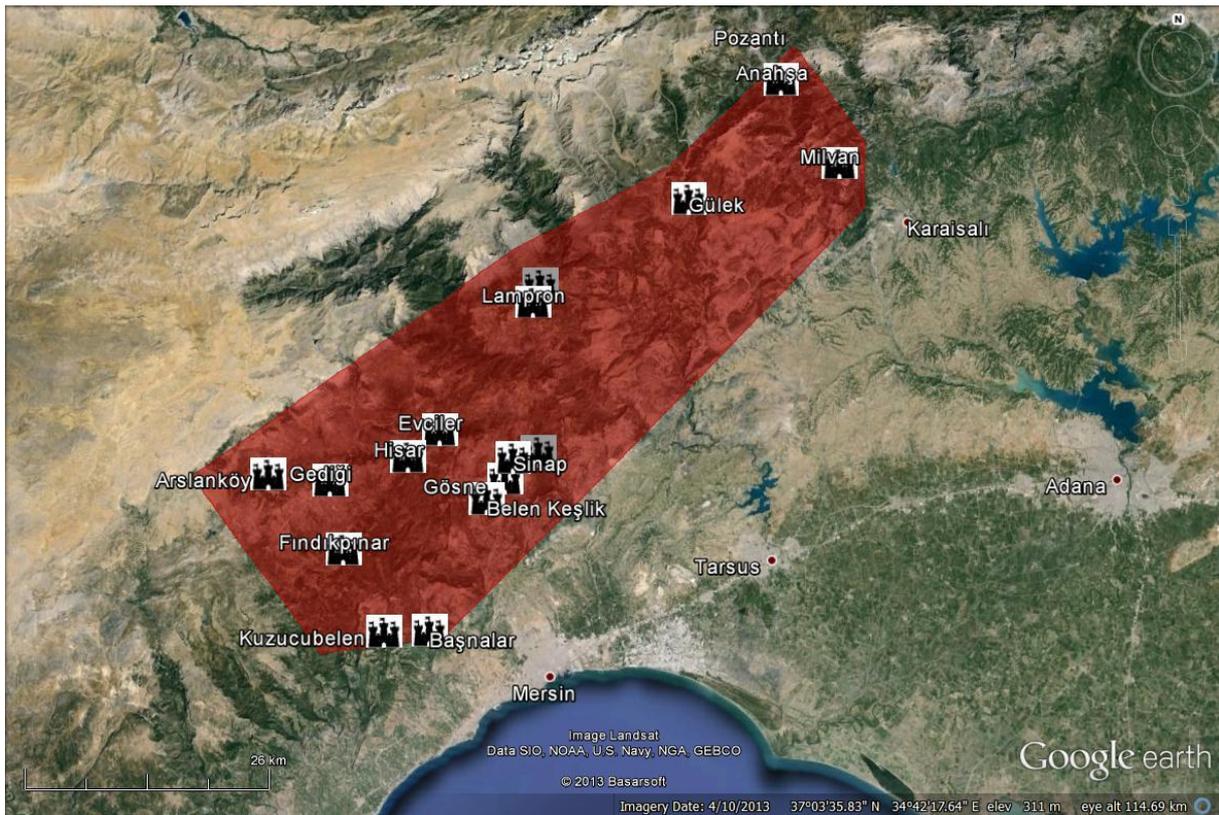
⁸ For more information about the geography and geology of the Taurus Mountains see: Ardos, 1979; J. Dumont and others, 1979; Brinkmann 1976; Planhol 1956.

Figure 4 – Rubenid Region



The Rubenid region stretched from the Cilician Gates in the west to the Anti-Taurus Mountains, which forms the border with the Kahramanmaraş plain. This region is characterized by river valleys and deep gorges. Since such openings provided passage from the Anatolian plateau into Cilicia, in most cases a high density of fortifications is present. The baronial seat of the Rubenids was at Vahga. The Het'umid region consisted of the west side of the Taurus Mountains and extended close to the coast, where it bordered with Cilicia Trachea. In the east it stretched as far as the Cilician Gates in the Central Taurus. The Het'umid region was centred on the baronial seats of the Het'umid clan at Lampron (Armenian Lambrōn/Lambrun; Arabic Tāmrūn; 19th century Namrun; modern-day Çamlıyayla) and Çandır (Armenian Paperōn/Papeřon/Barbaron; Greek Papirion/Papourion).

Figure 5 - Het'umid Region



3.2.4. Amanus Region

The Amanus region divides the coastal region of Cilicia from inland Syria. The Amanus Mountains (the Nur Dağları, Jabal al-Lukkām, or Black Mountains) are enclosed by the Gulf of Alexandretta. The highest peak, Bozdağ, reaches 2,240 m. The Amanus range though less impressive than the Taurus, still acts as a barrier to the south-eastern side of Cilicia.

While there are other routes, under ideal conditions, across these mountains from Syria, in practice there are only two important passes. The pass of Belen or the *Syrian Gates* is the southerly of the two, and is guarded on its eastern side by the castle of modern-day Bağras/Bakras (Classical Pagras/Pagrae/Pagaris; Arabic Baghrās). Due to its importance, Arabic writers have often given the name of Bağras to this pass. The modern road through the pass of Belen, however, does not pass by Bağras. William Ainsworth, writing early in the nineteenth century, calls this the 'only pass commonly practicable from Cilicia into Syria' (Ainsworth, 1838: 185). In order to enter Cilicia proper from the *Syrian Gates*, a traveller must also go through the *portella*, a defile between the mountains and the coast north of

Alexandretta.⁹ In his work Edwards points out that this pass marked 'the south-eastern boundary of the Armenian kingdom for most of its existence' (Edwards, 1987: 39).

Figure 6 - Amanus Region



At the northern end of the Amanus range is the pass called the *Amanian Gates* or modern-day Bahçe Pass, known to the Armenians as the *pass of Maṛi*, and containing the important castle of Savranda or Savuran (Armenian Saruantik'ar; Arabic Isfandakār/Sirfandakār/Sarwandkār; Syriac Kēfā dhe-Serwand; 19th century Kaypak Kale/Serfendkiar).¹⁰ The modern equivalent to this pass, slightly to the north of the medieval route, contains the main highway between Adana and Antep. The pass itself on the modern E-90 highway is between Osmaniye and Fevzipaşa.

⁹ Portella received its name from a Roman arch which was to be found over the paved road between Alexandretta and Canamella.

¹⁰ In order to avoid confusion, I will refer to this site as Savranda in this thesis.

4. Geographical Informations System (GIS) and Google Earth

4.1. Introduction

Over the past few years, archaeology has experienced a rapid development in geophysical prospection and remote sensing techniques. At the same time, the focus of archaeological research has shifted from individual sites to landscape development and human interaction. To impart the results, new methods and techniques could provide positive results. Virtual globes such as Google Earth offer scholars the possibility of interactively exploring landscapes and archaeological sites. Establishing a chronological framework in Google Earth proved helpful for analysing changes and patterns in the spatial distribution of fortifications, religious buildings, and rural settlements over the course of the medieval period. The available and acquired archaeological data will be reworked and displayed in Google Earth to aid interpretation. Google Earth and GIS represents an important tool to pursue distribution mapping within a single digital integrative environment.

Multiple datasets, such as elevation and soil information, can be presented as different layers within a single map. Geographical and archaeological features can be represented in each layer as one of three geometric forms: polygons, lines and points. Polygons can represent features, such as fortifications with their enclosures, which are large enough to have boundaries. Lines can represent features such as rivers and contours that are too narrow to be polygons. Polygons and lines are defined in a GIS by lines drawn between multiple pairs of 'x' and 'y' coordinates. Finally, points are features too small to be polygons, such as the location of small fortified sites, and are defined by a single pair of 'x' and 'y' coordinates. Some features can be represented as both polygons and points in different layers depending upon the scale of the map.

The combination of GIS, Google Earth, and satellite imagery, allowed me to create my own digital *Armenian Kingdom Project*.¹¹ The project started in the summer of 2012 after I presented the results of my archaeological surveys in Cilicia at the International Medieval Conference (IMC) in Leeds. In order to present the results of my surveys to a wider audience Google Earth proved to be highly successful tool. Building further on this experience and with the investigation of other reference projects, such as Arch Atlas¹², I decided to establish my own geographical database, which formed the basis for my spatial analysis. While the use of Google Earth as an archaeological tool or GIS application is still a new approach, it is also a tool that is still under development. The quality of the large-scale remote satellite imagery of Google Earth has improved enormously since the start of my doctoral thesis in 2010. For example, the higher resolution and 3D visualisation made it possible to make better topographical analysis for many of the sites. A more complicated line-of-sight analysis, however, was not yet possible. The geographical nature of the information to be gathered from Google Earth is spatial and apart from a more precise geographical positioning an estimated altitude can be given for every site. All archaeological data will be compiled on a huge database, which will be accessible for students of Cardiff University, members of the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), and added to the Digital Archaeological Atlas of the Holy Land (DAAHL).

The strength of using Google Earth and GIS rather than conventional mapping techniques is that archaeological features are linked to geographical information stored in a table, known as attributes. The link between the features and their attributes makes it possible to ask questions about the data and display the answers on a map. Questions can also be asked about the spatial relationship between features and new features created. The approach taken in this study is to use Google Earth to locate and map fortifications,



¹¹ The Armenian Kingdom Project.kmz (CD-ROM)

¹² <http://www.archatlas.org>

monasteries, and rural settlements throughout Cilicia and determine their relationship with each other and well selected variables.

4.2. Panoramio

My approach for this research involved furthermore combining the practical application of Panoramio photographs with the analysis of satellite imagery in Google Earth.¹³ Panoramio is a geolocation-orientated photo sharing website, where accepted photos can be found as a layer on Google Maps.

The combination of both tools allowed me to discover more than twenty previously unknown fortifications in Cilicia. In order to verify these results first-hand surveys were conducted in the summer of 2013. The surveys demonstrated the correct geographical location of each site and the state of preservation varied from a few standing walls to the complete preservation of fortifications with a high quality of masonry. On some occasions, such as at Çiğşar, the standing walls measured several storeys high. As some of the sites were only discovered at the latter stages of my PhD, I was only able to visit 15 of the newly found sites during the time of the field surveys. Therefore I have only included sites that I visited myself or ones for which a wide range of photographs and good quality satellite imagery was available. The sites that have not been included into the discussion however, will be included in the gazetteer and their geographical coordinates added. Little work has been done to date the fortifications deep in the Taurus Mountains, or in the Calycadnus valley. Therefore it is possible that many small fortifications still remain to be discovered. It is my aim in the future to document archaeologically as many fortified sites as possible.

4.3. Limitations of the Data

A Google Earth or GIS study of any region is dependent upon the data that are currently available, and moreover, assumes that the data that are available are both reliable and accurate. The presentation of projects in Google Earth currently suffers from three

¹³ <http://www.panoramio.com/>

drawbacks: file size, client version and the elevation model. The size of files containing image overlays of the sites can have a negative impact on the usability. The time required for the initial download can drive potential users away. The rendering of KML elements and HTML styles depends on the locally installed version of the Google Earth client or the browser API plugin. A further limitation is the elevation model used by Google Earth in large regions of the world which has a relatively coarse profile.

The functionality provided by the Google Earth client to create presentations is very limited: only single place marks and simple geometric features, such as lines and polygons, can be created. For every element, the editing tools offer only basic functionality and are not suited for complex geometrics. But the main shortcoming is the lack of a handy project management. The aforementioned limitations, however, are caused by current technical issues and are not methodological problems. In the future, it may be hoped that advancements will be made in virtual global software that can lessen these problems. Since the start of this research in 2010, significant steps have already been taken to overcome some of these limitations.

4.4. Presentation of the Data

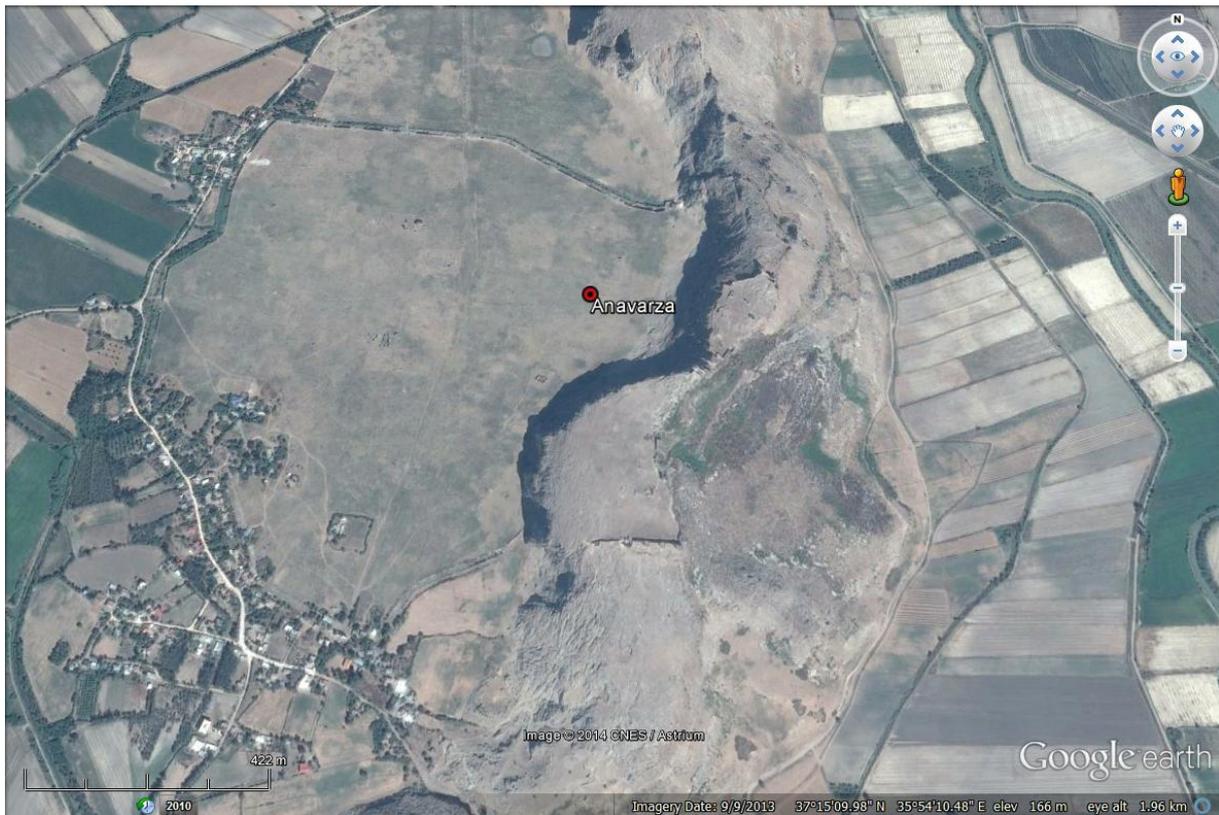
Presenting data within virtual globes such as Google Earth Pro¹⁴, NASA WorldWind¹⁵, or Marble¹⁶ offers a wide range of different possibilities for giving a better understanding of archaeological records and findings within their geo-historical context. Unlike printed maps, virtual globes offer almost unlimited possibilities to adapt scale, level of detail and the density of information. Therefore, the researcher can benefit by choosing the adequate complexity of information and may explore an archaeological site, landscape or even region, interactively following his own desire. At the same time, this method proved very useful for examining the topography of the archaeological sites (Figure 6).

¹⁴ <http://www.google.com/earth/>

¹⁵ <http://worldwind.arc.nasa.gov/>

¹⁶ <http://marble.kde.org/>

Figure 7 - Topography Anavarza



This ongoing work offers the opportunity to develop a best practice approach by analysing reference projects (such as ANE Placemarks¹⁷, HyperCities¹⁸, Megalithic¹⁹) and trial and error. The *Armenian Kingdom Project* contains about 150 place marks with descriptions, images and references of archaeological sites, from late Roman to the late medieval period.

With the integrated timeline in Google Earth the user can choose different points in time and time spans to select different historical periods, giving vivid impressions about the changing frontier processes. The appearance of the place marks is created to result in a clear visual structure. To apply the corporate identity design to the code of the KML-files, and to adapt design changes quickly, cascading style sheets (CSS) and template files were used (Wernecke, 2009). The information elements are divided into

¹⁷ http://www.lingfil.uu.se/staff/olof_pedersen/Google_Earth/

¹⁸ <http://hypercities.com>

¹⁹ <http://www.megalithic.co.uk>

different categories with distinctive icons. The period was divided into four periods: Byzantine/Arab period (600-900), Byzantine Re-conquest (960-1080); Armenian Migration period (1080-1198) and the Armenian kingdom (1198-1375). Furthermore the sites were subdivided into Byzantine, Arab, Armenian, Crusader, Mamluk, and Ottoman according to an established chronology, and distinguished by characteristic icons. For each site, if evidence is available, the time of occupation is stored in the database.

The combination of up-to-date high-resolution satellite imagery (provided by Google Earth), additional geographic data sources and photographs (such as Panoramia) enlightens various aspects of physiographic relations and offers a very vivid impression of landscapes and sites. Since virtual globes are being considered as an open platform, and the range of different data sources is supposed to become enormous within the next years, additional potential is on the horizon: different data sources may be used at the same time allowing easy comparison of different localizations and reconstructions of sites. The XML based 'Keyhole Mark-up Language' (KML) permits the easy compilation of heterogeneous data sources.²⁰ As a well-defined official OGC (Open Geospatial Consortium) standard, it grants long-time support and promises good future prospects. For the future I see a big chance for a crowd-sourcing approach to generate and propagate geo-data. Therefore stand-alone applications or content management systems with user-friendly and comfortable interfaces have to be developed and made available to some aspects; this situation is comparable to the limitations for HTML content before the dawn of the web 2.0.

For the future I expect ongoing integration of different geospatial techniques and methods, such as (web-) GIS, place mark collections, geo-referenced interactive presentations and animations. It is hard to predict the exact direction of the development, but we shall no doubt see a steady increase in the use of spatial data in the future. Once

²⁰ <http://www.opengeospatial.org>

introduced, the spatial information may not only be used for visualization, but also for spatial analysis and complex modelling, thereby generating new questions and evidence for future research.

5. Chronology

As it is one of the key objectives of this thesis to examine the development of fortifications and settlements, establishing a chronological framework is a fundamental aspect since it enables us to place sites and activities within a temporal context. Where structures do survive, of course, the ethnic identity of the builders is still not always certain. The justification for inclusion in the research is therefore that the area in which the site lay was under nominal Armenian control at a certain period and the structure could have been occupied by Armenians. This can be supported at a number of sites by the presence of coins and ceramics.

Throughout my fieldwork in Cilicia, a high density of ceramics was to be found in and around fortifications and settlements. A high number of ceramics corresponded with polychrome sgraffito, earthenware traditionally known as Port St Symeon ceramics (see fig. 8 and 50). This type can be seen as the most popular of 13th century ceramics and borrows its name to Port St Symeon/al-Mina, the place where it was first found. Since then it has been found all around the Mediterranean, as has been described by Pringle as 'Crusader pottery par excellence' (Pringle, 1986: 458).²¹ This pottery has a white slip, with clear, light yellow or light green glaze, with incised decoration that is often accentuated with green or yellow-brown. According to T. Vorderstrasse the most common form is a hemispherical vessel with ledge rim and low ring base (Vorderstrasse, 2006: 333). The decorations of Port St Symeon ware range from floral or geometric motifs, to people or animals (Lane, 1938: 45-53). The selection of found ceramics can be compared with many of the standard green monochrome glazed pottery bowls found at the medieval levels of Kinet, where it seems to have been

²¹ My gratitude goes towards Dr. Asa Eger for his identification of the Port Saint Symeon ceramics.

produced on-site (Redford, 2001: 70-71). Kinet's own production can be seen as one of many in the region, most located at port towns and mostly geared towards the export market. According to Redford, 'its ubiquity at medieval sites in the Cilician plain suggests that it was likely produced in Tarsus, Adana, Ayas, and other port sites in the Armenian kingdom as well' (Redford, 2012: 307).

Figure 8 – Vagha, Port St Symeon sgraffito (12th-14th c.)



In addition to ceramic and numismatic material, my conclusions regarding the architectural chronology are based on three presuppositions: first, that the architectural traditions of the Armenian kingdom are fairly consistent, so that it is possible to identify unattested forts (these structures have neither inscriptions nor specific mention in the medieval chronicles) as Armenian constructions; secondly, that enough sites in Cilicia and its environs have been analysed in order to find representative paradigms for Byzantine, Arab, and Armenian military architecture; and thirdly that the historical context of Cilicia has been

meticulously analysed in order to fully comprehend the changing historical context from generation to generation of fortifications.

In view of the different types of evidence that may be used in this research for the study and dating of medieval fortifications in Cilicia and of its variable quality and reliability, one prerequisite for reconsidering the chronology either in architectural or human terms is to define certain criteria by which fortifications may be accepted as being Armenian and medieval at all. This is particularly important in view of the fact that in the past the term 'Armenian' has often been ignored. Instead the term 'Byzantine' has been applied indiscriminately to a wide range of Armenian fortifications for no better reason than to ignore the Armenians' heritage. I have therefore introduced in Chapter Six certain hypotheses regarding the identification of the sequence of building and occupation of the fortified sites. This methodology adopted an approach to each site of stratigraphic analysis of the structures (for examples the gateway) preserved above ground. It is based on a careful analysis of the masonry and focuses on constructive interventions and modifications of a given structure. This methodology was selected because it has proved to provide adequate evidence to produce a preliminary model within a limited investment of time spent in the field.

A final word to reader of this thesis: the subject of this study is a history of the Armenians in Cilicia. In the first instance, this implies out of necessity that the Armenians have a separate history elsewhere from where their migration to Cilicia had begun at later times. The scope of this study is aimed, however, at Cilicia. The history of the Armenian heritage in Greater Armenia will therefore not be studied in detail in this thesis. Not only would this lead us too far, but the logistics of travelling to the region are very hard. I have tried to study as many of the fortifications in Greater Armenia as possible with the aid of one monograph (Berkian, 1956), photographs, and satellite imagery.

CHAPTER THREE: UNDERSTANDING FORTIFICATIONS IN THEIR HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

“In the days of old, cities were numerous in Rūm, but now they have become few. Most of the districts are prosperous and pleasant, and have (each) an extremely strong fortress, on account of the frequency of the raids which the fighters of the faith direct upon them. To each village appertains a castle, where in time of flight (they may take shelter).”

(Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam, trans. by V. Minorsky, 1937: 156-157)

1. Cilicia: Crossroads between the West and East

Located on the periphery of the Middle Eastern region, where powerful empires rose and agriculture, trade, and economy flourished during pre-classical times, Cilicia was attached to northern Syria and Mesopotamia on the one hand and by the Anatolian plateau to Europe on the other. Because of its geographical location, Cilicia played a key role in the history of Asia-Minor throughout the Classical and Medieval period. Wilbrand of Oldenburg described Cilicia in his account as:

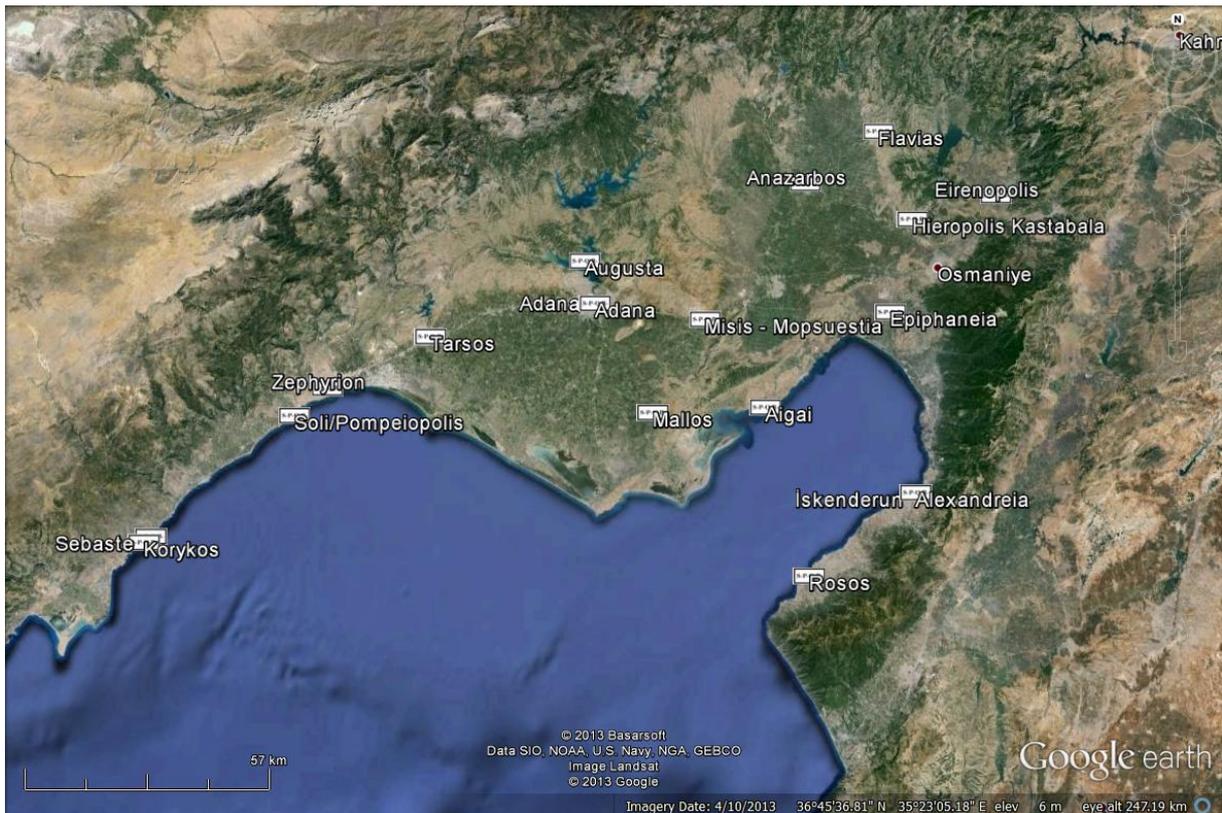
“This Armenia is a very strong country, for on one side it is girt by the sea and on the other it is defended by high very rugged mountains, whose entrances are few and strongly guarded, so that if a visitor enters the country he cannot leave without a sealed document of the king.”

(Wilbrand of Oldenburg, XVII, trans. Pringle, 2012: 74)

The region of Cilicia was settled from the Neolithic period onwards. According to some inscriptions from the earlier Hittite era (2nd millennium BC) found at Karatepe, the area was known as *Kizzuwatna* (Akpınar, 2004: 25-50). Following the geographical nature Cilicia was divided into two parts, *Ura Adaniya* or flat Cilicia and *Tarza Adaniya* or rough Cilicia. The inhabitants of Cilicia were mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions as *Khilikku* and formed in the

early part of the first millennium BC one of the four dominant population groups of Western Asia. During the Classical period, the cities in the Cilician plain became very soon centres of population, culture, trade, wealth, manufacture, and administration. The agricultural productivity was observed by writers such as Xenophon, who described Cilicia's capacity for large military concentrations and discussed its future potential (*Anabasis*, I: 2).

Figure 9 - Cilicia Prima and Secunda



In 27 BC, Rome completed its conquest and annexation of Cilicia as part of the empire's extended provinces in the east. The Romans divided the province of Cilicia into the same districts as the Hittites before them and administered them into *Cilicia Campestris* (Cilicia Pedias) and *Cilicia Aspera* (Cilicia Trachea) (Strabo, XIV 5, 1).²² By AD 530, Hierocles, a Byzantine geographer, wrote the *Synekdemos*, which contains a table of administrative divisions of the eastern empire and lists of cities of each. In his work Hierocles noted under *Cilicia Prima* the metropolis of Tarsus with seven cities: Pompeiopolis, Sebasté,

²² Throughout this work I will refer to these two regions as Cilicia Pedias and Cilicia Trachea.

Korykos, Adana, Augusta, Mallos, and Zephyrion. *Cilicia Secunda* had Anazarbos as metropolis with eight cities: Mopsuestia, Aigeai, Epiphaneia, Alexandria, Rossos, Irenopolis, Phlabias, and Kastabala. *Cilicia Tertia*, which included Isauria, had Seleukia as metropolis with 22 cities: Kelenderis, Anemurion, Titiupolis, Lamos, Antiocheia, Iuliosebaste, Kestroi, Selinus, Iotape, Diokaisareia, Olba, Klaudiopolis, Hierapolis, Dalisandros, Germanikopolis, Eirenuopolis, Philadelphia, Meloe, Adrasos, Sbide, Neapolis, Lauzadeai (Hieracles, 704, 1 - 706, 2; 708, 1 - 710, 9).

2. Settlement Patterns in Byzantine Cilicia (450-650)

Recent surveys have demonstrated settlement patterns which indicate a form of continuation between the Hellenistic, Late Roman, and early Byzantine period. A phenomenon of widespread urbanization and additionally a peak of settlements can be observed during the fourth to sixth centuries AD. While the surveys carried out by the University of Mersin under the direction of Ergün Lafli (Lafli, 2003: 55-98), pointed out that by the Late Roman period a high concentration of settlements was to be found in between Seleukia – modern-day Silifke - and Mersin [near by Zephyrion and Pompeiopolis]²³, the Mopsus Survey, conducted by G. Lehman, A. Killebrew, and B. Halpern, found 150 sites in the Cilician plain.

According to the surveys of Ergün Lafli 'a large city in Cilicia might have extended to c. 2 km in its greatest dimension and most likely had a population of 50,000, but most were much smaller' (Lafli, 2004: 77). The urban wealth of these cities was based until the sixth century AD on agriculture, while trade and manufacture of linen were also most likely significant (Blanton, 2000: 20). The surveys by Lafli in the hinterland of Pompeiopolis and Zephyrion not only demonstrate that settlements were numerous, but that sites in these areas were predominantly to be found on flat grounds or low mounds.

²³ Pompeiopolis, formerly Soloi, lies 12 km west of the current city centre of Mersin, in the small village of Viranşehir. Since Pompeiopolis was located on the border of the Cilician plain and upland or rough Cilicia, it was located in a higher fertile area than most of the regions west of it and at the head of some major inland routes. For more information see Lafli, 2004.

In nearly all cases these sites were located in well-watered areas and so had sufficient agricultural resources to support their population and the nearby cities by their farming (Lafli, 2004: 85). Earlier tell sites were mainly avoided according to Lafli or had small occupations limited to isolated buildings or small villages. While the arrangement of Late Roman sites was seemingly random, clear patterns from the Roman period can be discerned by their location either along canals, rivers or routes around the plain. Lafli concluded that 'in the hinterland of the cities of Pompeiopolis and Zephyrion, two possible main routes along local rivers to the north served for the transportation of goods and thus connected Pompeiopolis and the Cilician coast with central Anatolia' (Lafli, 2004: 79).

An important product on this trade route was Cilician timber, which was considered excellent for ship-building and exported to Egypt throughout the Hellenistic (Strabo, XIV, 5.3) and the later medieval period (Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*: 195). Apart from that, the grain trade from central Anatolia to Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt, brought special advantages to these coastal settlements and cities. The development of many settlements in Cilicia in this period went concurrent with the process of Christianisation (Vorderstrasse, 2002: 91-94).

When analysing the settlement patterns in Cilicia Trachea and the Cilician plain, it is remarkable to point out how thickly this area, especially between Seleukia and Tarsus, was populated. On the other hand the areas of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains were characterized by mountain valleys, passes and pasturelands. More surveys in the Taurus Mountains are needed to confirm the suggested contrast between the densely populated coastlines and the numerous sites that are located in the uplands and to examine whether there was already a rise in fortified sites in the mountains (Lafli, 2005). As there were only scanty agricultural resources available, this area would be exploited by pastoral herding and could therefore only support basic subsistence for a limited population.

In spite of substantial differences in settlement-pattern and land-use the Taurus range until the seventh century had never represented a political dividing line of any real long-term

importance (Ahrweiler, 1971: 46). All this time it had rarely been a frontier – that is, it had rarely functioned to prevent access from one area to another politically; nor had it been seen explicitly as marking a transition between two ideologically opposed and hostile political-military systems (Haldon, 1990: 38). This ended in the seventh century AD with the spread of Islam. The Arabs brought their military machine to Asia Minor and their attacks caused a considerable decline in trade and population. By the early eighth century they had occupied almost the entire province of Cilicia.

3. Cilicia on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier: The Construction of the Frontier or *al-thughūr*

The Arab conquest of the Byzantine provinces of Arabia, Palestine I-III, Syria I-II, Syria Euphratensis, Osroene, and Mesopotamia, as well as the diocese of Egypt, was completed by the early 640s (al-Balādhurī: 253; MS, II: 424; Lilie, 1976: 60-70). The first Islamic-Byzantine frontier was established at the northern extent of the province of *al-Shām* (modern southeast Turkey and northern Syria). It extended from the Mediterranean Sea at Antioch to the Euphrates. As the Byzantines withdrew to the Taurus and Anti-Taurus line, the Arabs met with little resistance when they took over the major cities and towns in AD 638 (Kaegi, 1992: 146). The cities of Antioch, Hierapolis Euphratensis, Doliche, and Ra'bān were taken by treaty. The cities of the northern Taurus frontier, Melitene, and Misis (Classical Mopsuestia/Mamistra; Armenian Msis; Arabic al-Maṣṣīṣa) were evacuated prior to the Arab arrival.

Apart from the evacuation, the emperor Heraclius ordered the devastation of the Cilician plain in order that the Arabs 'might not be able to go between Antioch and the land of the Byzantines through a cultivated land' (al-Balādhurī, trans. Hitti, 1916: 253). This was an attempt by the Byzantine emperor to establish a buffer-zone and clearly demarcate the limits of Arab military power (Lilie, 1976: 60-70). The earliest raids under 'Umar I being between AD 638 and 644, broke through the thinly-spread defences but were mainly meant to harass

the Byzantines rather than conquer Anatolia (Abou Ezzah, 1980: 57-58). In the Umayyad period (661-750), the Islamic-Byzantine frontier was pushed farther north and established along the southern edge of the Taurus Mountains, extending from the southwest to the northeast encompassing the Cilician plain from the Lamas River to the west, incorporating the whole of the Amanus Mountains range, the Kahramanmaraş plain (northern extension of the Amuq plain), and the rolling hills, river valleys, and lowland steppes of the River Euphrates.

This entire region received the name of *al-thughūr*, a term meaning ‘frontier posts’ possibly derived from the word for the spaces between teeth (Eger, 2008: 23).²⁴ It was so named because of the line of frontier fortresses (singular *thaghr*) evenly spaced and strategically situated at key mountain passes and routes stretching from Tarsus in the west to Melitene in the east and even farther into Armenia. From these frontier forts, summer annual raids or *ṣawāʾif* (singular *ṣāʾifa*) north into Byzantine lands are recorded in the literature for virtually every year; however, enemy territory was never taken and enemy forts were only held for a token period of time. According to al-Balādhurī, the land of Seleukia (Arabic Salūḳīyah) was given as a fief to some of the troops of Antioch. Apart from cultivating the land, the Arabs ‘also built the fort of Seleukia’ (al-Balādhurī: 228). Further in this account, al-Balādhurī noted that many citizens, particularly the upper classes left the city of Sis (Arabic Sīsīya) for the ‘mountainous region of the Greeks’ in either 711-12 or 712-13 (al-Balādhurī, trans. Hitti, 1916: 262).

By the ‘Abbāsīd period (750-1258), the rather peculiar military strategy took on a symbolic form (Kennedy, 2001: 106). The shift from a conquering ethos to a stabilizing one along the frontier traditionally dates to the Umayyad/ ‘Abbāsīd transition. According to

²⁴ The term *thaghr* (plural *thughūr*) can mean frontiers, mouth, or front-teeth; *thaghra* (plural *thaghar*) can mean a mountain pass, chink, crevice, gap, breach or pit of the neck with uses referring to the gums of the teeth (*mathghar*, plural *mathāghar*) according to J.G. Hava, *al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary*, Fifth Edition (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1982), 69. A logical meaning of *thughūr* in the frontier sense combining the ideas of mountain passes and teeth or gums would refer to the spaces between the teeth. I am grateful to Dr. Asa Eger for working out this hypothesis.

modern scholarship, the turning point in this policy could be attributed to 'Umar II (717-720) who ceased the expansionist aims of the earlier Umayyads and opened diplomatic dialogues with the Byzantine emperor Leo III (Abou Ezzah, 1980: 69; Eger, 2008: 27). Military movement across the frontier was characterized from this point as annual summer raiding and temporary occupation of enemy lands. From this period, therefore, a balance seems to have been reached, both sides concentrating less on grand attack than on the maintenance of their own defences and the regular harassment of the enemy (Haldon and Kennedy, 1980: 82). Especially important is the fact that both sides pursued a policy of scorched earth and the evacuation of people and resources from their frontier zones.

From the 720s the basic strategic situation remained unchanged until the mid-10th century, when the Byzantine re-conquest of large areas of Northern Syria and Cilicia, left the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains far behind the new frontier (Honigmann, 1935: 39-40). We can find a geographical description in the military treatise of Nikephoros Phokas who states that:

“Whatever the itinerary these [Arab] troops want to take, from the [*kleisoura*] fortified passes of Seleukia and the Anatolian theme, there, where the Taurus Mountains form a boundary between Cilicia on the one hand and Cappadocia and Lykandos on the other, from the regions adjacent to Mar'ash – Germanikeia, Adata, Kesoun, and Melitene and Kaloudia in Daoutha, to those beyond the Euphrates, a river which forms the frontier between the country mentioned as Khanzeti and the territory of the enemies, and up to Romanopolis, in all these themes, so, if they have the intention of taking any of these routes, the troops must not doubt, with the help of God, to fight them without delay, and with his aid, to bring us victory.” (Nikephoros Phokas, trans. Dagron-Mihăescu, XXIII: 250)

4. Cilicia on the Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: A Process of Incastellamento or Kastroktisia

4.1. Byzantine Skirmishing Tactics in the Taurus Region (650-950)

Until the seventh century AD the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges marked no frontier in any sense. This was a development which grew directly out of conditions of warfare and conflict. It is unclear to determine to which extent border warfare had settled down into a regular raid and counter-raid pattern in Cilicia. According to J. Haldon the Byzantine strategy 'seems to have been relatively centralized and not especially flexible at local level' during the seventh and eighth centuries (Haldon, 1999: 176). For a long time strategy was focused on expeditions led by the emperors themselves against key enemy fortresses or to re-establish Byzantine fortified strongholds which had been taken by the Arabs. A good example of this is the campaign of Constantine V against Misis in 747 (al-Balādhurī: 255-59).

For the Byzantines, the war was until the tenth century a defensive one, waged to protect the heartlands of the empire. It may be that the establishment of *kleisourai*, such as Seleukia, enabled a more flexible strategy (Treadgold, 1999: 315).²⁵ Rather than concentrating their troops in large cities, Byzantine commanders dispersed their *banda* among many smaller forts and strongholds, both to provide warning of enemy action and to expedite the evacuation of the local people from the path of the raiders. These were originally subordinate units of the *themata*²⁶ or military provinces which evolved from the 640s (representing the districts over which the field armies were quartered). This change in tactics coincides as well with the changes in Arab strategy after the abandonment of serious

²⁵ Latin: *clausurae* or *clusurae*, from *claudio* (to close); the word, in Latin at least, actually refer to the fortification that closed the pass, be it a fort or a linear defence like a wall. These *kleisourai* were territorial units, usually centered on strategic mountain passes, under the command of a *kleisourarches*.

²⁶ Thema (pl. *themata*): one of the provinces of the empire, whose number had multiplied by the late eleventh century; this term also referred to the army stationed in a given province.

efforts to push through Asia Minor to take Constantinople (after 718) and their establishment of more permanent bases in the Cilician plain.

According to Haldon, the organization of smaller raids and expeditions was very different from those established for large-scale campaigns (Haldon, 1999: 177). One of the main points of a smaller raid was, of course, the capture of people and livestock, and the detrimental economic results that this had. In this context, the Byzantines seem to have developed a technique of hit-and-run warfare which has been referred to as a guerrilla strategy by G. Dagron (Dagron, 1988: 43-48). Dagron based his hypothesis on the campaigns of Nikephoros Phokas in Syria that are described in the treatise *On Skirmishing (Peri Paradromes)*, probably written down by Nikephoros' brother Leo (ed. Dennis, 1985: 137-239). In the first place, a chain of watch posts, small-scale fortifications, and advance scouts had been established along the frontier, particularly covering the important passes into the imperial heartland. Since the frontier zone of the Taurus Mountains was more of a broad band of territory rather than a linear border, the location of these small-scale fortifications undoubtedly changed according to its situation, just as it is clear that raids and counter-raids intended to destroy these fortified outposts. In addition the concentration of small, mobile cavalry units, partly salaried and partly on a militia basis, could respond rapidly to raids, or join up to harass and cut off the enemy. The principles of this warfare are carefully explained in the treatise *On Skirmishing*, and it is rather clear that the description of this strategy as *paradromes* or skirmishing is, however, far more accurate according to this author than the romantized use of guerrilla-tactics by Dagron.

By the middle of the eighth and early ninth centuries AD these *kleisourai* had achieved a fairly independent status as separate administrative units, whose locally-recruited troops guarded the passes, harassed enemy raiders and themselves launched raids into Arab lands (Ahrweiler, 1960: 1-49). This was the normal administrative form until the tenth century when the old-style *kleisourarchies* became redundant. They were replaced by

doux,²⁷ *katepanō*,²⁸ and *strategoī*. The relation between these military leaders and their combatants has been the subject of several studies (Ostrogorsky, 1956; Ahrweiler, 1971: 117). In his work, Jean-Claude Cheynet relates the accounts of several chroniclers in order to understand the role of this new aristocracy and their relationship with their personal guard (Cheynet, 2006: 32). It is important to note, however, that chroniclers, such as Skylitzes and Attaleiates, recount that these generals or *strategoī* took refuge on several occasions in their fortresses (*kastra*), which suggests that the aristocrats relied on fortified places in order to affirm their authority, or as Cheynet claims, to provide a 'self-defence network with a strong loyalty of men towards their *doux*, *katepanō*, or *strategos*' (Cheynet, 2006: 36; Ahrweiler, 1971: 49).

When looking more closely into the situation of Cilicia, one of the military administrations mentioned in the *De Thematibus* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, is the theme of Seleukia or modern-day Silifke, which had ceased to be a *kleisourai* in the reign of Leo VI (r. 886-912) and appears as a theme in the reign of Romanos I (r. 920-944) (Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, ed. Pertusi: 61, 77, 147; Huxley, 1975: 87-93). According to G. Ostrogorsky the *kleisourarchia* of Seleukia was most probably created under the reign of Theophilos (r. 829-842), under whom the Byzantine-Arab war in Asia Minor broke out again after a long period of peace (MS: 74; Ya'qūbī: 272; BH: 132; Ostrogorsky, 1956: 184). From the Byzantine lead seals, examined by G. Zacos, it is clear that Seleukia was organised as a *kleisourai* in the early ninth century and had inter alia an arms factory (Zacos, 1972, III: 727; 1074).

²⁷ By the eleventh century this was usually the commander of one of the larger military districts that emerged mainly in newly conquered territories.

²⁸ A *katepanō* was a commander of a military unit. By the end of the tenth century and during the eleventh century, the governors of major military provinces, such as for example Italy, Mesopotamia, Bulgaria and the region of Antioch, held that position.

4.2. Process of Incastellamento or Kastroktisia

In his work J. Haldon demonstrates that by the seventh century and continuing through the early ninth century AD, the city and rural countryside of the Byzantine frontier were left to their own devices and had little to do with the Byzantine state or imperial armies (Haldon, 1999: 176-181). According to F. Trombley this would probably be an exaggeration, as the Byzantine armies were dispersed throughout the *themata* (Trombley, 2011). In a similar situation of insecurity and lack of central power, we notice in Western Europe at the same time, that the cities were repairing their city walls, while the villages dispersed themselves into '*bourgades*', sometimes perched on hilltops and providing an enceinte, a citadel or a tower. This had social and political consequences and is generally called *incastellamento* by Western scholars (Toubert, 1973). A similar process of castle building has been identified by S. Trojanos and is called *Kastroktisia* (Trojanos, 1969: 41-57).

Figure 10 – Byzantine Western Frontier Sites (650-950)



This process of settlement transformation or *incastellamento/Kastroktisia* is the transformation from open lowland towns and cities to upland defensible fortified villages and castles. This did not happen, however, at key sites like Kaisareia, Ankyra, and particularly Nikaia, and Amorion. On the eastern frontier of Byzantium, the evolution follows a different rhythm. From the 5th to 6th century, it was more because of insecurity due to robbery, than to large-scale wars that people started to find shelter in fortified settlements (Dagron, 1979: 29-52). These great rural fortified sites rival the nearby cities, which were protected by city walls (Adana, Tarsus, Misis, Hieropolis Kastabala). Good examples of Cilician small-scale fortifications are the sites of Sinekkale, Karakabakli, Esikkale which predate the Arab invasions.

While the synchronicity of lowland to upland *incastellamento* during this period all around Anatolia is striking, it is unlikely that these key shifts coincided with the Arab conquests of the mid-seventh century as for instance both Foss and Matthews claim (Matthews, 2004: 200-11). Rather a gradual removal from the coastal plains to the uplands in the early seventh century and perhaps earlier is more likely. Indeed, Foss's references to the mid-seventh century as 'a moment of decline, devastation, drastic change, the start of the Dark Ages' are pervasive and too numerous to cite (Foss, 1997: 189-269). In his work Trombley strongly disagrees with Foss, arguing that the move to fortified upland sites occurred in the 660's while he notes that there were already forts in many places (Trombley, 1985: 65-90). He cites the existence of the small hilltop garrisons or *ochyrōmata* since the Roman period as evidence for an early type of fortified upland refuge. This settlement type, corresponding with the Byzantine upland fortifications, was found in the Taurus region during my surveys; however, it is not a specific pattern of *incastellamento* necessarily, but rather evidence that small fortifications already existed during the Roman/Late Roman periods (Procopius, XVIII: 41). Trombley also cites a series of fortified lowland towns east of the Amasya-Melitene over the Taurus, which provided for safety for the population (Haldon, 1995: 90-91).

4.3. Phrouria, Aplèkta, Kastrá, and Kataphygia

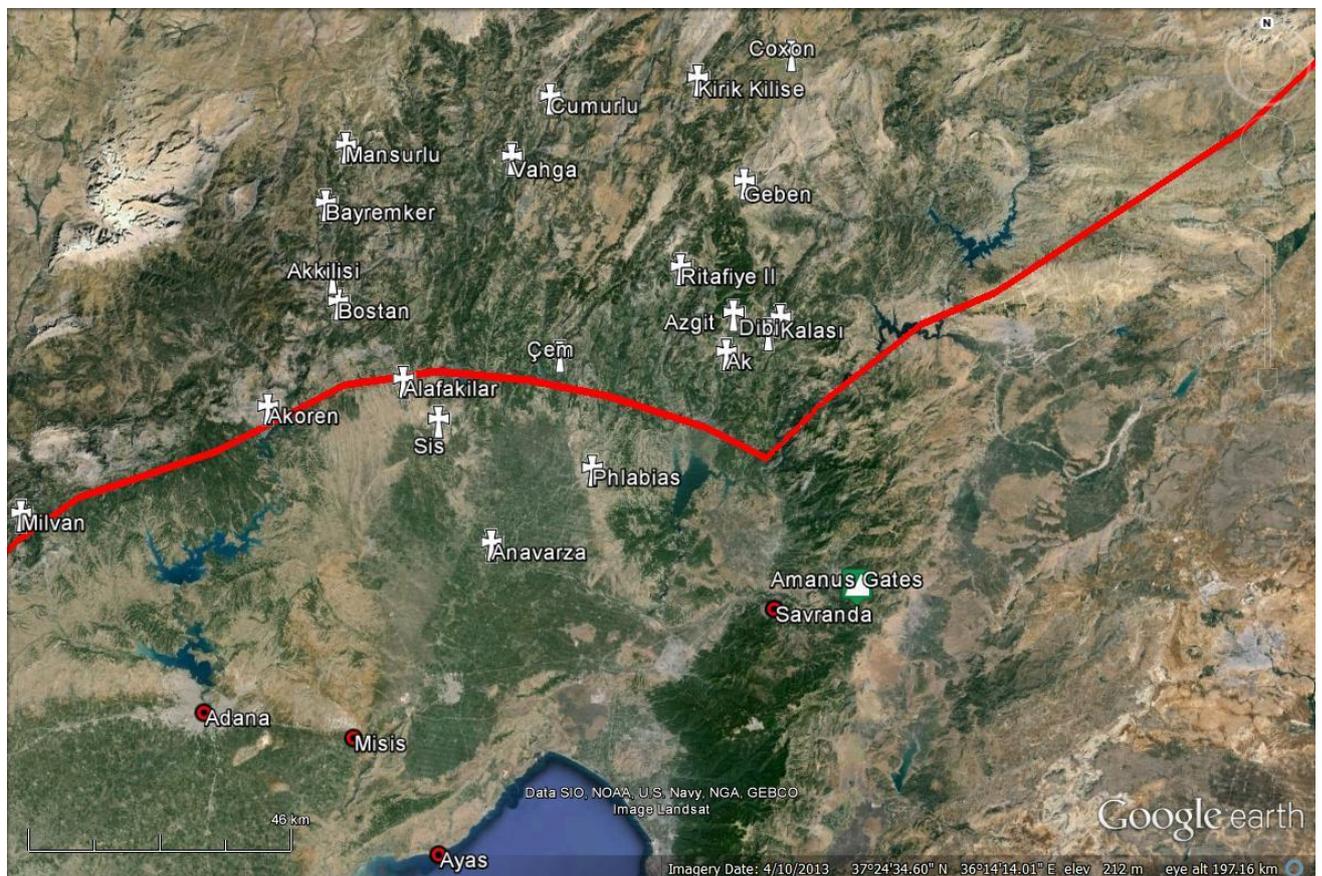
In conformity with the military strategy of the Byzantines many fortifications were built during this period. From the sources we can distinguish four different types of fortifications in the frontier region, *phrouria*, *aplèkta*, *kastra*, and *kataphygia*.

On the frontier, in areas more or less abandoned, we find the *phrouria* held by a garrison and controlling a zone of defence (like the Roman *limes*). More to the interior, we find *aplèkta*, fortified camps or stations that marked out routes and allowed a concentration of troops. The *aplèkta* consisted of a collection of provisions, remounts, weapons' smiths, in order to supply garrisoned and travelling *banda*. A list of *aplèkta* was added in the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, which gave an overview of stations at which the emperor halts on his way through Asia Minor (Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, ed. A. Vogt). While the list does not reveal much information for the region of Cilicia, George Huxley argued 'that it is important that historical conclusions should not be drawn regarding the military organisation of the Byzantine Empire as the source is incomplete' (Huxley, 1975: 87-93).

A third type of fortification that is mentioned in the sources are that of the *kastra*. The term *kastron* is often (but not always) synonymous with *polis*. In the later eleventh century, the writer Kekaumenos (probably himself a military officer) uses *kastron* as well as *polis* to describe Thessalonike (Kekaumenos: 111.35-112.4). This is also the case for the sources of Skylitzes, Attaleiates, and Anna Komnēnē. The contrast between the late ancient *polis* and the middle Byzantine *kastron* should, however, not be exaggerated. The *kastra* controlled the principal axes of the frontier region and provided shelter for larger than usual concentrations of troops. In 771 the Arab forces penetrated the coast of Cilicia Trachea and reached the Byzantine *kastron* of Syke (Theophanes, 445). The *kastron* at Syke, positively identified with Softa Kalesi, was located on a principal route that connected the coasts of Pamphylia with the coasts of Cilicia Trachea. The *kastron* itself is located between the sites of Anemurion and Kelenderis.

The rural population was concentrated in so-called *kataphygia* (fortified villages) or *ochyrōmata*. These fortified sites would enable villagers to evacuate with their livestock to a designated refuge. They were commanded to stock supplies for four months, by order of the *strategos* of the *thema*, with their family, provisions, and livestock (Nikephoros Phokas, XXI: 1). The *kataphygia* were not part of a formal network but a specific reaction in certain circumstances used by the rural population in times of danger. Dagron states that the evacuations were seasonal in keeping with the time of Islamic raids (Dagron, 1979: 32).

Figure 11 - Byzantine Eastern Frontier Sites (650-950)



In Cappadocia, the *kataphygia* were called *al-matāmīr* (sing. *al-matmūra*) referring to subterranean granaries, which were hidden from the raiding nomads. Abū Ishāq took these granaries in a raid in Cappadocia in AD 831 (Vasiliev, 1935: 289). The hidden granaries are similar to fortified granaries in Al-Andalus and indicative of a rural population in unstable times (De Meulemeester, 1998: 104). The priority to protect villagers, livestock, and grain is an indication of the type of booty that was collected by nomads. Furthermore, the Byzantines

were practising *Kastroktisia* by the seventh century in Anatolia (Trojanos, 1969: 49-50), as the Visigoths who fled the Andalusian plains to upland fortified sites did around the same time. This process continued into the tenth century and was noted not only by the Byzantine military treatises but by Islamic geographers such as Ya'qūbī who stated that 'the Byzantine border districts are a land of fortresses and villages, not of cities' (Ya'qūbī: 362). Ibn Ḥawqal writes:

"Rich cities are few in their [Byzantines'] kingdom and country, despite its situation, size and the length of their rule. This is because most of it consists of mountains, castles [qilā], fortresses [ḥuṣūn], cave dwellings and villages dug out of the rock or buried under the earth." (Ibn Ḥawqal: 181)

These different types of military fortifications, from the small-scale outposts, garrison forts, provincial *kastra* (which were also called, confusingly, *poleis* by their inhabitants and by many writers who mention them), and frontier fortresses, form the core of the *Kastroktisia* process and are generally all sited on rocky outcrops and prominences. This siting typified not only the East Roman provincial countryside well into the medieval period and beyond, it also determined to a large extent the pattern of development of the Armenian fortifications when they migrated into Cilicia and expanded throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

4.4. Arab Occupation of the Cilician Plain and Amanus Mountains (650-950)

The Arab occupation of Cilicia occurred in two phases and was the prelude for a new period of settlement. During the Umayyad period (661-750), the frontier zone was divided into two zones, that of Cilicia and Syria in the West, and that of northern Mesopotamia in the East. As a result of the Umayyad raids, the Byzantines withdrew from the region and many sites, such as Anavarza and Misis, were abandoned or dramatically reduced during the second half of the seventh century. According to Abu Ezzah and Wheatley the city of Misis, partly due to its geographical and strategic location, was the first of the frontier settlements to be colonized

during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik (685-705) (Wheatley: 232; 260-1). Asa Eger argued in his work that this is probably incorrect as Mu‘āwiya already found the city abandoned in 651 and destroyed the fort (Eger, 2006: 503).

From the ‘Abbāsīd period (750-1258) onwards, garrisons were established in major forts to the south of the Taurus range and entire Arab settlements were moved from Syria in great numbers to the vulnerable cities in the Cilician plain. The forts acted as a support for the newly occupied cities and were garrisoned by regular troops on a salaried basis and by volunteers who travelled to the Byzantine frontier specifically to participate in the Jihād (Canard, 1951: 224ff; Haldon and Kennedy, 1980: 106ff). The network of fortifications and cities ensured that the region of Cilicia became a staging area for the annual Arab invasions into Cappadocia and western Asia Minor. Looking at the frontier, there was a clear difference in settlement patterns, which distinguished the Arab from the Byzantine areas. Whereas Arab forts and cities tended to be in the lowlands of fertile locations, in close proximity to rivers, the Byzantines were concentrated in the highlands, where their isolated fortresses could control and observe movements through the mountain passes, and where their dispersed populations were fairly safe from raiders (Haldon and Kennedy, 1980: 109).

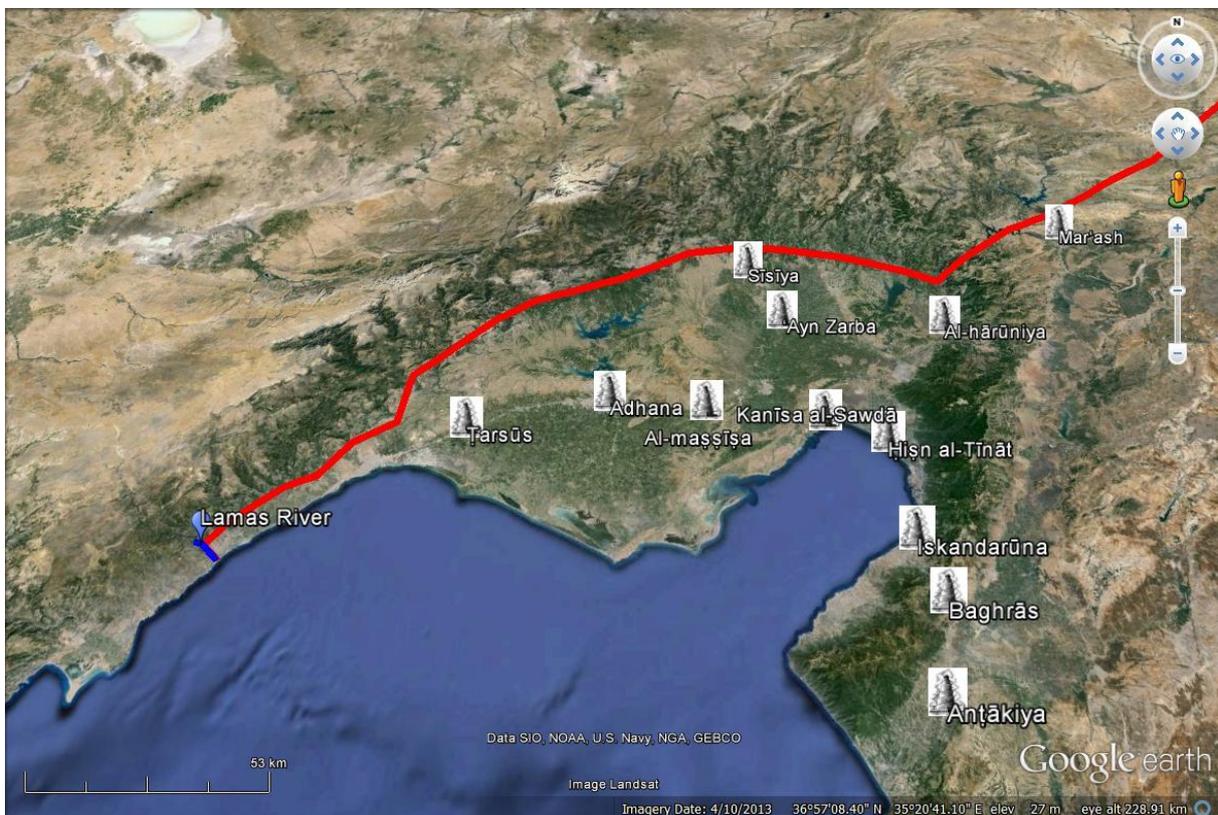
Table 2 - Arab Sites in Cilicia

Haruniye (al-Ḥārūnīya)	Anavarza (‘Ayn Zarba)
Kinet (Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt)	Adana (Adhana)
Misis (al-Maṣṣīṣa)	Kanīsa al-Sawdā
Tarsus (Ṭarsūs)	Sis (Sīsīya)

Studying the Arab settlements along *al-thughūr*, Abu Ezzah noted that the frontier was not a straight, curved, or zigzagged line; the placement of forts was dictated by strategic, geographical, economic, and historical factors (Abu Ezzah, 1980: 8, 100). He remarks the following:

“[...] as has been seen by the present author during his travel into the Taurus and the Amanus ranges in December 1978 ... The author was under the impression that all of the strongholds must have been either on high sites overlooking the mountain passes or atop some hills commanding their entrances. But after visiting the region and travelling through it he realized that this had not been the case; hill tops and the rough surface of the mountainous lands where the passes existed could only be suitable for small fortresses, accommodating small numbers of men.” (Abu Ezzah, 1980: 85, 103)

Figure 12 - Arab Sites in Cilicia (650-963)



Additionally, he outlines several classes of forts. These included: 1) large urban bases (such as Antioch, Mar'ash, Melitene, Misis, Adana, and Tarsus) and cultural centres located on the plain, not necessarily close to mountain passes but on trade routes, capable of being defended against heavy invasions; 2) medium bases (such as al-Ḥadath, Kanīsa al-Sawdā', al-Ḥārūniya, Zibaṭra, al-Iskandarūna, and Bayās) that could fend off small raids independently but could also be reinforced with more troops; and 3) small bases (such as

Ḥiṣn al-Jawzāt, Lu'lu'a, and Bayt Laha) located on upland peaks or near larger bases (as *maslaḥa*) and designed as lookout posts to warn against enemy incursions.

From accounts of cooperation between *thughūr* towns, Abu Ezzah established an informal division of four rough regions of relative cohesion based on chief cities and their dependants including: 1) Cilician plain and the Tarsus and Amanus Mountain slopes; 2) Antioch and its neighbouring forts; 3) Mar'ash and its neighbouring forts; and 4) Melitene and its region (Abu Ezzah, 1980: 105-11). This underlies a regional and localized system based on topography rather than a superimposed, centrally dominated rule. Straughn argues that the Arab frontier system was an *ad hoc* system of defence, whether initiated by the local population or central state, and that not every settlement was involved in agriculture (Straughn, 2006: 187-88). Like Abu Ezzah, he states that successful raids encouraged an outpost to be built in advance of the main settlement to prevent and warn of future attacks, such as Tall Jubayr, Tarsus, Ḥiṣn Qalawdhiya, and Melitene.

4.5. Byzantine Re-conquest and Construction of Fortifications

In 962 the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963-969) declared war on the amīr of Tarsus and the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mosul, Nāṣir al-Dawla (r. 935-967). Some years earlier, however, in 959, Nikephoros Phokas had already led a military campaign to al-Ḥārūniya. According to al-Yāqūt, the Byzantines captured 1500 Muslims during this raid (al-Yāqūt: v.945). The Byzantines probably inflicted considerable damage on the fort since the Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla (r. 945-967) financed its reconstruction along with the neighbouring town (Ibn Ḥawqal, 163-65).²⁹ During the campaign of 962 Nikephoros advanced on Anavarza with 90,000 troops against the Muslims who numbered 1000 to 4000. In his *History*, Leo the Deacon, noted that the army of Nikephoros was at least 400,000 men strong (Leo the Deacon: 104). Schlumberger comments that the figure of 400,000, while also found with some Arab historians, is an exaggeration. Schlumberger suggests that this

²⁹ The Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla was based in Syrian Berrhoia (modern Aleppo), but with strongholds in Cilicia in southeastern Asia Minor, namely Adana, Misis, and Tarsus.

indicative of the monumental effort made here by Nikephoros and the effect it had on Arab observers (Schlumberger, 1890: 480). Treadgold comments that this would be twice the number of soldiers the empire had at this time (Treadgold, 1997: 48 n.3).

The Ḥamdānīd ruler Sayf al-Dawla had only recently rebuilt the city of Anavarza in 955-956 at a cost of three million *dirhams*. According to Bar Hebraeus, when Nikephoros entered the city of Anavarza in 962, he destroyed the mosque below the fortress immediately (BH: 167). After his conquest of Anavarza, Nikephoros assured control of the rest of the Cilician plain with the seizure of Tarsus in 965. According to Leo the Deacon this city was extremely difficult to attack and because 'it could not be taken by force he decided, not to take any chances by fighting in an ill-advised manner' (Leo the Deacon, IV: 102-9). Apart from these sites, the campaign went slowly and the Arab resistance was, according to Bar Hebraeus, fierce (BH: 167-179).

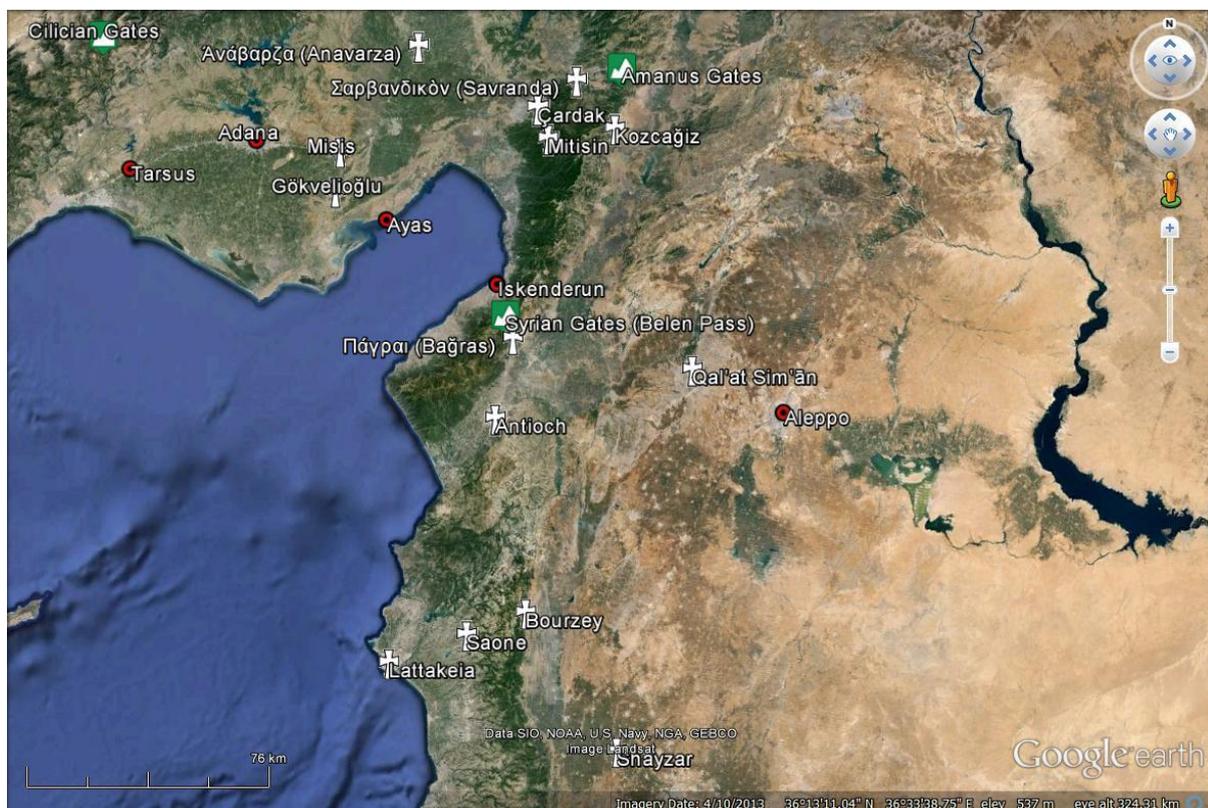
In 963/64 John Tzimiskes, the *domesticus* of the east, raided Misis attempting to remove the Muslim garrison but failed. In 965, a plague struck the town adding to the lack of food and despair of its citizens, after a two-month siege staged by Nikephoros Phokas. The Byzantine emperor seized advantage of the weakness and captured the city. In the course of another offensive in 965, the Byzantines conquered Cilicia, stronghold by stronghold, including the city of Tarsus. If we can believe the report of Bar Hebraeus, Nikephoros took control of 54 fortresses in Cilicia, such as Sis (BH: 167). In 966, the Amanus range formed the new frontier between the Byzantines and the Arabs. After his conquest of Cilicia, Nikephoros moved towards Antioch. The capture of the latter in 969 crowned the efforts of re-conquest against the Arabs, and laid a solid basis for rule over northern Syria (Treadgold, 1997: 275-6; 948). After his campaign, Nikephoros reduced most of the fortresses in Syria on his way and secured his conquests by a peace treaty with the Arabs (Leo the Deacon: 104).

In 969, John I Tzimiskes (r. 969-976), as *domesticus* and successful defender of the provinces in the east, was appointed as successor of Nicephoros Phokas. Following the

footsteps of his predecessor, John Tzimiskes 'strengthened the Byzantine empire and expanded its borders during his short reign' (Treadgold, 197: 512). After his successful military campaign in northern Syria, John Tzimiskes returned, according to Leo the Deacon, through Cilicia:

“The emperor John then departed from Syria...and headed back to Byzantium. When en route he saw Longinias³⁰ and Drize, fertile and prosperous places that the Roman army had previously recovered for the empire with much sweat and blood.” (Leo the Deacon, X, xi: 218).

Figure 13 - Byzantine Re-conquest of Cilicia and Antioch (963-969)



³⁰ Following the historical sources, Longinias was most likely located in the Cilician plain. Anna Komnene mentions Longinias alongside Tarsos, Adana, and Misis, in the successful military campaign of the Byzantine general Monastras in 1104 (AC, XI, xii: 328-329). Longinias was retaken by the Byzantines in 1158 during the campaign of Manuel I Komnenos along with Anavarza, Tarsus, Misis, and Toprak (MS: 316; BH: 285; Niketas Choniates: 59; John Kinnamos: 122).

The re-establishment of Byzantine sovereignty over Cilicia in the tenth century most likely brought a measure of protection to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast, but the intervening three centuries must have shrunk the size of settlement in Cilicia and, with it, the land tilled and irrigated. In order to control their newly captured territory, the Byzantines stationed Armenian troops, coming from Greater Armenia, 'in the fortresses which were in Cilicia, and which they took from the Arabs' (BH: 167). Under Basil II (r. 976-1025) the Armenians constituted an important part of the garrison in the doukaton of Antioch, where they, according to Michael the Syrian, had perhaps already been installed under John Tzimiskes, but he affirms that the Armenian migration to northern Syria took place 'in the time of the emperor Basil' (MS: 187; Magdalino, 2003: 13-15).

Due to the lack of historical sources and archaeological surveys, it is hard to find any traces in Cilicia to document the centuries between the early Byzantine period/Arab invasions and the time of the Armenian kingdom.

5. Norman Cilicia (1097-1112)

5.1. The Impact of the Crusades on the Historical Landscape in Cilicia

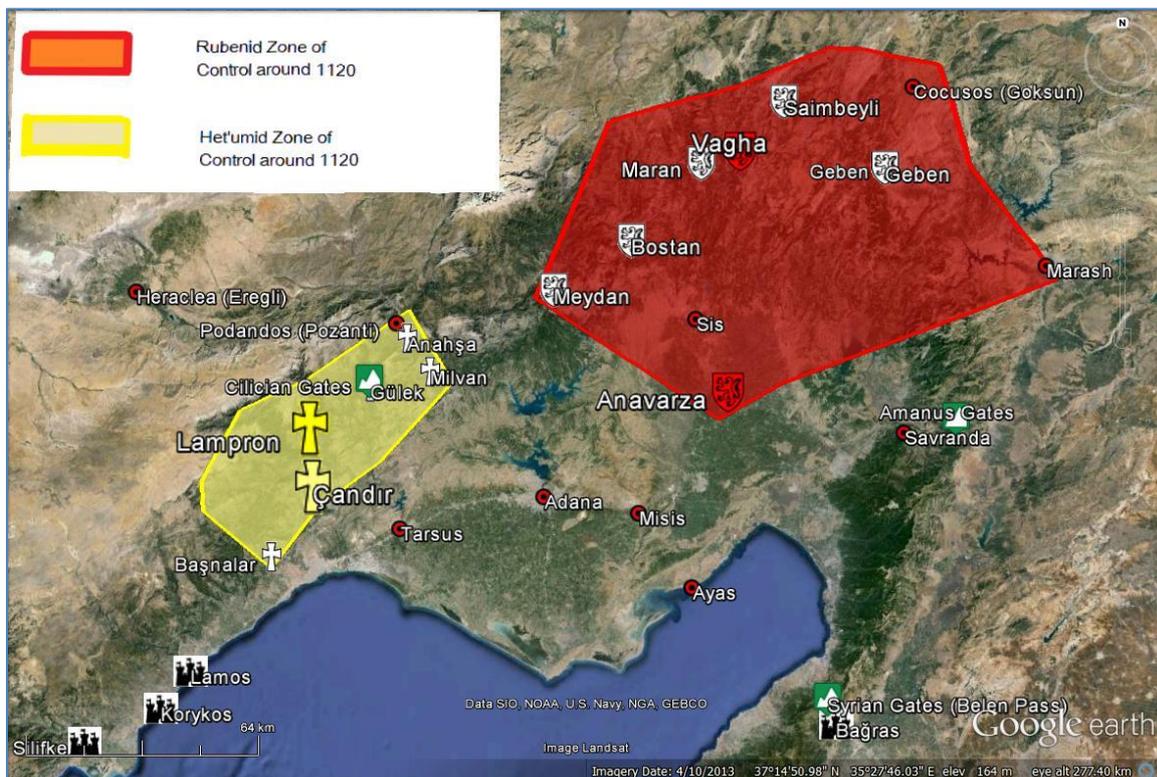
5.1.1. The Historical Landscape of Cilicia before the Arrival of the First Crusade

The Latin conquest of the Levant began before the First Crusade had even reached the city of Antioch in 1097. But what was the historical landscape of Cilicia like before the Crusaders arrived? The Armenian possessions in Cilicia were divided in two principalities, with their seats in the Taurus Mountains.

To the west of the Cilician Gates was the territory of Ōšin, son of Het'um, with his headquarters at the castle of Lampron. Before the appointment of Ōšin, the immediate area west of the Cilician Gates, including the classical city of Tarsus, was already under Armenian control. According to Attaleiates, when the Seljuks were fleeing from the Byzantine troops of

Romanus IV Diogenes in 1069, the cities of Seleukia and Tarsus were under the command of the Armenians (Attaleiates: 137). According to Matthew of Edessa, a certain Apllarip was the first known Armenian governor of Tarsus (and Misis) and was of the Artruni house (ME: 420). His family had served in the Byzantine army and were consequently loyal allies to the Byzantine Empire. Furthermore Apllarip had received the governorship of the city of Tarsus directly from Emperor Michael VII (Yarnley, 1972: 333). Along with the cities of Tarsus and Misis, Apllarip most likely held the fortifications of Lampron and Babarōn (modern-day Çandır), as Armenian colophons describe the donation of the latter to his faithful general, Ōšin (Hovsepian, col. 542, 552).

Figure 14 - The Rubenid and Het'umid Baronies around 1110



For the role of Ōšin, the text of the Treaty of Devol in 1108 mentions the city of Tarsus as a *strategaton* (AC, XIII, xii: 431). It is an allusion to the previous period of the Komnēnoi, where the *strategoi* would have control over a stronghold and its environs (Ahrweiler, 1971: 49). Following the decline of Byzantine power in the 1070s, Alexios I Komnenos appointed in the frontier territories a *doux* or *katepanō*. These *katepanō* held

military command of a city and its environs, and were equipped for this position with soldiers of the *themata* (Oikonomides, 1976b: 148). It is this type of power, similar to the small *strategoi*, a thematic or sub-thematic command, that Őšin exercised in Cilicia. But after his capture of Adana Őšin must have received the dignity of *sebastos*. This was a new title created by Alexios I Komnenos, which was the basis of a new hierarchy of dignities that were primarily based on the closeness of their holders' familial relationship to the emperor (Oikonomides, 1976b: 148).

To the east of the Cilician Gates, Constantine, son of Ruben, established the seat of the Rubenid barony at the fortress of Vagha (Samuel of Ani: 448). According to the Armenian chroniclers, the Rubenids were the heirs to the Bagratid dynasty of Greater Armenia. In contrast to the Het'umid dynasty the Rubenids were hostile towards Byzantium, following at the same time the call of the Armenian Church. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth century, there existed a long and bitter rivalry between the two Armenian families in Cilicia. While the Het'umids supported their Byzantine sovereigns throughout this period, the Rubenids were looking for ways to keep their independence and expand their barony to the fertile Cilician plain.

5.1.2. The Arrival of the First Crusade in Cilicia (August-September 1097)

The main body of the Franks arrived by August 1097 in Ikonion (modern Konya). Beyond it lay Heracleia (modern Eređli) with its ample water resources and lush valleys. At Ikonion, the Crusaders made contact with the Armenians living in this neighbourhood, who quickly co-operated and warned them that water would be scarce along the way to Heracleia (GF, IV, i-ii: 129-130).

Towards the end of the march across Asia Minor the Frankish armies split into two groups, with the major force taking the northern route via Kaisareia (modern Kayseri) and Germanikeia (modern Mar'ash/Kahramanmaraş) (GF, III, iv: 25-27). This indirect route to Antioch via Kaisareia was over 600 km long and meandered its way through the steep and

dangerous mountains of the central Anatolian plateau in Cappadocia. A considerable number of Armenians were to be found over here, north of the Taurus. Nerses of Lampron states that ‘when the Crusaders arrived, the whole of Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and the land of Gamirk (eastern Cappadocia) was populated with Armenians with leaders at the head of their monasteries’ (Nerses of Lampron, RHC Arm, I: 576). When the Crusaders approached Kaisareia they entered the ‘land of Armenians and many others (GF, IV, iii-iv: 131). After Kaisareia, the Franks reached Komana and Coxon, where they found an Armenian population which welcomed them (GF, IV, xi: 133-134).

Figure 15 - Passage of the First Crusade in Cilicia



For some reason unknown to us the Crusaders did not take the usual road from Coxon to Mar'ash. Perhaps they learnt that it was blocked by the Seljuks. According to Albert of Aachen, they took a track to the south, which was at the best of times a difficult path, very narrow and steep as it climbed up and down the gorges of the Anti-Taurus Mountains that they had to cross. Albert of Aachen states that ‘it was with great relief that at last the army

emerged into the plain before Mar'ash' (AA, III, xxvii-xxix: 358-59).³¹ In Mar'ash too the population was Armenian, and was commanded by a former imperial official called Ṭaṭoul. He gave the Crusaders all the help he could and the army paused there for three or four days. From Mar'ash the main part of crusading army had an easy march down to the plain of Antioch (GF, IV, ii: 130-31; AA, III, xxvii: 357-58).

The other Crusader army, under command of the princes Tancred of Lecce and Baldwin of Boulogne decided to seek their fortunes in Cilicia. As mentioned above, the Seljuks occupied the Cilician plain, while the Taurus Mountains behind were in the hands of Armenians. Tancred and Baldwin followed a south-eastern direction to the Cilician plain towards the city of Tarsus (GF, RHC Occ, III, chap. 4: 131). What prompted Tancred and Baldwin to enter the region of Cilicia? Surprisingly, this important question has been given little consideration. The standard conclusion, that they were simply seeking their own personal gain, which is supported by such authorities as H. E. Mayer (Mayer, 1988: 48), does not bear close examination. If these leaders were seeking gain then they might have expected this to come in the form of booty or land. Neither Tancred nor Baldwin were simply after plunder as both of them sacrificed manpower in order to garrison, and presumably secure, the towns that they conquered. The choice to follow this direct route was perhaps insisted on by emperor Alexios I Komnenos, in order to give the pro-Greek Armenian (Het'umid) princes in the area his imperial protection against the Seljuks and raise an Armenian participation in this holy war. According to Asbridge and France, it is likely that the Cilician expedition was part of an overall Latin strategy with purely the advance towards Antioch in mind (France, 1999: 206; Asbridge, 2000: 17). With the establishment of friendly relations with the region's indigenous Armenian Christian population the Franks would be provided with an allied region to their rear as they advanced on Antioch and attempted to isolate that city (France, 1994: 190). Another important reason could have been the

³¹ The description of the road as given by Robert the Monk (RHRC, Occ., III: 770-771), who merely rewrote the account in the *Gesta*, is almost identical with that given by Hogarth in Murray, *Guide to Asia Minor* (1895).

establishment of a foraging centre on the extremely fertile Cilician plain which could help to supply a military campaign towards Antioch. Matthew of Edessa recorded that the Armenian rulers Constanine Roupén of Vahga, Pazouni of Tarsus, and Ōšin of Adana sent generous provisions to the Franks at Antioch in 1098 (ME, II, 114: 167)

5.1.3. The Presence of Het'umids, Rubenids, Franks, and Seljuks in the Cilician Plain (September-October 1097)

According to Ralph of Caen, in his *Gesta Tancredi*, Ōšin of Lampron, the pro-Byzantine Armenian chieftain, had to leave Tarsus and the Cilician plain in 1097 to the Seljuk Turks in order to entrench himself in the 'Armenian mountains' (RC, XXXIV: 630). The arrival of the first part of the Crusaders, under command of Tancred and Baldwin, was about to have an irreversible effect on the situation of the Armenian population in Cilicia.³²

After Tancred passed through the Cilician Gates, he hurried with his small force to Tarsus and when he arrived, the Christian population at once made contact with him and formed an agreement. According to Albert of Aachen, there was an Armenian at Tarsus who negotiated with Tancred and promised to incite the citizens to revolt against the Seljuk garrison (AA, III, v: 342). While Ralph of Caen proclaimed that Ōšin was to be found entrenched in the Taurus Mountains, Gérard Dédéyan attempted to identify this Armenian in Tarsus with Ōšin of Lampron, 'who was in control of Adana and took control of Tarsus after the death of Aplḥarip' (Dédéyan, 2003a: 662). Eventually the city would be delivered to Tancred and his banner would be 'raised on top of the citadel' (RC, XXXVII: 632). Soon after, Baldwin of Boulogne arrived with a force larger than that led by Tancred (RC, XXXVII: 632; AA, III, vii: 343-344). Consequently Baldwin managed to secure the town for himself, having his own banner raised to replace Tancred's (AA, III, ix: 345). Despite the lack of details of the

³² For more detail regarding the campaign of Tancred and Baldwin in the Cilician Plain, see: T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2000); G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés : étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068-1150)*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2003), J. France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000-1300* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 204-229.

internal division between Baldwin and Tancred in the Armenian chronicles, the Armenian princes must have been aware of this. Soon after this Tancred left Tarsus for Adana (AA, III, x: 345-46; RC, XXXVIII: 633-634). After the seizure of Tarsus, Baldwin focused his attention on Edessa, where he took power from the Armenian T'oros. Due to the huge distance in between both Cilicia and Edessa, Baldwin might have decided that it was impractical to keep hold of Tarsus, once he had established a firm base in Edessa. No evidence survives which states that he did in fact officially transfer control of the town to Bohemond or to the principality of Antioch.

After his departure from Tarsus, Tancred arrived at the gates of Adana. The most coherent version of events over there was recorded by Ralph of Caen, who notes that one *Ursinus* had recently orchestrated the defeat and subsequent massacre of the Muslim garrison at Adana and now ruled over the town (RC, XXXIX: 634). This *Ursinus*, identified positively by some as Ōšin of Lampron, invited Tancred to Adana, and welcomed him inside the town with *dextra et fide* (RC, XL: 634). During negotiations Ōšin offered to unite his Het'umid forces with Tancred's, or even put them in his service, while diverting the Frankish leader's interest towards the spoils of Misis, which Ōšin claimed to be 'full of booty and easy to capture' (RC, XL: 634). Ōšin's promise to place his troops under Tancred's command and to welcome him inside Adana with an oath of fealty shows that Ōšin had become an ally, perhaps even some form of vassal. As mentioned above, he was amongst those Armenians who subsequently sent supplies to the Crusaders at the siege of Antioch. This commitment of Ōšin towards the Normans did not interfere with his alliance to the Byzantine emperor.

There can be little doubt that Tancred did establish himself as governor of Misis. On his arrival in early October, Misis was still held by a Muslim garrison that Tancred either defeated in battle or caused to flee from the town in fear of his presence (AA, III, xv: 349-50; RC, XLI: 636). Both Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen agree that Tancred then proceeded to exert his authority over the town. First he made a treaty with the local indigenous population, as a result of which each had a reciprocal gain: 'Tancred the filial homage of the

town, the town Tancred's paternal government' (Asbridge, 2000: 22). Then he garrisoned its towers with his own troops and may also have distributed some of the spoils from the town amongst his men (AA, III, xv: 349-50). According to Asbridge, Tancred's expedition on the Cilician plain was supported by Bohemond. Therefore he may have occupied Misis in his uncle's name or transferred jurisdiction over the town to him once they were reunited (Asbridge, 2000: 22). According to Robert the Monk most of the successes of Tancred in the Cilician plain could be explained 'as due to a change in Seljuk strategy; instead of raids performed by their cavalry, they retreated themselves into castles that were strongly defended.' (Robert the Monk, XX: 767). Ralph of Caen's account of the imposition of Tancred's authority over Misis, however, must be suspected of bias. In spite of this we have no reason to doubt Ralph's record that on his departure Tancred left a garrison at the town which he numbered at fifty men – a considerable investment of manpower as it represented one half of the total force that he claimed Tancred led (RC, XLV: 639). It is not known, however, who was left in control of Misis.

5.1.4. Conquest of the Amanus Region by Tancred

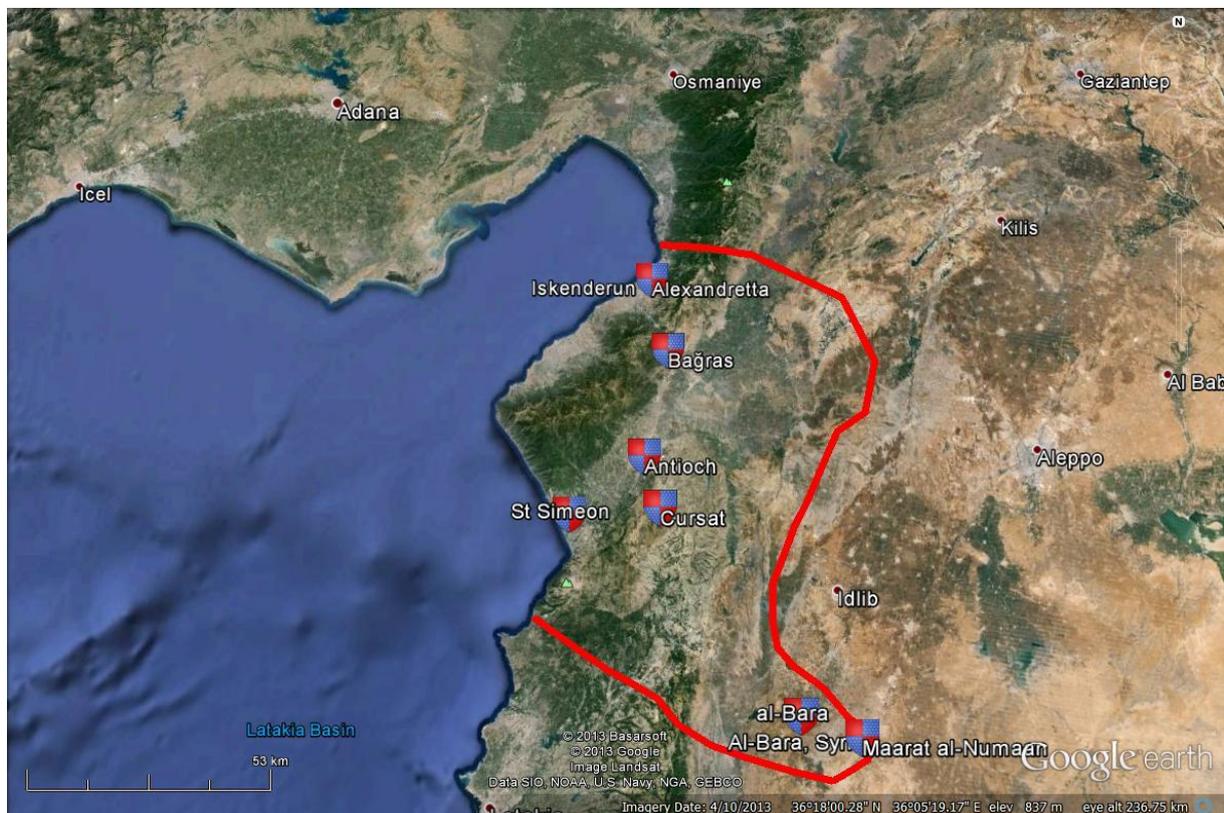
After his departure from Misis, Tancred's exact itinerary becomes confused as the sources use vague and unidentifiable place-names. It is clear that, in the autumn of 1097, with the help of the contingent of Guynemer of Boulogne, Tancred 'remained on the coasts', and then conquered a series of places along the Gulf of Alexandretta, as reported by Albert of Aachen: 'he besieged and took the castrum puellarum [Castle of the Maidens], vulgarly called Debaïesses', which he destroyed completely (AA, III, xxvi: 357; Edgington: 180-81). We can identify this place with the harbour of Payas (Classical Baias/Baiae; Arabic Bayās/Baiyās/Bāyyās), to the north of modern-day Iskenderun (Classical Alexandretta; Arabic Iskandarūna), in the district of Dcheker. In the same way he also conquered and destroyed the castle of the Shepherds (AA, III, xxvi: 357).

Tancred had dismantled all the strongholds that resisted him. Albert of Aachen reports further: 'With a band of vigorous knights (or soldiers) he also threw down the Castle

of the Youths, otherwise called Bakelers or Debakelers' (AA, III, xxvi: 357). Albert of Achen states that these *praesidia* (or fortresses) which were located in the mountains of the Turks, that is, in the mountains that bordered the Gulf of Alexandretta, the Amanus Mountains (Dédéyan, 1990: 677; Edgington: 180-81, n. 58).

According to William of Tyre: 'after a very fierce attack, he succeeded in taking them, and subject the whole region to his power' (WT, I: 229-230). An abridged version of Fulcher of Chartres provides some original information: 'Then he went to Alexandretta which an Armenian delivered to him' (FC, XII: 197; V: 631). Tancred, in the meantime, according to Ralph of Caen, broke through the mountains separating Alexandretta from the *oppidulum* (small fortress) of Bağras [Gaston], which was the most direct route to Syria (RC, XLIV: 639). This way he crossed the Belen pass and controlled the whole Amanus region. As reported by Ralph of Caen: 'After happily making himself master of Cilicia, he became, even more happily, master of Syria' (RC, XLIV: 639).

Figure 16 - The Principality of Antioch by the Spring of 1099



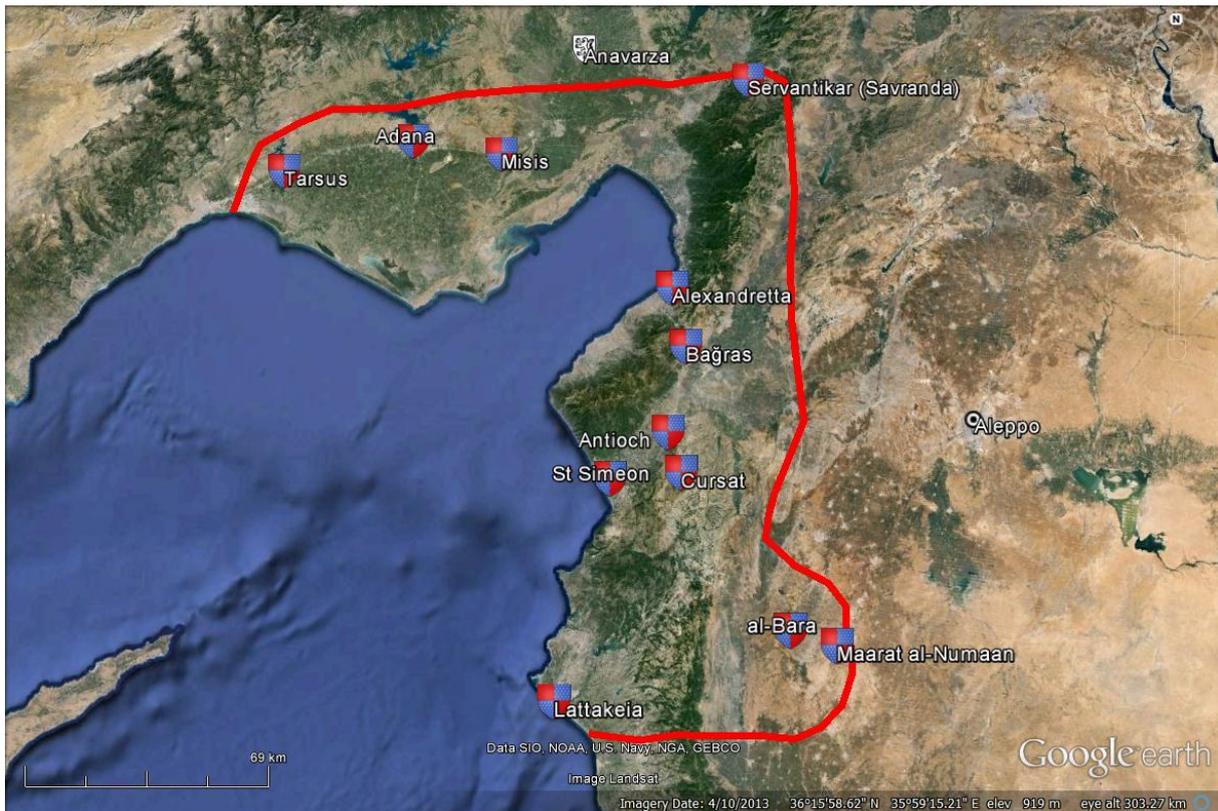
If we assume that the leaders of the First Crusade had some advanced knowledge of the geography of the region, perhaps from information given by the Armenian guides, it may be possible that Tancred was sent to capture the Belen Pass, to the southeast of Alexandretta. Thereby he secured the strategic route through the Amanus Mountains to Antioch, either for the remaining Crusader forces that the Frankish forces may have expected or for Byzantine reinforcements. Towards the end of this expedition the exact nature of Tancred's activities are rather unclear but we do know that he crossed the Belen Pass in order to reach Antioch and therefore presumably secured the pass.

It took the Frankish forces almost eight months to capture Antioch and the First Crusade did not actually leave northern Syria until the spring of 1099. We may assume that the initial formation of the principality of Antioch was a piecemeal process. When the Crusade left the north some sites must have been abandoned altogether and Bohemond could have moved fairly quickly to re-occupy them (Asbridge, 1996: 92-93). Raymond of Aguilers says that the Byzantine commander, Tatikios, handed over to Bohemond the three Cilician cities of Tarsus, Adana, and Misis before departing from the siege of Antioch (Raymond of Aguilers, ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill, 1969: 37). The Normans, however, lost their grip on Cilicia. Ralph of Caen records that the Greeks were able to reassert their authority in 1100 before Bohemond's capture by the Danishmendid amīr (RC, CXLIII: 706).

5.2. Norman Re-occupation of Cilicia Pedias and the Battle of Harran (1101-1104)

The fact that the Franks lost their territories in favour of the Byzantines and their Het'umid allies, was not the end of Norman presence in Cilicia. Tancred, who acted as Bohemond's regent from 1101 to 1103, demonstrated early signs of the martial energy and determination that were later to characterize his own rule, as he defended and even extended the Frankish lands held by Antioch. His actions also suggest that he was focused upon repelling the Byzantine Empire and establishing control of the Mediterranean ports of northern Syria. Tancred accomplished first of all the re-occupation of Cilicia.

Figure 17 - The Principality of Antioch on the Eve of the Battle of Harran (1104)



Soon after Tancred arrived at Antioch in April 1101, he led a short but violent campaign which recaptured Tarsus, Adana, and Misis (RC, CXLIII: 706). The Norman presence was once again established as in 1101, William of Aquitaine sought refuge at 'Longinath, near the town of Tarsus, which was ruled by Bernard known as the Stranger' (AA, VIII, xl: 581-582). In that same year, Raymond of Toulouse was captured and held by agents of Tancred at the fortress of Servantikar (ME, III, iv: 185). When the Byzantine commanders Boutoumites and Monastras travelled through the region around 1103 they found that 'the Armenians had come to terms with Tancred' and therefore modified their route to go past them and went on to Mar'ash, which they took 'with all neighbouring townships and small places' (AC, XI, ix: 323). Although Tancred recouped Bohemond's losses in Cilicia and succeeded in conquering the port at Lattakia, where his uncle had previously failed, he was forced to relinquish possession of these conquests when Bohemond was released from captivity in 1103 (RC, CXLVII: 709).

After Bohemond's release he led a number of campaigns on the eastern frontier of the principality of Antioch with considerable success. In 1104 Bohemond appears to have led an expedition as far as Albistan, far to the north of Antioch and beyond Mar'ash. Both the town and region of Jahan submitted to Bohemond's authority (MS, XV, x: 195). This must be seen as an extremely ambitious and even foolhardy extension of the principality's borders and resources, which were stretched out over the Cilician plain, occupying the three major cities of Tarsus, Adana, and Misis and garrisoning even the fortress of Servantikar and the fortresses in the Amanus. Held alone, Albistan was an isolated satellite of Antiochene power and must always have been under threat of conquest or revolt.

On 7 May 1104, a Frankish army from both Antioch and Edessa, with Armenian contingents, was defeated by a Muslim force led by Jikirmish, governor of Mosul and Sokman of Mardin in a battle which took place near Harran (RC, CXLVIII: 710). This defeat and its aftermath caused a severe crisis. It damaged Frankish military prestige, as before this no Latin force of equal size to the enemy had been defeated in battle in northern Syria. The realization that the Franks were not invincible appears to have affected the Muslim and Byzantine attitudes to the Latin presence. Henceforth, Armenians in Cilicia demonstrated that they could rebel as easily against their Latin masters as they could against the Muslims. The Greeks seized this opportunity and succeeded to re-establish their authority in Cilicia. Anna Komnene notes that the Greek General Monastras probably in 1104 'came over land with the cavalry he occupied Longinias, Tarsos, Adana, Mamistra and indeed the whole of Cilicia' (AC, XI, xii: 328-329).

This change of allegiance demonstrates that the Armenians were disenchanted with Frankish rule and willing to switch their loyalty between the principality and the empire in order to suit their own interests. Another Byzantine expedition landed under the Greek general Kantakouzenos at Latakia, probably soon after the battle of Harran (RC, CLI: 712). With considerable effort, he took control over the town and port, leaving the citadel under Norman command (AC, XI, xi: 327-328). These territorial losses were compounded by

Bohemond's departure for the west in 1104 or 1105 and his stripping of the principality's resources.

5.3. The Expansion of the Principality of Antioch and the Treaty of Devol (1106-1112)

Having averted the crisis that the principality had faced after Harran and the fall of Artah in 1105, Tancred continued to pursue an extremely dynamic policy of territorial expansion between 1106 and his death in 1112, which would have its consequences for the Armenians in Cilicia (Asbridge, 2000: 59). In order to protect Antioch, Tancred adopted an aggressive military policy that was designed to gain control of the key fortified sites on the frontiers with its enemies. These sites, such as the fortifications in the Amanus to the north, would be used as an advanced line of defence.

Tancred faced a Greek offensive on two fronts. To the north the Armenians (Het'umids) had once again accepted Byzantine rule in 1104. It is difficult to date precisely how long this region remained under Greek control. Anna Komnene, the main source for its recapture by Tancred, provides only a vague chronology for these events and her account can be dated anywhere between 1105 and 1107. It is unlikely that Tancred moved against the region in either 1105 or the first half of 1106 as he was then occupied with the reconquest of Artah. His Cilician campaign probably took place in either late 1106 or early 1107. Anna Komnene records that during Bohemond's Crusade, Alexios Komnenos decided to recall his general and commander of Tarsos, Monastras, to Constantinople in order to strengthen his forces in the west (AC, XII, ii: 334-35). Monastras was replaced by Ōšin at the head of the *strategaton* of Tarsus.³³ This command was in theory over the whole of Cilicia.

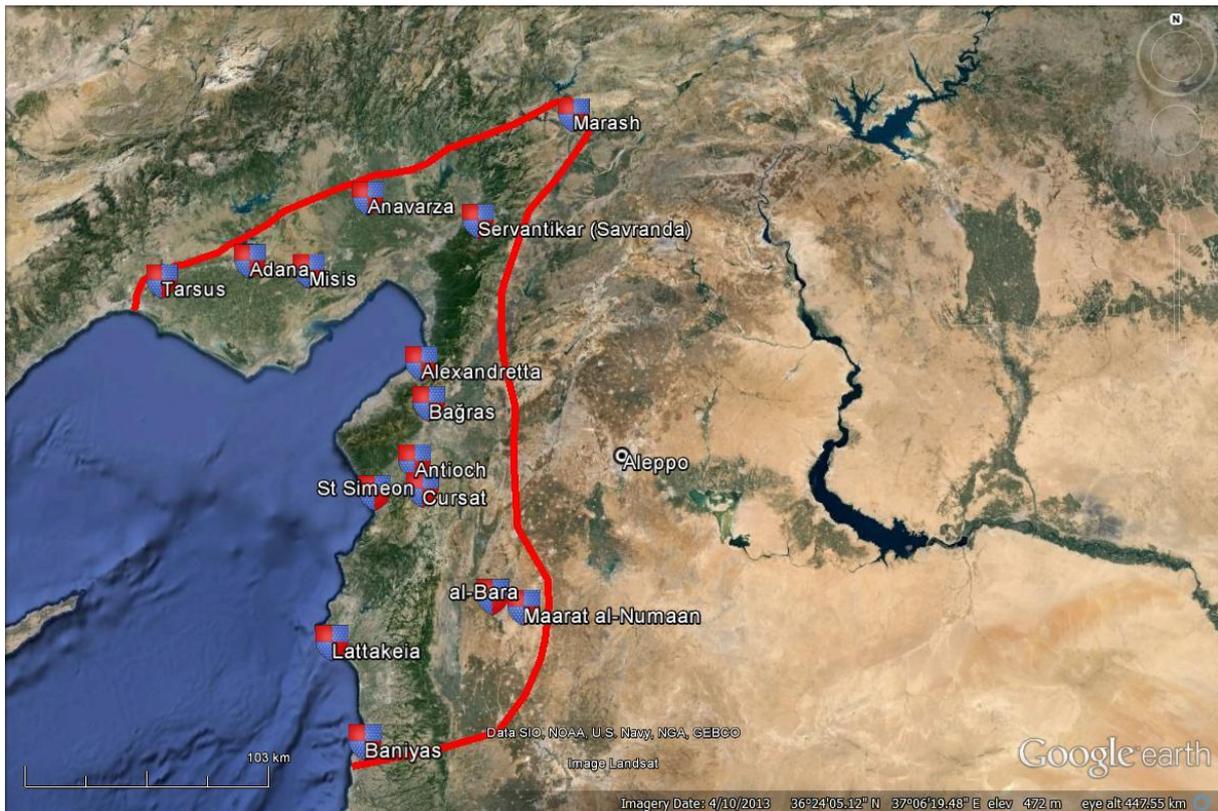
³³ Anna Komnene (XII, ii: 335) called him 'Aspietes' and described him at this point as coming from 'a noble Armenian family'. The identification with Ōšin and Ursinus of the Latin sources is put forward by Laurent, 'Armeniens de Cilicie: Aspietes, Oschin, Ursinus', 159-68. The Latin sources say Ursinus made contact with Tancred to betray Misis to him. This could explain the ambivalence of Anna Komnene throughout the Alexiad towards Aspietes.

This choice of an Armenian could be interpreted as an attempt by Alexios to restore the Armenian element.

At some point after this, Tancred decided to lead a campaign into Cilicia. Anna Komnene takes care to describe the extensive preparations made by him, coming close to complimenting him for his fastidious attention to detail, before relating that he led a two-pronged invasion. He sent a naval force, perhaps as part of a Genoese fleet, up the River Pyramus, which then linked up with his land force to encircle and capture Misis (AC, XII, ii: 336-37). Anna Komnene placed the blame for this defeat firmly upon the *stratopedarkhes* Ōšin or Aspietes whom she accused of indolence, excess, and complete failure to carry out his duties (AC, XII, ii: 336-37). It is not known exactly how much of Cilicia was recaptured by the Latins at this point. Anna did not make clear the fate of towns such as Tarsus and Adana, stating only that 'the Cilician cities were bound to suffer when a man like Tancred outmanoeuvred them' (Anna, XII, ii: 336). Furthermore, Anna wrongly reported that Misis (Classical Mopsuestia/Mamistra) was on the River Sarus when it is in fact on the River Pyramus. She might also have shortened her account in order to pass over further details of the Greek humiliation and defeat.

Tancred did not manage to hold on to these gains, whatever their extent, for very long. Albert of Aachen records that Misis was lost to the Greeks in 1108, once again because of Armenian treachery, and notes that Tancred attempted to coerce the newly arrived Bertrand of Toulouse into assisting him in the town's recapture (AA, XI, vi: 665). Matthew of Edessa states that Kogh Vasil sent 800 men and a group of Pechenegs from the Byzantine army, who were based at Misis, to assist Baldwin of Le Bourcq and Joscelin of Courtenay against Tancred in 1108 (ME, III, xxxix: 209). This also suggests that Misis was no longer under Norman control.

Figure 18 - The Principality of Antioch at the Time of Tancred's Death in 1112



The treaty of Devol, however, in 1108, established an agreement between the Byzantines and the Frankish rulers at Antioch. With this agreement, Alexios Komnenos was prepared to give Antioch to Bohemond of Tarento (1058-1111) until Bohemond's death. At the same time Bohemond would rule Antioch as the subject of Alexios, henceforth reducing his ability to expand the principality. Furthermore the treaty stipulated that Bohemond, as ruler of Antioch was now to be called *doux* of Antioch, instead of prince. Cilicia, however, was to be 'cut off from the jurisdiction of the *doux* of Antioch...since you (Alexios) wished to appropriate them entirely' (AC, XIII, xii: 385-94). This region had been at the centre of conflict between Normans and Byzantines since 1099. Alexios might have been prepared to allow Bohemond to hold Antioch as his subject, but he also wanted to enclose the Latins from the north, effectively establishing a base for further expeditions. Cilicia was henceforth placed back again under direct Byzantine control 'since you wished to appropriate them entirely' and delimited by its natural borders; from the Kydnos in the west, to the Hermon or Hourman Tchay, a tributary of the Pyramus, in the east (AC, XIII, xii: 392).

5.4. The Geographical Link between Cilicia and the Principality of Antioch, or the Former Duchy of Antioch

In the late eleventh and early twelfth century, the Norman principality of Antioch was constituted largely along the lines of the former Byzantine *Doukaton* of Antioch. Its Latin rulers sought to consolidate their control over Northern Syria in order to forge a coherent and cohesive principality. Its core territory, however, was relatively small. It consisted of a very fertile, well-watered and heavily cultivated plain, the Amūq, open to trade and invasion from the east, and open to the west to the sea through the Orontes valley, wedged between two mountain ranges: the Amanos to the north and Jabal Aqrā' to the south. As one moves 50 km northward, through the Belen pass in the Amanus Mountains, one arrives at a coastal zone which offers direct access to the broad expanse of the Cilician plain lying to the north and west. Furthermore, on the stretch of the Mediterranean directly west and north of the Belen pass lay such ports as Iskenderun, Payas, Portella/Sarı Seki, and Kinet (Canamella/Hiṣn al-Tīnāt). These ports were small, but on the whole must have been easier to maintain than the strategic St Symeon, given its proximity to the mouth of the Orontes.³⁴

During its early years, in the first decade of the twelfth century, the principality of Antioch expanded its borders north through the Belen pass, up the coast, and far into the eastern Cilician plain, conquering and refortifying cities like Anavarza. The princes pursued their largely successful policy of territorial expansion through a combination of military conquest and negotiated surrender that saw its fullest expression under Tancred (1105-1112). Their strategy focused upon seizing control of frontier zones, and securing continued links with Western Europe by occupying the Mediterranean coastal ports of northern Syria like Alexandretta, St Simeon, and Latakia (Asbridge, 2000: 47).

Tancred maintained a special interest and relationship with some of the rulers in Cilicia. The sources mention a 'prince of the towns of Tarsus and Misis', known by the name

³⁴ Medieval Muslims called the Orontes Nahr al-'Āṣī, "the Rebellious River", for its frequent and often violent flooding.

of Guy le Chevreuil (Cahen, 1940: 459). This *princeps* was mobilised in 1110 by Tancred in his call to arms throughout the 'realm of Antioch against the Turkomans' (AA, XI, XL: 682-83), and in 1115 by Roger of Salerno (Asbridge, 2000: 150). We must assume that Guy did not act as a vassal of the *doux*, as that would imply some form of direct control over Cilicia, but rather an allegiance towards the *doukes* of Antioch (Cahen, 1940: 460). Guy le Chevreuil continued to exert authority over the region until at least 1114, before which time he issued a charter granting land in the region of Misis (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VII: 115-116, n.4). Tancred had fiefs in the Amanus region as well, depending, amongst others, on the influential family of the Mazoir (patrons of the abbey of St-George) (Asbridge, 2000: 162; 175).

It is clear that the *doukes* of Antioch kept an eye on Cilicia throughout the twelfth century. Two examples of that interest are Savranda and Toprak (Armenian T'il Hamtun; Latin Thi/Thila/Tili/Thil Hamd(o)un; Arabic Tall Ḥamdūn/Tall Ḥamdōn).³⁵ It was in Savranda around 1101/02 that Tancred of Antioch held Raymond of Saint-Gilles prisoner (ME: 57). For some thirty years thereafter the castle's history is unattested. In 1135 the Rubenid Baron Levon I (r. 1129/1130-1137) captured Savranda, probably from its Frankish master, the count of Mar'ash. A struggle quickly ensued in which Levon and his ally and nephew Joscelin of Edessa faced the forces of Baldwin of Mar'ash, Raymond of Poitiers, and King Fulk of Jerusalem. In late 1136 Levon was captured by Raymond of Poitiers. Two months after Levon's capture, Raymond released him after receiving as ransom 60,000 *tahegan*, the cities of Adana and Misis, and the castle of Savranda. An unspecified number of Levon's sons were also taken as hostages by Raymond (Smbat: 616). Sometime between 1172 and 1175 the castle fell back into Armenian hands, probably during the period of the Rubenid prince Mleh (r. 1170-1175). In 1185 Ruben III was ransomed by the Prince of Antioch in exchange for Savranda, Toprak, and Djegher (Smbat, 628). By 1198, the castle would return to Armenian hands, until the late thirteenth century.

³⁵ Toprak is the modern Turkish designation, 3km south of modern-day Toprakkale.

The castle of Toprak should be identified with the Arab name of *Tall Ḥamdūn*, or the Frankish *Thila*. The castle is located on a large mound, commanding the junction of five major roads. At the east is the road to Osmaniye and the Amanus pass; directly west, two paved routes lead to Adana. The coastal highway from Iskenderun joins the latter to form a strategic intersection at Toprak. In 1126 the monastery of Our Lady of the Valley of Jehosphaphat (beside Jerusalem) held two *carrucatae* of land ‘*in Tilio*’ (ed. Kohler, 1909: 123). The castle was then most likely under the control of Antioch. In 1132 the Rubenid Baron Levon took control over Toprak, but ceded the castle back to the Byzantines during the campaign of John II Komnenos. Raymond I of Antioch confirmed to the Hospitallers in 1149 the following possessions in Cilicia:

“Before the area of [Tilium] Toprak is the name of Aganir with all its holdings, the [casale] settlement Gadir with its holdings, the [casale] of Ubre with its holdings. In the area of Misis is the [casale] of Sarata with its holdings.” (Delaville Le Roulx, I, no. 183: 144)

6. Komnenian Intervention (1081-1143)

The Komnenian emperors Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118), and his successors, John II and Manuel, combined Crusader successes with the domestic reorganization of the empire into a revitalized Byzantine state. After the disaster of Manzikert, it took the Byzantines some time to recover their strength and regain the most prosperous westernmost third of Anatolia from the Seljuks and project their power along the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts once again to Cilicia and Antioch. Seleukia, at the western extremity of the region, was the only town still under imperial control (Magdalino, 1993: 37-38). During the upheavals of the second half of the twelfth century, the Byzantines had lost control over the region they had only conquered in the tenth century with the campaigns of Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes.

In an era when navies hugged the shore whenever possible and needed to replenish stocks of drinking water for galley oarsmen on a regular basis, the Byzantines focused their

efforts on all ports along Anatolia's Mediterranean coast, including Attaleia, Seleukia, and Korykos in the coastal districts of Pamphylia and Cilicia Trachea. This coastline was pivotal in maintaining routes of communication. This systematic development of coastal facilities resulted Byzantine military power to expand as far as Antioch, which is implied in a statement of Anna Komnene writing to her father Emperor Alexios that 'he was anxious to secure the whole of Cilicia; it would be easier then to prepare for operations against Antioch. [The Byzantine general] Boutoumites therefore set sail out with all his forces and had reached Attaleia...' (AC, XI, ix: 322). Later in the same passage Constantine Euphorbeus, *doux* of Cyprus is referred to in a manner implying that he was the overall authority in the area. Byzantine communication between Attaleia and Kyrenia, the main port in northern Cyprus is also mentioned here.

If not under Emperor Alexios himself, it was under his successor John II (r. 1118-1143) that the Mediterranean coastline was fortified. It must be supposed that Levon's conquest of the Cilician plain and Cilicia Trachea, which extended Rubenid power for the first time towards Korykos and Seleukia, was the impetus for John II Komnenos campaign in Cilicia. If we may trust Michael Italicus, a further motive was Levon's usurpation of the dignity of overlord, 'You turn tail and flee, you apostate and tyrant and falsely named King' (MI: 255), while declaring 'Here too, then, it was high time to rectify an anomaly left by the Crusade' (MI: 252-3). Levon, however, certainly did not claim the imperial dignity as neither Niketas Choniates, nor John Kinnamos, nor the Armenian and Latin sources mention any such conduct. William of Tyre states, as the ultimate motive, that the emperor still sought the lordship over Cilicia and Syria and finally commenced his undertaking for this reason (WT, XIV, xxiv: 641).

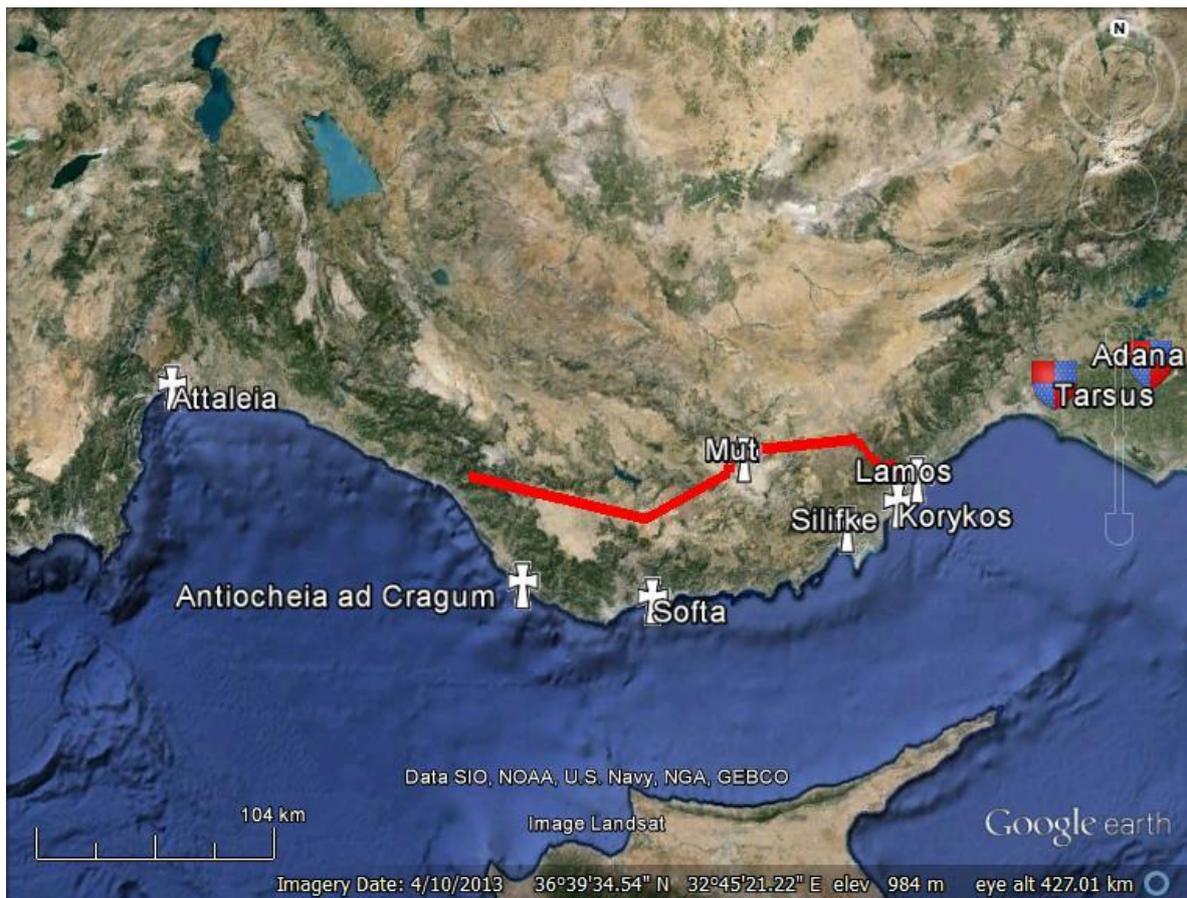
The Rubenid Baron Levon, who was previously imprisoned by the Normans, assembled his troops on his release and rushed towards the western borders of Cilicia. Referring to this passage, the Greek historian Choniates writes:

“Levon, who ruled Armenia, wanted to march against and subdue other fortresses subject to the Romans; above all he [John Komnenos] was attempting to subjugate Seleukia. Assembling his forces augmented with newly levied troops and providing sufficient provisions for a long campaign, he came to the Cilician Gates; he passed through without meeting any resistance and then occupied Adana and captured Tarsus. But he was not satisfied with his success up to this point and contested for the whole of Armenia.” (Choniatēs, I: 21)

In the meantime, the Danishmendids broke their alliance with the Rubenids, raided the Cilician plain and also laid siege to Mar’ash. The arrival of the Byzantine army, however, in 1137, forced the Danishmendid Turks to withdraw from the Cilician plain.

According to William of Tyre, John Komnenos, conquered Tarsus in 1137, which was defended by Antioch, and ‘took possession of the whole of Cilicia, which the princes of Antioch had held for forty years’ (WT, XIV, xxiv: 642). In the account of William of Tyre there is no mention of the Armenians. William of Tyre, however, is not an objective historian when he is concerned with Byzantium (Edbury, 1988). His account, in any case is demonstrably wrong, since Byzantium was present in Cilicia in 1100-1 and again in 1104-08. Another source, Michael Italicus, gives a more accurate account as witness on the Byzantine reconquest of Cilicia (MI: 245-70). He claims that after the imperial army has mustered by Attalia, it marched along the coast as far as Seleukia, thence via Korykos, which was taken with little trouble, to Tarsus, Adana, and Misis, which were captured, in fact from the Franks. Afterwards they turned against the Armenian part of Cilicia –‘from the Frankish barbarians to the Armenian barbarians’ – and captured Anavarza (MI: 253). The important feature of the account here is the division of Cilicia into one part occupied by the Franks and one by the Armenians. This appears to suggest that Levon had indeed given back the western part of Cilicia, from Korykos to Misis, to Antioch in 1137. The Antiochenes, however, could not enjoy it for long.

Figure 19 - Komnenian Intervention (1081-1143)



During the rapid march across the Cilician plain the Greeks must have been backed by their faithful Het'umid allies. In the Rubenid domains the Greeks encountered much harder resistance, especially from the Rubenids' strongholds of Vahga and Anavarza. The latter was a 'densely populated city, embraced by strong walls situated above the precipitous rocks and defended by ramparts and diverse engines of war stationed at intervals, was made even more secure by the fully armed and stalwart men who took refuge within' (Choniatēs, I: 21). Eventually Anavarza was taken by the Byzantines after a siege of thirty-seven days (John Kinnamos, 7: 24-25; Ibn al-'Athīr: 424). After his victories in the Cilician plain, John Komnenos proceeded to Antioch, capturing Toprak and leaving a force behind to besiege the fortress of Vagha, Levon's baronial seat deep in the northern part of the Taurus Mountains (John Kinnamos, 7: 25). Choniatēs describes the defenders as 'those entrusted with the defence of the fortress of Vagha [Baka] were dauntless in their determination to give battle' (Choniatēs, I: 21 v. 258). At the same time, the Frankish areas in the north suffered under

heavy Seljuk attacks so that Baldwin, lord of Mar'ash and Kesoun, found himself in 1137 compelled to appeal for help to the Byzantine emperor, whose presence he must have found most unpleasant (ME: 150).

According to the chroniclers the Byzantines troops of John Komnenos completed their conquest of Cilicia in the winter of 1137-38. This practically meant an interlude of seven years when the region was pacified under Byzantine rule. The Rubenid Baron, Levon I, was captured in the Taurus Mountains together with two of his sons, Ruben and T'oros II, and sent to Constantinople in chains. Levon and Ruben would not survive their imprisonment and only T'oros II would return to Cilicia. The Armenian chronicler Smbat states that T'oros II escaped the Byzantine capital in between 1142 and 1145, while shortly afterwards he began the recovery of his Rubenid possessions (Smbat, 590: 618). Following Bar Hebraeus and Samuel of Ani, a Jacobite priest, named Mar Athanasius, is reported to have led him by night to Amuda, a castle on the river Pyramus, to the southeast of Anavarza (BH: 275; MS: 341; Samuel of Ani: 453). At the same time, the other two sons of Levon, Mleh and Stephen, took refuge with their Frankish cousin, Joscelin of Edessa. Some years ago, Joscelin had supported his Rubenid cousin Levon against his Frankish neighbours, the principality of Antioch, and Baldwin of Mar'ash (Edwards, 1987: 6). Even the death of John Komnenos, wounded by a poisoned arrow while hunting in Cilicia, did not immediately lead to a slackening of control (Choniates: 23, v. 40). The emperor died on 8 April 1143 near his camp in Anavarza, after nominating Manuel I Komnenos as his successor (VE: 503 v. 390).

7. Presence of the Military Orders

An important development during the reign of Baron Levon II (r. 1187-98) and later King Levon I (r. 1198-1219) was the increasing involvement of the military orders in the Armenian kingdom. By 1250, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights all held castles inside or on the fringes of the kingdom. While the presence of the Templars in the Amanus region precedes the coronation of King Levon I in 1198, the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights

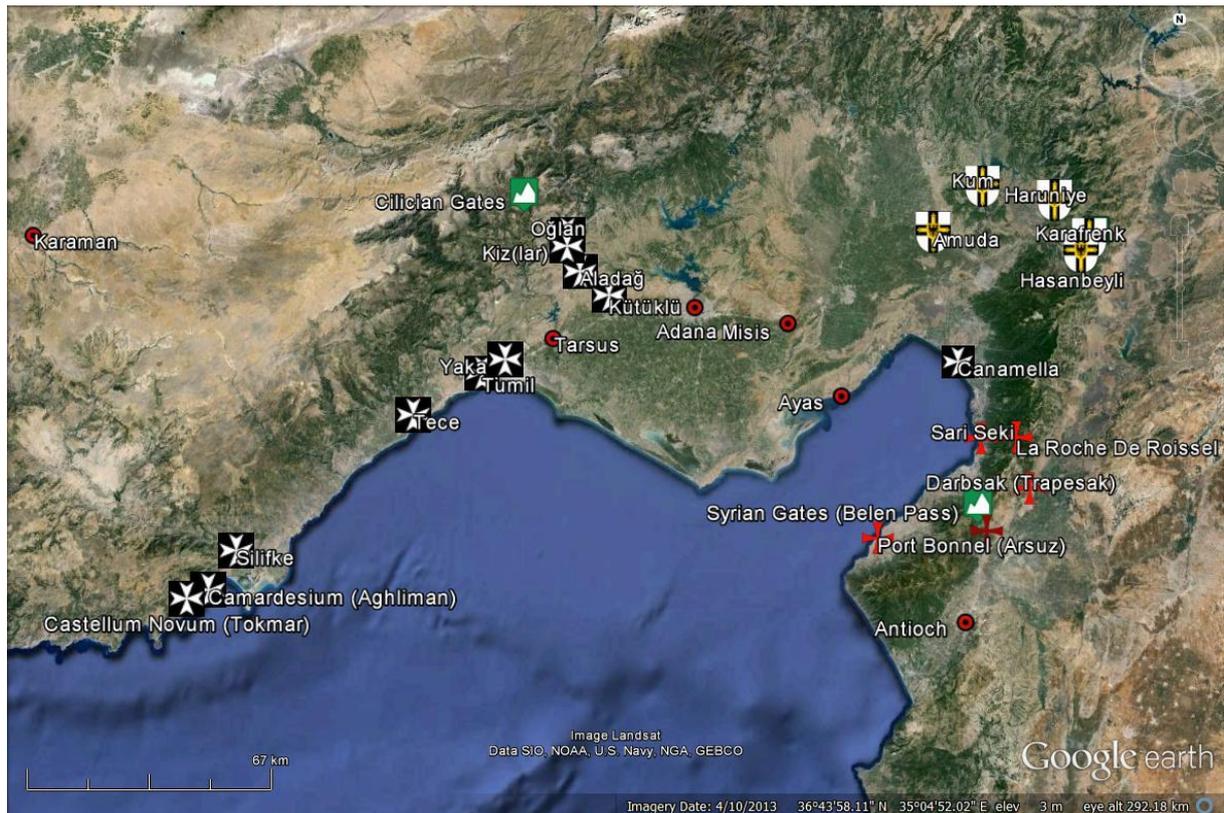
would receive their first grants only in 1210 and 1212 respectively. At the end of the twelfth century both the Templars and the Hospitallers were already strongly established in the Latin East, while the Teutonic Knights was only established in the last decade of the twelfth century which required them to look for opportunities in regions less intensively occupied by the other two Orders.

In 1195 the Rubenid Baron Levon II had requested the German emperor Henry VI (r. 1190-97) and Pope Celestine III to turn his baronial domain into a kingdom under the suzerainty of the Roman Empire of the West. The German emperor Henry VI, who was about to go on Crusade, was favourable to the idea of crowning both Levon II and Aimery of Lusignan, the new Frankish ruler of Cyprus. This project would not only enhance the status of all three men involved, but an agreement was also made between the Armenian Church and the papacy. Even though Henry VI died before reaching the East, Levon was crowned King Levon I on 6 January 1198 in the presence of the papal legate Conrad of Querfurt, archbishop of Mainz and the imperial chancellor Conrad, bishop of Hildesheim (Smbat, ed. Dédéyan: 72-73). Possibly in order to find favour in the eyes of the new German emperor, Otto IV, Levon declared himself *confrator* of the Teutonic Order.

The same charter of 1212 granted the Teutonic Knights the castle of Amuda along with a number of villages in the Cilician plain (Tabulae, ed. Strehlke: no. 46: 37-39; Langlois, 1863: no. 6: 117-120). According to Pringle, this grant, together with the visit of Wilbrand of Oldenburg and grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Herman of Salza, in 1211-12, was intended to assist 'in cementing relations between Levon I and the new German emperor, Otto IV'; this in order to find support in a continuing dispute with the pope and the Templars over the succession to the principality of Antioch (Pringle, 2012: 110-11; Cahen, 1940: 618). As a result, the envoys returned from the West, with a new crown from Otto IV, to show the support of the German Emperor; Levon placed the crown on 15 August 1211 on the head of his heir, his great-nephew Raymond-Ruben (Riley-Smith, 1978: 111). It is not surprising that King Levon refers in the charter to the Teutonic Knights' as 'out of love for God and the

Roman Empire, under the grace of whose power I have been made king' (*Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke: no. 46: 37-39). Pringle points out interestingly that *Cumbetefort* (Cumbethfor), which Wilbrand calls a house and residence granted by the charter in 1212, was already in the hands of the Teutonic Order in June 1209 (*Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke: no. 298: 266-69; Pringle, 2012: 111).

Figure 20 - Presence of the Military Orders in the Armenian Kingdom (1198-1300)



In 1236 the Teutonic Knights also received Haruniye (Armenian Harun/Harunia; Arabic al-Hārūnīya; Latin Haronia/Aronie; modern-day Hemite Kalesi)³⁶, which had belonged to an individual baron in 1198 but was given to the Order by Het'um I (r. 1226-1270) and Queen Zapêl (Isabella) in 1236 (Smbat, ed. Dédéyan: 76; Langlois, 1863: no. 18: 141-3). Once again, the timing of this grant probably had a political dimension to it, as Het'um wished to remain on friendly terms with the imperial forces of Frederick II active in the Holy Land at that time (Riley-Smith, 1978: 113-4). In relation to the grants of 1212 and 1236, the Teutonic

³⁶ The name Haruniye appears on most modern maps and will be employed consistently throughout this thesis.

Order most likely held, apart from the castles, many *casalia*, abbeys, mills, and considerable estates in the countryside of Cilicia (*Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke: no. 46: 37-39; Langlois, 1863: no. 18: 141-43). The charter of 1212 included the *casalia* of Sespín, Cumbethfort, Buquequia, Beleguino, and Ayim (Langlois, 1863: no. 6: 117-120; *Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke: no. 298: 266-269), and many localities on the boundaries of these lands. The *casalia* of Sespín and Buquequia are included in the territory of the castle of Amuda. From the indications on the charter we can locate both *casalia* to the north of Amuda, east of the River Pyramus and to the west of the fortress of Anavarza. The charter of 1236 granted Haruniye and its neighbouring estates, including 6 *casalia* (Lalyan, Costinos, Gausquigne, Cherrare, Chacorim, and Cainchequice), 12 localities³⁷ (Aguechemoin, Castine, St.-Daniel, Saargague, St.-T'oros, Cievaverac, Pirt, Quiang, Telagre, Mautrigue Guenecch, and Hachoudagre) and three abbeys (Ovide, St.-Mammas, and Saugre) (Langlois, 1863: 141-43).

It is clear from the domains of the Teutonic Knights that their holdings did not have any great military significance in their own right, being simply a means of maintaining good relations with the German Emperors and thereby legitimizing first the coronation of Baron Levon II and later that of his successor Het'um I, who only acquired the throne by forcing Levon's daughter to marry him in 1226. This applies most of all to Amuda, which lay too far away from any frontier for its garrison to take rapid action against hostile invaders. On the other hand, Haruniye's location relatively close to the Amanus Gates indicates that this castle did have a possible military role to play, something which Het'um I no doubt had in mind when he referred to the knights' constant struggle with the enemies of the Cross and Christ in his donation charter (Langlois, 1863: 142).

Aside from their military role, it should be pointed out that Amuda and Haruniye were important in other ways. First, it is clear that these strongholds gave the Teutonic Knights a certain amount of influence over Armenian politics, for Levon and his successors did not wish to offend an Order which gave them a link with the German Emperor and was so closely

³⁷ No Latin term has been added to these twelve place-names.

associated with their elevation to royal status. Furthermore the castles of Amuda and Haruniye, together with their surrounding *casalia* also provided the order with a major source of income. As mentioned above, Haruniye was granted along with its small town, and 'with abbeys, *casalia*, mills, estates, mountains, orchards, woods, and waterways' (Langlois, 1863: 141).

Amuda also received a steady supply of fish from the adjacent River Ceyhan, whilst the claim that over 2,000 people were sheltering there during the Mamluk raid of 1266 implies that this was a well-populated area providing plenty of scope for agriculture (Wilbrand: 224; Ibn al-Furat: 99; al-Maqrizī, ed. Quatremère, I: 34). When the Teutonic Knights received Amuda in 1212, they had only been in existence as a military order since the 1190s, and during their early years it must consequently have represented one of their most lucrative possessions. The value of their Armenian properties was also increased by the fact that the Teutonic Knights were exempt from paying taxes when buying or selling various goods, while the Order could impose tolls on others travelling through their lands and trade through the River Ceyhan (Langlois, 1863: no. 6, 117-20). The Teutonic possessions arguably had more importance as centres of local farming, trade and defence, and as a way of maintaining good relations with the Holy Roman Emperors, than they did as a means of stopping a major invasion force or significantly enhancing the national security of the kingdom.

In some ways the rapid expansion of the Teutonic Knights during the early thirteenth century was very similar to that of the Hospitallers, whose involvement in the region increased dramatically when Levon II granted them on the 15th of April 1210 the city [civitas] of Seleukia [Seleph], and the fortresses of Castellum Novum [Norpert] and Camardesium (Langlois, 1863: no. 3: 112-4; Delaville le Roulx, II: no. 1344, 1350, 1351: 115-16; 119). In August 1210, the King of Armenia entrusted the Hospitallars with the city of Laranda, which was still in possession of the Seljuks (Langlois, 1863: no. 5: 115-17; Delaville le Roulx, II: no. 1349: 118-119). In 1214, the Hospitallers were also entrusted with the fortress of Vaner

(Delaville le Roulx, II: no. 1426: 164-65). While this site has been the subject of speculation, its exact location remains unknown as no specific references were given in the charter (Hellenkemper, 1976: 168; Edwards, 1987: 133-136; Chevalier, 2009: 272-73).

Both military orders proved to be useful allies to the Armenian kings, for the Teutonic Knights helped bring Levon a royal crown from the German emperor, whilst the Hospitallers demonstrated to be a strong local ally in Levon's struggles with the Templars and the principality of Antioch. Before becoming the strongholds which would create a western march in hands of the Hospitallers, these places had belonged to Armenian nobles who incurred the disapproval of the Armenian king. In the coronation list of 1198, the constable Smbat refers to the Baron Constantine of Camardesium as lord of Seleukia and a certain Têr T'oros held the position of bishop of the city (Smbat: 635-37; trans. Dédéyan: 75-79). The same source notes that the father of Constantine, the *sebastos* Henri, is to govern the cities and strongholds of Camardesium and Castellum Novum (Smbat: 638, trans. Dédéyan: 75-79). In 1207, the Armenian King Levon I imprisoned, on reasons that are unclear from the Armenian sources, both Henri and his three sons, Constantine, Josselin, and Baldwin (Smbat, trans. Dédéyan: 85; Het'um II: 78). The fall of this princely family allowed Levon to grant their lands to the military orders three years later. Despite the fact that Josselin and Baldwin were liberated in 1211 due to the intervention of the abbot of Trazarg, this family was never in a position again to recover their lands.

With the conquest of Laranda somewhere between 1210 and 1216, Levon fulfilled his promise successfully towards the Hospitallers as they defended against the Seljuks side by side at Seleukia (Smbat: 644-45; trans. Dédéyan: 27-28). By the end of 1216, Levon had established a Hospitallers' march in the Armenian kingdom which guaranteed the defence of the entire west flank of his newly found kingdom. In order to maintain good relations with Levon's successor Het'um I, the Hospitallers agreed to pay an annual tax and the service of a cavalry company of 400 lancers to the royal army (Delaville le Roulx, I: 115, 118). The transactions show that Levon and Het'um I saw the Hospitallers as an important source of

military and financial support. In 1214 the Hospitallers provided Levon with 20,000 gold *dinars* in return for the right to collect revenues from several other estates, including the port of Canamella (Kinet), which lay on the coast between Alexandretta and Misis (Langlois, 1863: no. 8-9: 122-125).

Table 3 - Castles, Casalia, and Localities given to the Military Orders

Date	Military order (Beneficiary)	Castle	Casalia	Localities (settl)	Abbeys	Donor	Source
1212	Teutonic Order	Amuda	Sespin Cumbethfor Buquequia Beleguino Ayim	Many localities, mills, etc.		Levon I, King of Armenia	Langlois, 1863, VI: 117-120; <i>Tabulae</i> , ed. Strehlke, CCXCVIII: 266- 269)
1214	Hospitallers		Vaner			Levon I, King of Armenia	Delaville le Roulx, II: 164-65, no. 1426
1214	Hospitallers	Dcheker?	Abbaessa Agynas Nigrinum Lacrat Lugmarzeban Gardessia Lucuteman Lugmelic Keniz Canamella			Levon I, King of Armenia	Delaville le Roulx, II: 165-66, no. 1427
1233	Hospitallers		Gouvaira			Constantin, lord of Lampron	Langlois, 1863: 140, no. 17
1236	Teutonic Order	Haruniyye	Lalyan Costinos Gausquigne Cherrare Chacorim Cainchequice	Aguechemoin Castine St.-Daniel Saargague St.-T'oros Cievaverac Pirt Quiang Telagre Mautrigue Guenech Hachoudagre	Ovide St.-Mammas Saugre	Het'um, King of Armenia	Langlois, 1863: 141-43, no. 18

Like the estates around Haruniye and Amuda, the lands which were attached to Seleukia must have generated very considerable income, thereby offsetting the cost of rebuilding the fortress and providing troops for the royal army. Although there were clear benefits both for the Armenians and for the Hospitallers, Levon's death in 1219 quickly caused all these arrangements to unravel. In that year Raymond-Ruben's control of Antioch ended, and his subsequent attempt to seize the Armenian throne, carried out 'with the help of Guérin, Master of the Hospital of St. John', was thwarted by Het'um I's father Constantine

(Oliver of Paderborn, ed. Hoogeweg: 279). In 1226 Constantine forced Levon's daughter Zapêl, who had been sheltering inside Seleukia, to marry Het'um. The Hospitallers close links with both Raymond-Ruben and Zapêl now proved their undoing, for Constantine forced them to relinquish Seleukia immediately afterwards (Riley-Smith, 1978: 158-60). The Hospitallers do not seem to have been entirely unhappy with this because 'the defence of this place was a heavy burden', indicating that the Order had underestimated the Seljuk threat and overestimated their military strength, combined with recent events in the Holy Land (Smbat: 648; trans. Dédéyan: 79-81).

Whilst Levon forged close ties with the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights, he spent almost his entire reign in conflict with the Templars. During the twelfth century, and possibly as early as 1131, this latter order had been granted an extensive march which protected the northern frontier of the principality of Antioch against external aggressors (Chevalier, 2009: 56-68). The most significant castle within this march was Bağras [Gaston]. This castle dominated the important Belen pass, which is the easiest route between Cilicia and Antioch. To the north, another valley which bisected the Amanus Mountains was also guarded by the Templar strongholds of Trapesak [Darbsak] in the west and Roche Roussel [Hadjar Shoglan/Chilvan or Çalan Kale] in the east. A fourth castle in this region which the Latin chroniclers called Roche Guillaume has never been identified so far. The Templars also held the small harbour of Arsuz, known to them as Port Bonnel (Riley-Smith, 1978: 92-97).

One of these castles, perhaps Roche Roussel, seems to have been already in Templar possession in 1154 when its garrison helped Stephen, the brother of the Rubenid Baron T'oros, to ambush and defeat a Seljuk army near the Portella (Gregory the Priest: 171-72). Of the Templar castles, Roche Roussel had the most direct control over the Portella. Other Templar castles in the area were seized by the Greeks in 1138 at the time of the military campaign of John Komnenos towards Antioch (Kinnamos: 19; MS, III: 314). In 1156, Reginald of Antioch forced T'oros, who had in the meantime taken these castles, to return them to the Order (MS, III: 314). In the late summer of 1188, following his victory at

Hattin, Saladin reached the principality of Antioch and the march of the Templars. After the capture of the Bağras and Trapesak the Templars lost control over this region (Innocent III, *a Tabular Index to his Letters*, ed. Migne, CCXIV, col. 819; *Ernouf*, ed. de Mas Latrie: 255-6; MS: 401).

In 1191, the Rubenid Baron Levon II succeeded in gaining control over Bağras and Port Bonnel for a time. It is possible that the Templars recognized the Armenian occupation of the Amanus to a certain extent (Innocent III, ed. Migne, CCXIV: col. 820), perhaps in the hope that a conciliatory gesture would restore Bağras to the Templars over time. When Bohemond IV of Tripoli took possession of Antioch in 1201, he overruled the direct successor Raymond-Roupen of Antioch, who was the son of Raymond IV of Tripoli (the eldest son of Bohemond III) and Alice of Armenia, the niece of Levon (Innocent III, ed. Migne, CCXIV: cols. 1005-6; Boase, 1978: 102-4). Levon called upon the Templars to support the claim of the young Raymond-Roupen and that he and Raymond-Roupen might become *confrators* of the Order. The master of the Templars replied that Levon first should return Bağras to them (Innocent III, ed. Migne, CCXIV: cols. 689). Levon refused so the Templars fell out with him and became the natural allies of Bohemond IV during the subsequent Antiochene succession dispute. Towards the end of 1207 a group in the principality who favoured the Armenians nearly succeeded in taking possession of Antioch. Bohemond appealed for aid to Kai-Kushrau of the Seljuks who invaded Cilicia in the spring of 1209 and forced Levon to agree to a treaty by which he promised to restore Bağras to the Templars, and Raymond-Roupen renounced his claims to Antioch (Innocent III, ed. Migne, CCXV, cols. 132-3).

In 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg provides the only description of the castle from the Armenian occupation. Wilbrand describes the castle as very strong with three strong towered walls (Wilbrand of Oldenburg, ed. Pringle, XV: 124). Imād al-Dīn described the castle in his usual flamboyant style:

“We saw it towering on an impenetrable summit, rising on an impregnable rock, its foundations touching the sky . . .; penetrating the ravines, it climbed the mountains, it flaunted its walls in the clouds, shrouded in fog, inseparable from the clouds, suspended from the sun and the moon; . . . no-one could have aspired to climb up there; whoever coveted it had no means of getting there; whoever raised his eyes to it could not fix his gaze.” (Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, quoted here from Upton-Ward, 1994: 181)

Levon’s actions help us to understand the military role of other Templar fortifications near Bağras. On the side of the Amanus Mountains, beside the Cilician plain, the Templars still retained Çalan (Roche Roussel) in the thirteenth century. It was from there that they launched their failed expedition against Trapesak in 1237. Before that date Çalan, Trapesak, and Bağras had all worked together to create a network (march) protecting Antioch from the north, but in the thirteenth century Roche Roussel found itself caught between the Muslims in the east, and the Armenians in the west.

In conclusion, the involvement of the military orders in Cilicia can be summed up as a case of lost opportunity. While their involvement expanded rapidly in the first half of the 13th century, in reality the Orders lacked the resources to take an active role against their mutual enemies and ultimately failed even to defend their own castles against the Mamluks. The installation of the military orders and particularly of the Hospitallers, was initially created because of the opportunities of the donations they received from the Armenian king. Historians are, however, all too familiar with the important role that the military orders came to play in the defence of the Latin kingdom and are so familiar with the idea that the wealth of the Orders were essential aspects of the military resources of the Frankish presence in the Levant. Therefore it is easy to forget when the Armenian kings decided to relinquish responsibilities to the Orders, this would have been seen by the kings as their second best option. A king in a newly founded kingdom who would be master in his own kingdom would want, as far as possible, to retain the fortresses in his own hands. All three orders held frontier lordships whose functions were theoretically the same as the great Hospitaller and

Templar domains which shielded the county of Tripoli from the Muslims. However, the Armenian kingdom was for them a low priority while the resources gained from its estates meant a good bonus. The Hospitallers, meanwhile, were deprived of Seleukia for internal political reasons, whilst the Templars refused to be bullied into joining Levon II against either the Seljuks or Bohemond IV. When he occupied Bağras, Levon II chose the strategic importance of the site above strengthening his relations with the Templars. Despite these setbacks all three military orders continued to play a role, however less prominent and with hardly any holdings, in the political affairs of the Armenian kingdom.

CHAPTER FOUR: MIEVIAL FORTIFICATIONS IN CILICIA

“Now I shall tell you about the lord who was in Armenia who was named T’oros... [He] took the cross and went to Jerusalem. When I [T’oros] came through your land and asked who owned the castles that were there, some told me, “That one belongs to the Temple”; others, “It belongs to the Hospital”, so I found no castle or city that was yours, except only three: all belonged to the Orders.”

(Ernoul, ed. de Mas Latrie: 26-27)

1. *Raisons d’être* and Functions

The essential question of why castles, as distinct from structures intended to be purely fortifications, were built in the medieval period has rightly been a continuing issue. This is true in respect of castle studies both in the West and in the East. With regard to the West and in particular the castles of England and Wales, useful summaries of current thinking have been provided by Creighton (2002) and Liddiard (2005). These reflect the present focus on castles as residences, as administrative centres for their related seigneurial estates, as symbolic expressions of domination and sometimes as the nuclei of complexes of tailored landscapes of gardens, water features, viewpoints and parks. The corollary has been a diminution of their perceived roles as military bases, certainly in a defensive capacity and to some extent in an offensive capacity as well. Although we may argue, as Johnson urged in 2002, that we should have reservations in subscribing wholesale to such modern views, there is little doubt that in the West, most castles saw less military action than many castles built in the eastern Mediterranean (Johnson, 2002: 180).

In the West at least, the ambiguity of what in fact was meant by the terms *castrum* or *castellum* – certainly until after the end of the thirteenth century, supports such a broader view of their purpose and status. With regard to the Crusader States of mainland Syria in the East, Ronnie Ellenblum has lately furnished a review and analysis of previous thinking. He examines the nature of political borders in the Middle Ages, and develops further on Smal's view that castles marked the centres of lordships (although he sees them as *regions*) dependent on them. In Ellenblum's work, we see a realization, through a careful dissection of periods showing that there were often times when warfare was not endemic, that castles were created for much the same purpose as in the more settled West – to promote, exploit, and protect nascent settlements – the process of *incastellamento*, as it is now called (Ellenblum, 2007: 105-186; Kedar, 2009: 200).

As we have described above, the Armenians were fortunate in inheriting a landscape with some advantages. Firstly, the topography played a huge factor in the external security of the kingdom, for the Cilician plain was protected on all sides by natural defensive barriers. Secondly, the Armenians inherited many fortifications built in preceding centuries. While some, such as Korykos, were still in Byzantine hands when the Armenians arrived, the Het'umids and Rubenids gradually established a dominion of their own in the Taurus Mountains. The twelfth century is characterized by both clans' struggle for supreme control. This process culminated at the end of the 12th century when Levon II defeated the Het'umids and became king of a united Armenian kingdom. The coronation list made by Smbat gives us an insight in the structure of the kingdom. With the presence of the military orders and the principality of Antioch nearby the Rubenids westernized their court and kingdom. The construction and repair of numerous castles must have been an important feature for the newly crowned Armenian king.

2. A Typology for Medieval Fortifications in Cilicia

When, in the early days of castle studies, T.E. Lawrence wrote that castles in the Latin East are 'a series of exceptions to some unknown rule', he was expressing a hesitancy that was understandable in view of the variety and individuality of Crusader castle architecture (Pringle, 1988: 37). None the less, most castles follow basic rules of design and fall, in fact rather neatly, into a number of basic categories.

For this research the 104 medieval fortifications have been divided into 8 categories. The type and layout of a castle constructed at a particular site was decided by two main factors: the intended function of the castle and the nature of the terrain in which it was located. Due to the limited documentary evidence available, it is sometimes impossible to tell precisely the exact function of a building from its surviving structure alone. Therefore this typology forms a symbiosis of division by function and design. The eight categories are: (1) Watch Posts; (2) Quadrangular enclosure castle (*Quadriburgia*); (3) Tower Keeps/ Hall Houses (without bailey); (4) Keep and Bailey (sometimes incorporated); (5) Castle without Enclosure; (6) Enclosure Castle; (7) Fortress/Citadel; and (8) Sea Castle.

Within the context of this typology some categories can serve a similar purpose. For example, an Armenian baron can hold his residence at 2, 3, 4, or 5 while a substantial garrison will be based at 4, 6, or 7. Furthermore, all fortifications in a major or minor way function as watch posts; yet some such as 1 are built exclusively for this purpose.

2.1. Watch Posts

The smallest and simplest type of castle is that consisting of a masonry tower. In contrast to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, square and rectangular masonry towers are one of the rarest types of castles to be found in Cilicia (Pringle, 1997: 5-20). Only six masonry towers of which there are surviving remains can be identified as watch posts. The six towers are all free standing and range in ground plan from 43.5 m square to around 160 m square.

Table 4 - Watch Posts

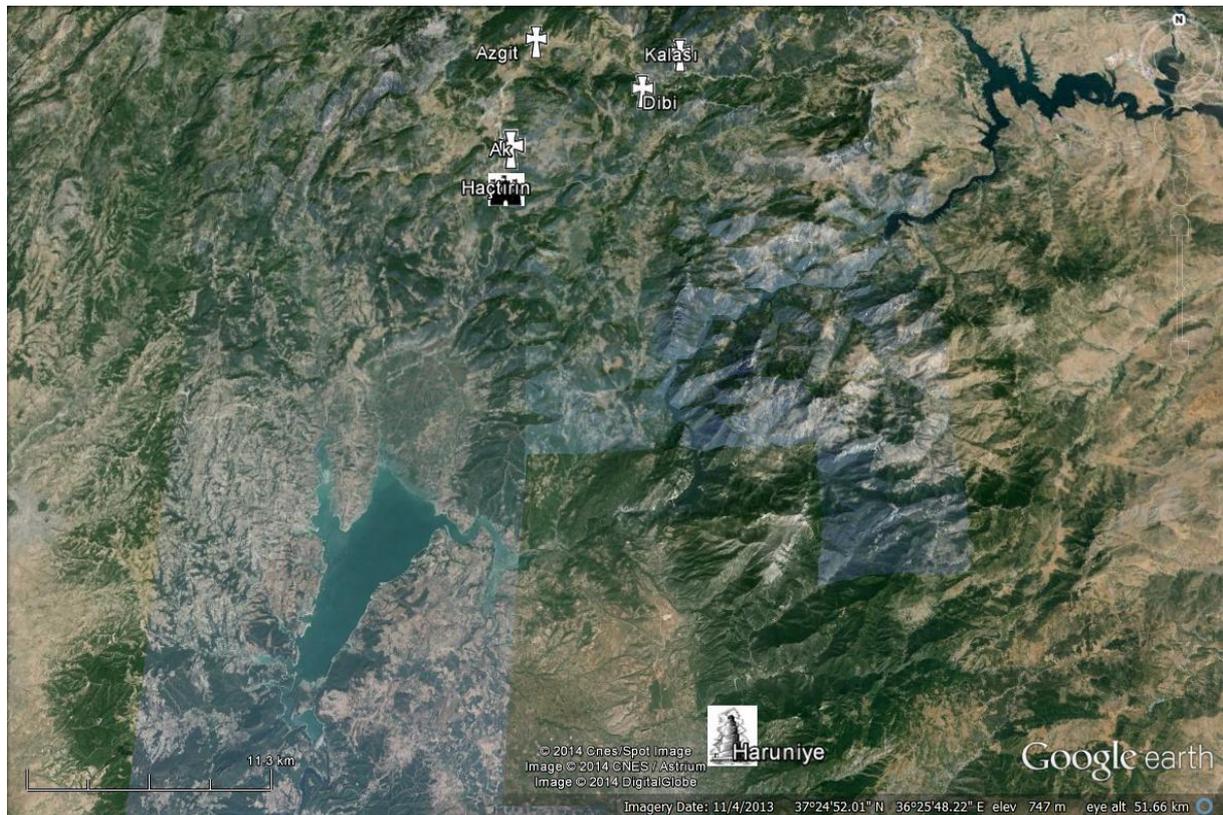
No.	Place	External dims.		Internal dims.	Area	Height	
		(m)	wall (m)	(m)	m ²	Storeys	(m)
3	Alafakılar	[c. 6.6 x c. 6.6]	[c. 0.7]		44	[2]	
46	Haçtırın	c. 12.6 x c. 6.3	c. 1.1/1.7		[79]	[1]	[c. 4]
48	Hasanbeyli		[c. 1.1]			[2]	
51	Hotalan	c. 11.9 x c. 9.9	c. 1.6/2	[c. 8.8 x c. 5.5]	118	2	
65	Kuzucubelen	c. 7.7 x c. 6.1	c. 0.9/1.8	c. 4.8 x c. 2.7	47	2	[c. 6]
77	Mitisin	c. 16.7 x 10.4	[c. 1.8/2.7]	[c. 13 x c. 6.5]	160	[1]	

In a few instances a masonry tower is incorporated into a more complex design, such as the Crusader keep towers at Anavarza and Amuda in Cilicia Pedias. Adding to the suggestions made firstly by T.E. Lawrence, Pringle notes that Frankish keeps in the East have much more in common with western towers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries than with either Byzantine towers or Syrian tower-houses (Lawrence, 1988: 22; Pringle, 2000, VIII: 1-2). Some of them were built to protect pilgrims travelling on the roads, while others were built or purchased to serve as centres for the administration of rural properties. A number of these small towers in the Latin East were possessed by the military orders. Apart from the keep towers at Anavarza and Amuda, the six towers identified as watch posts are different in plan to their Crusader counterparts and are built with different masonry styles.

A good example of a free-standing tower with a small ground plan of approximately 12.6 x 6.3 m, which can be dated most likely as early as the Byzantine period, survives at Haçtırın (pl. 39a-c). This site is located within 3 km of the hilltop enclosure of Ak Kalesi, and

stands to a height of almost 4 m. The tower of Haçtırın is polygonal in plan, has sharp exposed corners, and is supported by quoins, which are all abnormal for Armenian or Crusader architecture. It is probable that the masonry tower of Haçtırın was built by non-Armenians, and if we follow Edwards was occupied by the Armenians at a later stage (Edwards, 1987: 141). Furthermore it is built with small cut masonry and plastered, all characteristics which are rare in Armenian architecture (pl. 39b). It is most likely that Haçtırın was built by the Byzantines to watch over the Byzantine – Arab border, as it is only 30 km north of Haruniye and commands an important trail from the Cilician plain into the Taurus Mountains.

Figure 21 – Haçtırın, Watch Post along the Byzantine-Islamic Border



The other types of towers in Cilicia were similar in plan to the tower at Haçtırın and had mostly an irregular plan. For instance, the towers of Hotalan and Mitisin were essentially four-sided structures, but one end of the building is rounded and a single door is to be found in the centre of the flat opposite facade. Apart from Haçtırın and Mitisin, all towers had two storeys. At Kuzucubelen, the walls stand to their original height except for a breach at the

west (pl. 52b). In his surveys Edwards already noted that the walls of the upper level are almost twice as thick as those at the lower level (Edwards, 1987: 173-75). This expansion of the wall is carried on the springing and lower courses of the first-vault. It is obvious that such construction is rather weak. This can be seen at the far east corner where both the lower-level vault and the wall directly below the upper level have collapsed. This construction is not seen at any of the other towers. At Hotalan, the ground level is covered by a slightly pointed vault (similar to Kuzucubelen), but today the upper level is an open terrace. At Hasanbeyli, all that survives is a part of one straight wall, which indicates that the watch post was two stories in height. Judging from the size of the summit of the outcrop, the watch post here was quite small. Also, Hasanbeyli could not have had a square plan. Following Edwards, an irregular circuit, which followed the broad scarped trench in the surface of the rock, seems likely (Edwards, 1987: 147).

Figure 22 – Hotalan, Topography



The functions of the towers in Cilicia are, in contrast to their Crusader counterparts, presumably limited to the military function of a watch post. All structures are too small for

internal divisions and are not well suited for storage. Furthermore, because of their size, it seems likely that most towers could only permanently house as many as five to ten men. All watch posts are positioned in mountainous areas or in the rocky foothills. At three sites, Hotalan, Hasanbeyli and Haçtırın, there is a direct visual contact with larger fortifications and the distance is less than 10 km. The other sites have all a commanding view of at least one major road or strategic trail into the plain and could communicate, either by signal fire (for which no evidence is to be found) or horseman, with a neighbouring castle. Apart from the sites of Alafakılar and Hasanbeyli, all towers are preserved in a good condition, however without roofs, and excavation could prove useful for dating them accordingly. As architectural entities, these towers are passive in nature. They do not have curtain walls or other structural devices that permit an aggressive defence. In case of an attack, the topography of these watch posts and their thick walls were expected only to protect a few defenders for a short time. Only three of these sites (Haçtırın, Kuzucubelen, and Hasanbeyli) seem to have had arrow slits or other openings to accommodate archers. At Haçtırın there are corbels present which could indicate some kind of machicolation above the entrance.

2.2. Quadrangular Enclosure Castle with Projecting Towers (Forts, Quadriburgia, Castellan, or Castra)

The regular quadrangular enclosure with projecting towers is a castle type found from quite early times and is particularly well represented in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. Diverse types of rectangular castles with towers at the corners and sometimes also at intervals along the sides are to be found in Cilicia. The larger examples are expanded with additional towers and sometimes a keep tower. This type of castle is sometimes misleadingly and tautologically referred to by modern commentators as a *castrum*, though a four-towered castle or *quadriburgium* is a more apt description, at any rate for the smaller types (Pringle, 2009: 10).

The origin of the *quadriburgia* can be traced back to Hellenistic examples such as the one at Theangela in Caria (Garlan, 1974: fig. 50). From the reign of Diocletian, the *quadriburgia* made their appearance in Roman imperial architecture, rectangular in plan with rounded projecting towers at the corners (Pringle, 2001: 143-44). In following centuries the type was freely copied both by the Byzantines in North Africa and the Muslims in the Near East. This castle type found popularity quite early in the Crusader period and the design was adopted for the group of castles constructed around Fatimid Ascalon in the late 1130s and 1140s (Bethgibelin, Blanchegarde, Ibelin, and Gaza). In his description of these castles, the chronicler William of Tyre states that Yibneh was ‘a *praesidium* with four towers’ (WT, XV: 24); Gaza, ‘a castle with strong walls and towers’ (WT, XVII: 12); Bait Gibrin, ‘*praesidium* fortified with impregnable walls and towers’ (WT, XIV: 22); Tall as-Safi, ‘*oppidum* with four towers of adequate height’ (WT, XV: 25).

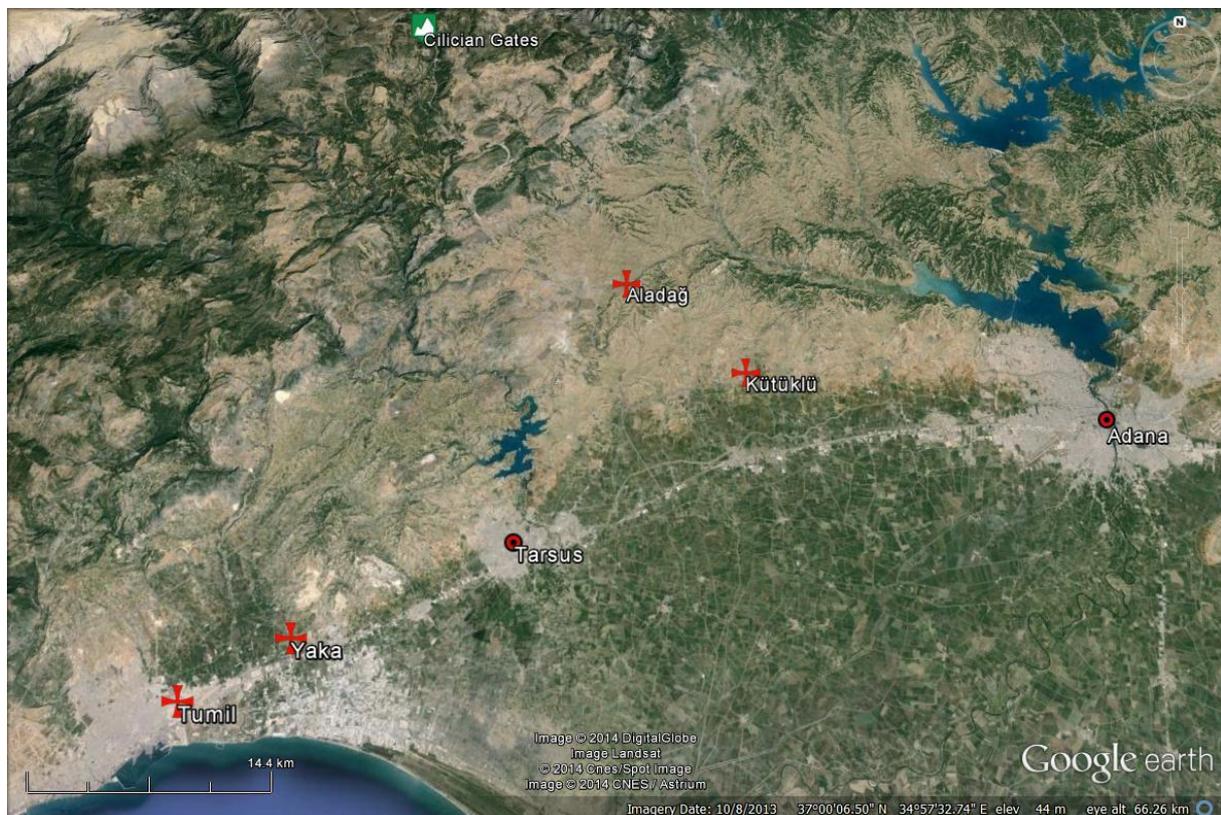
Table 5 - Quadriburgia

No.	Name	External dims. M	Wall m	Internal dims. M	Area m ²	Height m
57	Karafrenk	c. 20 x c. 20	c. 1.7	[c. 13.2 x c. 13.2]	174	c. 5
2	Aladağ	c. 33.4 x c. 26.1	c. 1.5	[c. 25.6 x c. 17.4]	445	
64	Kütüklü	c. 20.1 x c. 16.2	c. 1.4	[c. 18.4 x c. 15.1]	278	c. 5
71	Mansurlu					
98	Tumil	c. 43.5 x c. 30.8	c. 1.7	[c. 31.2 x c. 20.8]	649	
101	Yaka	c. 41.2 x c. 33.5	c. 2.1/3.2	[c. 29.9 x c. 22.4]	670	

In Cilicia, four-towered enclosure castles were built at Aladağ (**no. 2**), Karafrenk (**no. 57**), Kütüklü (**no. 64**), Mansurlu (**no. 71**), Tumil (**no. 98**), and Yaka (**no. 101**). The sizes of these forts are on the small side and vary from 0.0174 ha. at Karafrenk to 0.067 ha. at Yaka.

The usual arrangement was for the towers to be placed at the corners of the fort. As the *quadriburgia* were relatively small, the use of interval-towers was evidently deemed unnecessary. The size of the towers varies with that of the castle. At Karafrenk, Kütüklü, and Tumlil, the corner towers are round, solid at the base and vary from 2.5 m to 5.3 m in diameter. The benefit that these projecting towers provided was firing positions that overlooked the length of the side walls of the castle and thus enabled the defenders to control the entire approach to the castle.

Figure 23 – The Quadriburgia of Aladağ, Kütüklü, Yaka, and Tumlil in Cilicia Pedias (w)



When comparing the *quadriburgia* built in Cilicia with those built/occupied by the Crusaders in the Holy Land we notice immediately that the Cilician forts are smaller in design and slightly more rectangular than square in plan. Only the *quadriburgium* of Karafrenk is square in plan. In comparison, the castle of Tall as-Safi (Blanchegarde) shows a *quadriburgium* about 50 to 60 m square (Boas & Maier, 2009: 1-22) and is significantly larger than Yaka, the largest *quadriburgium* which is about 33.5 to 41.2 metres square. Therefore the Cilician forts had no need for two gateways and multiple interval towers. The Cilician

quadriburgia had only one solid circuit wall, ranging from 1.1 m to 2.1 in thickness. Furthermore, the Cilician *quadriburgia* lack a ditch or moat, which can be seen at Belvoir castle. A feature common to most of the Crusader- and Cilician *quadriburgia* was the open country in which they stood (Smail, 1956: 332). None of the Cilician *quadriburgia* is protected by nature. Since the country was open, the plan of the defences was not dictated by the contours of the ground; it was necessary to provide against the possibility of attack from four sides. Presumably the factors of haste and ground demanded defences which could be easily and economically constructed; the need for all-round defence imposed a symmetrical ground plan. These specifications were best fulfilled by the *quadriburgium*.

2.3. Tower Keeps/Hall Houses

Besides *quadriburgia*, a range of other rectangular fortified buildings also survive in the countryside of Cilicia. Some of these may be identified as the houses of small barons, stewards, or lesser knights, equivalent to the *maisons fortes* of the West. The fact that they often appear less easily defensible than the more obviously castellated structures near by does not necessarily imply that their owners were of lesser social standing, for some of the halls that they contain are considerably larger and built with better quality masonry than some small garrison forts or towers. Some of these structures can more probably be identified as estate centres (cfr. *Curiae* of the Latin Kingdom), from which the neighbouring lands were administered. The location of these tower-keeps will be discussed below in Chapter Five: The Armenian Kingdom Project.

This selection of tower-keeps in Cilicia did not have any enclosure wall surrounding them. A keep cannot offer many lines of attack and is passive in nature. Furthermore, the tower-keeps show only minor variations in their plans. The estate houses of Anacık, Bossek, Gösne, the two Sinaps (near Çandır and Lampron), and Yanik Kale are all rectangular in design; almost identical in size; and they have a projecting turret at each corner. They are characterized by being rectangular in form, multi-storied and dimly lit, with large thick walls. All five sites have a single lower-level entrance, usually in the long south wall. The first storey

is always supported by a stone vault over the basement. Belen Keşlik differs in that its four exterior corners are not protected by salient buttresses. These four sites show no evidence of ever having been surrounded by a circuit; they lie exposed on fairly flat ground, which is contrary to the normal practice of protecting fortifications atop outcrops.

Table 6 - Tower Keeps/Hall-Houses

No.	Name	External dims. M	Internal dims. M	Area m	Wall m	Stories	Height
5	Anacık					2	
20	Belen Keşlik	[c. 18.1 x c. 7.2]	[c. 14.5 x c. 3.5]	130	c. 1.9	2	[c. 6]
22	Bossek						
44	Gösne	[c. 17.3/18.5 x c. 10]	[c. 11.5 x c. 4]	185	c. 1.6/1.8	1	
	Gösne [tower]	[c. 9.7 x c. 7.2]	[c. 5.8 x c. 4.2]		c. 1.4	1	
87	Sinap (near Çandır)	[c. 15.8 x c. 11.8]	[c. 13.4 x c. 9.6]	186	c. 1.2	2	
88	Sinap (near Lampron)	[c. 16.5 x c. 10.6]	[c. 11.4 x c. 6.7]	175	c. 1.5/2	3	
95	Tomuk						
102	Yanik Kale						

The hall-house of Gösne has a unique feature in that a polygonal building is attached to the main rectangular hall by a short narrow wall. At both Sinaps, arrow slits are to be found on the first floor, while at Anacık, Bossek, and Yanik arrow slits are only located at the

ground floor. The projecting turrets did not function as fighting platforms but served merely as salient buttresses to protect the delicate corners. The similarity between the plan of the hall-houses and the *quadriburgia* of Karafrenk, Kütüklü, Yaka, Tumul, and Kum, which have been discussed above, is only superficial. The hall-houses are not open enclosures. They normally have only two vaulted stories and cover not more than 200 m² of surface area. They are similar in form to the thirteenth-century residence at Kolossi, Cyprus (Megaw, 1963 and Petre, 2012).

The remains of these rural residences of the Armenian nobility have been documented by Edwards. He employs the terms 'fort', 'fortified estate house', or 'keep-house' to describe them (Edwards, 1987: 25-26). According to Scott Redford these masonry structures share certain features with Seljuk pavilions (Redford, 2000:102). They too are rectangular in form and consist of two to three single-room stories. These rooms have slightly pointed barrel vaults. The lowest stories are entered through a single entrance and fenestration is confined to arrow slits. Other features, however, point to divergence with the Seljuk garden pavilion as recovered around the region of Alanya. The first is scale; all the Armenian residences are significantly larger than the Seljuk structures, and most seem to have had three stories, not two. And while the walls of the Seljuk pavilions are thick and their defence aided by slit windows and single entrances, most of the Armenian structures share masonry styles, corner towers, and other features with larger forts and castles.

2.4. Keep Tower and Bailey

These hall-houses are different from the above-discussed tower-keeps in that they were set within or formed an integral part of the enclosure wall. At the fortifications of Azgit (**no. 14**), Babıklı (**no. 16**), Evciler (**no. 38**), Kozcağiz (**no. 62**), Kum (**no. 63**) and Ritafiye II (**no. 81**) the keeps are integrated into the enclosure wall, while at Amuda (**no. 4**), Kız (**no. 59**), and Tece (**no. 93**) the large tower or keep forms the central element of the defensible castle.

According to the combination of their design and masonry, the fortifications of Azgit, Babıklı, Evciler, Kozcağiz, and Ritafiye II can all be defined as small Byzantine garrison forts. They are all made out of relatively crude masonry or small, often poorly cut rectangular and square stones. The interstices between the stones are filled with an abundance of rubble and mortar. Furthermore, in contrast to the well-known Armenian fortifications; they use small donjons as an integral part of their circuit wall. At Azgit, my observations agreed with Edwards that the lower levels of the multi-storied complex would have been used as cisterns (Edwards, 1987: 83-84; pl. 11e). Water could be drawn from above through a hatch in each vault. The upper levels, however, resemble the architectural features of a keep, similar to Kozcağiz. At Evciler, the hall-house or keep is at the summit of an outcrop, and the bailey walls descend down the south flank (pl. 32a-c). The entire circuit of the bailey has only one round tower in the southwest corner. The present circuit varies in height from 1 to 4 m and its wall thickness is 1 m in width. At Kozcağiz, according to the observations of Edwards, the polygonal and fairly symmetrical plan of the circuit wall does not conform to the contours of the outcrop (Edwards, 1987: 167-69). The donjon or keep holds the high ground in the southwest corner.

At three sites, Amuda, Kiz(lar), and Tece, the keep or large hall house formed the central element of the fortification. At Kiz(lar) and Tece enclosure wall, however, did not contain any projecting towers and its wall thickness varied from 1 to 1.5 m. At Tece, the circuit wall today has decayed to the point where the best-preserved section stands to less than 1.2 m in height and shows *no* trace of facing stones. At Kiz(lar), the keep is hexagonal in shape with a bend of 45 degrees near the centre (pl. 47a-d). This peculiar design could be the result of several building periods. The circuit wall around this fortification is relatively uncomplicated with only a single rounded salient at point F and a circular bulge at point E (plan 13).

The fort of Kumkale (**no. 63**) had a comparable plan to the other *quadriburgia* in Cilicia, but has also an attached keep or donjon to the west of its construction (pl. 50a).³⁸ According to Edwards', the walls of the quadrangular enclosure did rise to a height of 6 m, and ascended the eastern flank of the outcrop (Edwards, 1987: 171-73). The small apsidal room of each corner tower has a vaulted ceiling, and three of the towers are opened by embrasures. The donjon, which rises to almost 14 m in height, is securely anchored to the west wall of the *quadriburgium* and appears to be contemporary (pl. 50a). Just as with the other *quadriburgia* the interior of the fort shows no sign of constructions. Only at Kumkale could a main gateway be identified. The only entrance at this site is to the east and consists of a swinging door, secured by a crossbar bolt. The usual projection varies from 1.5 m at Kumkale to 4.2 m at the other fortifications.

2.5. Castle without Enclosure

The hall-houses of Andıl Kalesi (**no. 8**), Buyuksofulu (**no. 25**), Degirmendere Kale (**no. 34**), Dokurcun (**no. 36**), Esenli (**no. 37**), Hebilli (**no. 49**), Hisar (**no. 50**), Işa Kalesi (**no. 52**), Kalealtı (**no. 54**), Milvan (**no. 75**) Sari Çiçek (**no. 83**), and Sulayayla (**no. 91**) are in contrast to the hall houses more complex in design. They are all located on a small mound and their layout is therefore adapted to the topography. A good example of this is Sulayayla where the walls of the fortification follow meticulously the contours of the small mound (pl. 70b).

Just as with the hall houses, some of these castles can most likely be identified as houses of lesser knights or sergeants. The fact that they often appear more defensible than the more obviously hall houses does not necessary imply that their owners were of better social standing, for some of the halls that the tower keeps contain are considerably larger than those seen in this category. The following typology and difference with the hall houses is therefore based principally on form, rather than on function. All of the fortified forts, apart from Hebilli (pl. 41b), are located deep in the Taurus Mountains, overlooking fertile valleys.

³⁸ The fort of Kumkale has been removed for the construction of the Aslantaş Barajı in 1984. I have consulted the reports and plans of Edwards (1987: fig. 50; 171-73) and Hellenkemper (1976: 131-34).

Hebilli on the other hand is situated in the western half of Cilicia Pedias, 9 and 10 km north of the *quadriburgia* Tumul and Yaka.

There are two sites that functioned principally as residences but differ architecturally from the other fortifications in this category. One is Sarı Çiçek, which has been identified by Edwards as a summer palace or a monastery (Edwards, 1987: 211-15). This complex is isolated in the Taurus Mountains and has a number of buildings, including a chapel. The other exception is the so-called fort of the sparrow hawk, known today as Andıl Kalesi (pl. 7a-b). It crowns the top of a mountain and once served as a retreat for the Armenian kings during times of invasion (Ēp'rikan, I: 180; pl. 7a). Because of the absence of any kind of defensive characteristics it does not appear that Andıl and Sarı Çiçek are designed to house a garrison or administer the near by district. The remoteness of both sites would be impractical for the stationing of a large body of troops.

2.6. Enclosure Castle

Garrison forts with enclosure are found at Ak Kale (**no. 1**), Amuda (**no. 4**), Aşılı (**no. 11**), Ayas (**no. 13**), Azgit (**no. 14**), Babaoğlan (**no. 15**), Babıklı (**no. 16**), Başnalar (**no. 18**), Bayremker (**no. 19**), Bodrum (**no. 21**), Bucak (**no. 24**), Buyuksofulu (**no. 25**), Çardak (**no. 26**), Çebiş (**no. 29**), Çukurhisar (Kanc') (**no. 33**), Dibi (**no. 35**), Dokurcun (**no. 36**), Esenli (**no. 37**), Fındıklı (**no. 39**), Fındıkpınar (**no. 40**), Gediği (**no. 42**), Haruniye (**no. 47**), Hisar (**no. 50**), Işa Kalesi (**no. 52**), Kalası (**no. 53**), Kalealtı (**no. 54**), Kaleboynu (**no. 55**), Kalkan (**no. 56**), Kozcağiz (**no. 62**), Mavga (**no. 73**), Ritafiye (**no. 80**), Saimbeyli (**no. 82**), Tamrut (**no. 92**), Trapesak (**no. 97**), Tumlu (**no. 99**), and Yeni Köy (**no. 103**).

Most of the castles built by the Armenians and others before them were intended to fulfil at least three functions: (a) as a military base where soldiers could be housed and their supplies stored; (b) as a protected place for soldiers to train (Edwards, 1987); (c) as a military base from which the neighbouring countryside and roads could be controlled and to which support could be sent. The courtyard or enclosure castle best fulfilled these needs; the

courtyard provided a protected training ground. The vaults surrounding it provided housing space for garrison and storage for their food, weapons, livestock, and other supplies. In some instances, a chapel was located in the courtyard. The combination of these three functions, together with the specific design of an enclosure justifies this category as a castle.

Figure 24 - Topography of Ak Kale



Many castles in Cilicia generally contained a level enclosed courtyard, although in some castles these were not particularly large, and in a number of cases they were drastically reduced in size by the natural topography of the site. At Ak Kale, the castle crowns a lofty limestone outcrop (plan 1; pl. 1a-b). The east side of the castle is divided from the west by a barrier of rocks and a sharply falling cliff. The construction of additional buildings could also reduce the size of the courtyard. The latter, however, played an important, indeed essential, role in these castles. It is remarkable, however, that all enclosures listed in this category are located on hilltops, rocky spurs, or small mounds. Apart from Çardak (plan 7; pl. 24a-c), the circuit walls of the enclosures follow the accidental nature of the topography. Since the resulting outline of the circuit is never standard or symmetrical, no two enclosure

forts in this category are alike. In contrast to Edwards' theory it would be too simplistic and little justified to identify this as an Armenian characteristic as such (Edwards, 1987: 12-15).

2.7. Fortress/Citadel

The large fortresses to be found in Cilicia are Anahşa (**no. 6**), Anavarza (**no. 7**), Bağras (**no. 17**), Bostan (**no. 23**), Çalan (**no. 26**), Çandır (**no. 27**), Çem Kalesi (**no. 30**), Geben (**no. 41**), Gökvelioğlu (**no. 43**), Gülek (**no. 45**), Korykos (**no. 61**), Lampron (**no. 67**), Mamure Kalesi (**no. 69**), Mancılık Kalesi (**no. 70**), Maran (**no. 72**), Meydan (**no. 74**), Savranda (**no. 85**), Seleukia (**no. 86**), Sis (**no. 89**), Softa Kalesi (**no. 90**), Tokmar (**no. 94**), Toprak (**no. 96**), Vagha (**no. 100**), and Yılan Kalesi (**no. 104**).

These twenty-four fortifications are in many ways similar to the previously discussed enclosure castles. They are characterized, however, by more sophisticated defences, multiple baileys and outworks. According to the historical sources some of these fortresses, such as Anavarza, Çalan, Geben, Lampron, Savranda, and Sis were evidently the permanent homes of members of the two Armenian clans, or dependent resident barons. In many cases, an abundance of buildings, suitable both for habitation, storage and other purposes, can be found on the interior of the enceinte. In contrast to all previous categories, many of these sites are known to us by references in the medieval chronicles. This is certainly the case for Vagha, Anavarza, Lampron, Çandır, Seleukia, Toprak, Bağras, Korykos, and Geben.

2.8. Sea Castle

A final type is one that occupies an island with the defensive curtain walls built at the water's edge. The sea on all sides provided the castle with natural defences which could effectively prevent the approach of siege machines and even make approach on foot impossible.

Two examples of sea castles have survived in Cilicia. The sea castle of Ayas (**no. 13**; pl. 10a-c) is over 400 m east of the shore where a land castle was built. A large part of the modern town of Yumurtalık, however, is built in and around the land castle. The sea castle

served as protection for the harbour of Ayas, which was especially valuable to the Armenian kingdom because it was there that the trade from the Orient was loaded on to Italian ships. Much of the merchandise that was shipped from Ayas was stored in the inland port of Misis. From Misis it was either floated on flat-bottom barges down the River Ceyhan to the sea (a distance of 60 km) or transported on the road that linked Misis and Ayas. According to Choniatēs the river must have been broad, for the Byzantine fleet customarily anchored in the River Pyramus (modern Ceyhan) (Choniatēs, 50). It is likely that Italian merchants commissioned and financed the building of this site by Armenian masons. However, this was not the first period of construction on the island. In the northwest of room F (plan Edwards) there are sockets visible in the scarp rock and limestone blocks that once constituted the floor of a late-classical-period building (Edwards, 1987: 81-83, n. 13).

The sea castle of Kiz Kalesi (**no. 60**; pl. 48a-g) was presumably built at the same time as the land castle of Korykos which is credited by Edwards to the reign of Alexios I (Edwards, 1987: 161-167). According to his daughter, Anna Komnene, Alexios promoted the eunuch Eustathios from the office of *kanikleios*³⁹ to that of the *mezas drounarios* of the fleet and 'was sent with instructions to seize Kourikos without delay. He was to lose no time in rebuilding the place itself and also the fort of Seleukeia, six stades away' (AC, XI, x: 363). This Byzantine plan thwarted the schemes of Bohemond of Tarentum. It is unknown from the sources when exactly the Armenians took control over the Byzantine forts. Edwards notes that the Byzantines constructed only a single circuit, to conform it to the topography of the island, and square towers to protect the approach (Edwards, 1987: 163). According to my observations, this original construction survives only at the southeast. It is in sharp contrast with the Armenian reconstruction at the northwest.

³⁹ According to Magdalino, the *kanikleios* is the custodian of the Imperial Inkstand (which is said to have been shaped in the likeness of a dog – hence the name). The office was by no means a sinecure and its holders seem to have had the power to sign important documents (Magdalino, 1999).

2.9. Conclusion

Both tower-keeps, keeps with bailey, and castles without enclosures, seem to have been used for two functions. In the Armenian period these structures were simply the fortified estates of the barons. These centres functioned as major administrative centres and housed a large number of retainers and troops. The tower-keeps identified in Cilicia are similar to the thirteenth-century residence at Kolossi (Cyprus) and were intended to house a single family and a few retainers. However, there is no evidence that the Armenians derived this plan from the West. In fact, in the early tenth century large fortified estate houses were being constructed in the regions of Greater Armenia controlled by the Bagratids. There is a particularly fine example of one of these structures at Tignis, in the vicinity of Ani. It seems likely that the Armenians and Europeans were simultaneously drawing on an older architectural tradition. Similar fortified estate houses are seen in Georgia. The estate houses may have been derived from the Hellenistic tower residences in south Anatolia. The estate houses in Cilicia are located in or near the agricultural districts that the resident barons controlled. In the next section the location of these places will be analysed. The Byzantine estate houses in Cilicia contain enclosures, from which they must have functioned as garrison forts which guarded important roads.

When discussing the question of Byzantine, Arab, or Crusader inheritance it is important to refer to the presuppositions discussed above in Chapters Two, (part 6: Chronology) and Three. Before the Armenians arrived in Cilicia in the eleventh century, we can identify three different building periods during the Byzantine occupation of Cilicia and one building period for the Arab occupation in Cilicia Pedias and the Amanus Region.

3. The Byzantine Inheritance

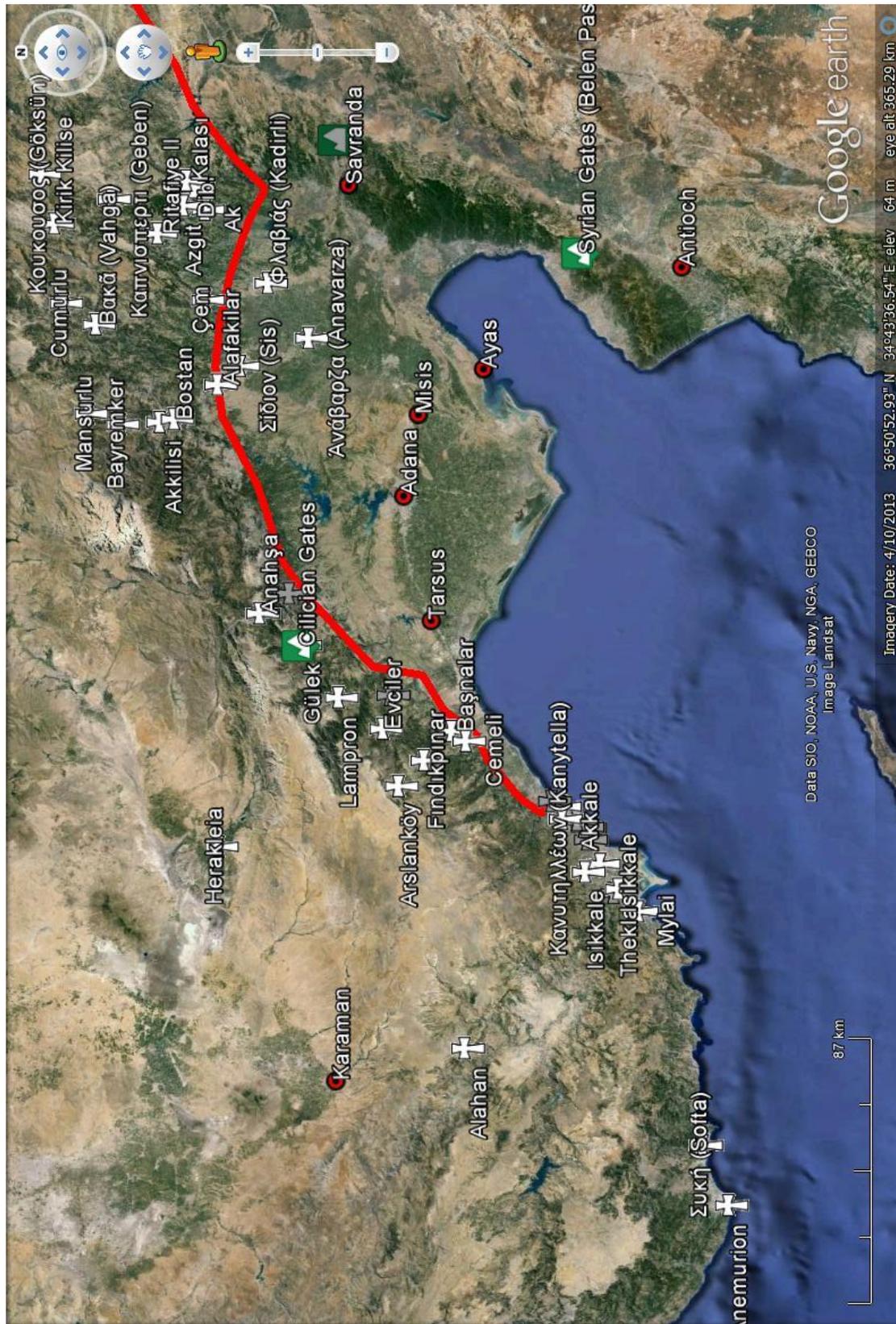
The first Byzantine phase corresponds with the period of the Byzantine-Islamic frontier AD 650-950. In this period the Byzantines must have built many small to medium-sized fortifications in the valleys and gorges of the Taurus region to: 1) guard the frontier and their

zone of defence (*phrouria*); 2) guard the principal axes of the frontier region (*kastra*); 3) concentrate themselves in safe locations to mark out routes (*aplèkta*); and 4) act as refuge places for the local population who were feeding the troops (*kataphygia/ochyromata*). The basis for the identification of these sites are: 1) mention in the historical sources; 2) analysis of design, building techniques, mortar, masonry and comparison with Byzantine fortifications built elsewhere;⁴⁰ and 3) traces of Byzantine occupation such as coins.

The earliest mention of a Byzantine station and a front line of Greek defence is at the River Lamas. Al-Maṣ'ūdī reports that in the eighth-century Lamas served as a place to exchange Greek and Moslem prisoners (Le Strange, 1905: 133). Since there is no mention of a fort at Lamas in the late antique period the present site is most likely an eighth-century or later Byzantine construction (pl. 53a-c).

⁴⁰ The technical analysis of what indicates as 'Byzantine inheritance' will be more discussed in detail in Chapter 6: Military Architecture.

Figure 25 - Byzantine Sites in Cilicia (650-950)



The Byzantine re-conquest of Cilicia, Antioch, and the mountainous areas of northern Syria by Nikephorus Phokas and John Tzimiskes can be seen as a second phase of the construction of fortifications in Cilicia. The hypothesis that this period led to a spate of castle building can be supported by the historical sources such as Bar Hebraeus and Leo the Deacon who stated that 'He [Nikephorus] captured more than sixty fortresses' (Leo the Deacon: 102; BH: 167). In his *Synopsis of Histories*, John Skylitzes states:

"When Nikephorus was returning from the capital to Antioch, as he was crossing the Taurus Mountains known locally as the Black Mountain, he built a fortress on a practically impregnable hilltop. [272]. He gave Michael Bourtzes the title of patrician⁴¹ and left him in the fortress, naming him commander of the Black Mountain. His orders were to keep constant watch and to use every means to prevent the Antiochenes from coming out to obtain the necessities of life..." (John Skylitzes, XIV, 272)

The Byzantines had to ensure control over this recently conquered region. Looking at the logistics, supply and communication, the importance of the region of Cilicia cannot be overestimated, as it formed on the one hand a crucial link between the Byzantine heartland and the region of Antioch and formed on the other hand a base for future operations. As we have seen, the Cilician plain and the Amanus region had not been administered by Constantinople for more than three centuries and the distance to the seat of the 'Abbasid caliphate, Baghdad was too remote for any direct control. According to Cheynet, 'the inhabitants of Tarsus and Antioch in the tenth century looked rather towards nearby Aleppo and the Ḥamdānid Emir Sayf al-Dawla' (Cheynet, 2006: 1). Antioch was not a *doukaton*, and did not have a *doux*, until 969, for the first time. When Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes brought their campaign to Northern Syria, they restored not only the strong citadel of Antioch, but also constructed the castles of Saḥyūn and Bourzey (two places the Franks would refortify during the crusader period) (Leo the Deacon: 208-9).

⁴¹ This is a very high dignity for a *strategos* of such a small theme

Figure 26- Byzantine Re-conquest of Cilicia and Antioch (963-969)



The fortification of Bourzey (Greek Borzo; Arabic Barzūya/Qal'at Berzé/Qal'at Marza) crowns a rocky outcrop of 500 m, overlooking the marshy plains over the Orontes, known as the depression of Ghāb (Deschamps, 1973: 345-46). The Ḥamdānids already occupied this site in 948 or 949 and kept it until John Tzimiskes in 975 'took Borzo by storm, a strongly fortified city' (Leo the Deacon: 208-9). The Byzantine emperor wrote to the Armenian King Ashod III: 'We became masters of Balanée [?], of Saḥyūn, and Bourzey' (ME, I: 18). The Byzantine redoubt is according to Deschamps limited to a central redoubt or citadel (Deschamps, 1973: 348). The lay-out of this fortification is a small rectangular enclosure with square projecting towers at each corner. At Saone, the Byzantine fortifications were more extensive. It lies on a spur site no less than 700 m long. According to H. Kennedy, the site seems to have been already fortified from Ḥamdānid times (mid-tenth century), although no archaeological results can support this so far (Kennedy, 1994: 84-89). During the early Crusader period, Anna Komnene notes the strength and importance of Bourzey (AC, III: 133). The Byzantines had fortified the spur by building walls across the ridge to defend it

from the east where it joined the surrounding plateau and by building a citadel. This design enclosed an irregular court by strong curtain walls and flanking towers. The Byzantine masonry was characterized according to Deschamps by 'small irregular blocks drowned in plentiful mortar' (Deschamps, 1939: 81). While the Franks, according to R. Dussaud, occupied the site of Bourzey around 1103, a full-scale survey is needed to determine the extent of how much of the Byzantine installations still survive today (Dussaud, 1927: 152).

Similar in scale to the walls of Constantinople, the extent of the fortifications at Antioch were a product of late antique planning, and not of 10th or 11th century Byzantine practice. After the re-conquest of Antioch, the Byzantines limited their efforts in the construction of a new citadel on Mount Silpius, overlooking the city below. It is currently still waiting to be properly surveyed and my observations correspond with Kennedy's arguments earlier that the citadel of Antioch 'seems to have been a modest affair, relying on inaccessibility as its main defence' (Kennedy, 1994: 16).

From the seventh century AD onwards, because of decline in population, size of cities, and the financial cost, Byzantine architecture seems to have abandoned large-scale city defences. Also, most large cities such as Kaisareia and Nikaia, already had fortifications in late Antiquity. From the few examples to be found in Cilicia and northern Syria it is most likely that the Byzantines concentrated on establishing small but well-fortified strong points on mountains, with a specific aim to make advantage of their inaccessibility.⁴² An example of this is also to be found in Cilicia, with the castle of Çardak Kalesi (pl. 24a-c). Çardak shares many characteristics (masonry, symmetrical design, curtain walls, and circular towers) with other Byzantine castles to be found even in Byzantine Africa, such as Ammaedara, Tipasa, Thelepte, and Tigisi (Pringle, 1981: 575-604). Çardak can be seen as one of the most impressive Byzantine castles in Cilicia (pl. 24a-d). This castle is also one of the few

⁴² A comparison can perhaps be made with some of the small perimeter castles of Western Europe in the 11th century. This strategy would be abandoned during the Comnenian period which will be discussed more in detail below.

Byzantine structures whose plan was not erased by Armenian reconstruction. In addition to Çardak, the fortifications of Gökvelioğlu, Kozcağız, Mitisin, and Savranda all have traces of Byzantine lay-out. All these fortifications must have served as the guardians in the Amanus Mountains to secure roads to the Cilician plain.

Among the fortifications mentioned in Cilicia are Anavarza, Bağras (BH: 266; VE: 504; Kinnamos: 18-20), Geben (Kinnamos: 20; BH: 266; MS, III: 248; Smbat: 616; Gregory: 152-54), Lampron, Savranda, Seleukia, Sis, and Vagha (ME: 47; 100). Savranda is mentioned by Michael Attaleiates and John Skylitzes when in 1069 a band of Seljuks invaded Cilicia and passed by the fortress of Savranda when retreating through the Amanus Mountains back to Aleppo (Attaleiates: 138; Skylitzes: 684). The Armenian reconstruction at these sites, except parts of Anavarza, was so extensive that most traces of the Byzantine plans have been covered or destroyed. What did remain are sections of Byzantine circuit walls. Not mentioned in the sources, but consisting of Byzantine elements are the fortifications of Çardak, Gökvelioğlu, and Kozcağız.

A third and last period for Byzantine constructions in Cilicia is the Komnenian interventions at the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century. Although the sources do not mention directly the construction of towns and fortresses along the coastline during this period, when the Byzantine navy and army were active, it is likely that building and rebuilding of castles guarding ports and their hinterlands took place. The archaeological evidence for a concerted Byzantine reinvestment in at least the region around Alanya is clear and irrefutable according to Redford (2000: 14).⁴³ It is harder, however, to assess the archaeological evidence at the Cilician coast. When walking on the exterior of the circuit wall of Kız Kalesi (pl. 48a-d), it becomes obvious that the Armenians refaced the original Byzantine walls at the south with the same type of masonry that they used throughout Cilicia. Also the presence of floor mosaics in the middle of the sea castle is a clear indicator of Byzantine occupation.

⁴³ Redford cites annual archaeological reports of the Turkish Department of Antiquities in the 1990s such as S. Yıldız Ötüken and Kazuo Asano (Ankara: Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı).

Edwards, in his study, is dismissive of the amount of Byzantine masonry in Cilicia Trachea (Edwards, 1987: 19). He also notes the extensive use of spolia by Byzantine masons at Korykos and Lamas. This is in contrast to the newly-hewn blocks made and used by the Armenian builders. Had Anna Komnene not mentioned that the Byzantines rebuilt the fortifications examined, Edwards, would have been hard pressed to relate them to known Byzantine construction techniques and masonry types, which is for example the case at Çem Kalesi.

While it may be rash to use the *Alexiad* to date fortifications all along the coast of Cilicia Trachea (west and east) to the late Byzantine period, it is striking that apart from Seleukia and Korykos, other sites are not mentioned until the late twelfth century. Many of these sites were recorded in the coronation list of King Levon I as being in the possession of noblemen from the Armenian kingdom (Geuthner, 1980: 72-81). Such a massive development as that of the Mediterranean littoral of Anatolia from Attaleia to Korykos obviously drew heavily on the resources of the Byzantine state, and its success, both military and economic, depended on the continued maintenance of garrisons, defences, navy, and procurement policies. Even if the initial policy was that of Alexios, its completion must have been the work of John II. After John's death in Cilicia in 1143, he was succeeded by his son Manuel (r. 1143-1180). During the first part of his reign, Manuel was preoccupied with the Second Crusade and then the Seljuks of Konya. The importance of the Byzantine navy and Attaleia is illustrated during the Second Crusade, when Attaleia served as the port used by King Louis VII and his French knights to flee the menace of the harassing Seljuk armies. The Second Crusade is important, also, for exposing the difficulties of Alexios' policy of casting a Byzantine fringe around the Anatolian coast.

4. The Arab Inheritance

Examples of Arab fortification are seldom to be found in Cilicia. We have to support our hypotheses on the basis of the presence of pottery and coins at the sites. From the sources

we know that the following sites had an Arab presence: Adana (*Adhana*), Haruniye (*al-Ḥārūniya*), *al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā'*, Misis (*al-Maṣṣīṣa*), Anavarza ('*Ayn Zarba*), Kinet (*Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt*), Sis (*Sīsīya*), Toprak (*Tall Ḥamdūn*), and Tarsus (*Tarsūs*) (Abu'l-Fīdā; al-Balādhurī). All these sites are located in Cilicia Pedias or near the foothills of the Amanus Mountains. In the cities of Adana, Misis, and Tarsus, not many traces of the early Islamic period are to be found.

Currently there are three projects in the city of Tarsus. Gözlü Kule, the tell in the city, is being excavated by Bryn Mawr and directed by A. Ozyar. Gözlü Kule is interesting, as it is a low mound to the south of the city, and extended from the Late Neolithic through to the Islamic periods. During the 19th century Davis mentioned the existence of a castle that was built or repaired by Ḥārūn al-Rashīd (Davis, 1879: 96-101). Ainsworth notes that the castle, whose remains are now gone, was Byzantine with a Roman foundation and continued in use until the Crusader period. Without giving any specific dates, Edwards mentions the reuse of classical period building materials in the Islamic period. Furthermore he notes Islamic masonry in the reconstructed city walls, which demonstrates Islamic settlement in the same zone as Late Roman/Byzantine (Edwards, 1987: 29).

Perhaps the first research done on the city of Misis was in 1879 when a hand-drawn map of the old city on the north/west bank was executed by Davis (Davis, 1879: 66). The map depicts a rectangular city plan following the limestone outcrop with city wall and citadel. The castle, to the north, was built of large stones, and *spolia*, from classical buildings. It stood on an elevation on the eastern side of the river. The bridge of Misis is the only thing visible today, connecting the old city on the north/west bank to the east bank and Ayas road. The bridge was restored by Justinian in the sixth century, then by the 'Abbāsids, then by the Ottomans (Alishan, 1899: 288). Today the bridge is still the same but evidently greatly reconstructed. The two halves of Misis are evident today by the existence of two villages. The University of Pisa has currently started a project excavating the mound which will hopefully be able to document the medieval presence in more detail.

Some sites such as Haruniye, al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā', and Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt are more complicated to identify correctly. There is a lot of discussion amongst scholars where the site of Haruniye or al-Ḥārūnīya is to be found. Edwards and many others assume that it was the medieval castle called Haruniye Kalesi although no Early Islamic presence, from material culture or architecture, has ever been noted (Edwards, 1987: 143; pl. 40a-f).⁴⁴ Haruniye is built on a rocky outcrop of the steep lower scrubby slopes of the western side of the Amanus. Edwards' main argument, apart from the name, seems to stem from the fact that al-Balādhurī '*specifically*' refers to Haruniye as a fort (Edwards, 1987: 147 n. 4). A subsequent account describes it as a fort and/or city. According to Asa Eger virtually nothing is known about Early Islamic forts and the meaning of the word *ḥiṣn* can describe fortified sites in the most general sense, there is no basis for the argument (Eger, 2006: 465). The likelier candidate for the Early Islamic site, suggested by Hellenkemper and Hild but not fully explored, is the lower town, which would correspond with classical Irenopolis.⁴⁵ According to al-Balādhurī, Haruniye was apparently a city established *de novo* in 799 by Hārūn al-Rashid, one march west of Mar'ash (al-Balādhurī: 264). Both al-Balādhurī and al-Ya'qūbī state it was built before his reign (during the time of al-Mahdī, 775-785) and completed in his caliphate. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Istakhrī, and al-Balkhī (934), it was a small fort (*ḥiṣnan saghīran*) situated on the western slopes of the Amanus in one of its paths or gorges or valleys (Ibn Ḥawqal: 167).

The site of al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā' lies at the heart of the basaltic plain of Issos on an ancient lava bed at the eastern edge of the Cilician plain at a low elevation on the southern edge of a series of low foothills. It is a large site enclosing a natural outcrop (not a tell) located 91 km southeast of Adana and 11 km south of Toprak at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean where the present-day Adana and Hatay provinces meet. In 2004 the Mopsus survey identified the site of Güze Han/Gözeneler with al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā' and the site of

⁴⁴ The Blue Guide lists Hārūnīyya on Road 400 by a village of the same name 18 km before Osmaniye from Kahramanmaraş.

⁴⁵ The name Hārūnīyya could derive phonetically at least from Iriniyya.

Classical Epiphaneia. The survey put an end to much speculation by previous scholars and did a surface collection and mapped the site (Killebrew, 2007).

Kinet can be identified with the port known to Muslim geographers and historians as Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt (Castle of the Figs), or later simply as al-Tīnāt. These sources mention it as a port between Payas and Misis exporting pine timber from the nearby Amanus Mountains. This identification was first proposed by Claude Cahen over 60 years ago and confirmed by the recent excavations initiated by Marie-Henriette Gates and Scott Redford (Cahen, 1940; Redford, 2012: 297-309).

Unfortunately it is impossible to determine the peculiarities of Arab military architecture in Cilicia from an examination of the above discussed sites. Also not much can be said about the city defences because so little remains. Only two sites, Tarsus and Anavarza, have fragments of Arab construction. In both cases the Arabs simply recycled masonry from surviving buildings to reconstruct the original plans of the city walls.

5. The Crusader Inheritance

5.1. Principality of Antioch

Regarding the presence of the Crusaders in Cilicia, it is important to draw a distinction between the late 11th- and early 12th century involvement of the Norman Prince Tancred in the Cilician plain and the grants acquired by the military orders in the Armenian kingdom. The focus of the principality of Antioch was primarily concentrated on the acquisition of the eastern half of the Cilician plain, a fertile area located between the Amanus Mountains, the Mediterranean Sea, and the River Pyramus. By the 1120s the principality of Antioch had lost control of this region and in between 1131 and 1140 the Templars must have received their first grants in the Antiochene region (Chevalier, 2009: 56-68). In the years to come the Templars established a march in the Amanus Mountains north of Antioch. But while the region of the Amanus Mountains was dotted with castles, forts, and ports belonging to the

Knights Templar, the archaeological remains of the preceding Norman period in Cilicia is more limited. The only but very remarkable archaeological evidence is the Crusader donjon of the fortress of Anavarza (at the same time, their most northern possession of the principality).

My observations on the huge fortress of Anavarza differ from the analysis of Gough, who argued in his 1952 work that the donjon, which separates the outcrop into two parts, was an Armenian construction. His interpretation is supported by an Armenian inscription on the south face of the donjon. According to Hellenkemper's translation the epigraph was added in 1187, when the Rubenid Baron Levon II repaired the donjon.⁴⁶

My observations correspond with the ideas expressed by Edwards in his article 'The Crusader Donjon at Anavarza in Cilicia' (1984: 54-55). In his observations Edwards' distinguishes diverse building periods which offer a more accurate account of the donjon's building history. Two strong arguments are to be found in favour of this hypothesis. Firstly, there is not a single piece of archaeological evidence for the Armenian construction of donjons or keeps in Cilicia. And secondly, the masonry used for the construction of the lower two floors of the donjon at Anavarza is unprecedented in any of the other castles of Cilicia. Edwards describes this masonry as 'almost cyclopean ashlar whose flat face is slightly raised by neatly drafted margins' and concludes that it is 'common in the Frankish castles of the Levant (Saone, Crac des Chevaliers, and Chastel Pèlerin)' (Edwards, 1984: 54). From my observations it seems that no other traces of Frankish repairs are to be found in the southern and northern bailey. Following Edwards, the Franks must have simply cut a deep ditch on each side of the donjon to isolate it.

⁴⁶ The translation goes as follows (pl. 6n): "In the year 636 of the Armenian era (ie, 1187) the sun was covered, so that the stars were visible and the Turks conquered the Holy City of Jerusalem. In that year, Ruben, son of Stephen died on his throne and was followed by the pious Levon. Under his reign Cilicia extended from the Taurus Mountains to the 'Black [Amanus] Mountains' and to the shores of the [Mediterranean] sea nearby Adalia and in the second year of his reign he began to build this 'Gla' (Castle) in Anavarza, the mother of cities. He [Levon] split with strong iron this rock and built on the firm foundations of the wall with heavy stones and strengthened them with iron and lead, and it was accomplished within one year." (trans. Hellenkemper, 1976: 291).

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Frankish, or Norman, occupation of Cilicia lasted only for a short period – and with some intervals – from 1098 to 1108. The construction of the donjon at Anavarza could perhaps even be the first evidence of Crusader military architecture in the Levant. The presence of the donjon can be seen as a clear indication of the Norman, or more precisely Tancred's, ambitions in Cilicia at the start of the twelfth century. Byzantine, Seljuk, and mostly Rubenid pressure would eventually reduce the Crusader influence to the Amanus region [with Savranda] and the principality of Antioch.

5.2. Hospitallers

One of the most impressive sites constructed by the military orders is the Hospitaller fortress of Seleukia. The fortress of Seleukia was granted to the Hospitallers in 1210 and was sold to or retaken sixteen years later by Constantine, previous lord and baron of Camardesium and Seleukia (Smbat: 648, Kirakos of Gandzak: 428-29, trans. Brosset: 93). Modern-day Silifke Kalesi occupies a large hill with fairly steep flanks rising from the banks of the River Calycadnus. Its strategic importance lies in its command of the important coastal road between Cilicia Trachea and the Cilician Plain, while linking the coast with the Karaman and the Anatolian plateau. In the early ninth century the newly created coastal theme of Seleukia was administered from this town (Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, ed. Pertusi: 61, 77, 147).

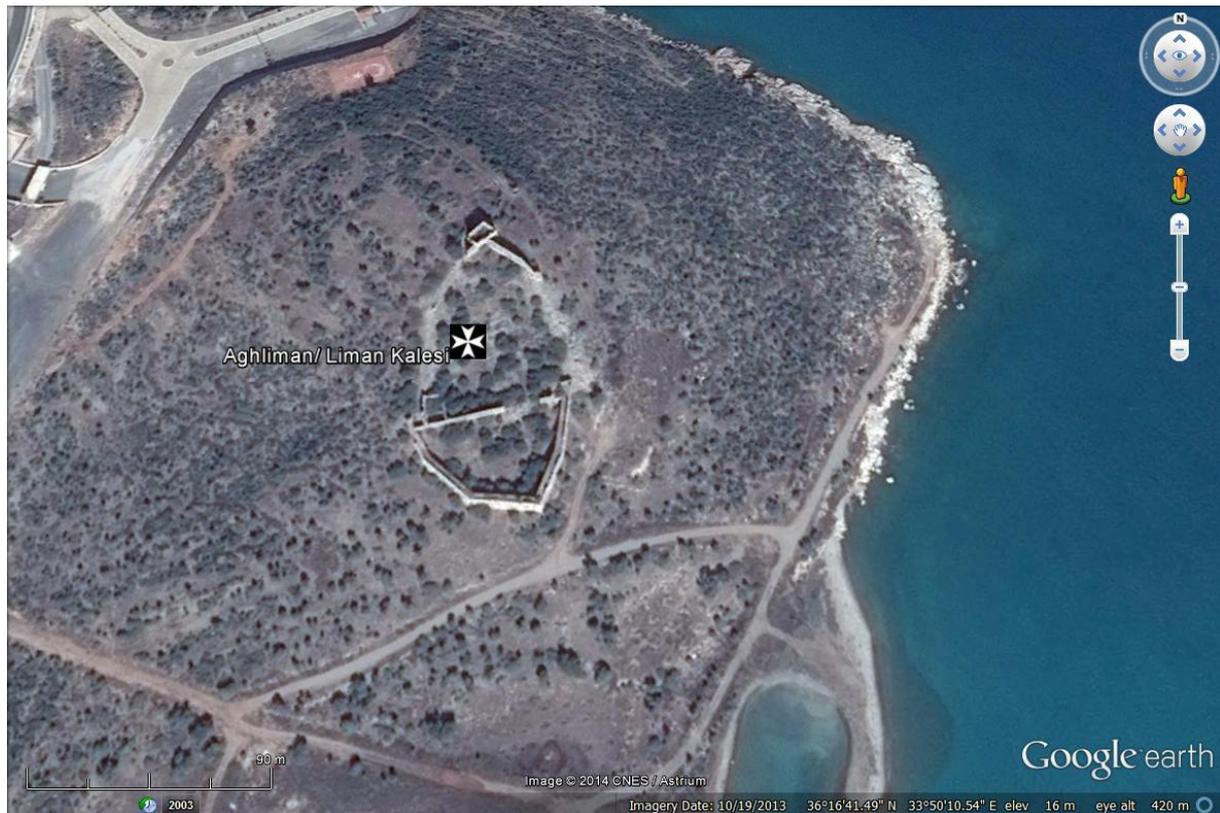
In order to fully control the theme, the Byzantines most likely constructed the first fortification around this time. This is supported by the account of Anna Komnene who states that Alexios ordered the admiral and eunuch Eustathios to seize and rebuild the fortress of Seleukia 'some six stades away' from Korykos (AC, XI, x: 326). Seleukia was rebuilt and 'strengthened with ditches all around the city' and command was given to *stratēgos* Strabo (AC, XI, x: 326-27). It would take until the 1180s before the Rubenids got hold of Seleukia and its environs, but it would never again be under Byzantine control. While this stronghold resembles the famous Hospitaller castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Margat in Syria, only archaeological excavations can determine the extent of the preceding Byzantine castle. The Hospitallers completely rebuilt this castle, constructing a large oval structure, with its

perimeter walls enclosing an area of some 260 metres in length and c. 100 metres in width (Edwards, 1987: 221-226). The circuit wall has a number of impressive horseshoe-shaped towers placed at regular intervals of about 50 metres. While it is difficult to know how much of this castle should be attributed to the Hospitallers, there are some elements that indicate that the design and the majority of the complex was developed by them. A first argument is the presence of a ditch and talus. Below the circuit wall runs a broad ditch, up to 20 metres wide in places, lined with revetted walls and in parts supported by a talus. Secondly, while the gate complex is an important defensive feature of the castle it differs from the typical Armenian gateway design, which is used in all major fortifications in Cilicia (apart from the Het'umid strongholds) and will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six on Military Architecture. Thirdly, the masonry used for the construction of the circuit wall and towers is much smoother and lacks the protruding boss which characterizes the Armenian masonry. Only in some parts of the castle can Armenian construction be suggested. These are most likely archaeological evidence of the repairs done by the Armenian King Het'um in 1236, some 10 years after the Hospitallers lost control in favour of Constantine (Boase, 1978: 180; Hellenkemper, 1976: 253).

As to the location of the other two Hospitaller domains named along with Seleukia, Camardesium and Castellum Novum [Norpert] can be proposed (Delaville le Roulx, II, no. 1350: 115). Hellenkemper suggested that Tokmar Kalesi was the most likely candidate to be Castellum Novum, with as his only argument its close proximity to Seleukia and its location in the coronation list between Seleukia and Camardesium (Smbat, trans. Dédéyan: 79). Tokmar Kalesi is located on a mountain spur 18 km south-west from modern-day Silifke, high above the classical harbour of Palaiai (Hellenkemper & Hild, 1986: 35-38). This hypothesis is based on the assumption that all castles on Smbat's list are listed in a geographical order. From the archaeological remains, it is clear that Tokmar was built during the medieval period. Moreover, due to the presence of Armenian masonry and horseshoe-shaped towers, we can suggest that this castle was built most likely by Armenian masons. Furthermore it is

important to note that the quality of the limestone differs from the masonry used in Seleukia and in the Cilician plain (pl. 72a-d). In the interior of the fortress a high frequency of Port St Symeon ceramics was noted in the scatter, most likely identifying a phase of medieval occupation throughout the 12th to 14th century.

Figure 27 - Topography Liman Kalesi



To add further speculation, only 6 km northeast from Tokmar and 13 km southwest from Seleukia, we can identify the remains of another medieval fortress, Aghliman or Liman Kalesi (pl. 55a-b).⁴⁷ Today, this castle exists in three compartments. Firstly there is a large, rectangular donjon, which is most likely the oldest part of the castle. And secondly, the curtain walls enclose the donjon in two separate baileys. According to Hellenkemper Liman Kalesi can be identified as the medieval site of Camardesium and was repaired in the 17th century in order to be used as a pirate's nest (Hild & Hellenkemper, 1986: 38-40; Beaufort, 1818: 213). Although it is quite uncertain if Liman can be identified as Camardesium, it is

⁴⁷ Today Liman Kalesi is inside the perimeter of a military base. I was prohibited from visiting the castle and was forced to photograph the site at a great distance.

clear that the donjon shows medieval characteristics. While future excavations will have to prove this hypothesis, the density of medieval remains in this area demonstrates the importance of the region around Seleukia for the defence of the Armenian kingdom.

Another large fortification which has been attributed to the Hospitallers is the site of Gökvelioğlu in the eastern half of the Cilician plain. Hellenkemper believes this site to be the medieval Vaner, which was granted by Levon I to the Hospitallers in 1214 (Hellenkemper, 1976: 168). Unfortunately there are no specific references in the charter on the location of the site (Delaville le Roulx, I: 164; Smbat, trans. Dédéyan: 77). While Hellenkemper's conclusions were dismissed by Edwards as speculative, because they were primarily based on the geographical order of Smbat's coronation list, Edwards noted in the gatehouse an overlap between the vaults in a herringbone pattern (Edwards, 1987: 134). This motif is common in Crusader architecture, but most likely reflects its influence on Armenian masons. The identification of Gökvelioğlu as Vaner on the basis of these two arguments is far too speculative.

From the donation charters it is clear that the Hospitallers occupied more than merely large fortifications. Amongst the archaeological remains to be found primarily in Cilicia Trachea and the Cilician plain, there are some smaller fortifications, such as *quadriburgia* and tower keeps, which could be attributed to the military orders. Amongst the *quadriburgia* are the sites of Aladağ, Kütüklü, Tumil, and Yaka. Their lay-out consists of a square or rectangular circuit with four corner towers. These *quadriburgia* were presumably not built by the Armenians for two reasons. A first reason is that the Armenians were unfamiliar with this type of castle design in their military architecture. And secondly, the masonry used in these *quadriburgia* differs from the typical Armenian masonry, found in all known Armenian castles in the Cilician plain. The masonry of the four *quadriburgia* is almost identical and the exterior facing consists of square rectangular stones with broad drafted margins.

Figure 28 – Possible Domains of the Hospitallers in Cilicia



There are three plausible hypotheses for dating the *quadriburgia*. A first theory states these *quadriburgia* were built by the Arabs during the 8th or 9th centuries, in order to protect the lowland cities of Tarsus and Adana against Byzantine raids from the Taurus Mountains (Edwards, 1987: 32, n. 28). A second by Marie Anne Chevalier, is more speculative, and states that the *quadriburgia* were constructed during the passage of the First Crusade and the first encounters of the principality of Antioch in Cilicia (Chevalier, 2009: 273-74). While apart from their design no architectural comparisons can be found, it seems also that the *quadriburgia* are located too much to the west and deep into the Het'umid sphere of influence. A third theory suggested by Edwards and Hellenkemper claims that they were built by the military orders (Edwards, 1987: 31-33). The hypothesis was suggested by Edwards who saw a similarity in the masonry of the *quadriburgia* and the construction at modern-day Silifke Kalesi or Seleukia (Edwards, 1987: 255). Other arguments in favour of this hypothesis are the presence of cut stones in the core of the curtain walls at Aladağ and Yaka (pl. 2c; pl. 77a), a talus-like extension of the western curtain at Kütüklü, a collapsed depressed barrel

vault at Tumul, and the partly buried barrel-vaulted room at Yaka (Edwards, 1987: 265-67; Langlois, 1861: 254). A last argument is the presence of several standard green monochrome-glaze pottery fragments, or Port Saint-Simeon ceramics, at the *quadriburgia* of Kütüklü and Aladağ. This particular type of ceramic was recorded during my field surveys and can be dated between the 12th and 14th century (Figure 26). When looking at the architectural comparisons, their identical style of masonry, their location in the western part of the Cilician plain - where extensive lands were granted to the order of the Hospital in 1214 (Delaville Le Roulx, I: 115; Figure 26) – and the archaeological material, we can conclude that the link with the military orders is by far the strongest and that these *quadriburgia* should be studied and surveyed in the same context.

Figure 29- Kütüklü, Port St. Symeon (PSS) sgraffiato (12th-14th c.)



From the examples of Aladağ, Kütüklü, Tumul, and Yaka, and others in the Holy Land, it can be demonstrated that the Crusaders had their own master architects and that they even transported prefabricated architectural elements to sites under construction (Edwards,

1987: 32, n. 26), but this was not the case at Kız(lar), Kum, Ođlan, and Tece. These hall-houses or enclosures with donjon bear the imprint of Armenian masons but have plans that are unfamiliar in Armenian military architecture and can be compared with Crusader fortifications in the Holy Land (Pringle, 1997). The masonry of all four tower keeps resembles the model for Armenian masonry, and consists of the the typical well-cut rectangular blocks with a projecting boss on the outer face. Both tower keeps of Kız(lar) and Tece are constructed with a single circuit wall, while the primary defense remained the keep itself. Another similarity is the design of the windows in Kız(lar) and Tece (pl. 47c-d; 71a-d). While Kız(lar), Ođlan, and Tece are all two or three-storey rectangular keeps, the castle of Kum consists simply of a *quadriburgium* with an attached keep or donjon at the west (pl. 50a). Hellenkemper argued that Kum had a Crusader plan but was constructed by Armenian masons (Hellenkemper, 1976: 134). Considering the presence of the typical Armenian masonry (see Chapter 6), it seems that Armenian stonecutters were employed at Kum. The design of this castle however, is not seen in any identified Armenian castle. There is a remote possibility that this area around Kum was included in the grant to the Teutonic Knights (casalia of Sespın, Buquequia, and Ayım; see Langlois, 1863: 117-20).

5.3. Teutonic Knights

The donations granted to the Teutonic Knights were located more in the eastern part of the Cilician plain and include the well-known fortifications of Amuda and Haruniye.⁴⁸ At Amuda (plan 2; pl. 3a-c), the Teutonic Knights remodelled the already existing fortification by constructing a square three-storey keep with very thick walls and a solitary doorway at the highest point of the castle (Hellenkemper, 1976: 123-31; Edwards, 1987: 59-61). Confirming the observations made by Hellenkemper, the Teutonic Knights appear to have relied on their own masons for the construction of their keep, this in contrast to the rest of the fortification (Hellenkemper, 1976: 129). The general design of this keep was very similar to that of other

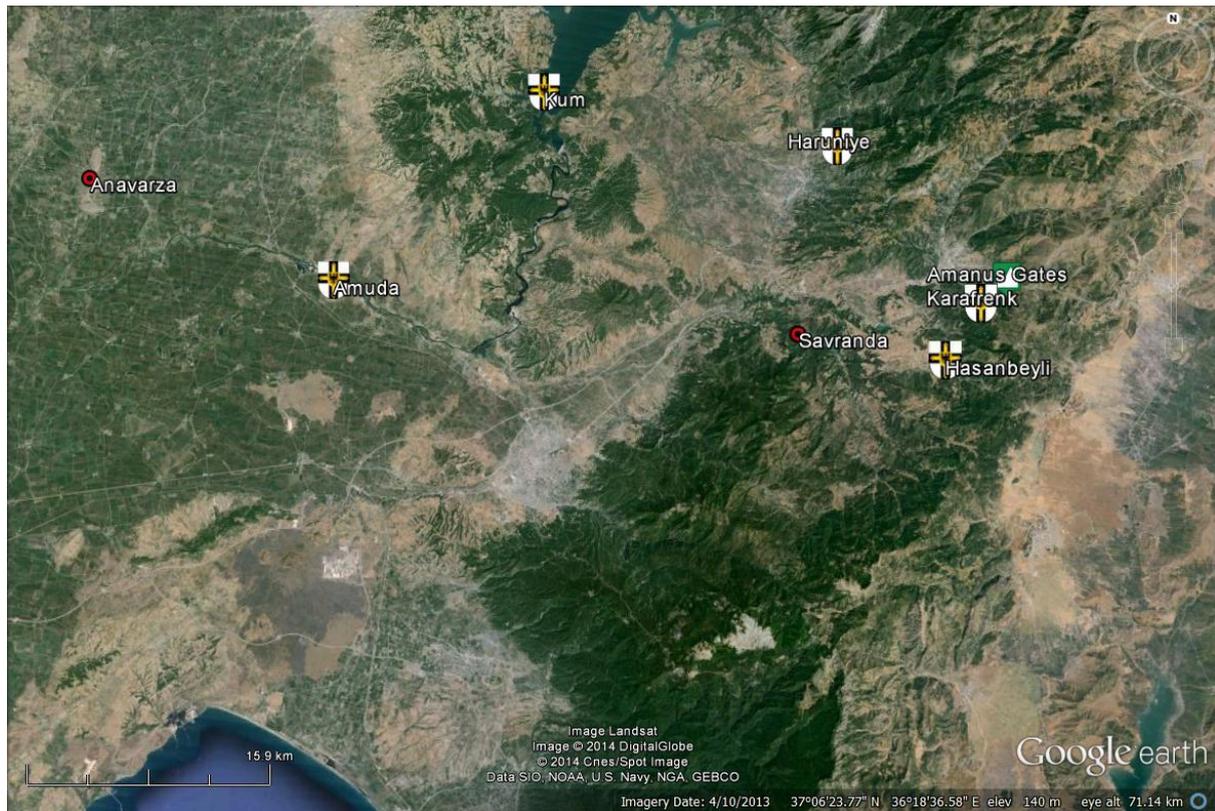
⁴⁸ The correct identification of Amuda with the modern site of Hemite Kalesi was been made by Alishan en Cahen. Earlier travellers, such as Victor Langlois, associated Amuda (or Wilbrand's Adamodana) with Tumlu Kalesi (Alishan, 1899: 227; Cahen, 1940: 148; Langlois, 1861: 445).

towers built by the military order at Montfort and Judin, two of their castles in Palestine, and can even be compared with numerous medieval strongholds in Germany itself (Forstreuter, 1967: 61). The construction of such a keep at Amuda is significant in two ways: first, it indicates that the Teutonic Knights intended this castle to be their local headquarters and they therefore spent a lot of time and money on it; secondly, the use of a typical non-Armenian design shows that the military order relied on their own building materials, masons and building design.

To the east of Amuda and situated in the foothills of the Amanus Mountains, the Teutonic Knights also possessed Haruniye (pl. 40a-e). The castle was occupied by the Teutonic Order in 1236. Haruniye Kalesi crowns the summit of a gentle slope, commanding a broad view over the eastern half of the Cilician plain. Architecturally, Haruniye is a unique castle within Cilicia with a simple design of an almond shape and a cramped central courtyard (plan 11). Edwards claims that none of the architectural features in the garrison fort indicate any significant German construction. At the same time Edwards' description of it as 'an elongated keep' must be analysed with certain scepticism (Edwards, 1987: 143). While the construction of the Teutonic Knights at Kum and Amuda are completely different with respect to their design, according to Hellenkemper the masonry of a third building period at Haruniye resembles some of the masonry at the other two Teutonic sites (Hellenkemper, 1976: 118). A single horseshoe-shaped tower guards the gate on the north-east and there is a second gate on the south-west. The wall running along the north and west sides of the castle between the two gates is nearly 5 metres thick and has a series of casemates with arrow embrasures. A pointed barrel-vaulted gallery runs the length of this wall. While the presence of two large gates, so close together, has no parallels, the lack of any projecting towers along the curtain wall except for the horseshoe-shaped tower is also very unusual in Armenian military architecture. Adrian Boas interestingly compared the elongated design of Haruniye with the main castle of the Teutonic Order at Montfort, which was built a decade before Haruniye fell into their hands (Boas, 2006: 147). Looking at Haruniye's strategic location in the Amanus,

another strong link that should be investigated regarding its peculiar design is oriented towards Aleppo. Following this hypothesis, the first building phase at Haruniye would coincide with the Arab occupation of the Cilician plain and the first period of construction of the citadel in Aleppo under the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawlah (Gonella, 2006: 166-69).⁴⁹

Figure 30 – Possible Domains of the Teutonic Knights in Cilicia



According to a document dating from 1271, the Teutonic Knights possessed a toll station in the vicinity of Savranda known as the 'Black Tower' (Alishan, 1899: 239). This minor stronghold has been identified by Hellenkemper as Hasanbeyli, 10 km east from Savranda, guarding the trail to Fezipaşa (Hellenkemper, 1976: 120-22). While Hellenkemper noted that the masonry techniques used at Hasanbeyli are similar to the construction of the Teutonic keep at Amadu, it is very speculative to support this hypothesis on the strength of one straight wall. The location of Hasanbeyli, however, is very strategic and would be a perfect location to impose tolls on people travelling through the Amanus Gates. A similar

⁴⁹ See the recent studies of J. Gonella, "The Citadel of Aleppo: recent studies", *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria*, ed. H. Kennedy (Leiden, Brill: 2006).

speculative suggestion has been made with the *quadriburgium* of Karafrenk (pl. 46a), which commands a trail towards the Amanus Gates. Because of the use of dark-colored stones in the construction of Karafrenk, many scholars speculate that this fort, rather than Hasanbeyli, should be known as the 'Black Tower' (Boase, 1978: 114; Hellenkemper, 1976: 121, n. 4; Edwards, 1987: 156, n. 3). Edwards' speculates further that the *Frenk* in the name of this site may refer to *Frank* and strengthen the hypothesis (Edwards, 1987: 156, n. 3).

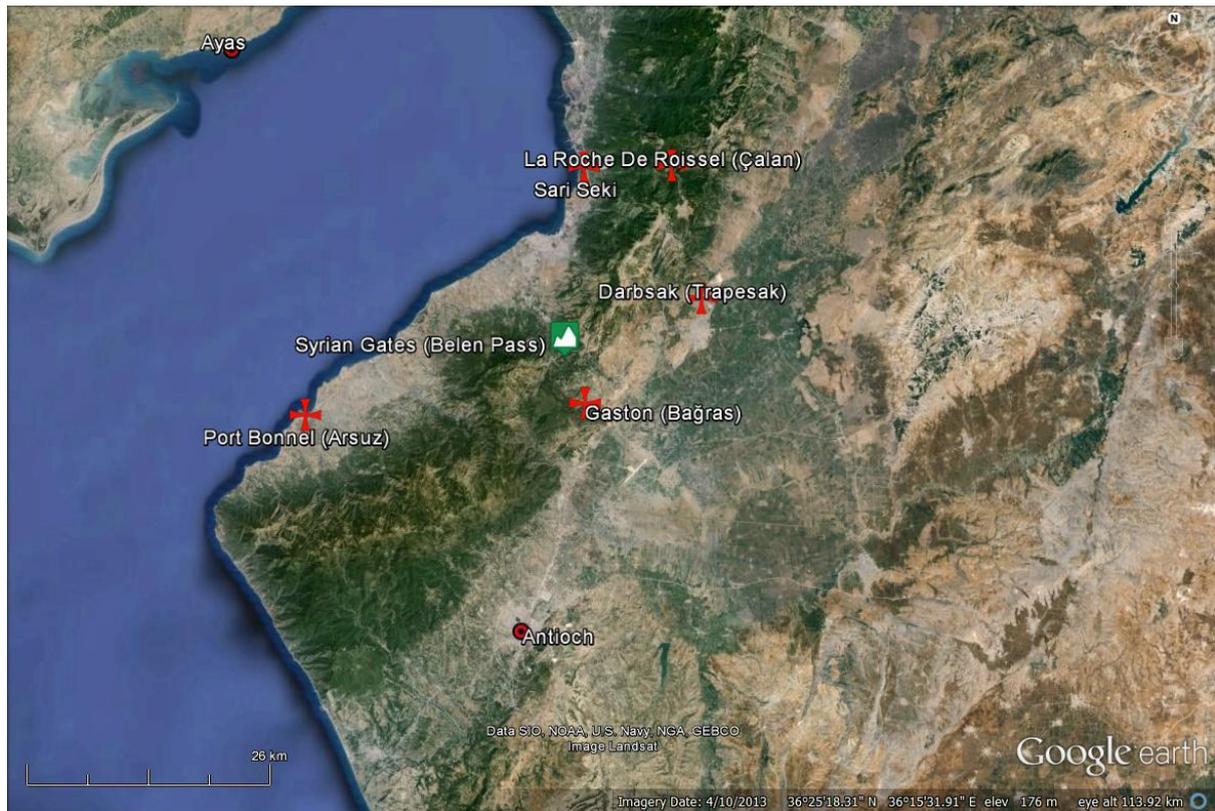
5.4. Templars

From the historical sources it seems that all Templar domains in Cilicia were located in the important march of the Amanus Mountains. Far from being the frontier of either the Armenian kingdom or the principality of Antioch, it seems that the Amanus was a semi-independent territory which the Templars controlled. Most of the archaeological remains at Bağras, Trapesak, and Çalan (Roche Rousset) differ greatly from all castles built by the Armenians in Cilicia. The masonry and techniques of construction (for instance the vaults) among these fortifications are almost identical. The vast majority of the masonry consists of crudely cut stones whose interstices are filled with rock chips and mortar.

The important stronghold of Bağras (pl. 14a-f) went back and forth between Armenian, Muslim and Crusader hands throughout the 12th and 13th century. Around 1153 it became the Templars' northern headquarters, until they lost it to Saladin in 1188 (RHC Occ, II: 72). In 1191, fearing the approach of Frederic Barbarossa's army during the Third Crusade, Saladin had the castle party dismantled and abandoned. According to Lawrence, while awaiting future excavations, it is impossible to determine to what extent the retreating Saracens destroyed the castle (Lawrence, 1978: 44). Most of the Templar work probably predates the occupation of the castle by Saladin (Lawrence, 1978: 34-83). During this short period of Armenian occupation (1193-1212/3), Bağras was most likely restored by the Armenian King Levon I and returned to the Templars in 1212 or shortly after. It is still unclear, however, to what extent the Armenians have repaired the site. While other scholars attribute some of the masonry to the Armenians, Edwards' plays down the Armenian involvement in

the construction of the stronghold (Lawrence, 1978: 76; Edwards, 1983: 431). The second Templar occupation ended with the collapse of the principality of Antioch upon Baybars' invasion of 1268. It subsequently served as a local governor's residence into the Ottoman period (Boas, 2006: 141).

Figure 31 - Domains of the Templars in Cilicia



Another castle in the Amanus region which makes full use of its topography is the Templar castle of Çalan (Roche Roussel), which was built to control the secondary Hajar Shuglan Pass through the Amanus Mountains (pl. 22a-d). Çalan stands 1,200 m above sea level above steep cliffs overlooking the pass and is almost impregnable. It occupied the whole of a sloping plateau (pl. 22b). Furthermore the surviving remains of the castle consists of several fragments of the circuit wall around the periphery of the plateau, some ruined vaults and a chapel in the upper bailey on the east (plan 6). In the same region, but further south on the eastern edge of the mountain range, is the small hilltop castle of Trapesak [Darbsak]. It was built by the Templars on a small mound slightly north-east of the Belen Pass through the Amanus mountains (pl. 74a-b). The hill has a good command of the plain to

the east and south and the north-eastern approaches to the pass and contributes to the defence of the pass' eastern entrance.

With regard to the fortifications of Seleukia, Amuda, Haruniye, Bağras, Çalan, and Trapesak, no structures could be more dissimilar in their masonry and architectural features. This dissimilarity is due to the fact that the castles were built by three distinct military orders at different times. In conformity with our historical sources the number of archaeological sites to be found throughout the Cilician plain is significant. But while the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights received quantities of lands and *casalia* alongside the fortifications, the heritage of the Templars is limited towards the strategic castles in the Amanus region and Port Bonnel.

CHAPTER FIVE: “THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM PROJECT”

“He then sent several units into Kilikia to join up with the doux of Antioch [137] Chatatourios, a noble man who had previously been ordered by the emperor to march to Mopsouestia as quickly as possible and to attack the Turks there as they were passing through that region. For the Armenians living in the mountainous parts of Seleukeia had also previously been ordered to charge down upon the Turks in the narrow passes and to inflict as much damage as they could upon them.”

(Attaleiates, *the history*, trans. Krallis, XVIII, xix-xxi: 249)

1. Strategy and the Spatial Distribution of Fortifications (1):

General Principles

Edwards’ analysis of the role of military architecture in medieval Cilicia, which corresponded with a section of his book, entitled ‘The triumph of a Non-Urban Strategy’, has long dominated historians’ ideas concerning the medieval defensive system of the Armenian kingdom (Edwards, 1987: 37-50). According to Edwards the Armenians established permanent settlements in that part of Cilicia which the topography had shaped into a natural defensive unit in order to obtain a better chance of survival. Edwards writes:

“The Armenian settlers, however, did not simply inhabit this region as spectators in a theatre who calmly sat back and witnessed for almost two hundred years the clash of the three great titans on their borders – the Byzantines, Arabs and the Crusaders – but from the inception of their suzerainty in Cilicia they were drawn into the conflict and eventually consumed by it.” (Edwards, 1987: 37-38)

Edwards rightly pointed out that the Armenians did survive as a viable political and military entity because of the mountainous borders of Cilicia and the strong defences that the

Armenian barons built or rebuilt into them. With these strongholds it seems logical that they were able to resist their external enemies. According to Edwards, this was the result of one military strategy. First of all, the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains do not form a solid vertical barrier but are intersected by river valleys and deep gorges. Since such openings provide passage into Cilicia, the Armenians constructed chains of forts to guard them (Edwards, 1987: 38). In most cases it is not one site on a single road but a series of forts that prevented an enemy from advancing on the major roads as well as the auxiliary routes. Furthermore Edwards states that most of the forts were intervisible, which allowed for rapid communication and the efficient mustering and dispatch of troops. A surprise attack through the mountains was all but impossible. In many cases the Armenian troops encountered the enemy long before he could descend into the plain. This gave the defenders a tactical advantage in that they could set an ambush and choose the time of battle in familiar territory. Also, if an enemy failed to capture a mountain fort, he would be reluctant to advance farther with his rear undefended. The fortifications became a deterrent against invasion through the passes of Cilicia. Wilbrand of Oldenburg was the first to discuss the Armenian strategy of blocking the passes with a network of forts (Wilbrand of Oldenburg, XVII, ed. Pringle: 74). In the 10th century work of Nikephoros Phokas the value of occupying the mountain passes and auxiliary routes is stressed (Nikephoros Phokas, XI, ed. Dagron: 85). This Byzantine source describes the tactics of mountain warfare and *kleisourai*, where many fortresses were constructed.

Edwards summarizes his interpretation of the defensive system of the Armenians in Cilicia in the following words, without stating any archaeological evidence:

“The Armenians defended themselves by simply shoring up the openings in a natural barrier to create a continuous semicircular march. While this was the first attempt to secure Cilicia in such a manner, it was a strategy that the Armenians had earlier seen in the area of Lake Van. Their predecessors in the Van region, the Urartians under Rusas I, had constructed a

network of garrison forts in the mountains to seal off most of the fertile regions around the shores of the lake.” (Edwards, 1987: 50)

Finally, Edwards claims that the Armenian kingdom was rural in nature and that the majority of the Armenian population was concentrated in the mountains. Edwards even emphasized his ideas by stating that this was due to an enduring tradition of the mountainous migrants. According to Edwards that the Armenians chose to defend and inhabit the valleys in the mountains is not surprising at all. Their ancestral homelands, such as Vaspurakan and Ayrarat, were often the site of violent confrontations between the Latin and Greek west and the Persian and Arab east. ‘The mountains have always provided a safe sanctuary’ (Edwards, 1987: 40).

The analysis of Edwards, however, may be criticized for being over simplistic. For example, it presupposes that a military strategy would have determined the locations of all fortifications. This view should be considered with much scepticism and needs to be refined. As mentioned above, Edwards’ theory does not take the historical landscape of each site individually into account. Before proceeding to the main criticisms, however, three minor points may be dealt with. First, as stated above, Edwards’ assertion about the rural character of Cilicia is not entirely irrelevant. Today Cilicia (Çukurova) is densely populated in the plain and industrialized, but there is still a strong rural character deriving from the primarily agricultural economy of the area. Secondly, it is important to note that my conclusions are based on a combination of the primary sources and the archaeological evidence which is discussed below. And thirdly, the fixed role of the mountain-dwelling character of the Armenian people sounds somewhat deterministic and reliant on ethnic stereotyping.

Was the Armenian kingdom a kingdom without cities like for instance ancient Egypt? Sources such as chronicles and manuscript colophons mention or list several cities and towns. Despite the aphorism of his section title, Edwards in fact does not ignore cities (in his non-urban view) but he emphasizes that there is no evidence that ‘city walls were ever

constructed by the Armenians' around the antique cities. These sites are located in the plain (Tarsus, Adana, Misis, Hieropolis/Kastabala, Sis, and Anavarza) and describes them as being protected 'by an enveloping ring of mountain fortresses, castles in the plain and the barren coastline' (Edwards, 1987: 40). Elsewhere in the same study Edwards states that 'the second reason that the Mediterranean remained a safe flank is simply that the Armenians never re-occupied the abandoned coastal municipalities except Ayas and Korykos.' (Edwards, 1987: 38). These sites had been the centres of Cilician civilization during the Roman and Early Byzantine periods. The major difficulties in accepting Edwards' interpretation of the Armenian settlement in Cilicia, however, become particularly apparent where he attempts to apply his ideas to the surviving archaeological evidence at his disposal. He concludes that the Armenians only occupied cities such as Misis, Adana, Sis, and Tarsus which were located inland. Any invasion by sea would require an army to traverse the marshy coastlands east of Mersin with horses and carts. The Armenians merely maintained a presence at two coastal ports: Ayas and Korkyos. Only Ayas seems to have had a civilian population (Edwards, 1987: 38). Edwards' statement has been repeated faithfully by many scholars with additional evidence drawn, following Edward's footnotes, from Wilbrand of Oldenburg's account which implies that only Tarsus was of some importance.⁵⁰ Marco Polo's and Pegolotti's mention of the sole harbour city of Ayas has also been considered as a testimony to Ayas's exception, which was acknowledged beyond the Armenian kingdom as a major centre in intercontinental trade. Some scholars even suspected that the relative importance of Tarsus was related to the Greek component of its population. In 1201, however, Levon I granted his first privileges to the Genoese and Venetians in Mamistra, Tarsus, and Sis, which included tax exemptions, houses and churches. Without consulting the archaeological evidence, a thorough analysis of Wilbrand's account may already be enough to question the abovementioned conclusions.

⁵⁰ See Hewson, *A historical Atlas* (2000), p. 26: "It seems that these cities with the possible exception of Ayas, were often little more than trading depots with only small population sheltering within dilapidated walls."

It is important to investigate where the population was concentrated in the Armenian kingdom and whether any patterns can be found regarding the distribution of the fortifications. This can help us refine our ideas regarding the Armenian kingdom. As the Armenians occupied Cilicia for more than 250 years it seems that more than one military strategy would have been required. Therefore fortifications were more than merely defensive devices: they constituted a most efficient tool to ensure expanding control over the Cilician plain and its resources. It means that the military architecture in the Cilician plain developed as a strategy of economic management rather than a purely military tactic. In accordance to Pringle's study of Byzantine fortifications in northern Africa, 'placing fortifications in the midst of areas of population, however, also made sense for various reasons.' (Pringle, 1981: 98). According to Pringle, it gave the inhabitants a safe refuge if they did not have fortified buildings of their own. The location of fortifications in Cilicia near agricultural settlements must have allowed the Armenian garrisons to collect taxes, arrange supplies, and control nearby land.

Crucial for our understanding of the role of the military architecture - is that about a hundred years separate the establishment of Armenian (baronial) control from the concretization of the Armenian kingdom in the late twelfth century. As seen in Chapter Three the Armenian concentration experienced a geographical shift from the areas of Melitene, Mar'ash and Kesun to the other side of the Taurus and into Cilicia. This development parallels the rise of the new princely families, who marked the history of the new kingdom, the Het'umids and the Rubenids. The life of Nerses of Lampron offers an interesting account about the establishment of Armenian power in north-western Cilicia within the Byzantine framework. Furthermore it gives us an insight into the strategies of the first Armenian settlers. Apl'arip was appointed to rule over the cities of Tarsus and Misis. He decided, however, to establish his headquarters on the outcrop of Lampron, about 40 km north of Tarsus, from where he exercised his authority. This choice might support Edwards' theory for the early twelfth century, but Tarsus remained an important centre as we shall see further on. The

account also indicates a political interrelation between the two cities in the Cilician plain, Tarsus and Misis, based on their close proximity to one another.

At the same time, something similar happened in the other part of Cilicia, where Prince T'oros I of the Rubenids marked a significant step when he seized the fortress of Anavarza in 1111 (VE: 499, v. 240). T'oros's occupation of the outcrop resulted in the repair of the circuit walls and a possible repair of the donjon, built earlier by the Normans. It provided the prince with a secure residence and enough space for his court and people. The natural division of the outcrop into two parts, almost independent of each other and only linked by the donjon, allowed a twofold development of the small upper city within the castle. Looking at the examples of Apllarip and T'oros who came from similar backgrounds and operated in similar contexts, they seem indeed both complementary: both solutions exploit and combine plain and mountain, with an eye for pragmatic defence. This early twelfth-century pattern was a pragmatic strategy and response to the geographical specificity of the area and seems to have extended through the territory with the creation of the kingdom the poles of the power becoming Tarsus and Sis. This situation was completely different by the time of the coronation, when the kingdom reached its maximal extent.

2. Strategy and the Spatial Distribution of Fortifications (2): A Google Earth Analysis

2.1. The Spatial Distribution of Fortifications

2.1.1. Introduction

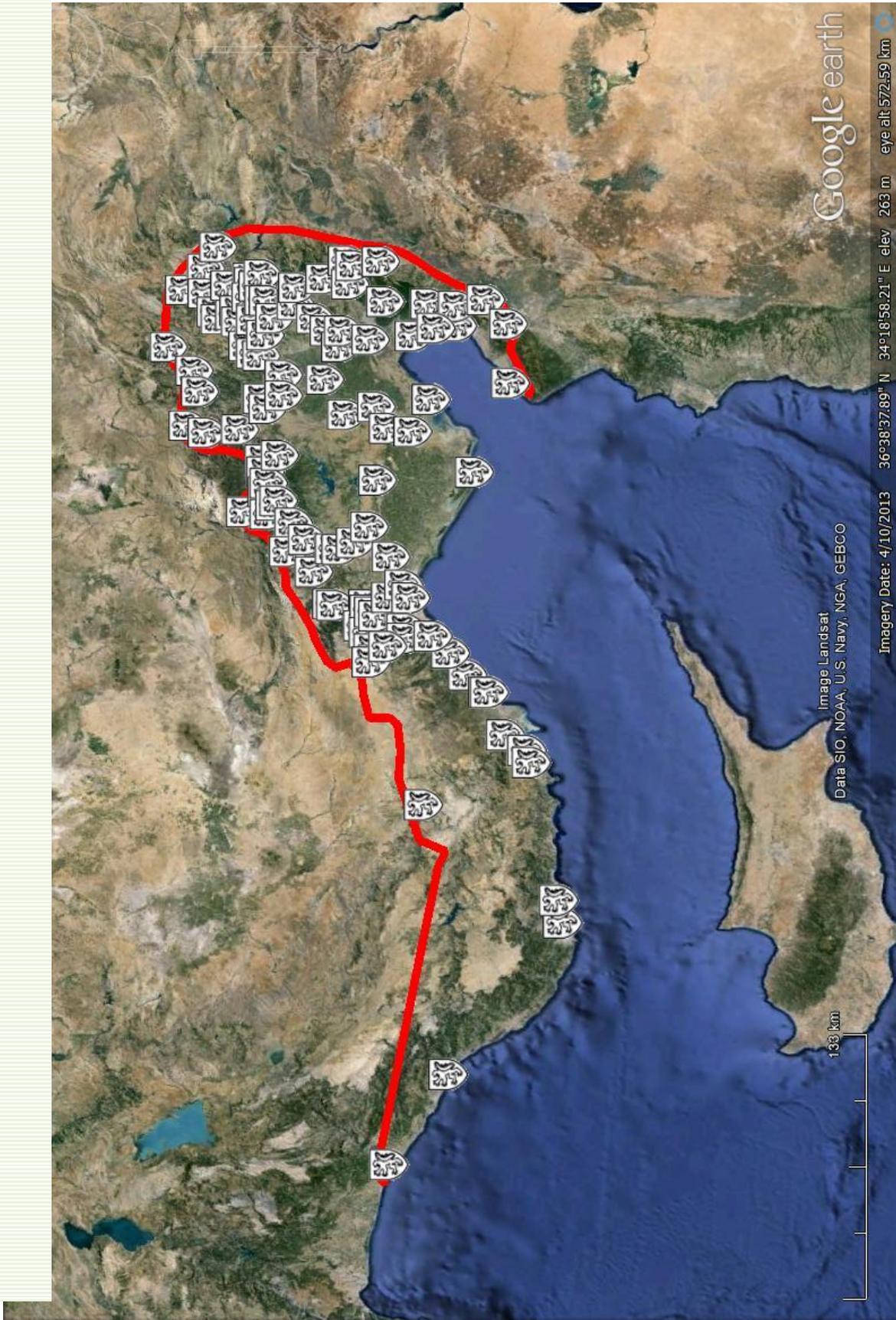
The assumption that the threat to the Armenian kingdom remained unchanged in intensity throughout the kingdom's entire existence and all of its territory has in effect limited the study of the Armenian fortifications, turning it into a stereotypical discussion. Scholars such as Molin and Edwards have preferred to describe the construction of the fortifications by the Armenians as the result of a defined military strategy. Molin focuses in his work on the ability

of frontier castles to prevent or at least provide early warning of enemy offensives. The same castles were then used to assemble and supply troops near the frontier, providing safe bases for soldiers who were advancing or in retreat (Molin, 2001: 152-153).

This stereotyping approach is also conspicuous in the maps that often accompany studies of the Armenian castles (Figure 32). Typically all medieval castles are placed on one map, treating the entire period between 650-1375 as a single and quasi-uniform period. Such maps also often present castles and fortresses which never existed at the same time as part of one contemporaneous system of fortifications. It has been maintained in the past that all of them were built as a result of a single set of considerations, or one particular strategy, and as part of a single framework of fortifications. Any systematic analysis of the distribution of Armenian fortifications, therefore, should be based on a more systematic chronological and geographical division of the fortified sites. It is important to ascertain which of them already existed during the Byzantine period, which of them existed during the twelfth century; which of them were possibly erected during the later period; which of them were possibly rebuilt during the Armenian period; and finally to analyse their spatial distribution.

It is important to note that very limited survey work or excavations have been done on the Byzantine side of the frontier, due to the inhospitable nature of the Taurus Mountains. On the other hand scholars such as Edwards have identified the majority of fortifications in Cilicia as Armenian constructions (Edwards, 1987: 27). It is important to investigate whether there is any archaeological support for such a hypothesis.

Figure 32 – Sites Occupied by the Armenians (1075-1375)



2.1.2. *Constructions de Novo (1075-1350)*⁵¹

At least 43 castles were built, or settled anew by the Armenians during the three hundred years of their reign in Cilicia (Table 7; Figure 33). It is reasonable to assume that there are still more fortified sites to be found in the Taurus region about which we have no historical information. Of these 43 Armenian castles six were unattributed before this research. These were Aşılı (**no. 11**), Degirmendere Kale (**no. 34**; pl. 29a-c), Dokurcun (**no. 36**; pl. 30a), Çiğşar, Su Çati (**no. 31**; pl. 27a-c), Kalealtı (**no. 54**; pl. 43a), and Kalebuynu (**no. 55**; pl. 44a). In addition to this, four new castles were found through Panoramio. After some research it seemed that all four were unidentified.⁵² These were Bossek (**no. 22** pl. 18a-b), Hebilli (**no. 49**; pl. 41a-b), Sulayayla (**no. 91**; pl. 70a-c), and Yanik Kale (**no. 102**; pl. 79a-b).

Table 7 - Armenian de Novo Fortifications

No.	Place	Location	Design
70	Mancılık Kalesi	Amanus	Fortress
63	Kumkale	Cilicia Pedias	Keep and Bailey
5	Anacık	Cilicia Pedias	Tower Keeps
22	Bossek	Cilicia Pedias	Tower Keeps
78	Oğlan	Cilicia Pedias	Tower Keeps
59	Kız (near Dorak)	Cilicia Pedias	Keep and Bailey
49	Hebilli	Cilicia Pedias	Fort with no Enclosure
21	Bodrum	Cilicia Pedias	Fort with Enclosure
24	Bucak	Cilicia Pedias	Fort with Enclosure
99	Tumlu	Cilicia Pedias	Fort with Enclosure
104	Yılan Kalesi	Cilicia Pedias	Fortress
13	Ayas	Cilicia Pedias	Sea Castle
93	Tece	Cilicia Trachea	Keep and Bailey
68	Liman	Cilicia Trachea	Fort with enclosure
94	Tokmar	Cilicia Trachea	Fortress
65	Kuzucubelen	Het'umid	Watch Post
20	Belen Keşlik	Het'umid	Tower Keeps
44	Gösne	Het'umid	Tower Keeps
87	Sinap (near Çandır)	Het'umid	Tower Keeps

⁵¹ This is a collection of castles built by the Armenians between their arrival in 1075 and fall in 1375. It contains on the one hand sites which are mentioned in the sources for the first time between 1075 and 1350. On the other hand it contains unidentified castles. The argument for the chronology of unidentified castles is based upon three presuppositions: design, Armenian type of masonry, and a consistency in building materials and construction techniques. This argument will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six: Military Architecture.

⁵² The coordinates of each site have been added in the gazetteer.

88	Sinap (near Lampron)	Het'umid	Tower Keeps
50	Hisar	Het'umid	Fort with no Enclosure
51	Hotalan	Taurus	Watch Post
102	Yanik Kale	Taurus	Tower Keeps
8	Andıl Kalesi	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
25	Buyuksofulu	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
34	Degirmendere Kale	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
36	Dokurcun	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
52	Işa Kalesi	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
83	Sari Çiçek	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
91	Sulayayla	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
54	Kalealtı	Taurus	Fort with no Enclosure
31	Çiğşar, Su Çati	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
39	Fındıklı	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
11	Aşılı	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
33	Çukurhisar (Kanc')	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
82	Saimbeyli	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
92	Tamrut	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
103	Yeni Köy	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
55	Kaleboynu	Taurus	Fort with Enclosure
72	Maran	Taurus	Fortress
74	Meydan	Taurus	Fortress
23	Bostan	Taurus	Fortress
9	Andıl Köy	Taurus	Rural Settlement

First of all, it is remarkable to note that twenty-two of the sites built de novo by the Armenians are located in the Taurus region. Throughout the twelfth century there were two centres of power in Cilicia, a Rubenid and a Het'umid sphere of influence. It is not surprising that the majority of the sites can be found around the strongholds of the faction that would claim the Armenian kingdom, the Rubenids. Nine of these twenty-two fortifications can be categorized as hall-houses or fortifications without enclosures. These Armenian *maisons fortes* are located in the safe mountain valleys, somewhat further away on the one hand from the Cilician plain in the south and on the other hand what would have been the frontier of the Armenian kingdom to the north. Surprisingly ten of the twelve castles without any enclosures found in Cilicia are built de novo by the Armenians. While these castles are less defensive and are presumably more important for economic reasons, it could show that the zone around these fortifications was more densely populated.

A second remarkable feature is the high percentage (eight out of nine) of hall houses that are built de novo by the Armenians. Many of these hall houses are architecturally distinct from any other building style and therefore very easy to identify. These hall houses are nearly all located between the Cilician plain and the mountains, where the land was still fertile and where pastures could be grazed in the nearby mountains. The hall houses in the Het'umid area are centred near the baronial strongholds of Lampron and Çandır. The only hall-houses located on the eastern side of Cilicia are Bossek and Anacık; however, they are only 9 km away from each other.

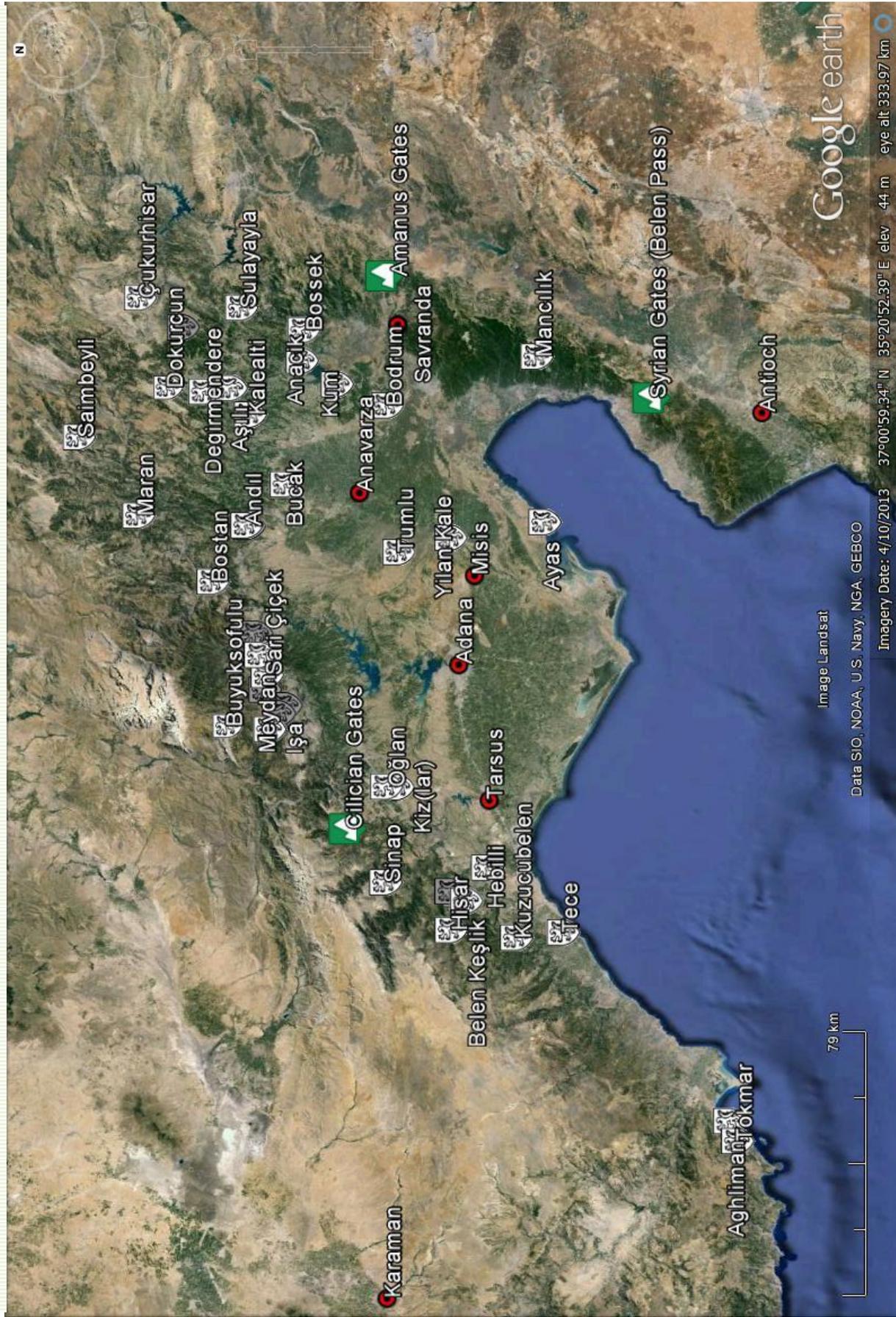
All garrison forts with an enclosure are located in the Cilician plain or the Taurus region. The fortifications of Çukurhisar (**no. 33**), Çiğşar (**no. 31**), Kaleboynu (**no. 55**), Saimbeyli (**no. 82**), Fındıklı (**no. 39**) are among the most northerly fortifications found in Cilicia. However, none of them is far from Göksun [Coxon], a city which we know at the time of the First Crusade was populated early on by the Armenians. Apart from holding a small garrison, these sites must have also functioned as watch posts. A bit further to the west are the garrison forts of Tamrut (**no. 92**), and Yeni Köy (**no. 103**), which both guarded important barriers through the Taurus Mountains.

It is not surprising that only six out of the twenty-four big fortresses were built de novo by the Armenians. Apart from Yılan Kalesi (**no. 104**), Bostan (**no. 23**), Tokmar (**no. 94**), Meydan (**no. 74**), Mancılık Kalesi (**no. 70**), and Maran (**no. 72**), all fortresses had previous building periods. These strongholds had been built or repaired, most likely by the Byzantines, before the Armenians' arrival, and their location must have been chosen primarily for strategic reasons. The new Armenian fortresses are located throughout the entire kingdom, from Tokmar in the southwest to Maran in the northeast and Mancılık in the southeast corner. The fortifications of Maran, Bostan, and Meydan are located in the heart of the Taurus region. The fortification of Meydan has been identified convincingly by Hellenkemper as the important stronghold of Barjberd (Hild, 1990: 210-11). Similarly Hellenkemper

identified the fortress of Bostan with another important Armenian seat, the site of Kopitar (Hild and Hellenkemper, 1990: 309-10).

In conclusion, we can state that the majority of the small fortified structures found in Cilicia have been constructed, in more or less a single building period, by the Armenians. As the Cilician plain and much of the highlands formed a constant battleground throughout the twelfth century, we can perhaps conclude that most of these structures in the Cilician plain were built between 1200 and 1350.

Figure 33 – Castles built by the Armenians de Novo (1075-1375)

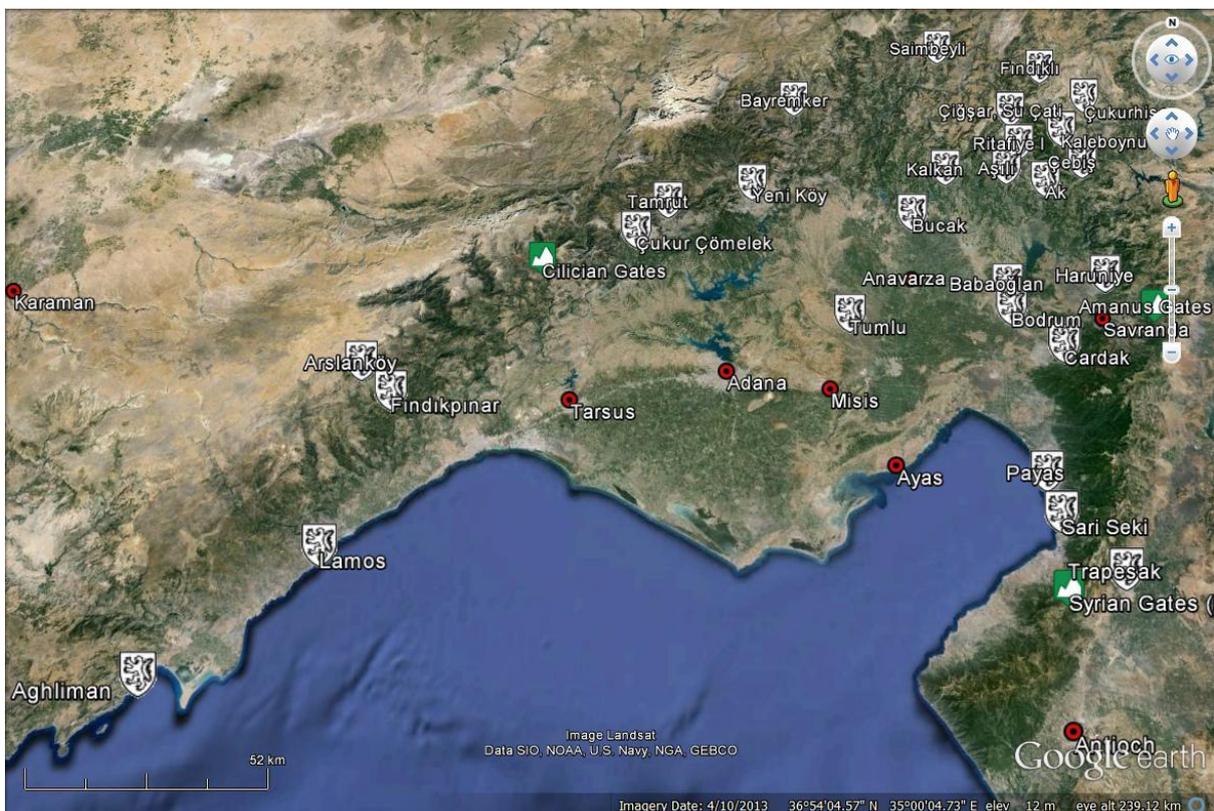


2.1.3. Refortification and Occupation

A site has been classified as refortified if a combination of different building styles has been found, or if we know from historical sources when a site was previously occupied by Byzantines, Arabs, Normans or the military orders. In the majority of cases the given site will have a clear Armenian construction phase. The sites could have been occupied by the Armenians as early as 1075 or 1100, which was for example the case at Lampron and Vahga.

Fifteen of the 31 garrison forts with an enclosure have at least one phase of Armenian construction (Figure 34). In combination with the twelve garrison forts that were built de novo by the Armenians we can conclude that 27 of the 31 garrison forts were occupied by the Armenians at one time. While the majority of these castles are situated in the eastern part of Cilicia, with one zone of concentration near the valleys of Andırın and the other in the neighbourhood of the Amanus gates, they are generally distributed quite widely throughout the Armenian kingdom.

Figure 34 - Garrison Forts with at least one Period of Armenian Construction



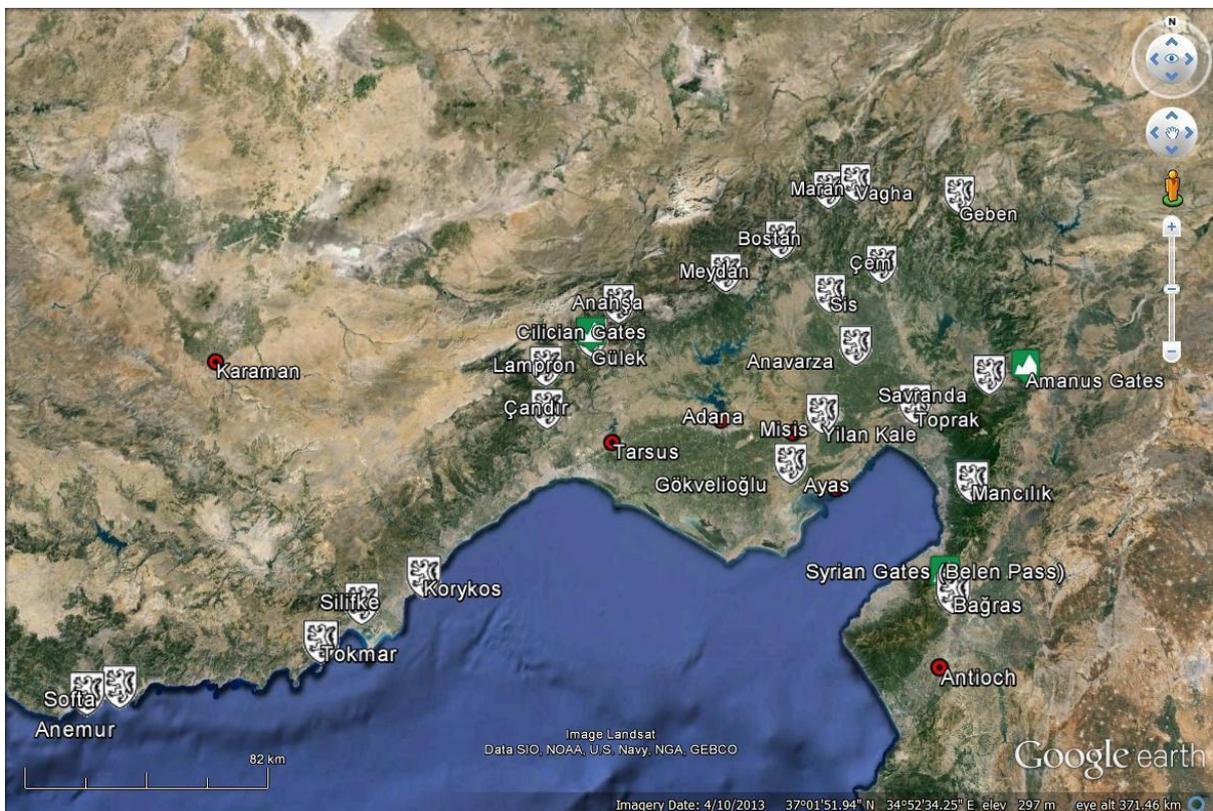
Seventeen of the twenty-four fortresses have a phase of Armenian construction. In addition to the six fortresses which have been built de novo by the Armenians we can see that only Çalan Kalesi did not have any Armenian phase of construction. These fortresses became the permanent hereditary possessions of powerful Armenian families by the end of the twelfth century. The list of forty-five barons who attended Levon II's coronation in 1198, for example, indicates that fortresses such as Savranda, Geben, Toprak, Lampron, Korykos, and Seleukia all belonged to separate lords at the time (Smbat, trans. Dédéyan: 73-81). At the same time, the fortresses of Sis and Anavarza were in royal hands.

According to Dédéyan, most of the castles mentioned in the coronation list must be located along the River Calycadnus (Göksu), between Laranda to the north, Ermenāk to the south, and Mut (Dédéyan, 1980: 76-80). Because of the rugged terrain, surveys in this area, however, have been rather limited and have tended to concentrate solely on the more accessible coastline.⁵³ As a result many archaeological sites still remain to be uncovered. The coronation list, however, remains an important source to determine the extent of Armenian zone of influence and occupation of castles. The historical sources make it clear that Levon must have expanded the Armenian frontiers dramatically in the west by taking Byzantine and Seljuk fortresses in Cilicia Trachea and granting them to castle wardens, Armenian or Greek, who were loyal to him. Bar Hebraeus notes that 'Levon became very powerful following the death of Kilij Arslān. He captured seventy-two fortresses from both the Turks and the Greeks, and was victorious in all battles' (BH: 466). As a result of Levon's victories, the Armenians must have slowly encroached on Seljuk territory not far from the capital of Konya and the city of Laranda, which Levon later wanted to seize for the Hospitallers (Delaville le Roulx, II, no. 1349: 118-19). Sites mentioned in the coronation list are: the fortifications of Sinit (Syneda, Sbide), and Astaros (Astrsay or Adrasos), which were

⁵³ For the only surveys in this region I refer the reader to W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890) and Hild and Hellenkemper (1990).

held by a Greek lord called Romanos; the castle of Lavzat⁵⁴, Tmitupawlis (Dindebolis or Domitiopolis), were possessed by the Armenian lord Xrsawfawr; Veresk was in hands of the Greek/Armenian lord Nikifawr; the castles of Ermenāk (Djermanik/Žermanik), Maniawn (Manyan), and Lamaws (Lamos), were in possession of a certain Halkam; the cave fortress and identified castle of Malva (Maghva) together with Softa Kalesi (Sigh, Sik), was held by the Armenian lord of Greek origin, Kersak, or Kyr Isaac, the son of Adam of Bağras (Smbat, ed. Dédéyan: 76-80). The Armenian control over the Mediterranean coast stretched out from the Cilician plain to Manavgat, near Alanya, in the west.

Figure 35 - Armenian Fortresses around 1198



If the information provided by the coronation list is correct, Levon's dominions so close to the Seljuk capital of Konya must have threatened the Seljuk rulers seriously. This could explain the Seljuk offensive against the Armenians at the start of the 13th century and their conquest of the fortresses in the west, such as Softa and Anemur around 1225 (Ibn

⁵⁴ According to Ramsay located in the upper valley of the Ermenāk Su, a tributary of the River Calycadnus (Ramsay, 1890: 369)

Bībī: 142 v. 90). Throughout this time, however, Levon, succeeded in mobilizing the Hospitallers for the defence of this western march. While the baronial seats of the Het'umids and the Rubenids in the Taurus Mountains remained important throughout the thirteenth century for the defence of the Armenian kingdom against Seljuk raids from the north, the new danger came from the east. In the context of rising Mamluk and Mongol power, the fortresses of Yılan Kalesi, Gökvelioğlu, Mancılık, Toprak, and Savranda must have all played an important role in protecting the city of Misis, the port of Ayas, and all economic activities that were centred in this region.

2.2. Land Routes, Rivers and Topography as Variables for the Distribution of Fortifications

2.2.1. Cilicia Trachea

The major routes in Cilicia Trachea are the strategic coastal road, which runs on a northeast-southwest axis (coming from Antiochetta and Anamur), and the trail following the valley of the Calycadnus to Karaman and the Anatolian plain (passing the fortress of Mavgha). All fortifications in Cilicia Trachea are aligned towards these two routes. The strategic role of places such as Seleukia, which commands the junction of both routes, was already clear from the classical period. In the seventh century the site of Seleukia possessed a factory of arms (Zacos-Veglery, III: 727). During the Arab invasions the Byzantines defended this area heavily. As a result they were able to halt the Arab advance towards Anatalya and the Anatolian hinterland. The earliest reference to this frontier is that of al-Maṣ'ūdī who notes that the Greek fort of Lamas and the River Lamas divided the Greek theme of Seleukia and Arab Cilicia in the 10th century (al-Maṣ'ūdī, ed. Barbier, 1914: 224).

Figure 36 - Variables in Cilicia Trachea



Apart from the relatively flat coastal strip, the hinterland of Cilicia Trachea is extremely mountainous. The only entrances through the mountain chain are made by the valleys of the Calycadnus and the River Lamas. The topography of this region has not only played a crucial impact on the location of fortifications, but also in the conduct of war. In his report of the military campaigns of the Byzantine emperor Diogenes Michael Attaleiates not only supports the importance of the topography but also confirms the presence of Armenian troops in the region between Seleukia and Tarsus. Attaleiates states:

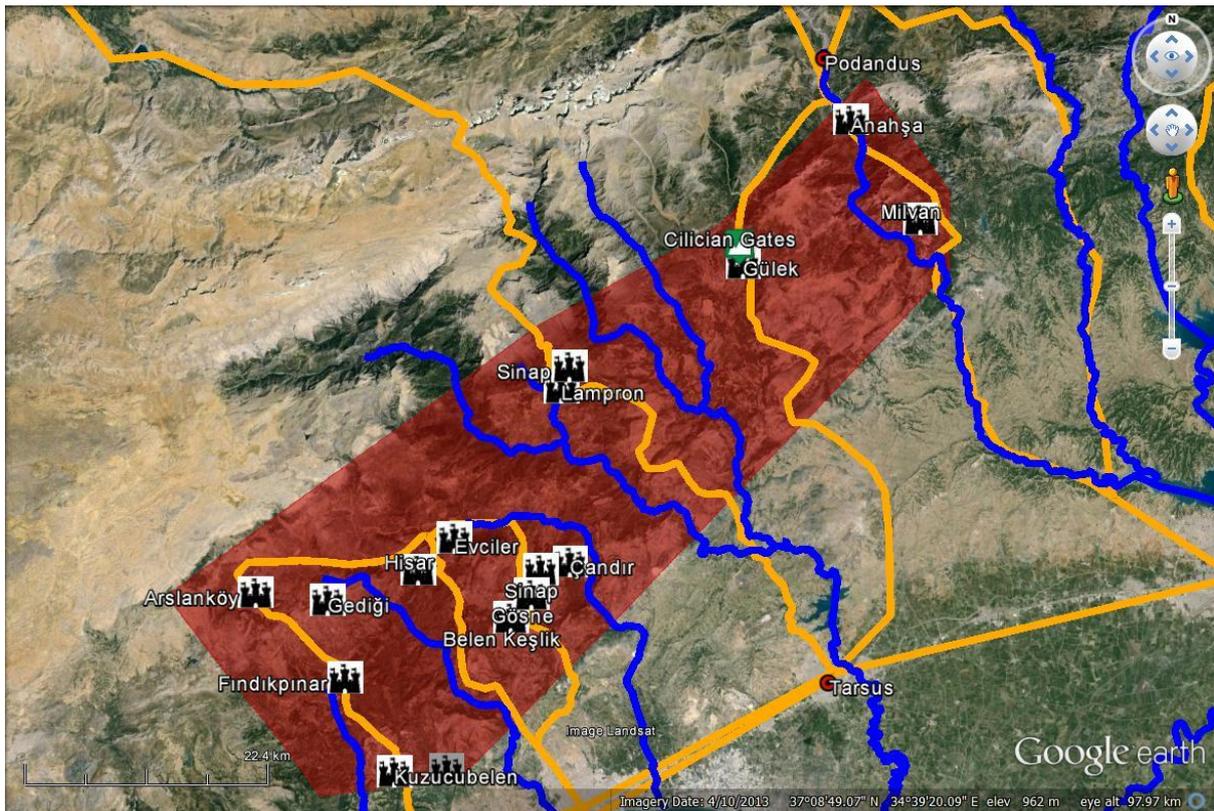
“Indeed, the enemy was fearful about their return because of what they learned of the emperor’s line of march, and so they rode through the mountains of Seleukeia to the valley of Tarsos where they were met by the Armenians who shot them down with spears. They abandoned almost all their booty, saving themselves, and with difficulty continued their journey, riding through the whole of Kilikia until they reached the frontier of Aleppo.” (Attaleiates, trans. Krallis, XVIII, xix-xxi: 249-251).

Alongside both valleys many early Byzantine sites and fortifications have been mapped by Hild and Hellenkemper (1990). From my observations, it remained not always clear whether these sites were occupied during the medieval period. In this respect, some full-scale surveys on these sites could definitely prove beneficial for our knowledge of the urban landscape development in this region. Owing to their early-Byzantine character, however, and apparent lack of medieval ceramics, most of these sites have been omitted from this research. None the less it remains clear that settlement must have been concentrated from the early Byzantine period on the narrow strip of fertile land in Cilicia Trachea or on the sloping hills of the nearby mountains.

2.2.2. Het'umid Region

The most important route in the Het'umid region is the land route through the Cilician Gates from the Cilician plain to Podandos. An alternative is the south-eastern trail which follows the course Çakıt Suyu along the east flank of the Anahşa Dağı towards Adana. The strategic importance of these two routes cannot be overestimated. The Cilician Gates were protected by the fortress of Gülek Kalesi, while the south-eastern trail was defended by Anahşa and Milvan. Given their strategic importance it is not surprising that all three fortresses have Byzantine foundations.

Figure 37 - Variables Het'umid Region



The baronial strongholds of Lampron and Çandır were protected to the north by the Taurus Mountains. The trails through these mountains are long, narrow, and form an almost impossible barrier for an invading army. This was noted by Attaleiates in his account of the rebellion of Andronikos against the Byzantine emperor Diogenes:

“Passing as usual through the kleisoura that is called Podandos, he entered that land through that of the Isaurians [174] which is not far from the city of Tarsos. But the passes through the mountains that enclose Kilikia are difficult of access, rough, steep, and extremely narrow, and so the passage of the army was neither convenient nor easy, so that if some of Diogenes’ men had held the peaks, advancing on foot with bows, the army of Andronikos would never have been able to march through them; in fact, his soldiers might have well panicked and turned back in flight...” (Attaleiates, trans. Krallis, XXI, viii: 315).

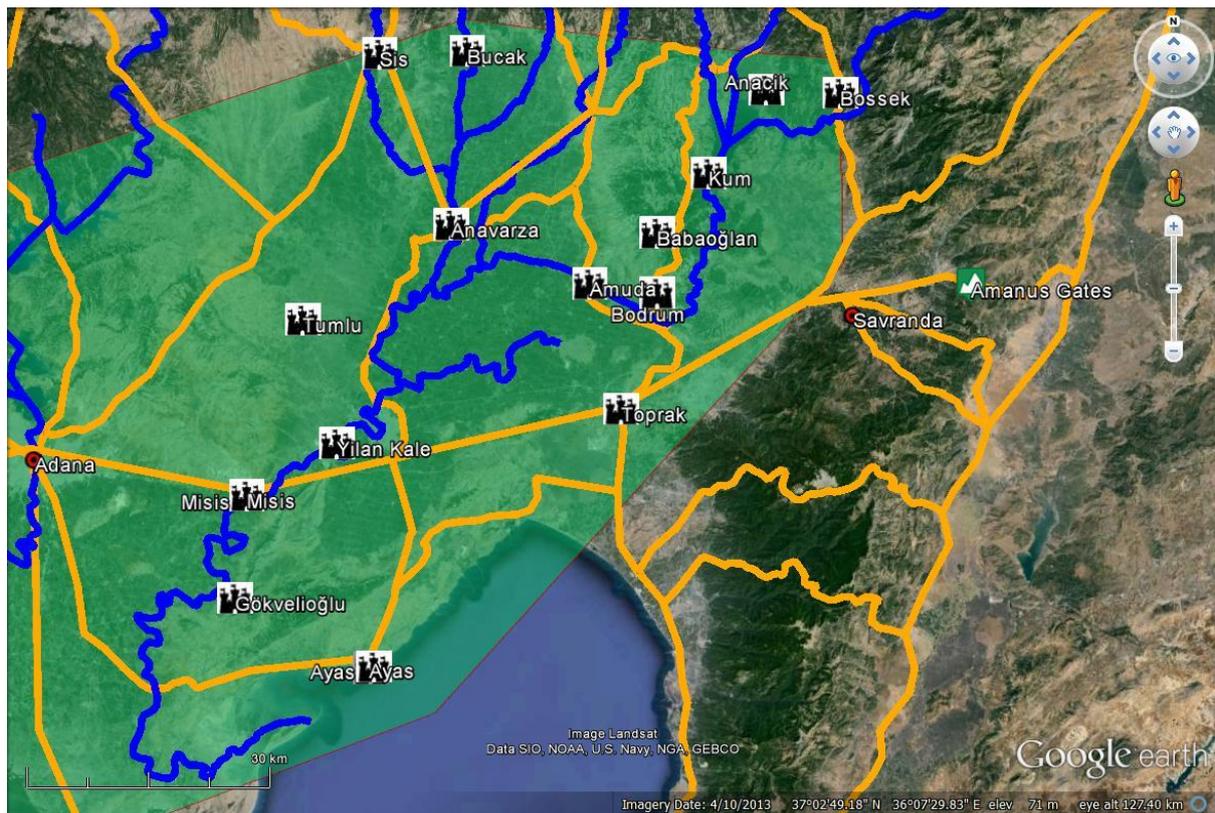
During the twelfth century the Rubenids’ efforts to overcome the strength of the Het’umids were repeatedly thwarted by the sheer strength of Lampron, which was

unsuccessfully besieged in the early 1170s and again about ten years later (Smbat: 624; VE: 509). This meant that the Het'umid strongholds were most likely vulnerable from the south. Most garrison forts in this region, however, have Byzantine foundations, in contrast to those in the Rubenid region, but were most likely occupied by the Armenians as they guarded several trails in the neighbourhood of Çandır. The majority of the forts that were built de novo by the Armenians are located in fertile valley and are hall-houses, such as Belen Keşlik, Evciler, Gösne, Sinap near Lampron, and Sinap near Çandır. The hall-houses lack defensive characteristics and their role should clearly be seen as an economic one or as nuclei for nearby settlements. As mentioned above, their construction most likely dated from the period after 1198 when the Rubenids unified the two baronies. The region is, however, not as densely covered with fortifications as the Rubenid region, which could prove its secondary role in the history of the kingdom. One of the purely military fortifications is the small watch post of Kuzucubelen (pl. 52a-c), which guarded the north-south route from Arslanköy, Fındıkpınar, to the coastline. Communication must have been very difficult in this mountainous region as even with modern transport a visit from the coastal plain to Lampron can take more than two hours.

2.2.3. Cilicia Pedias

The spatial distribution of most fortifications built by the Armenians de novo in the Cilician plain was dependent on three variables: topography, location of landroutes, and proximity to one of the three major rivers. The fortifications of Amuda, Bodrum, Bucak, Gökvelioğlu, Tumlu, and Yılan are all located on an outcrop and in proximity to roads and rivers. Throughout Cilicia Pedias we find several important north-south and west-east land routes. The most strategic land route in Cilicia Pedias was probably the west-east route from Tarsus to Toprak. The city of Tarsus was located on the junction between the important northern route to the Anatolian plateau and the western route to Cilicia Trachea. This west-east trail passed furthermore the cities of Adana and Misis. In order to facilitate the analysis, Cilicia Pedias has been divided into a western and eastern half.

Figure 38 - Variables in Cilicia Pedias (east)



Almost all fortifications in the eastern half of Cilicia Pedias, except Toprak and Tumlulu, are located along the River Pyramus and its tributaries. The spatial distribution along this river is strategic for several pragmatic reasons. A first reason is the abundant supply of water which was useful to irrigate the fields of the agricultural settlements. The fields beside the River Pyramus can be seen as one of the most fertile in the whole of Cilicia. A second is its proximity to the supply of fresh fish. Wilbrand of Oldenburg mentions in his account the multitude of fish that were taken near Amuda and benefitted the settlement near by (Pringle, XXIV: 128, v. 26). A third reason, apart from food and access to water, was most likely the navigability of the river and the advantages that it brought. If we assume that the River Pyramus was navigable as far north as Kum Kalesi, this could mean in practice that as many as eight fortifications in the eastern half of Cilicia Pedias could be reached by boat. The navigability of the River Pyramus could moreover have been a reason why the earlier neo-Hittite settlers founded their palace at Karatepe, only 2 km south of Kum.

Amongst the many strategic positions in Cilicia Pedias, the castle of Toprak commands most likely one of the most important crossroads throughout Cilicia. It is the junction between the route east to Osmaniye and the Amanus Gates - the fortifications of Bodrum, Babaoğlan, and Kum to the north - directly west two paved routes lead towards Adana, and the southern coastal route from Alexandretta joins the latter at this place. The strategic value of this area can furthermore be enhanced by its close proximity to Bodrum (14 km), Amuda (15 km), Yılan (34 km), and Savranda (30 km). All, apart from Toprak and Savranda, were constructed de novo by the Armenians.

Figure 39 - Variables in Cilicia Pedias (west)



In the western side of Cilicia Pedias the fortifications of Tomuk, Tece, Tumul, Yaka, and Kütüklü are aligned along the west-east axis and the road that connects Cilicia Trachea with Tarsus, Adana, and Misis. These new structures in the western half of the Cilicia Pedias are mostly built in rural areas and away from the urban centres of Tarsus, Adana, and Misis. All these fortifications, however, are hall-houses or *quadriburgia*, which have limited defensive characteristics. No large fortifications or fortresses are to be located in the western

half of Cilicia Pedias. While the hall-houses were all most likely built de novo by the Armenians, the quadriburgia were, as discussed above, built by the military orders. The tendency to build these small fortified centres here could indicate that this area was relatively safe from external threats in comparison to the other study areas in the Armenian kingdom. This hypothesis can be supported with the historical landscape in the 13th century, where the external enemies of the Armenians, such as the Karamanids in the west and Seljuks in the north, were confronted with the march of the Hospitallers and the Het'umid strongholds in the west, and the fortresses of Gülek and Anahşa commanding the Cilician Gates and entrance to the Cilician plain.

2.2.4. Rubenid Region

The topography of the Rubenid region is characterized by the Taurus Mountains and the many valleys that cut through the mountain barrier. The tributaries of the Pyramus and the Sarus make their way through the mountains while creating many fertile valleys. While this area is the hardest to access of all the study areas in Cilicia, without doubt future surveys could demonstrate that this area supported in the medieval period a sizeable population.

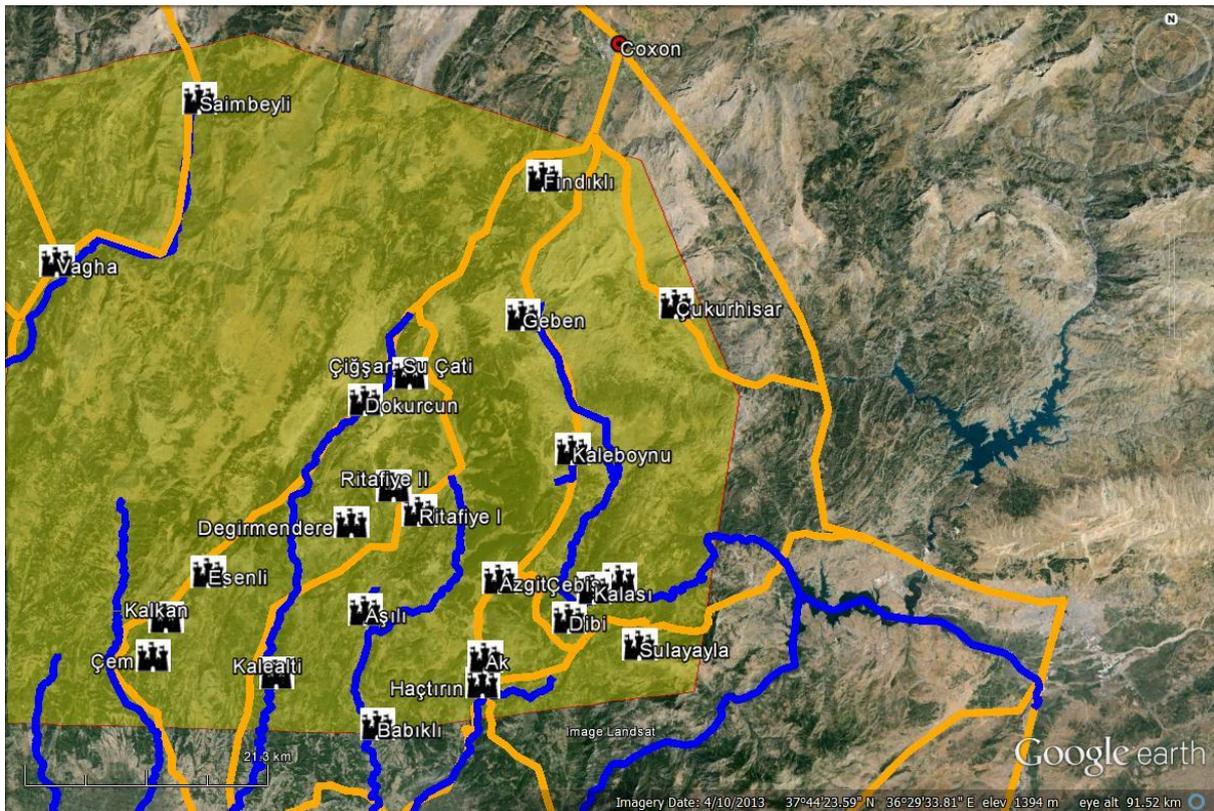
In the eastern part of the Rubenid region, the land routes are oriented on a north-south axis and follow the course of the rivers. For strategic and economic reasons all fortifications are therefore concentrated along these valleys. Almost all fortifications in the valleys are located less than 1 km from mountain streams. The trail east from Azgit, which leads towards Mar'ash, was already fortified by the Byzantines. Examples of this Byzantine concentration are the fortifications of Ak, Azgit, Dibi and Kalası. These fortifications could have served as warning posts for the bigger Byzantine fortress of Geben (Kinnamos: 20; Honigmann, 1935: 130).⁵⁵

In addition to the Byzantine concentration of sites, this region, from Kadirli to Göksun, was later heavily refortified by the Armenians. The fortifications built de novo by the

⁵⁵ In Armenian this site is referred to as Kapan, Gaban, Gabon, Gabnupert, and Geben. A Greek designation as Καπνισπερτι Φρούρια is found in Kinnamos.

Armenians such as Çiğşar, Su Çati, Dokurcun, Kalealti, Bostan, Saimbeyli, Yeni Köy, Hotalan, Yannik Kale, Kaleboynu, Aşılı are, however, not the most defensive in design, which could indicate a different strategy. These little fortifications could have served as strongholds of the lesser nobility, and places of refuge for the villages in the valleys. The construction of the Armenian fortifications in this region clearly followed a different strategy than the Cilician plain and the Het'umid region.

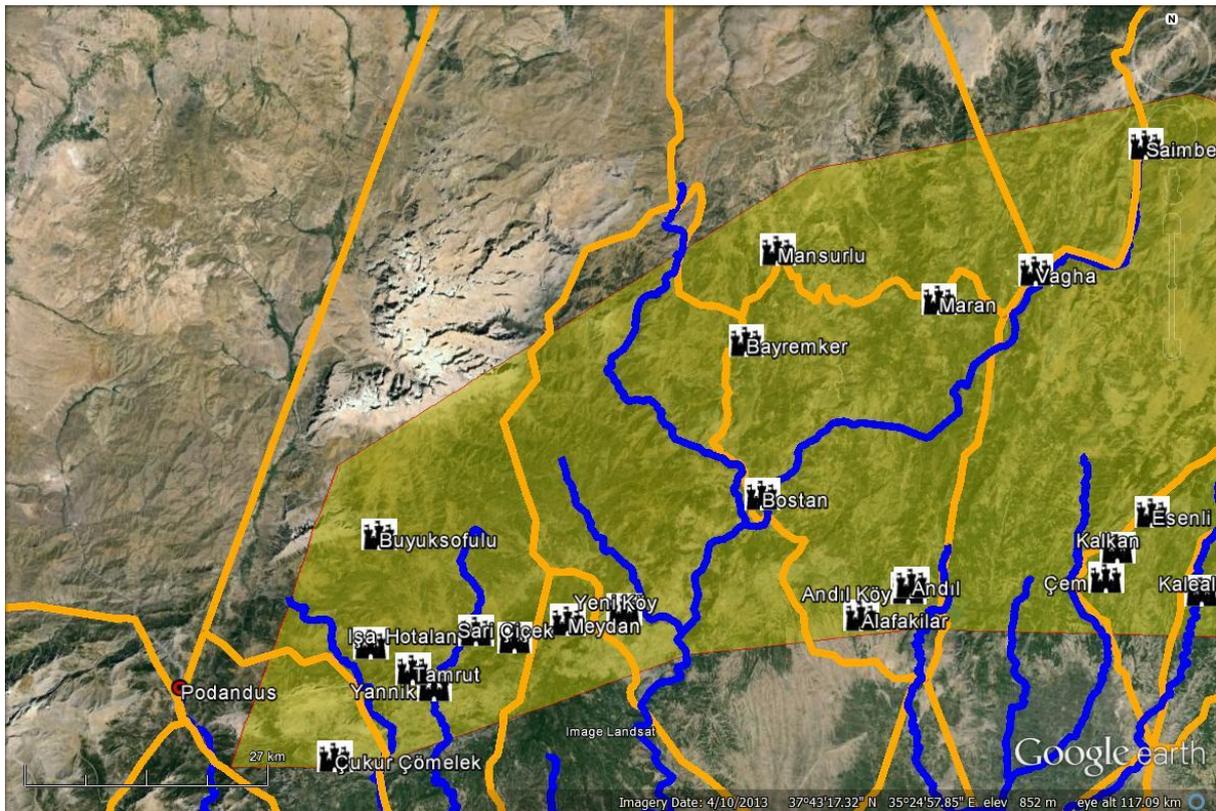
Figure 40 - Variables in Rubenid Region (east)



In the western part of the Rubenid region, fortifications were concentrated along the same north-south axis through the Taurus Mountains. The most impressive fortifications newly constructed by the Armenians are Meydan and Bostan. The latter is situated on the flat top of a limestone pinnacle that rises on the west flank of a deep river canyon. At the site of Bostan three mountain streams (the easternmost is the Gök Su, and the one that flows directly below the castle is the Inderese Çay, which merges into the larger Zemanı Su) merge to form the Sarus. Since the medieval trail must have followed this route beside the canyon (carved out by the rivers), it seems likely that Bostan was a major junction. The

topography at Meydan has a similar impact. At an altitude of more than 1,500 m the fortress has a commanding view of the neighbouring valleys. This area and the valleys to the south of Meydan are extremely fertile agricultural regions, growing a variety of crops. Dozens of streams and rivers run south through this vale to Lake Adana. The importance of this western part of the Rubenid region for the Armenians can be confirmed by their construction of several new hall-houses and smaller garrison forts.

Figure 41 - Variables Rubenid Region (west)



2.2.5. Amanus

The spatial distribution of the fortifications in the Amanus region is heavily determined by the topography of the region. While the Amanus Mountains are not as high as the Taurus Mountains, most mountain trails are narrow, steep, and not ideal to pass through with any large force. Two major routes through the Amanus are known as the Belen Pass and Amanus Gates respectively. The fortresses of Bağras, Çalan, Savranda, and Trapesak have all a commanding view over these trails. Despite the fact that the stretch between the Amanus Mountains and the Mediterranean is very narrow, its importance cannot be

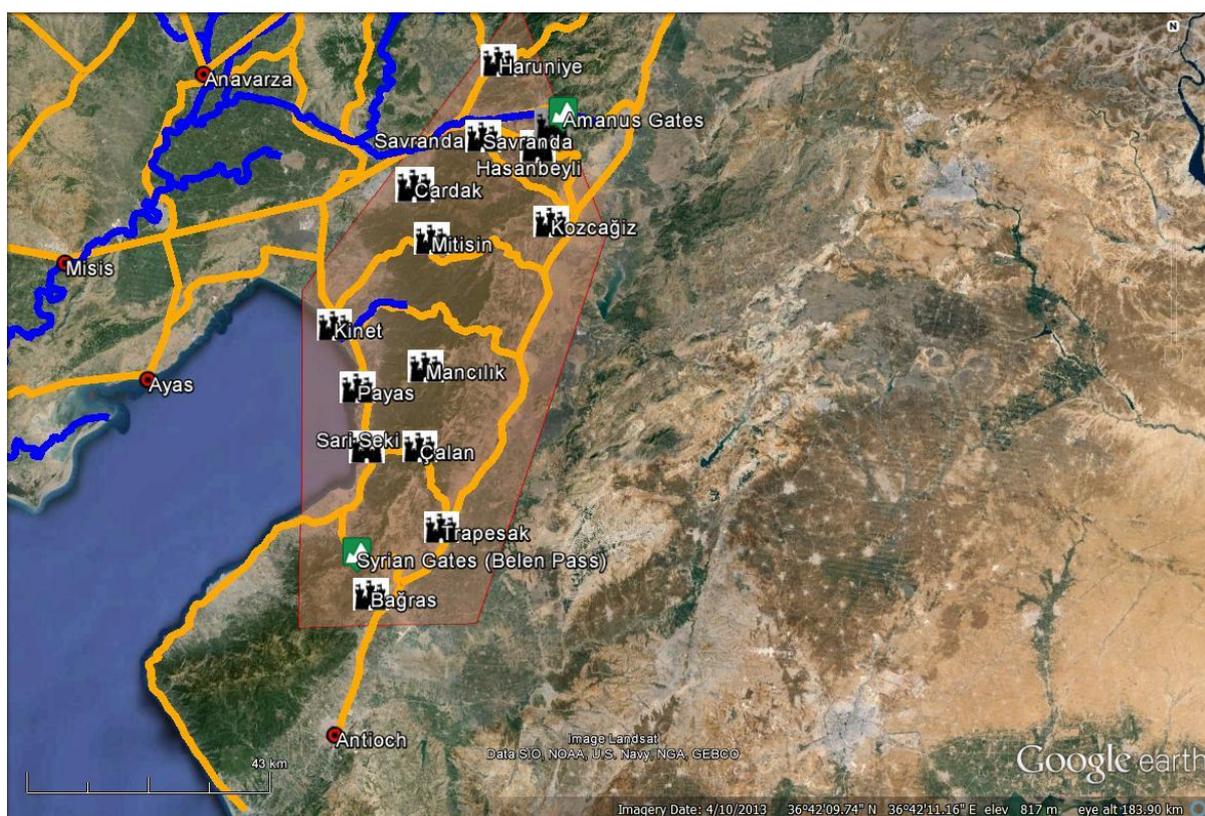
underestimated. Awaiting the results of further excavations at Kinet, it seems that many economic activities were concentrated along this coastline.

The fortress of Savranda is located north of a lesser-known trail that runs from Çardak to Yarpuz and Islâhiye. Furthermore it also commands the better known Amanus gates, which are located some 15 km northeast of the fortress. Savranda is located in a very forested area, which once was known in the chronicles as the 'forest of Marris' [Armenian: Mari] (Abū'l-Fidā': 34; Deschamps, 1937: 382-4; Cahen, 1940: 145-8).

Another example is the large Templar castle, Bağras [Gaston], which is located just north from Antioch and south of the eastern entrance to the Belen Pass that cuts through the Amanus range. In 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg describes the castle as very strong with three towered walls.⁵⁶ The castle of Bağras is only 17 km away from the fortress of Trapesak, which secures the eastern approach to the Belen pass and the secondary east-west route via the Çalan pass. The Templars had been granted this northern march in the course of the 12th century in order to protect the northern border of the principality of Antioch. While sites such as Bağras had a phase of Byzantine and Arab occupation, they were none the less heavily reconstructed by the Templars. Sites such as Çalan and Trapesak were presumably built de novo by the Templars and have furthermore no sign of Armenian masonry. As a result of this extensive building process in the twelfth and thirteenth century every important pass through the Amanus Mountains was defended. A full-scale survey in this area would be very useful to determine the extent of crusader occupation in this northern march. A fourth castle mentioned in this region which the Latin chroniclers called Roche Guillaume has never been located.

⁵⁶ "...and we came to Gaston [Gastun; Bağras]. This is a very strong castle with three very strong towered walls around it; it is sited in the outermost mountains of Armenia and diligently watches over that country's entrances and passes. It is owned by the king of that land, that is to say by the king of Armenia; and the Templars complain of having been robbed of its possession." (Wilbrand of Oldenburg, XV, trans. Pringle: 157)

Figure 42 - Variables in Amanus Region



Finally, there are also two watch posts identified in the Amanus region. While the tower of Mitisin indicates a Byzantine building phase, we can only speculate about the origins of the tower of Hasanbeyli. Similar to the larger fortifications near by, these watch posts are located on some of the minor trails through the Amanus Mountains.

3. The Idea of Intervisibility

The impressive remains of the fortifications have led scholars to believe that one of the most important factors why the Armenians could resist their external threat was 'intervisibility'. Such a view has in the past been applied to the Crusader castles of both the Syrian mainland and to Cyprus. The Byzantines are said to have relied considerably on signalling and we know of instances in Crusader Syria when castles did indeed signal to others as in the 1183 siege of Karak in Moab (Ernoul, ed. de Mas Latrie: 104-105; Fedden and Thomson, 1968: 53). Regarding the Armenian kingdom, Robert Edwards can be seen as the main protagonist of the intervisibility theory.

invading army or the direction in which it is travelling. It is equally problematic for anyone who receives a fire signal to send anything more than a prearranged reply, whilst the cost of maintaining the whole network throughout the year may have been prohibitive. All these problems appear to have persuaded the Byzantine authorities to disband a similar system many centuries earlier. Their chain of beacons had stretched all the way across Asia Minor to Constantinople and had as its starting point the fortress of Loulon, which was situated near the Cilician Gates and could therefore be used to observe Arab raids in the region. Its abandonment long before the Greeks actually lost control over this area suggests that it proved unworkable (Pattenden, 1983: 258-99).

A variety of practical and political difficulties therefore made it unlikely that the Armenian barons in a first phase and kings in a second phase were able to create a network of fortifications throughout Cilicia. This need not rule out the possibility that the garrisons of individual castles could sometimes light beacons to warn the local people working in the countryside, or that fire signals were used between a very small number of castles. Such limited networks have existed on Cyprus, where the defenders of Buffavento, an isolated mountain fortress which enjoyed extensive views over the island's coastal areas, could apparently warn other, less elevated castles of an imminent pirate attack. In this case, it is worth remembering that the strongholds on Cyprus during that period were all held by the king, which presumably made it easier to supervise the system (Estienne de Lusignan, fol. 35v). Another example where fortifications played a more active role is to be found in Rhodes, where the Hospitallers installed outposts to send warnings about the movements of the Turkish fleet (Molin, 2001: 231-233). Certainly, some individual Armenian castles, such as Bodrum, Bucak, Tumlu, Yılan, could have been sited with intervisibility in mind, especially the new fortifications built according to the chroniclers by Levon II and Het'um I (VE: 511). In 1269, Het'um retired to a monastery, but his successor Levon III (r. 1270-89) also 'ordered the construction of a strong castle at the foot of Mount Taurus ... to defend this district and the famous route of *Xoz Jor'* (Smbat, Dédéyan: 125). This route penetrated the mountains a

few miles west of Vahga, therefore representing a potential entry for invaders attacking from the north. The nearest fortification with this mountains pass is the de novo Armenian fortification of Maran.

4. Towards a more Dynamic Model

As pointed out earlier it is important to refine Edwards' hypothesis about the role of the fortifications, the rural character of the Armenians, and distribution of the fortifications somewhat. The next six sections should all help to build up a more comprehensive view on the Armenian kingdom.

4.1. Cities

Another element from Edwards' theory that needs refining is his explanation that the Armenians were able to withstand the Muslims for so long because of their dislike of urban life. This theory was presumably influenced by the survival of sites such as Lampron, and Vahga, the lack of archaeological remains at Tarsus, Adana, and Misis and the lack of knowledge of Greater Armenia. It has been claimed that 'there is no evidence that city walls were ever constructed by the Armenians. Nor is there any mention that the Roman-Byzantine-Arab walls around cities like Tarsus and Adana were ever repaired' (Edwards, 1987: 43). This was supposedly because the Armenians were a mountain people who supposedly had a natural aversion to city life. Instead much emphasis has been placed on 'the rural nature of Armenian society', which largely consisted of small villages dotted across the countryside. This policy has been described by Edwards as the '*triumph of a non-urban strategy*' (Edwards, 1987: 45).

Urban life, however, was not such an alien element for the Armenians who settled in the Byzantine empire already before the Armenian migration took place (Dédéyan, 1975: 41-45). To what extent the cities in Cilicia with their various ethnic and religious components can be characterized as 'Armenian' is another question. The qualification to define a city as

Armenian, which would apply to a specific type of city, sounds anyway inappropriate. It could hardly apply even to Ani, the capital of the medieval Bagratid kingdom, a 'city' that grew up from the disintegrated caliphate, but possessed according to Attaleiates an Armenian *doux* (Attaleiates, XVIII, ii-iii). New research by Kevorkian, however, has pointed out the unique character of Ani. Kevorkian furthermore argued that the construction of Ani's city walls is clearly the result of Armenian construction (Kevorkian, 2001). Cities in medieval Cilicia had both a symbolic and effective role in the governance of the kingdom, and were centres of control, meeting and conflict beyond the division of the territory and exemplified the public space of the state. Among the cities, Tarsus and Sis shared a specific importance and privileged role as two responding poles of power.

There are still some methodological issues to mention. Evidence varies in quality. While the castles are still standing and their sites and ruins are more or less easy to record, medieval cities are ghosts lying under modern expanding cities and their remains are mingled with the modern urban fabric. Like most of the castles, cities experienced continuous occupation, which radically affected their morphology from the late medieval period after the collapse of the kingdom, during the Mamluk or Turcoman rule and later in the Ottoman period and in the early twentieth century. Rescue excavations, like the ones in Tarsus, are few and conducted very quickly; and their results are rarely published.

Regarding the imaginary representation of the medieval city it is perhaps interesting to refer to the text on the fall of Edessa composed by the Armenian patriarch Nerses Shnorhali (or Nerses the Graceful). Looking for the characteristics or the outline of the perception of the city it is hard to find any geographic precision, except when it states that 'the circumjacent villages which lay conveniently around me were ravaged and ruined' (Nerses Shnorhal, *RHC Arm*, I: 236, v. 285). Elsewhere we find the importance of the walls in the medieval city (Nerses Shnorhali: 236, v. 565). This meets the standard view of the medieval city as it mutates in the early medieval period, identified first with its walls, which

function like a signal in the landscape, and secondly with religious buildings which mark and dominate the urban fabric.

The places in Cilicia that are designated as cities in the primary sources have in common a long tradition and many periods of existence. There is no confusion in historical sources with the term city, which is used for the same places: Tarsus, Anavarza, Misis and Sis. As Armenian rule increased from baronial control to royal authority, the cities situated in the territory became at some point Cilician-Armenian cities (*civitates regis*). The Armenian cities may have been neglected by scholars in the past due to the account conveyed by Wilbrand. His perception is that of an educated religious person and ambassador, and was probably influenced by comparing the Cilician cities with the cities of Jerusalem, Beirut, Acre, and Jaffa. But even if the organization and the management of the kingdom may have relied primarily on its networks of fortifications, the cities were integrated into the economic and administrative process. In a landscape dominated by castles how should we expect the cities to look? In his archaeological gazetteer of the secular buildings of the Kingdom of Jerusalem Denys Pringle pointed out the difficulty of distinguishing between cities and other settlements; economic activity, which tends to be the same in both cities or settlements, the presence of cathedrals (often dictated by a system of ecclesiastical organization extant from the Byzantine period) or the legal status of the inhabitants (since in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem *burgesses* were simply Frankish freemen who were not clerics or knights) are not satisfactory criteria (Pringle, 1997: 3). It seems likely that the situation was not very different in Cilicia. Although the pattern of known settlements (and discussed in Chapter Seven) is not the product of systematic surveys, it is obvious from the presence of abundant ceramic shards and the frequent recovery of coinage that they were not only rural dwellings, but often also places of production and exchange.

4.2. The Het'umid and Rubenid Barony, Two Spheres of Influence, 1075-1198

In order to look at the importance of cities in the Armenian kingdom, it would be beneficial to start from the period of the Armenian Rubenid and Het'umid baronies. The life of Nerses of Lampron offers an interesting account about the establishment of Armenian power in the northwest of Cilicia and how the strategies of the new Armenian settlers were fitted into the Byzantine framework (Nerses of Lampron, transl. Alishan, 1899: 73). Apl̄arip was appointed to rule over the cities of Tarsus and Misis, but he decided to establish his headquarters on the outcrop of Lampron, 40 km north of Tarsus.

Referring to this account, Alishan translated the following:

“Emperor Alexios I dispatched the Armenian prince Apl̄arip from his seat in Vaspurakan to the province of Cilicia with the command to take charge of Tarsus and Misis. Apl̄arip found at the foot of the Taurus Mountains and in the Highlands above Tarsus two unassailable castles, one being Lampron and the other being Paperōn. Both were surrounded by villages and plots of farm land. Apl̄arip maintained Paperōn as a treasury and constructed there a large church as a retreat for himself and his family. But he gave Lampron to his trusted and beloved prince Ōšin, who accompanied him from Armenia. Apl̄arip died and was buried at Paperōn.” (Alishan, 1899: 73)

Nerses of Lampron, however, indicates that Tarsus remained the centre and expands on the political interrelation between the two cities, Tarsus and Misis, based on their close location (65 km).

In the other part of Cilicia at the same time, Prince T'oros I of the Rubenids took a significant step when he captured the city of Anavarza and the adjacent fortress from the Franks by the year 1111. According to Vahram of Edessa, T'oros undertook extensive construction at Anavarza and its environs (VE: 499). With the repair of the donjon and the walls, Anavarza proved to be a secure residence for T'oros, which had enough space for a

baronial court and his people. The natural division of the outcrop into two almost independent parts allowed a two-fold development of the small upper city within the castle. The church raised by the prince and crowned by an inscription was a statement of his power over the whole Cilician plain and, as Edwards wrote, 'it marked the descent of the prince from the mountains' (Edwards, 1987: 36). The church at Anavarza is large for one in a castle. It stands out for its size, plan, and decoration, which are unparalleled in other Armenian fortifications in Cilicia. The context of the building deserves further exploration in its own right. Langlois affirmed that it was just a burial chapel, apparently because of the commemorative character of the inscription, while Bell considered the possibility of a Byzantine reuse and hypothesized the existence of an oratory to the north (Langlois, 1861: 434; Bell, 1906: 12-29). Following the observations of Hild and Hellenkemper Edwards cautiously suggested identifying this church as the principal church of T'oros. Its possible function as a palace church would not preclude a commemorative and burial use as well, but above all T'oros's church was evidently intended to be a dynastic monument. T'oros endowed his castle with a miraculous icon of the Virgin taken, or bought, from the Greeks. This all supported T'oros's vision of portraying Anavarza and its church as the symbol of a new Armenian hegemony in East Cilicia. Together with the inscriptions on this church referring to his heroic ancestors, T'oros dedicated this church to the military saints Theodore and George who also figured on his seals (Gough, 1952: 119-21).

It is important to point out that icon cult is a marginal practice amongst Armenians (Rapti, 2009: 779-818). It could perhaps be seen as an innovation or influence that can be more easily understood in a very cosmopolitan environment. Furthermore, it was perhaps a means to appeal to and attract a Greek population. Yet it was also a borrowing from public urban piety, which in late 11th and 12th centuries Byzantium was connected to urban sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage. Thus Anavarza is twice mentioned in the 12th-century colophons, first as landmark for the location of the death of John Komnenos and secondly, in 1179, regarding the monastery of Simanakla, where many Greek books were gathered

(Langlois, 1863: no. 6: 117-120; *Tabulae*, ed. Strehlke, no. 46: 37-39; Alishan, 1899: 200, trans. 225-227). Anavarza is not qualified in these as a city, but this seems to have been the clearly intelligible inference. The translation of the miracle-working icon meant not only additional, symbolic strength on the walls but also a perspective of development by creating a pilgrimage destination.

The birth of this capital was paralleled by its connection to the monastery of Kastaławn (or *Gasdagh'ōn*) at the foot of the fortress of Vahga. According to the sources the bishop of Anavarza resided at this place. The relation with Kastaławn was twofold: firstly, it links symbolically the founder [T'oros] and his place with his forefathers [Ruben and Constantine], and secondly it allows the practical control of the baronial domain through two centres of power. Anavarza vanished soon after the death of T'oros and with Levon's expansive ambitions. After Anavarza was taken by the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos in 1137, the emperor brought the icon of the Virgin into Constantinople as part of his booty. The inscription of 1187, placed on the Crusader donjon by Levon II, praised Anavarza as the mother of cities. This was soon to be forgotten, however, and the capital was transferred twenty-two km northeast to Sis.

Looking at the examples of both Apl'arip and T'oros, who came from similar backgrounds and operated in the same historical landscape, they seem indeed complementary. Both strategies sought to exploit the wealth of the plain and combine it with the power of the mountains. It is a symbiosis between historical memory and pragmatic defence and centralized power with two poles. This pattern, which is a pragmatic strategy and response to the geographic specificity of the area, seems to expand through the territory throughout the twelfth century with the eventual creation of the kingdom with the two poles of power becoming then Tarsus and Sis.

4.3. The Armenian Kingdom, Tarsus and Sis (1198-1266)

At the time of the coronation of Baron Levon II as King Levon I, the kingdom reached its maximal extension. According to the coronation list, the Armenian kingdom encompassed today's Alanya to the west, and Bağras to the south-east. The list of the barons, however, does not make any distinction between castle and city holders. Some years ago, an inscription was found at Alanya, on the walls of the citadel (Kiourtzian, 2012: 245-54), attributing their restoration to Kyr Vard, who is mentioned in the coronation list as lord of Kalonores (Smbat, trans. Dédéyan: 73-81). This was the city's name until its conquest in 1221 by Alayadin Kaykobad. Kyr Vard was the grandson of Sire Adam, the lord of Bağras, a Chalcedonian and perhaps also a Greek-speaking Armenian. Although the circumstances of Kyr Vart's appointment at Kalonores are obscure his relation to the kingdom's most powerful man, Sire Adam, indicates the expansion of the Armenian kingdom beyond the territory that it had occupied since its foundation. The fact that the inscription is in Greek indicates that it addressed a Greek-speaking population and perhaps suggests multilingualism and decentralized authority.

When the canon Wilbrand of Oldenburg visited Cilicia in 1211-1212, his trip included the cities qualified as '*cities of the king*', including Adana, Mamistra, Tarsus and Sis, as well as places under control of the military orders (Wilbrand, trans. Pringle, XVIII-XXVI: 109-137). Wilbrand's account of the cities and places to which he went is perhaps not very informative, but it does reveal the primacy of the two cities of Tarsus and Sis, as well as their complementary roles. Some fourteen years after the coronation, which took place at Tarsus (Tursolt), the city and its cathedral seem to have been the stage for official diplomacy and appearances. At the city of Tarsus 'the lord king came to meet us and the envoys of the duke of Austria, receiving us honourably and detaining us in the country for eighteen weeks' (Wilbrand of Oldenburg, trans. Pringle: 126, 25va). Furthermore Wilbrand describes Tarsus as a 'city with many inhabitants. It is enclosed by a wall, damaged by time, but it has at one end of it a good strong castle, in which St.-Theodore was held and martyred' (Wilbrand,

trans. Pringle: 126, 25va). Despite the primacy of Tarsus and Sis, Wilbrand mentions along his journey the 'walled but now destroyed city of Alexandretta (Iskandarūn)'; the city of Misis (Mamistra) 'which was situated pleasantly enough above a river and having about it a wall, which is towered but knawed at by age'; the large city of Adana, 'which is a city of the king, sited in a pleasant locality above a river which is named after it'; and Korykos (Cure), which is 'a city located on the sea, with a harbour adjacent to many marvellous [classical] structures, although destroyed' (Wilbrand, trans. Pringle: XVIII-XXVI: 109-137).

In a colophon of 1216, Levon is said to have organized a big assembly at Tarsus for the Christians under his rule, including the common people of cities and villages as well as the clergy and monks, for a collective prayer (Col. XIIIe, n°63). The city was relatively easy to access from different locations in the plain and was connected to the sea, which was then closer, by the River Cydnus (then larger). There might also be a symbolic, though no less important reason for the administrative and ceremonial role of Tarsus. Soon after his coronation, Levon invited Het'um-Eli, Het'umid baron and lord of Lampron, to celebrate the betrothal of his niece to his son. This was in fact a ploy to empty the fortress of Lampron and wipe out its tenants. Because of Tarsus's links to the Het'umids, its nearby location (40 km), its historical ties with Aḫḫarip, and its ecclesiastical connection (since the bishop of Tarsus was part of the Het'umid family), the control of the city as a royal city confirmed the Rubenid authority over the Het'umids. When later, in 1226, the two princely families were united through the marriage of Het'um and Zabel, the equilibrium between the cities embodied that of the two dynasties. Apart from its long tradition as a royal city, Tarsus's physical proximity to Cyprus, which embodied the final hopes of the Armenians for an effective help from the West, may have played a role in the continuing importance of the city.

The importance of the other pole of power, Sis, in the Armenian kingdom is easier to explain. Sis is first mentioned as a city in a brief note which in original form dated to 1169, but is better known from a copy of the 17th century as: '*this city of Sis*'. In the list of prelates who attended the coronation of King Levon I there is a mention of the archbishop of Sis and

the abbot of Drazark. This reference may be indicative of an increasingly important role for the city, which held the third place after Misis and Geben. The privileges granted to the Genoese at this time suggest that despite its location on the northern edge of the Cilician plain, the new capital was an attractive place for people moving through the kingdom or settling here. Furthermore it was located in the centre of the north-south axis line between Vagha and Ayas. The term capital appears frequently from the early thirteenth century, often accompanied by other interesting attributes confirming the royal connection: *t'agaworabnak* (royal residence); *t'agaworakan mayrak'alak'* (royal metropolis or capital); *t'agaworeal* (ruled by the king); *ark'ayanist* (royal residence). The term *mayrak'alak'* occurs in later notes but is hard to find after the fall of the kingdom.

It seems that the city of Sis only grew after it became the capital of the Armenian kingdom. Unlike the antique cities of Tarsus, Adana, and Misis, which had survived in the plain through the Arab rule and Byzantine re-conquest, and like the city of Ani in Greater Armenia the medieval importance of Sis was related to its impressive fortress on the outcrop above it. The location of the late antique and early Islamic city is still unknown today. According to Eger's likely hypothesis, the Armenian capital must have developed independently from its predecessors (Eger, 2006: 523-25). Although an Armenian population continued to live in Cilicia until the 20th century, Sis distinguished itself by its specific role as a religious centre and see of the patriarch. From my previous observations, the evidence of old photographs found in the records of today's Kozan, and the account of Wilbrand, it appears most likely that, like the actual old city, the medieval capital had 'a castle sited above it on a highly defended mountain, at whose foot the city appears to descend by steps in an orderly manner' (Wilbrand, ed. Pringle, XXI: 126, trans. 78). This way it formed a cohesive unit with it, which still matches Wilbrand of Oldenburg's account which states that 'it is not enclosed by walls' (Oldenburg, ed. Pringle, XXI: 126, trans. 78). This seems in agreement with his general depreciation of the city, which as he says: 'I would rather call it a town if it did not

have in it the archiepiscopal seat of the Armenians' (Oldenburg, ed. Pringle, XXI: 126, trans. 78).

Sis also housed one of the most obvious expressions of statehood and urban economy in Armenian Cilicia: the mint. Even if Langlois's hypothesis that a second mint existed in Tarsus is correct, the coins indicate that coinage was an affair of the capital and under royal control. The commonest and most largely used currencies bear the mention '*in this city of Sis*' while two surviving golden coins recall the capital by the sketchy image of a fortress, which is an interesting testimony about the perception of the city (Bedoukian, 1971: 365-432).

As a princely residence, the development of Sis was a response to its neighbour Anavarza and probably contributed to the latter's decline. Levon and his successors realized what T'oros perhaps was aspiring to do in Anavarza: develop his city not from its ancient location and remains in the lower antique city but from its strong fortress and citadel. This fitted rather well with medieval urbanism where monumentality was above all synonymous with city walls and religious monuments (Saint Sophia of Sis). As the capital of the kingdom, Sis, formed a response to Tarsus, while stressing the connection and their function as two poles of power.

Sis and Tarsus seem to have been complementing each other in the executive role of the capital being respectively as royal residence and royal official palace. Communication was easy and effective as is indicated by the multiple travels of the king to Tarsus for various diplomatic missions. Interesting in this regard is the account of the rebellion initiated by the nobles of Tarsus in 1221:

"The princes who were in Cilicia, Armenians and Greeks, Baron Vahram and other noblemen from Tarsus rebelled against the regent who was then at Sis with a few men. When the news reached him that they arrived at Misis, the regent went to meet them. Arrived at Misis and seeing that they were not there, he took the road to Adana and met them between Adana

and Misis...and they repelled them to Tarsus. When the princes of Tarsus came back they closed the gates and hurried to the walls to fight their prosecutors. The regents' army enters through treachery in the night and the rebels seek refuge in the citadel which was unassailable because of its fortifications." (VE: 514)

This account suggests among other remarks the continuity and cohesion of the space between the two administrative landmarks. Some decades later this is confirmed by the observation that the catastrophic Mamluk raid in 1266 destroyed Sis and Misis and all that was built between them. Thus, the frequent mention of the cities is not a mere loan from geographic manuals, but indicates the relationship between these cities, at least as stops, stations, and landmarks, within the major north-south axis of the kingdom. In spite of this cohesion there was none the less a clear hierarchy between these cities where the two capitals held the prominent place.

4.4. Fortifications and the Mamluk Threat (1266-1375)

How did the Armenians survive the Muslim pressure for so long? What influence did the Mamluk threat have on the construction of fortifications? In any case, the Armenians were helped by wider political factors, which had nothing to do with the strength of their mountain fortresses. Many of the thirteenth-century attacks launched by the Seljuks and Mamluks were probably not in fact intended to conquer the Cilician plain, as huge resources would have been needed to carry out such a campaign. The relatively rapid destruction of Levon II's power to the west of Seleukia suggests that the Seljuks certainly had the military capacity to capture Armenian fortresses. Factors, such as the arrival of the Mongols, however, ensured that the Seljuks were only able to amount small scale raids. The Mamluk campaigns of 1266, 1275, and 1298 were all primarily designed to secure loot from the fertile Cilician plain, rather than new lands. By contrast, Baybars had captured several Armenian-held castles to the east of the Amanus Mountains and incorporated them into the Mamluk Empire as early as 1268, shortly after he had taken the city of Antioch from the Franks. Many of these castles, abandoned by their former Muslim owners during the devastating Mongol invasion of 1260,

had then passed under the control of Bohemond VI of Antioch or the Armenians (al-Maqrīzī, I: 54-55; Ibn al-Furāt, trans. Lyons: 166; BH: 448).

After the integration of the principality of Antioch, which removed the '*glacis*' between the Mamluks and the Armenians, Mamluk expeditions against Cilicia became more frequent (Canard, 1967: 237). In the face of the many successive raids, and the aid denied either from the turbulent Franks or from the Ilkhanate, King Levon II (1269-1289) was forced to seek a rapprochement with the Mamluk sultan. In this, although at some cost, he had success and the text of the truce that was agreed has been preserved with an introduction in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's biography of Qalā'ūn (Canard, 1967: 247-58). Apart from an annual tribute the Armenian kingdom was to become subject to the Mamluk sultanate in return for the reciprocal obligation of Qalā'ūn not to attack the Armenian kingdom. The truce was to last for ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours as this was the traditional length for such truces with the '*infidel*' (Holt, 1980: 67-76). More importantly, Levon could not carry out any new fortification work. This was a feature seen sometimes in other treaties between the Mamluks and the Franks, and it was a feature the former were willing to exploit, either by having offending fortifications destroyed, or as an excuse for ending the period of the truce (al-Yūnīnī, iv: 241). Not only did Levon have to promise not to improve his defences, but he also, obviously, was not to take the offensive. He swore not to conspire or to carry out an invasion of the sultanate; nor to show benevolence to any of the enemies of the Sultan, nor to come to an understanding with them. As Canard points out, the truce of 1285, marks a first turning point in the history of the Armenian kingdom and its relations with the Mamluk sultanate (Canard, 1967: 259). Although the Armenian kings continued to try to align themselves with the anti-Mamluk powers, Cilicia could no longer be sure of the protection of the Ilkhans, as was the case in previous decades. In 1291 Qalā'ūn's son and successor, al-Ashraf Khalīl, took Acre and the last possessions of the Franks on the mainland of the Middle East. And while Qalā'ūn had treated the Armenian kingdom relatively leniently after the truce, the situation with accession of his successors was about to change.

In 1292 al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-93), Qalā'ūn's son, was determined to capture the Armenian outpost of Hromgla or Qal'at al-Rūm, which was on a strategically important route northwards from Syria. The – not necessarily wholly reliable – fourteenth-century Armenian monk Nersēs Balienc' puts the attack firmly in the context of the Mamluk actions against the Franks and writes:

“In the [Armenian] year 714, Ashraf, sultan of Egypt, after having taken and ruined Acre, and destroyed entirely the dominion and even the name of the Christians in the Holy Land and the sāḥil (littoral) of Syria, marched against the Armenians. [...] He attacked it [Hromgla] vigorously, under the impression that the other Christians could not defend it; because the king of Armenia had sent there his maternal uncle, the Baron Raymond [Ēṛēmūd], at the head of a body of numerous élite men.” (Nersēs Balienc', *RHC Arm*, I: 654-55, n. 2)

Bar Hebraeus tells us that the Mamluks 'killed, and spoiled, and looted, and made prisoners of sons and daughters innumerable' (BH: 493). After the capture of Hromgla the Mamluk sultan initiated another expedition against the Armenian kingdom.

In 1298 an attempt by the Mamluks to capture Sis was abandoned in favour of a much easier looting spree across the Cilician countryside (al-Maqrīzī, II: 60-61). The Armenian king Constantine [Gosdantin] surrendered, after negotiations, and 'assured them that he would be obedient and compliant to the decrees of the sultan of Islam, and that he would be his governor in this land' (Abū'l-Fida': 29). A truce was made which made the Armenians surrender all the territory to the south of the Pyramus. This truce is also referred to by Hayton in the *Flor.* The Saracens, we are told:

“[...] captured several country residences and subjugated as many strongly fortified castles. This put the rest of the kingdom in such a condition that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Armenia had to yield further castles to the Saracens (apart from those they had already capitulated), which by a truce they would be granted for some time. The inhabitants were in

constant doubt whether they might suddenly be deprived of everything they had.” (*Flor, RHC Arm*, II: 329)

Abū'l-Fida' lists some of the castles handed over, which he describes as all being 'as strong fortresses as one could wish': Hamus [Çardak?], then T'il Hamdun, then 'Kuwayrā, *al-Naqīr*, *Ḥajar Shughlān* [Çalan], *Sarfandkār* [Savrandā], and *Mar'ash'* along with the associated territory (Abū'l-Fidā': 29). There are problems with identifying several of these castles. Hamus, as has been said, may be Çardak. T'il Hamdun is certainly Toprak, ten kilometres west of the modern city of Osmaniye. Sarfandkār is called today Savrandā (as it was by the Franks), and is in the Amanus Gates, near the pass of the forest of Maṛi, east of Osmaniye. The castle called *al-Naqīr* by these Arabic historians corresponds with the *Nēghir* or *Nghir* to the Armenian writers; while the possible identification with Mancılık Kalesi, in the mountains east of Payas, is very uncertain. Haruniye is located north of the modern town of Düziçi, near a trail that heads north-east towards Mar'ash. *Ḥajar Shughlān* is positively identified by Cahen, Hellenkemper, and Eger as Çalan, which guards the pass through the Amanus range north-west of Trapesak. The identification of *Kuwayrā*, is more questionable. It can be seen, however, that all these castles are located in the Amanus mountains, which fits in with the terms of peace given by Abū'l-Fidā', that the lands south of the Pyramus should be surrendered. Not long after this, however, the Mamluks abandoned the captured fortifications, while the Armenians re-garrisoned them in triumph (*Mufaḍḍal*: 602-3).

This episode illustrates the historical landscape as a precarious position for the Armenian kingdom. The Mamluks saw the region of Cilicia as the natural route of communication with their allies, or potential allies, in Anatolia. The Armenians, surrounded by Qaramanids, Seljuks, tributaries to the Ilkhans and threatened by the Mamluks, were in a situation of weakness. The frequency of the Mamluk attacks from 1266 onwards must have had a determinative effect on the security situation in the kingdom. Only the northern part of the Rubenid region, and the Het'umid region seems to have been relatively safe. Such insecurity must have been a huge contrast to the previous situation between 1198 and 1266.

Some years later, according to al-Maqrīzī, the Muslims pillaged the slopes below the citadel of Sis in 1302 and sacked Toprak in 1304 (al-Maqrīzī, II: 190; 228). The raids reflect a continuing interest in plunder rather than permanent conquest, for they involved relatively few troops and continued to avoid the stronger fortresses. It is clear that 1337 was a second turning point in this respect, for in that year 'the troops of the sultan of Egypt ...entered Cilicia with 60,000 troops and besieged Ayas ... they would not leave until the town had been delivered to them, along with all the land between the Pyramus and the territory of the Arabs, land where there lay forty castles and fortresses, each with its own lord. These were abandoned to the Arabs voluntarily and by treaty.' (Nerses Balients, transl. Alishan, 1899: 469). The Pyramus ran through the heart of Cilicia, from the mountainous interior around Mar'ash to the Mediterranean coast near Ayas. Consequently, if this treaty was carried out to the letter, the Armenians would have lost the impressive fortresses of Savranda, Yılan, Toprak, Amuda, and Gökvelioğlu. The archaeological remains of Toprak represent mainly this change in Mamluk policy in 1337, when their strategy changed from raids into permanent conquest with repair of the fortifications.

Once this shift in Mamluk strategy had taken place, and without the Mongol support, the Armenians were doomed. Their strategy of waiting inside their mountain strongholds and then reoccupying the land could no longer be pursued. When the Mamluks made their final assault on Sis in 1375, they were no longer content to sack the lower city but besieged the citadel itself, refusing to give up until it had been recaptured and the last Armenian king had been led away in captivity (Jean Dardel: 70-84). By this point, Samuel of Ani observed that the Mamluks had 'made a desert of the land of the Armenians' (Samuel of Ani: 468). This implies that the many barons did not have the required resources or strength any longer to resist even from the virtually impregnable fortresses.

4.5. The Armenian Kingdom, Zones of Concentration (1198-1375)

The distribution of different poles of control and power between the Cilician plain and the mountain ranges, the cities and the fortifications, the flock and the monasteries reveals also a social distribution. Before returning to the archaeological evidence regarding the spatial distribution, let us first reconsider a historical note. The absence of the common people from historical sources does not mean that the cities and villages in the Cilician plain were uninhabited. Furthermore the absence of Armenian archival documentation increases the value of colophon notes which, despite their scarcity, may offer interesting insights regarding the distribution of people in Cilicia.

The study of a Bible, produced at Misis around 1256, mentions the priest Yovhannes, humble and unworthy among the children of the Church, from the land of Taron and the village of Hac'ek. About 20 years later, a gospel book is written 'at the cathedral of Saint Lazar in the city of Mamestia for, Yovhannes Mšec'i by the hand of the humble doctor [dpir] Yakob.' (translation by Rapti, Colophon XIII, no. 358: 447 [M 6237]). This evidence of a parish community composed of newcomers from the historic territories is corroborated by a third manuscript from Misis, which is a thirteenth-century Gospel book produced for a secular priest 'in this city Mamuestia under the protection of Saint Theodore' (Colophons XIII, no. 652: 814). In 1280 an Armenian scribe travels towards Ayas to learn the art of calligraphy with a well-known master. This is the only example known of an Armenian manuscript produced in that '*great city*' whose multicultural vitality appears through the Genoese notaries. It may be hoped that further historical evidence will be brought together to construct a better understanding of the urban morphology and the urban economy of the Armenian kingdom, which is far away from the preliminary conclusions that Edwards made after his surveys.

At the smaller end of the urban scale, some Armenians lived in settlements which had sprung up next to individual castles. For example, when Het'um I gave the Teutonic Knights

the fortress of Haruniye in 1236, the relevant charter specifically stated that the knights also received '*civitatem Haroniam*' (Langlois, 1863: no. 18, 141-43). This indicates that under the previous owner, named as an Armenian baron in Levon's coronation list of 1198, a small town had already been attached to the fortress. This settlement must have been very similar to the bourgs or castle towns in the Holy Land, such as that which stood next to the Templar fortress of 'Atlit (Pringle, 1995: 87-88). It is clear that communities of this kind existed elsewhere in Cilicia, and that even remote mountain castles like Vahga, usually had some form of settlement located on the slopes below them. In the Holy Land, however, *civitas* usually means that there was an existing classical city at the site. A selection of this kind will be discussed below in Chapter Seven: Settlements in Cilicia.

Even through the classical period there were only a limited number of natural harbours along the Cilician coast available. Despite earlier suggestions of Edwards and Molin the Armenians occupied more than merely Korykos and Ayas (Edwards, 1987: 38; Molin, 2001: 165). Amongst the coastal sites, however, only Korykos and Ayas possessed a natural harbour, which gave these settlements a great economic importance as the key trade links between the West, the kingdom of Armenian Cilicia, and the Mongol territories to the east of Cilicia. These factors also made them attractive to hostile raiders, which can be proved by the repairs carried out by the Armenians on Korykos, Kiz Kalesi, and the construction of a land and sea castle at Ayas. Bar Hebraeus wrote that when the Mamluks attacked the city in 1282 'they did not find in it one of its inhabitants, for they had all fled to sea, and had gone into a new fortress which they had built out in the sea' (BH: 465).

This incident shows that the citizens of the coastal communities were able to find refuge nearby just as was the case in the Cilician plain and elsewhere. Throughout this period, the Armenians did not simply try to keep Ayas alive by repopulating its houses and rebuilding its defences. Successive kings have also granted privileges to western merchants, who were allowed to trade there in return for paying tolls to royal officials. Such privileges were granted to the Genoese in 1201, 1215, 1216, 1288, and 1289, to the Venetians in 1201,

1245, 1271, 1307, 1321, and 1333, and to the Pisans in 1216 (Langlois, 1863: no. 1: 105-8; no. 10: 126-28; no. 15: 136-7; no. 26: 154-61; no. 27: 162; Venice: no. 2: 109-112; no. 19: 143-45; no. 25: 151-54; no. 31: 166-68; no. 36: 182-85; no. 40: 193-94; Pisa: no. 16: 138-39). It is important to note that these privileges continued to be issued both before and after the Mamluk incursions, and that the last one dates from 1335, a mere two years before the final Mamluk conquest of Ayas. When Marco Polo described Ayas in 1295 'as the market for all the riches of the East', he claimed that 'all the spicery, and the cloths of silk and gold, and other valuable products that come from the interior are brought to that city...Whoever would travel to the interior takes his way by this city of Layas' (Marco Polo, trans. Latham: 46). As a remit of the agreements with the merchants, Ayas brought in various taxes for the royal authority. Those taxes, in turn, could finance the maintenance of the existing garrison forts and even the construction of new smaller fortifications and fortresses throughout the Armenian kingdom. This increased importance must have increased the status of the fortress of Gökvelioğlu, which is located 18 km northwest of Ayas and has a commanding view of the domains as far as the Mediterranean Sea.

This does not fit in with the idea that the Armenians ignored the cities on the Cilician plain, preferring to live only in the mountains and the countryside. It has been argued in this dynamic model that the Armenian population was concentrated in several 'zones', which could have been cities, coastal communities, '*bourgs*', or settlements in the mountain valleys of the Taurus Mountains. The purpose of most newly built fortifications, regardless of whether they were built in the Cilician plain or Taurus Mountains, was to provide shelter for local troops and civilians, whilst at the same time preventing enemy raids from making permanent territorial conquests. It is obvious that the mountain castles in the Taurus Mountains, which were furthest away from the Mamluk invaders, proved eventually to be most successful in achieving this, and were therefore largely responsible for the ability of Armenian kings to retain their independence until as late as 1375. While it is hard to determine the exact chronology of a given site, it is certain that during the first half of the

thirteenth century, before the Mamluk conquest, many new fortifications were built by Levon II and Het'um I. They were not only intended to watch and defend the key mountain passes such as the chroniclers describe; they also functioned as nuclei for Armenian settlements to be built near by. The impressive amount of de novo fortifications in the mountains were not built to fit into an intervisible network. It seems that many of these fortifications were more a collection of individual small castles, sometimes with only minor defensive characteristics, which served as residences for small feudal barons.

4.6. The Role of the Monasteries

An investigation of the participants to the coronation of Levon I offers a range of monasteries mentioned as residences or sees for bishops whose titles imply a large and urban area of action. The complete lack of evidence of urban monasteries is arguably not accidental but perhaps significant of the management of the space. Unfortunately the unverified nature of most of these monasteries well known from their mention in texts and manuscript colophons does not allow one to search further and to map precisely the relation between fortifications, cities and monastic institutions.

Furthermore the definition of geographical names is in most cases an approximation. For example, the Amanus would not only refer to the mountain range but also include the wider area as far as Mar'ash. In the case of Tarsus the monasteries referred to as episcopal residences are clearly at some distance from the city and closely related to the fortresses of the city's lords. The mention at the 'head of Tarsus' also implies a location on the Taurus slopes. Perhaps it should be of some interest to enquire, once more against Edwards' assertion, whether religious architecture in castles was exclusively military (Edwards, 1983: 123-146), if in some cases these monasteries were not in fact inside the fortifications themselves or very close to them. When Aḫarip established his authority in Cilicia, the castles of Lampron and Paperon were each provided with a church (Skevra, and Mlic), one as a burial place, the other to house an important relic. Given the role of monasteries as privileged burial places it is not unlikely that such important churches developed as cores or

dependencies of monastic centres (Mecerian, 1965: 312). The remains of Mlic can be found 2.5 km south of Paperon (Çandır).

Similarly, all the monasteries of Sis are mentioned to be at the edge of the city or near the city. The monastery of Drazark cannot be precisely located but it appears in colophons from 1113 until the 15th century. Its connections with Sis are stated in colophons only after the coronation of Levon. Its specific importance was that it housed the burials of most of the catholici and members of the royal family, creating a place of memory. The monastery of Akner, which can be verified with a site between Eğner and Akören, was a royal foundation and also a place of memory and royal piety. Although the monastery did not become the royal Pantheon that Levon I founded, it remained an important place of retirement for the kings. Its location deep in the valleys of the Taurus Mountains, 11 km from the fortifications of Meydan, and 8 km from the small garrison fort of Yeni Köy, made it also a safe refuge in case of danger.

Interestingly we do not encounter such close connections between other cities of the Armenian kingdom and monasteries. The connection established in the coronation list is not further enhanced or documented. There is no mention of monasteries in relation to Adana or Misis, although we can locate the monastery of K'arašit', 13 km southeast of Misis. A full scale survey would be very interesting to determine the size of the monastery. The close connection pointed above between the city and monastery seems to be relevant only in the cases of Tarsus and Sis.

CHAPTER SIX: THE MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARMENIANS IN CILICIA

1. Introduction

Of all the parts of the eastern Mediterranean whose defences were strengthened from the early Byzantine period onwards, the region of Cilicia represents an area of particular interest to historians of military architecture. The reasons for this lie principally with the fact that the fortifications of Cilicia are the result of a long process of evolution. Successive Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Crusader, Armenian, Mamluk, and Ottoman rulers controlled this region both before and after the lifespan of the Armenian kingdom. As a result, local fortifications present the historian with numerous problems of dating, attribution and interpretation. Although ruined strongholds still occupy countless local hilltops, as already established, many have no written history, whilst others contain such a bewildering mixture of architectural elements that it is an enormous task to establish certain paradigms. Despite these difficulties, the results of an in-depth analysis could prove to be highly rewarding. The proposition of some tentative models, that are largely based upon positively dated fortifications and stylistic considerations, will give the reader a better understanding of the 104 fortified sites I have studied. In addition, it will enhance our knowledge about interaction between cultures, people, and building techniques in the eastern Mediterranean.

The significance of such an in-depth analysis for the study of military architecture has been proved by the pioneering work of Robert Edwards. In his work he made some fairly confident generalizations about Armenian military architecture (Edwards, 1987: 12-17). Edwards states in his corpus that the Armenians had for centuries built impressive fortifications and churches in Greater Armenia. While the churches of that region have received at least some attention, the fortifications remain largely unexplored and

unpublished: even the great city walls of the capital at Ani are not adequately analysed or dated. Unfortunately the scope of this thesis did not permit me to visit the fortifications of Greater Armenia in order to examine all sites. An attempt, however, has been made to take the fortifications of Greater Armenia into account, through the work of Berkian (1956: 5-25), and photographic material. Edwards' hypothesis implies that the Armenians brought with them a highly developed architectural and stone-working tradition. The support and theoretical principles, on which Armenian fortifications in the medieval period were based, however, cannot be found in the primary sources (Berkian, 1956: 5-25). According to Edwards' theory their ideas in military architecture may be traced back as far as to the sixth - and seventh century AD (Edwards, 1987: 11). This theory can be drawn even further, as the Armenians were the successors of the Urartians in the region of Van and Ayrarat. Consequently it was the Urartians, which had developed a highly sophisticated system of fortresses that resisted from 860 BC for two centuries the aggressive siege tactics of the Assyrians (Edwards, 1986: 178).

With their heritage in mind, Edwards worked out a checklist of characteristics of Armenian military architecture. He claims that the plans of the forts and fortresses erected during this period in Cilicia would have been largely unaffected by the existence of earlier defensive structures on the same site; therefore thirteenth-century fortifications can be distinguished with relative ease from those of an earlier date. As discussed in depth above it would be wrong to attribute all fortifications in Cilicia to the Armenians; but it can be argued that the significance of the Armenian contributions lie in the fact that for the first time a lot of the characteristics were used simultaneously and were brought to a degree of perfection that had not been developed in the eastern Mediterranean before the Armenians' arrival in Cilicia. They would only find equals in the city walls of Constantinople, dating from Theodosius II (408-50), and those of Antioch, dating from Justinian (527-65), and the later Crusader fortifications. Rather than directly contesting Edwards' claims, his model will be used as an ideal starting point for further analysis. In this chapter tentative models will be proposed to

help identify Armenian fortifications, analysing their building techniques, their masonry, their gateway, and several other architectural characteristics.

This chapter does not include an architectural description or analysis of each site. It merely tries to establish architectural paradigms for Armenian fortifications and aims to contribute to discussions of the wider evolution in defensive structures. Can differences be found across diverse study areas in Cilicia? Is there a difference between the Het'umid and Rubenid strongholds? Or can Levon I, the first king of a united Cilicia, as nineteenth- and twentieth-century commentators claim, be seen as the only man who had the economic resources and the administrative apparatus to construct most of the magnificent castles in the mountains and the plain (Alishan, 1888: 67; Kurkjian, 1919: 6; Fedden and Thomson, 1968: 35-39, 96-101; Hellenkemper, 1976: 291). Can any connections be made between late-Byzantine fortifications and Armenian ones? Is there continuity? Are there architectural links between the Armenian kingdom and the principality of Antioch, with which its history was much intertwined? Besides these possible external influences should be set the local factors which may have affected both the design and the construction of fortifications. The availability of building materials and the use of local labour may be expected to have affected points of detail, whether the fortifications were built by the Crusaders or Armenians. At the same time, we should never underestimate the pragmatism and inventiveness of castle builders and we shall probably understand more about the architecture of medieval castles, as Kennedy argues, 'by investigating the needs and purposes of the builders and the threats they faced than by searching for outside influences' (1994: 20).

2. The Byzantine Inheritance⁵⁷

2.1. Siting and Lay-out

The fortifications encountered by the Armenians in 1075-1100 were certainly not as numerous as the remains to be found in Cilicia today. It is argued throughout this thesis, however, that the number must have been considerably larger than estimated by Edwards and previous scholars (Edwards, 1987: 27-33). In all the study areas of Cilicia we can be certain of thirty-six of the 104 medieval fortifications that can be attributed to a Byzantine period (7th-11th centuries). The archaeological evidence can range from inscriptions, clear architectural characteristics in combination with numismatic material found on site. The following fortifications can be identified with a phase of Byzantine construction:

Table 8 - Byzantine Sites in Cilicia

Sites	650-963		963-969		1081-1143	
	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Archaeology</i>	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Archaeology</i>	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Archaeology</i>
Ak	N	X	N	X	-	-
Alafakīlar	N	X	N	X	-	-
Anahşa	N	X	N	X	-	-
Anavarza	N	N	X	X	-	-
Arslanköy	N	X	N	X	-	-
Azgit	N	X	N	X	-	-
Bağras	N	N	X	X	-	-
Başnalar	N	X	N	X	-	-
Bostan	N	X	N	X	-	-
Çardak	N	N	N	X	-	-
Çandır	X	X	X	X	X	X

⁵⁷ The inheritance regarding 'gateways' is included in the section discussed below.

Çem	N	X	N	X	-	-
Dibi	N	X	N	X	-	-
Evciler	N	X	N	X	-	-
Fındıkpınarı	N	X	N	X	-	-
Geben	X	X	X	X	-	-
Gökvelioğlu	N	N	N	X	-	-
Gülek	N	X	N	X	-	-
Haçtırın	N	X	N	X	-	-
Kalası	N	X	N	X	-	-
Kinet	N	N	N	X	-	-
Kız Kalesi	N	N	N	N	X	X
Korykos	X	N	X	N	X	X
Kozcağız	N	N	N	X	-	-
Lamas	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lampron	N	N	X	N	X	X
Mansurlu	N	X	N	X	-	-
Milvan	X	X	X	X	-	-
Mitisin	N	N	N	X	-	-
Ritafiye II	N	X	N	X	-	-
Savranda	N	N	X	N	X	N
Seleukia	X	N	X	N	X	N
Sis	X	N	X	X	-	-
Softa Kalesi	N	N	N	N	X	X
Toprak	N	N	N	N	X	N
Vahga	N	N	X	X	-	-

The land fortress of Korykos can be seen as one of the most impressive pieces of Byzantine military architecture in Cilicia and the neighbouring regions (pl. 49a-f). Following Anna Komnene the Byzantines regained the coastal strip of Cilicia Trachea in 1100, and her account describes the site of 'Kourikon, a city which had formerly been very strong, had come in later times to be falling into ruin' (AC, XI, x: 326-27). According to Lawrence, this would relate to the land fortress, and not to the more ancient and comparatively negligible city wall which would have surrounded the classical city of Kourikon (Lawrence, 1983: 171-200). Furthermore the account of Anna Komnene suggests that the fortress was built on request of emperor Alexios Komnenos and he sent his officer 'Eustathius to occupy Kourikon and rebuild it quickly' (AC, XI, x: 326). An indication of the quick time period in which Korykos could have been constructed is the vast amount of spolia, most likely from the classical site of Kourikon, used in this fortress. Comparing with other fortifications built by the Byzantines in Cilicia, this fortress surpasses all by size, resources, and craftsmanship.

Despite the fact that the fortress of Korykos was most likely built at the beginning of the twelfth century, it resembles the style of 7th century Justinian fortifications. Similar to these Justinian defences, the height of the curtains and the size of towers at Korykos exceed the dimensions of other garrison forts built by the Byzantines throughout Asia Minor (Foss, 1982: 145-205). Lawrence suggests that the designer of Korykos may have studied Hellenistic remains and may have been the first to revive their practices, which had again become apposite in the changing conditions of warfare, after five centuries of Roman disuse (Lawrence, 1983: 179-80). In its general lay-out and extent, the fortress was similar to the Byzantine fortifications of Kyrenia and Paphos, both situated on flat sites on the coast of Cyprus next to artificially sheltered harbours (Petre, 2012: 93).

2.2. Masonry

It is apparent that a variety of masonry types were used in fortifications datable to the mid-Byzantine period. A facing of irregular large crude stones – sometimes filled with rock chips and mortar as at Evciler, Kalası, and Kozcağız is typical. At Sayhun (Saone), where

Byzantine work most likely started in the period immediately after its capture in 975, the stonework is rather better though the blocks are considerably smaller than those used later at that site by the Crusaders. We do see, however, the use of larger blocks, ranging from the use of scavenged stones utilized from pre-existing structures as at Qal'at Sim'an in nearby Syria, dated to 979, to the rather more carefully laid walls of Korykos. Today, almost the entire land fortress of Korykos is from the Byzantine period. Like the neighbouring Byzantine site of Lamas, it is built entirely with masonry plundered from nearby abandoned cities. This recycling of material tells us little of Byzantine masonry techniques, except that headers are used with regular frequency.⁵⁸ The quality of this masonry and the workmanship is of a very high standard. This is in contrast with the Byzantine fortifications in the Taurus Mountains, where the Byzantines preferred a kind of rubble masonry. This may have been simply a consequence of utilizing material immediately available and so avoiding the difficulties of hauling cut ashlar up difficult slopes.

Identifying different types of mortar employed can assist in distinguishing between mid-Byzantine and Armenian work. At the mountain castles of Haçtırın, Kalası, and Kozcağız the Byzantine structures are bound with a grey gritty mortar which is recognizably different from the later Armenian *de novo* fortifications. The samples visually analysed were from the interior sides of the facing stones to reduce the possibility of contamination by weathering. In most Armenian fortifications a light brown stone grit mixture is to be found. Still mortar is vulnerable to erosion and easily lost. For example, there is now little evidence of pointing with mortar between the blocks at Korykos. The mortar analysis carried out by Edwards in his account was limited to a number of twelve mortar samples from walls of five medieval forts in or near Cilicia (Edwards, 1987: appendix 2). His results support my visual analysis that the Armenian 'masonry' (or types V and VII according to Edwards' catalogue) differed

⁵⁸ Headers are not employed in any of the identified Armenian, Arab or Crusader constructions in Cilicia.

chemically from the other masonry styles. As Edwards only studied a very limited number of samples in his corpus, a huge investigation would be a desideratum.

Interestingly at Anavarza, Çem, Evciler, Korykos, and Lamos, use was made of ancient columns or other spolia found on site or near by. These were inserted in the walls in order to increase their strength and stability. Byzantine builders had been re-employing such columns in this way for centuries. Such a technique was not exclusively that of Byzantine builders, however, for it can be noted in Crusader works, such as their castle of Sidon and at Beirut. The Muslims also made use of old columns, as at Shaizar in northern Syria. In Cyprus it can be seen at Constantia (Salamis) and at Kyrenia's water-tower, which may be Byzantine or later (Petre, 2012: 94). The use of antique columns as binding agents can also be noted in the impressive walls of Byzantine Ankara where there is a combination of types of masonry work: large, irregular blocks on the lower courses of walls and towers, changing to smaller blocks banded with brickwork at the upper level. Ankara is dated to a period between the seven and ninth centuries, but the use of alternate bands of bricks and stone was a common feature of Byzantine work not utilized by the Armenians or Crusaders and so assists in attributing builders (Lawrence, 1983: 204-9; Foss, 1982: 145-205). Brickwork can be traced at Anavarza, but this appears to be the only extant example in Cilicia.

It is worth stressing that it is not always straightforward to think we can distinguish easily between mid-Byzantine masonry, where smaller stones are employed, and what would have been the earlier Armenian fortifications in Cilicia. At its finest, the Armenians preferred masonry involving rectangular ashlar with a protruding facing which are well jointed. Quite naturally, however, the works of one period were sometimes adopted and enhanced by a successor. How far did this occur in the fortifications in Cilicia? Consequent modern attempts to distinguish between mid-Byzantine and early Armenian masonry work often contradict each other. For instance, if the site in the Taurus Mountains is made out of small and rectangular stones, a set list of questions, compiled of factors that are alien to Armenian architecture, can be applied. The criteria are: 1) Are quoins or spolia used in the

construction? 2) Are headers used? 3) What is the composition of the mortar (combined with the mortar analysis below)? 4) Can we see any patterns (herringbone pattern, bigger stones at the bottom)?⁵⁹

2.3. Mural Towers

Byzantine mural towers are noteworthy for their variety of design. Although the rectangular predominates, other types are common, and this also true for their work in Cilicia. At Çardak, the Byzantine walls include semi-circular and round towers, without loopholes. They connect to the adjacent curtains at wall-walk level. Entry points to these towers and through gates are typically through round-headed arches, as indeed is the case at Çardak. The Byzantine towers at Korykos, by contrast, were rectangular while at those at Softa Kalesi were more diverse. At Evciler, the round tower is hollow and shows no evidence of windows or doors. At the lowest point of the circuit this tower could have functioned as cistern. A similar use of a round tower can be seen at Ak Kalesi.

3. Architectural Paradigms for Armenian Fortifications

To what extent were the Armenians innovative in the technical side of construction? Did the Armenians introduce new techniques in stonemasonry? How can we define Armenian masonry? These are questions that can be satisfactorily answered by a serious and comprehensive study of all medieval buildings in Armenian Cilicia. In order to increase the value of this research I have added more than 10 fortified sites to the number of fortifications that can be defined as medieval. At present, we are obliged to limit our observations to a number of visited sites, relying for the other part on the photographs, descriptions and notes taken by Edwards and Hellenkemper. The most striking feature of the medieval castles in Cilicia is that from the very earliest phase, they are all invariably constructed of stone.

⁵⁹ In some occasions where the facing stones of the walls have collapsed the core is seen to be composed of courses of small blocks set vertically or obliquely on edge, somewhat in the manner of 'herringbone' masonry.

In order to enhance our knowledge of medieval building techniques and stone masonry, several survey reports have been studied. One of the few such studies is the report on the castle of Crac des Chevaliers by Paul Deschamps (Deschamps, 1934: 225-74). In this work Deschamps describes different methods of stone tooling, the use of masons' marks, and the techniques used in the construction of vaults, arches, windows, gates, towers, firing embrasures, machicolations, and various non-defensive features including water installations and the baking furnace. Another key study is obviously the work of Robert Edwards. In his examination of stonemasonry in Cilicia, Edwards identifies nine distinct types of masonry. While expanding the regional surveys, it was my opinion that the catalogue proposed by Edwards left some inconsistencies and was unreliable regarding the scale he employed for his catalogue. As the time for this project did not permit me to visit all sites in Cilicia, a new typology would be based on insufficient material. Instead a model has been worked out to construct one type of masonry that can be definitely assigned to the Armenians.

3.1. Armenian Masonry

3.1.1. The Choice of Stone

The choice of stone for the construction of fortifications naturally depended on what was available in the immediate vicinity of the castle construction site. In the Armenian kingdom limestone of various qualities was the dominant stone used in castles built in the plain or in the highlands. Occasionally basalt, serpentine, and slate are used for construction. For instance, the site of Toprak was repaired by the Mamluks in the fourteenth century with black basalt. A supply of building stone was always available in Cilicia, although the quality varied considerably throughout the investigated study areas. For example, where the local stone was limestone but more difficult to cut, better quality limestone was sometimes brought from afar to be used for special architectural elements such as voussoirs and decorative pieces. This was the case at Işa, where the stones were crude and of lesser quality, while for arrow slits, arches, and window frames a softer limestone was brought from quarries, possibly from quarries in the Cilician plain.

The type of stone used in the construction of a castle could have a significant visual impact. Taking this into account, one might ask whether this factor played any part in the choice of building material for a castle. Certainly the designers of castles took into account the psychological effect on the assailant of a dramatic and foreboding (one might say theatrical) manifestation. Beyond their physical advantages, high walls and massively constructed towers undoubtedly made a strong impression on an approaching enemy. Clearly, however, the type of stone was primarily dictated by what was available on the site or at nearby quarries: soft brown limestone on the Cilician plain and coastline, and grey limestone in the Taurus mountain range. Where there were ancient ruins, spolia, of marble, granite and porphyry were used.

Some of the Byzantine fortifications built in Cilicia, such as the land fortress of Korykos and the keep tower of Evciler, were sited near classical or early Byzantine cities or settlements in order to make full use of the existing supplies of cut stone (Figure 25). This practice was mentioned by Pringle in his study of Byzantine fortifications in Northern Africa, where he argues 'there is no reason to see in such activities either a sign of decadence or evidence for a decline in building skill on the part of Byzantine masons' (Pringle, 1981: 133). The cut stone came, in the example of Korykos, from the destroyed temples and abandoned public buildings of the classical site of Kourikon. This practice is much harder to find in Armenian fortifications, where Armenian masons were quite capable of supplying the chosen construction site with adequate building materials. This meant that the location of newly constructed fortifications could have been chosen more often for strategic reasons than for the supply of building-material that a site could have offered. Proof of the high quality of Armenian, Byzantine, Crusader, and Mamluk masons can still be seen throughout Cilicia, in the the Armenian horseshoe-shaped towers at Yilan, the massive bossed Byzantine quoins at Evciler, the Crusader square keep at Anavarza, and the impressive upper bailey of Toprak Kalesi.

3.1.2. Theoretical Background

In the past, archaeologists have been tempted to use catalogues in order to determine the relative chronology of buildings when other evidence is lacking. Many of the previously published hypotheses on the chronology of Armenian forts lack solid evidence and its assumptions should therefore be challenged.

During the nineteenth and twentieth century explorers and scholars investigating the Armenian kingdom proposed and accepted the general principle that Levon I, the first king of a united Cilicia, was the only man who had the economic resources and the administrative apparatus to construct most of the magnificent forts in the mountains and plain. These commentators cite the inscriptions on the donjon at Anavarza (1187/88) and from the sea castle at Korykos (1206) that credit Levon I as the builder (Hellenkemper, 291; Langlois, *Inscriptions*: 16f, 48). In this hypothesis it is held that Levon's policy of fortifying Cilicia was pursued by his successors until the end of the thirteenth century when the frequency and impact of the Mamluk incursions increased. The inscription at Mancılık Kalesi dates to 1290 and has the latest inscription still in place. As mentioned in the discussion of the previous chapter, Edwards has pointed out that there are inherent problems in this somewhat romanticized view of Levon and his importance for Armenian architecture (Edwards, 1987: 34-37). In his opinion most of the fortifications said to be under the suzerainty of Levon I were built before his reign and before the final expulsion of the Byzantines. According to Edwards' thesis construction simply continued during the reign of Levon I and throughout the thirteenth century.

The first approach towards a more reliable dating scheme was taken by F. C. R. Robinson and P. C. Hughes with their study of the Het'umid site of Lampron (Robinson and Hughes, 1969: 183-207). In their survey the two authors first tried to date this castle by establishing the dates when a uniformly smooth type of ashlar has been used by other Armenians in Cilicia. Secondly, they looked within those chronological limits to find

corresponding periods in the history of Lampron when construction seems likely. The critical part of their analysis is as follow:

“Mason’s marks and similar masonry have also been seen at Anavarza and Seleukia while there is a resemblance at the island castle of Korykos (today Kız Kalesi). Part of the Armenian construction at Anavarza is dated to 1188, Seleukia was completely rebuilt between 1210 and the early 1220’s while Korykos was constructed between 1206 and 1251. Similar masonry therefore was being employed between the 1180’s and 1250’s.” (Robinson and Hughes, 1969: 202)

Despite the fact that their hypothesis was not in line with the historical context, it formed an interesting methodology, which has been further developed by this author. As already noted, the inscription at Anavarza is affixed only to the Crusader donjon and was posted when the Armenians repaired the complex. Furthermore, Seleukia does have smooth ashlar as an exterior facing, but it is a fortress built by the Hospitallers, not the Armenians. Moreover, as seen in this research, the type of exterior facing differed from the typical Armenian one. This approach has not only been applied to masonry, but also towards the use of gateways, towers, curtain walls, and battlements.

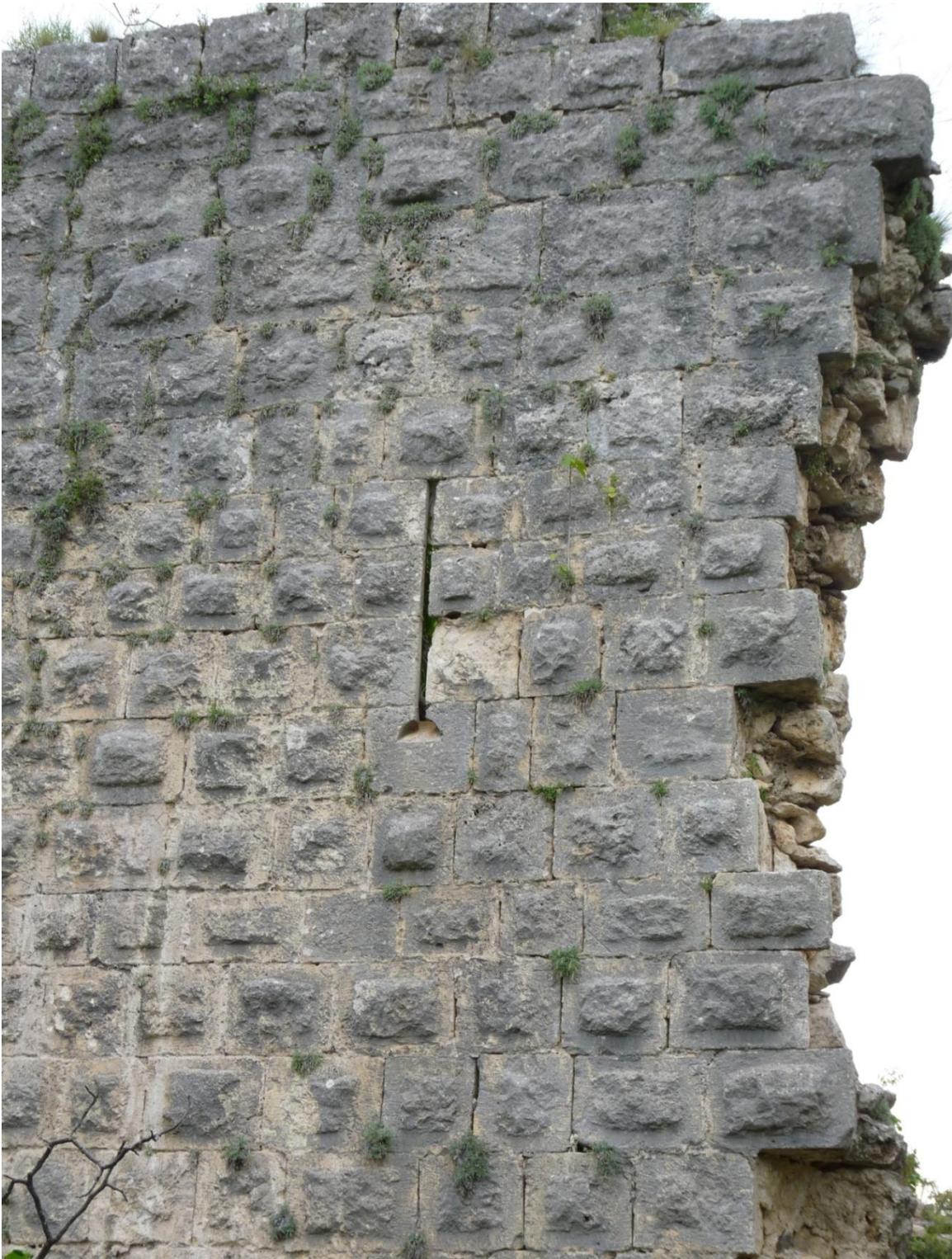
3.1.3. A Model for Armenian Masonry

During the medieval period the Armenians possessed highly skilled masons and they employed their skills and masonry with a remarkable degree of consistency and uniformity in their fortifications. In both military and ecclesiastical constructions the Armenians always use a *poured-wall technique*; that is, they constructed outer and inner facings and poured a mortar and rubble fill into the space between them. The facings and the core were laid in courses, and the former bonded into the latter by means of stone blocks laid as headers. The core, which appears to be layered at each course level, is made up of the same limestone mortar that seals the interstices of the facing stones as well as an abundance of fieldstones and potsherds (Edwards, 1987: 18).

This technique would have involved raising the inner and outer facings by a single course, filling the space between them with mortar and rubble and then repeating the process. In his account on the Armenian fortifications in Greater Armenia Berkian has discussed the use of the poured-wall technique from the seventh century in Greater Armenia (1976: 42-47). This technique was far from new, as it had developed already in the pre-classical and classical world and was employed by the Byzantines throughout the Eastern Mediterranean during the sixth century (Lawrence, 1979: 232-245; Pringle, 1981: 133-34). This technique would be employed later by the Franks as well, in almost all their buildings in the Levant (Deschamps, 1934, I: 227).

For the exterior of the circuit walls, towers, and gateways, and in all places where an enemy could inflict damage with siege weapons, the Armenians consistently used large, well-coursed, rectangular ashlar blocks that have a protruding boss on the outer face. The edges of the outer face have neatly drafted margins that facilitate the alignment of the blocks during construction. In most cases the ashlar blocks are equal in size and the stones have a light brown to grey colour. The interior sides of these blocks are pointed to bind firmly with the poured core. This is somewhat comparable with the anchorage of a tooth in the mandible and is remotely related to the *anathyrosis* of classical architecture (Lawrence, 1979: 225). The outward face of a block did not, theoretically, require even the slightest trimming, because it could harmlessly project beyond the drafting. When siege rams or heavy stone-projecting catapults menace the curtain walls, bossing proved able to deflect the blow and so reduce its violence. With a catapult, the chance of hitting the same spot repeatedly must have been poor. A ram, on the other hand, could be so manipulated as to strike the same piece of wall every time. The advantage of high bossing therefore is that would put the vicinity of joints beyond the reach of the metal tip. The heavier the ram, the more width it would have, with the result that, the harder the blow, the farther from the drafting it struck, provided that the masonry was efficiently bossed.

Figure 44 - Armenian Masonry, Sinap (near Çandır)



It is remarkable that the Armenians almost never employ different exterior facing stones in the areas subject to direct attack. In some occasions, such as at Sinap (near Lampron), repairs have been made by the Armenians with a lesser quality exterior facing

stone. While some minor variations are being employed, this masonry is completely distinct from any other kind to be found in the Levant. Only at the castle of Saone was a similar kind of exterior facing masonry employed. The architectural features of this castle pose some interesting hypotheses, as it is most likely that the Franks used some locally recruited labour, possibly Armenians. This would explain the use of the typical exterior facing Armenian masonry and the presence of a chapel at Saone. Another feature that would indicate Armenian assistance is the appearance of slot machicolation over the doorway of a single square tower.

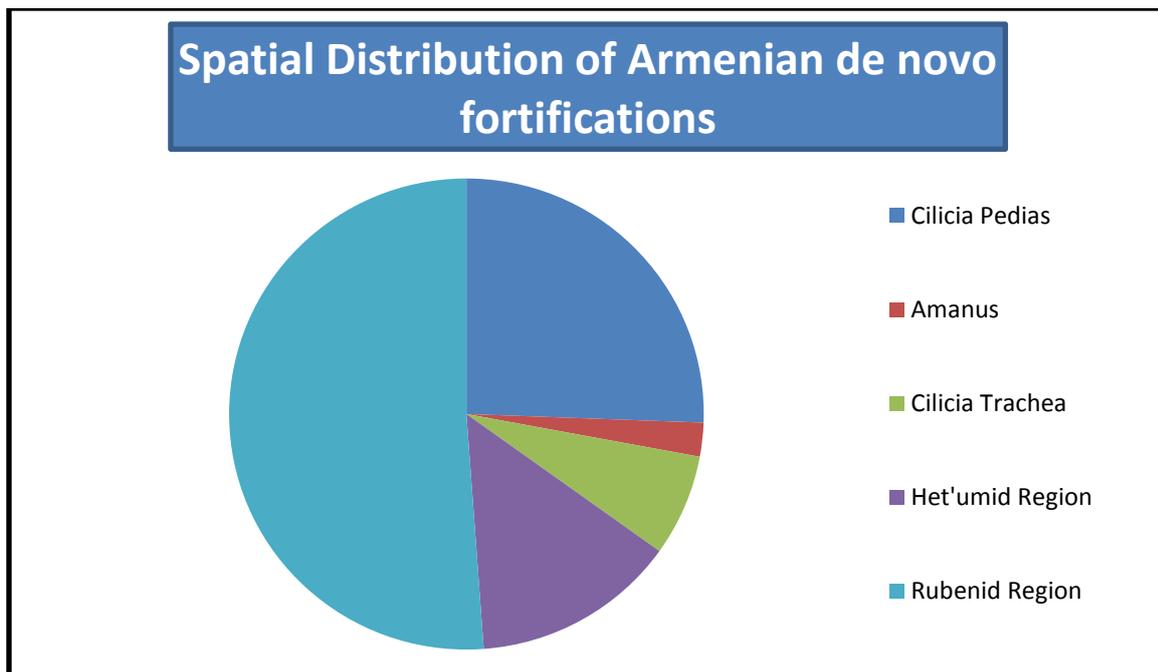
Drawing a distinction between Armenian and Byzantine masonry is facilitated by the fact that Byzantine and Armenian forts are identifiable by inscriptional and numismatic evidence, but also that there are no known examples in any period of Byzantine or western (medieval) military architecture where this type of masonry is used. The specific criteria for determining the homogeneity of a particular class of masonry are: the average size and shape of the stones, the nature of the interstices, the extent to which each block has been tooled, the regularity and nature of the courses, and the thickness of the core in relation to the facing stones. When the Armenians build over a Byzantine circuit, as is the case at Gökvelioğlu, the contrast of types is quite distinct. This variation in the styles between the Byzantine and Armenian masonry was first noted by Gough in his study of Anavarza, and later by Youngs in his survey of Gökvelioğlu (Gough, 1952: 119-27; Youngs, 1965: 125). This Armenian tendency to use this type of exterior facing masonry is repeated at their forts in the province of Edessa (Hellenkemper, 1976: pls 14b, 15b, 16a).

While examples have been shown from the work of Berkian that the Armenians employed this masonry-style in Greater Armenia from the mid-tenth century onwards, it is the strong opinion of this author that the Armenians introduced this technique in the Eastern Mediterranean (Berkian, 1976: 46). Specifically, throughout the medieval period, this technique was only used by the Armenians at the arrival of the Crusaders in 1097 and even afterwards. The sites built by the military orders in Cilicia, such as Seleukia, Amuda, and

Haruniye, lack this kind of exterior facing masonry. Only when the Mamluks and later Ottomans started to repair the fortresses taken by the Crusaders and Armenians, they would copy this technique. Although their constructions, such as the fortified complex of Payas, have been occasionally mistaken for Armenian constructions, the design of the fortification is clearly non-Armenian (pl. 62a). Since this type of masonry is not used in Ottoman fortresses outside Cilicia, it is likely that local Armenian masons were hired or that the Turkish architects were inspired by the many Armenian fortresses in the region.

When analysing the locations where the use of this type of masonry is most frequent we note that more than half of the forty-three Armenian de novo fortifications are located in the Rubenid Region and almost a quarter in the Cilicia Pedias study area. At the same time only five fortifications are identified in the Het'umid Region and three in Cilicia Trachea.

Table 9 - Spatial Distribution of de Novo Armenian Fortifications



The first datable use of this type of masonry by the Armenians in Cilicia is at the curtain walls of the southern bailey at Anavarza. While the south bailey has five periods of construction, each constructed with distinct types of masonry, the only certain pre-Arab, Byzantine construction is the collapsed arch which is built with an *opus listatum*; that is,

alternating courses of brick and ashlar and appears nowhere else in the castle (pl. 6e). When the west wall was rebuilt during the Armenian period this gate must have been closed off and may have been incorporated into some sort of auxiliary building. Other periods of constructions must date towards a Byzantine phase, most likely, from the prolonged period of occupation after the tenth-century conquest by Nikephoros Phokas, and a major period of Arab construction, which encompasses tower A (Plan 4), the two square salients flanking B, and the circuit between A and B (pl. 6b-c). This identification was first made by Gough, and then later confirmed by Edwards (Gough, 1952: 121; Edwards, 1987: 67-68). The most significant period in the south bailey is marked by the consistent use of the Armenian style masonry. It appears as an exterior facing in the areas from towers B through D and in the east circuit north of D at points F and G. According to the primary sources and the inscription on the baronial church in the southern bailey it can be supported that T'oros I is responsible for the Armenian construction of the south bailey, which can be dated between 1111 and 1129 (VE: 499; Samuel of Ani: 448). We should furthermore not expect T'oros to build his dynastic church inside a war-ravaged circuit. In contrast to his successors, T'oros never lost his residence at Anavarza. More strongly, in my opinion this type of Armenian masonry can be seen as a Rubenid characteristic.

In the Het'umid study area the exterior facing employed for the Het'umid strongholds of Lampron and Çandır are large, perfectly coursed rectangular and square stones whose sharp exterior edges and flat faces form extremely tight margins where almost no traces of mortar are visible (Figure 42). No attempt has been made to taper the inner faces of these stones to the core. This masonry is employed in the internal structures of Lampron for interior and exterior facing (pl. 54d). This type of masonry must be more expensive to execute due to the smooth symmetrical nature of all sides. On some occasions, a protruding boss is left in the centre of the outer face of the block to protect the interstices from rams. The boss is, however, far smaller and it is not as suitable as the 'Rubenid' characterised masonry against a frontal attack since the stones are not anchored firmly in the extremely thin core. To

prevent this problem, the builders of Lampron used a double thickness for the core which consisted of roughly coursed fieldstones placed in horizontal layers. The elevation and inaccessibility of the summit here removes the structures and the area where this exterior facing stone is used from the possibility of attack.

Figure 45 - Exterior Facing Stone at Çandır Kalesi



The use of very expensive smooth ashlar is associated in Greater Armenia with the construction of ecclesiastical architecture. According to Berkian, this smooth facing is extremely rare in the fortifications of Greater Armenia; and the most famous example is in the city circuit of the Bagratid capital of Ani (Berkian, 1976: 110). These walls were constructed by King Smbat II in the late tenth century to display the wealth and power of the Bagratid dynasty. Perhaps the Het'umids wanted, similarly to the constructions of T'oros at Anavarza, to display their newly established authority. It is most likely that the fortification of Çandır and Lampron can be dated between the first arrival of the Het'umids in Cilicia at 1075 and the

major decline of the Armenian kingdom from 1250. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions or textual evidence, as is the case with T'oros I and Anavarza, which document any construction by the Het'umids at Çandır and Lampron.

Table 10 - List of Sites with Armenian Phases of Repair

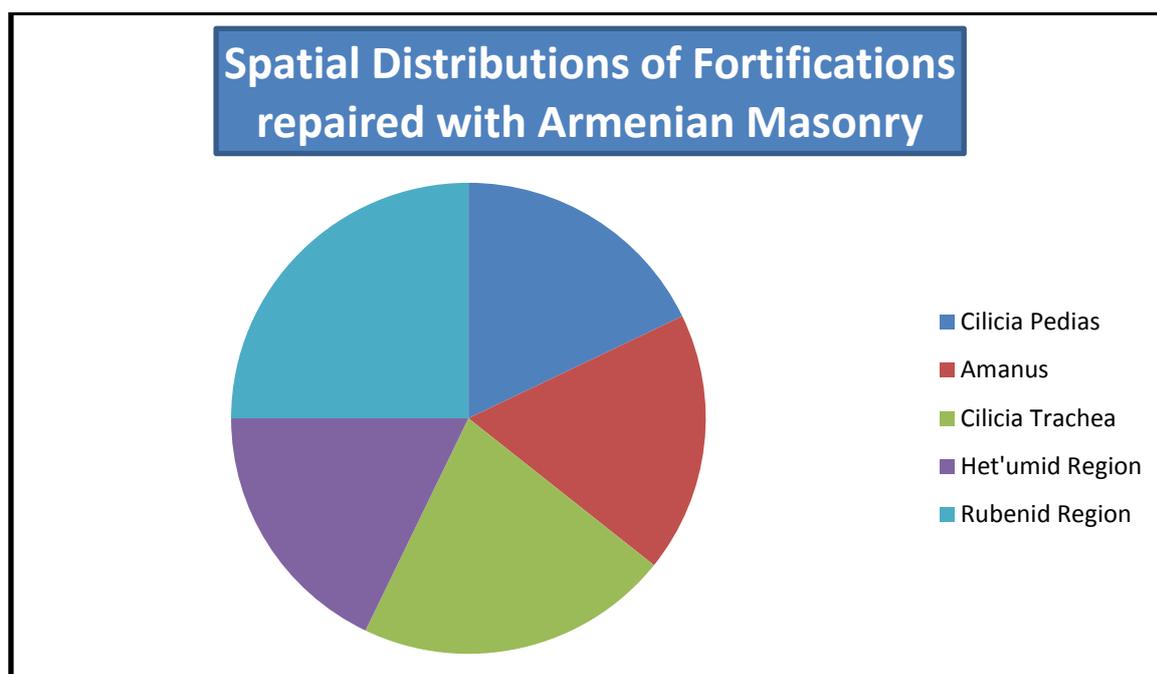
No.	Place	Location	Typology
62	Kozcağiz	Amanus	Keep and Bailey
79	Payas	Amanus	Fort with Enclosure
97	Trapesak	Amanus	Fort with Enclosure
17	Bağras	Amanus	Fortress
85	Savranda	Amanus	Fortress
15	Babaoğlan	Cilicia Pedias	Fort with Enclosure
7	Anavarza	Cilicia Pedias	Fortress
43	Gökvelioğlu	Cilicia Pedias	Fortress
89	Sis	Cilicia Pedias	Fortress
96	Toprak	Cilicia Pedias	Fortress
61	Korykos	Cilicia Trachea	Fortress
69	Mamure Kalesi	Cilicia Trachea	Fortress
86	Seleukia	Cilicia Trachea	Fortress
90	Softa Kalesi	Cilicia Trachea	Fortress
60	Kiz Kalesi	Cilicia Trachea	Sea Castle
73	Mavga	Cilicia Trachea	N/A
75	Milvan	Het'umid	Fort no Enclosure
10	Arslanköy	Het'umid	Fort with Enclosure
6	Anahşa	Het'umid	Fortress
45	Gülek	Het'umid	Fortress
42	Gediği	Het'umid	Cloister
37	Esenli, Esende Kale	Rubenid	Fort no Enclosure
19	Bayremker	Rubenid	Fort with Enclosure
29	Çebiş	Rubenid	Fort with Enclosure
80	Ritafiye I	Rubenid	Fort with Enclosure
30	Çem Kalesi	Rubenid	Fortress
41	Geben	Rubenid	Fortress
100	Vahga	Rubenid	Fortress

It is, however, very acceptable to assume that when a similar smooth type of ashlar is used extensively as an exterior facing stone only at the Het'umid strongholds of Çandır and Lampron, we can note this masonry style as a Het'umid characteristic. Furthermore, in previous research, Robinson and Hughes, have investigated a selection of mason's marks

from Çandır as well as a few from Lampron to expose their resemblances (Robinson and Hughes, 1969: 203-5). While Edwards noted this speculation in his work, he refused to attribute this style of masonry as a Het'umid trademark in Cilicia (Edwards, 1987: 182). While the examples for comparison given by Robinson and Hughes were not accurate, their speculation towards chronological limits was not futile (Robinson and Hughes, 1969: 202). It is important here to refer back to the historical landscape. While our knowledge about the true extent of the Het'umids effective zone of influence is rather vague for the twelfth century, it is my conclusion that their power would have concentrated towards the baronial strongholds of Çandır and Lampron and the city of Tarsus. At the same time the Byzantines occupied the coastline of Cilicia Trachea while quarrelling with the Normans and Rubenids for control of the Cilician plain. The construction of the uniform hall-houses of Sinap (near Lampron and Çandır), Anacık, Bossek, and Yannik Kale could indicate a construction after 1198, as a symbol of Rubenid control over the Het'umid region, or most likely after 1226, when the reign of Het'um I and Zapēl marked a phase of internal peace and prosperity. As a historical note: while the Het'umids were extremely hostile throughout the entire twelfth century towards the Rubenids, it would be very doubtful that they employ the same masons or more, why should they construct hall-houses that are exact copies of Rubenid constructions?

This point can be further supported with a closer analysis of castles throughout Cilicia that were repaired with the Armenian (or Rubenid) style masonry. It is clear from the spatial distribution that it is more evenly spread out than the de novo concentration in the Rubenid and Cilicia Pedias study area. If we follow the Rubenid theory we can note that from the second half of the twelfth century and especially from the thirteenth century several fortifications were refortified throughout Cilicia in order to protect but more importantly control their expanding territory.

Table 11 - Spatial Distributions of Fortifications repaired with Armenian Masonry



More precisely, if we follow this hypothesis all fortifications in the western part of the Armenian kingdom, and therefore in the Het'umid sphere of influence, can be dated in the period 1190-1275, when the Rubenids had complete control over the entire kingdom. If this type of masonry is present at a certain site, it could tell us something about the importance of the site. The consistency of this high quality masonry must indicate an availability of economic resources. This theory is furthermore compatible with the few inscriptions that we have available. For example what can be securely translated from the surviving inscription is that King Het'um I dedicated the reconstruction at Kiz Kalesi with the typical Armenian masonry in 1251 (Langlois, 1854: 48).⁶⁰ This can also be confirmed by the inscription at Tamrut in the western end of the Rubenid region, which can be dedicated to 1233 (Hild, 1990: 426). At Bağras the Armenian occupation was limited to 1188 and 1213. There are however traces of repair to be noticed at the former Templar castle, which must be assigned to the Armenian period. A new full-scale survey would be welcome to examine the exact degree of Armenian refortification.

⁶⁰ Langlois, 1853: 48: "In the Armenian year 700...by the pious king Het'um...this princely castle was built...the great prince, (son of) Het'um."

In my opinion, following a close analysis of the historical landscape and the masonry, there are some grounds to conclude that the typical design of 'Armenian masonry' developed first in the Rubenid barony. Only after the unification of the Armenian kingdom in 1198 do we see repairs of fortifications in the study areas further away from the Rubenid baronial centre with this particular type of masonry (such as the Het'umid region and Cilicia Trachea). From this period onwards, supported by the advantageous trade agreements with the Italian merchants and relations, the Armenians would have constructed these fortifications, for example the hall houses such as the ones of Sinap, to effectively control their newly gained territory. In this historical context the granting of fortifications and valuable land to the military orders could be better understood.

3.2. Gateways

3.2.1. *Types of Gateways*

In most of the castles found in Cilicia gateways were always very simple in design. This premise is in strong contrast to the conclusions of previous scholarship, which suggested that the majority of the main openings of castles in Cilicia are usually complex entrances (Edwards, 1987: 15). We can identify five main types of gateways ranging from plain entrances without many defensive features to heavily defended gateways. A high degree of consistency to be found with the gateways of the 6th century Byzantine fortifications in Northern Africa (Pringle, 1981: 158-163). For that reason the same typology can be applied to the Armenian kingdom but with some alterations in mind. The five types of gateways to be found in Cilicia are: a) plain gateways, b) gateways flanked by one tower, c) gateways flanked by two towers, d) bent entrance (double, round or square), and e) gatehouse (tower or barbican). The design of postern will be discussed separately below.

A first type of gateway is the plain entrance. This type is set mostly at or near the centre of a stretch of curtain wall. Following the ground plan and the archaeological remains no attempt has been made to provide any kind of extra protection (Pringle, 1981: 158-59). It

has to be noted that plain entrances are, however, extremely rare in Cilician fortifications. The only examples to be found are at Evciler, Kiz(lar), and Kum. In these examples, the main entrance is placed in the centre of a curtain wall, and may seem exposed; but in this way it would still have been possible to provide direct flanking fire from corner-towers on to anyone who approached it. This is shown particularly well at Kum, where the only entrance into the *castrum* is at the east and three towers have arrow loops, which have splayed sides that increase the width of the opening in the interior (pl. 50a). The gate could therefore have been covered by archers in the towers, where the distance between the gate and the flanking towers was small, but also from atop the *chemin de ronde*, which would have connected all four walls. The bases of rectangular merlons were still visible atop the walls and towers. At Kiz(lar), a polygonal keep-tower with an enclosure (pl. 47a-d), the only entrance through the circuit wall is gate D (plan 13) at the south. This gate is a simple straight-through entrance, may seem exposed, and today there is no evidence that it was vaulted. The closest salient to the entrance is a circular bulge at point E, which cannot provide any flanking fire from its location. As the main gate is set close to the higher located keep, the entrance could therefore have been covered by archers posted on top of the keep. Such an arrangement can also be seen at Evciler, where evidence of a single door can be found in the east wall of the bailey. The entire circuit of the bailey has only one round tower, which is hollow and shows no evidence of windows or doors, in the southwest corner. The distance between the keep or tower to the entrance is too big to have it covered by archers. The strength of the fortification is determined by its position on a hill and steep approach.

In none of the forts just mentioned is there evidence for more than one set of barriers closing the entrance passage. Had the attackers succeeded in breaking through this, the attention of the defenders could no doubt have been turned inwards upon them; but in absence of excavation at those sites, it is difficult to know what further obstacles there may have been inside the fort. The minimum amount of defensive elements of fortification could lead towards speculative suggestions. First of all, it could suggest that these sites have an

earlier building period than fortifications with more complex gateways. This hypothesis can be completely rejected as Kum and Kiz(lar) can be attributed to Armenian masons. Evciler has probably an earlier building period, as the design, presence of the keep, and masonry indicate a Byzantine period of construction. The presence of a plain entrance, which is not heavily defended, could indicate that there were fewer resources available for the construction of a flanking tower, a bent entrance, or gatehouse, or could indicate that a strong defensive gateway was not needed at this location (due to the proximity of stronger fortifications nearby). Furthermore it can be argued that this information can tell us something about the importance of a certain site. The fortification could be the residence of a minor baron, which could only afford to build a minor garrison fort. For the example of Evciler, because of its location, it can be strongly argued that the site functioned as a small garrison fort to control and observe the roads through the Taurus Mountains.

In many of the medieval castles to be found in Cilicia, it is more common to find gateways flanked by one tower (b) at close quarters, or in other cases, by a pair of towers (c). This plan of a simple gate with a straight approach, in the lee of a tower, and leading directly into the castle can be seen at Ak, Anavarza, Azgit, Babaoğlan, Geben, Maran, Yeni Köy, and Yılan. At Ak, the main gate of the enceinte is situated at the lowest point of the limestone outcrop and is in excellent state of preservation (plan 1). It is flanked by a tower at the east and is surmounted by three high-placed corbels. The two-level tower is windowless, and its lower level consists of a round pit, strengthened by masonry, that may have served as a cistern. Located at the lowest point in the fort, this tower would be sure to collect the maximum amount of drainage. There is no indication today that the pit was covered by a vault or cupola. A similar gateway can be found at Azgit where we find the gate and its flanking tower at the southwest of the enceinte (pl. 11b). Similarly the tower could have functioned as a small cistern. At the strategic site of Geben, the entrance of the lower circuit has flanking fire by a small window just at the northeast and a central tower A to the west (plan 9). Once inside the lower circuit another single gate C brings access to the central

bailey. As with its lower-level counterpart, this gate is severely damaged, but the areas around gate C and the central circuit are lacking any towers.

At three of these sites, Anavarza, Yılan, and Babaoğlan, there are multiple gates present, but the main gateway in these fortifications was flanked by a tower. At Anavarza, the main entrance of the southern bailey is flanked by a square tower A (plan 4). There is much debate, however, whether the entrance adjacent to tower A is a postern and therefore a Mamluk addition (Edwards, 1987: 68). My observations support this hypothesis, as the masonry of this gateway is inconsistent with the rest of the southern bailey. At Babaoğlan, the most formidable structure of the fortification is the line of access to the main bailey. Semi-circular tower D and the adjoining gate (plan 5) is a bastion placed between the top of the outcrop at the southwest and the first entrance to the castle. This gateway is now missing, however, and should be located at the east end of ward B. The tower flanking the main gate has three windows, which have a splay for archers (pl. 12b). The battlements that once stood atop this tower have now collapsed. At Yılan, the entrance to the lower bailey is almost identical to the one to the upper bailey (pl. 79h). The lower gateway A is flanked by a hollow semi-circular tower, which barely protrudes just as the other three towers on the lower circuit above ground level. The higher and better preserved gateway B is flanked to the west by another semi-circular tower, which has been closed off and functioned as in other occasions as a large cistern. The walls of this tower were stuccoed and covered by a vault. A small stairway gives access into the tower cistern. The defenders would only have been able to provide flanking fire from the top of the tower and from the crenellated wallheads, south of gate B, which are in an excellent state of preservation. The *chemin de ronde* extended across gate B and gave archers the ability to cover the gate at very close quarters.

The system of presenting the attacker with series of towers near the gateway may be traced back to Byzantine or earlier examples. The design of gateways flanked by two or more towers can vary significantly. At Anacik, Bucak, Mancılık, Toprak, and Saimbeyli, the main gateway is located in between two semi-circular towers. At the hall-house of Anacik, the

only entrance at the south is flanked by two very thin projecting towers (pl. 4b). Despite the vulnerability of a straight entrance, the entrance is protected by the flanking towers, and has arrow loops in the south walls of the lower level as well as in the upper level. At Bucak, the ascent to the fort is made from the southeast, and eventually rock terraces (some have scaped faces) lead to a gate at the south (pl. 20b). Directly south of the gate is a split-level tower. Because of extensive damage it is unknown whether the upper level was covered by a vault of stone or wooden roof. The ground level of the south tower consists just as in other examples in Cilicia of a cistern covered by a dome. Today, the other flanking tower, north of the gate, has suffered considerable damage. At Mancılık, there are three gates present, which each give access to a different bailey (plan 14). At the southwest of the outcrop, gate I gives access into the west bailey and is flanked by two solid projecting semi-circular towers. At Saimbeyli, the only entrance to the castle is located in the north wall and runs from one side of a cliff to the other. The gateway consists of a single gate, which is flanked by two horseshoe-shaped towers (pl. 63a-c). Both towers have a single D-shaped chamber at the ground and first-floor level and is opened by two arrow loops with a stirrup base (pl. 63b). The construction of this line of defence was solid but deemed necessary as the line of approach towards the castle was straight and easily accessible for siege weapons.

An entrance between two towers is not the result of any Armenian inspiration, as it has been widely practised since the Bronze Age. Almost all examples to be found in Cilicia of these gateways are the result of Armenian constructions. Following the model of the Armenian masonry, Anacık, Bucak, Mancılık, and Saimbeyli, are definitely Armenian constructions, presumably built sometime in between 1150 and 1350. The gateways are straight entrances, but, confirm the Armenian ideas of defensibility; they are covered to the best extent possible.

Where the construction of two towers seemed undesirable or impracticable, other techniques for flanking the curtain wall were used. At Anahşa, the outer gateway A is situated between towers F and B (pl. 5c). Tower F, forms the centre of three adjoining

bastions that together defend the vulnerable northwest slope like a three pronged spear. Six arrow loops are to be found on the north wall between tower E and tower F. A narrow pathway leads around tower C to gate D (plan 3). The advancing party would have found itself in a small court framed by the south wall of tower B and projecting tower C. This design of the building of towers is influenced by the topography of the location and varies every time. Its main purpose is to strengthen the line of defence as best as possible and present the advancing party with flanking fire from multiple sides. This technique can be seen as a further development of defensive strategies in which the Armenian masons excelled.

The more complex gateways, bent entrances (d) and gatehouses (e) are to be found at almost all major fortresses of the Armenian kingdom. The main opening into these castles or large garrison fort usually is a complex entrance that is incorporated into a gatehouse. The most common type to be found in Cilicia is the bent entrance. The use of bent entrances, square or round, was employed in the majority of large Armenian fortifications, but not as rigorously as to be found in Crusader fortifications (Boas, 2006: 165). The idea was not new; bent-access gates were used at Tiryns and Mycenae in the Late Helladic period, and in the Roman period Vitruvius recommended the use of indirect approaches from right to left (Lawrence, 1979: 338). The aim was to force the assailant, once he had passed through the outer portal, to turn to the left, thus exposing the right side of his body, unprotected by the shield, to attack from defended positions to the right as he entered the *intervallum*. According to Creswell, the use of the bent-access entrance in a tower first appears in pre-Islamic Central Asia, becoming popular in Islam during the Abbasid period (Creswell, 1952: 89-125). The work of Pringle, however, demonstrated that the identification of the bent entrances found in Northern Africa, at Anastasian and Tignica, can be seen as original Byzantine work (Pringle, 1981: 162-63). These bent-entrances were built in the flank of a projecting tower.

Examples of bent entrances in Cilicia can be found at Anavarza, Çem, Gökvelioğlu, Işa, Kiz Kalesi, Savranda, Seleukia, Tamrut, Tumlu, Vagha, and Yılan. It is remarkable that the bent entrances are distributed throughout the entire Armenian kingdom, with some

variety in the Het'umid region. At Lampron the gateway is almost completely destroyed, but from the remains it is clear that the gateway was a bent entrance, making full use of the rock formations on one side. At Çandır, a stepped, snake-like vaulted passage is attached to one end of the bent entrance to create an even more restricted access. This elaborate combination of vaulted corridors at both Het'umid strongholds can be described as a double bent entrance and would have posed a formidable barrier for the advancing party. As a result of this wide spatial distribution and presence in the major Armenian fortifications, Edwards attributed the bent entrance as a typical Armenian architectural characteristic (Edwards, 1987: 15). Edwards' analysis can be confirmed by my observations, as almost all fortifications with bent entrance were built by Armenian masons (*de novo*) or most likely had an Armenian building period. There is, however, a clear distinction with the bent entrances built in the Het'umid region in comparison with the rest of the Armenian kingdom. More reliable than as an identification tool for its builders, the presence of a bent entrance could tell us something about the importance of a given castle and its available resources. Henceforth, as castles became larger and more complex, this type of entrance was most likely adopted in many of them. This occurred for almost all fortresses or citadels in Cilicia. Interestingly, only two small scale fortifications, Işa Kalesi and Tamrut, are fortified with a bent entrance. Both fortifications are located in the Rubenid region, only 5 km off each other, and can be clearly identified as *de novo* Armenian fortifications. Furthermore, both fortifications are located very near the important Armenian fortress of Meydan (22km and 18km respectively), which strengthens the idea of a strongly fortified area and perhaps a densely populated area in the Armenian kingdom.

Another less common type of gatehouse to be found in Cilicia is the vaulted corridor. The gateway consists of a vaulted narrow rectangular room with a single door for entrance and exit at each end. In this type of gatehouse the approaching party is not required to turn on the interior but is exposed to fire through murder holes in the vaulted ceiling. Towers are built either adjacent to these gatehouses or around them to provide sufficient flanking fire. At

Meydan, the best example of a vaulted corridor entrance is preserved. At the north end of the well preserved eastern wall is gate A (pl. 58d). The outer gate opens into a rectangular chamber and was once covered by a singular groined vault. No doubt this ceiling was pierced by machicolations, just as is the case in Vagha (pl. 76b). A direct attack on this gate would have been extremely difficult owing to the steep topography towards the gate. During the slow approach to the gate, the besieging army would make itself extremely vulnerable to the flanking fire of the archers on the *chemin the ronde*. At Tumlu, gatehouse C is another good example of a vaulted corridor entrance (plan 18). Gatehouse C consists of an outer door which is now collapsed and an inner door without jambs.

In conclusion, a few hypotheses could be drawn out of the study of gateways. Firstly, it has been noted that a wide range of gateways can be found in the Armenian kingdom; therefore the Armenians arguably employed diverse methods themselves. It could be tempting to attribute all simpler designs, such as Ak and Azgit to Byzantine constructions, but fortifications which are definitely Armenian constructions have also employed simple entrance designs. Examples of these gateways are Bucak, and Kiz(lar). Secondly, a gateway could give us an indication of the importance of the stronghold. Whether it's a small fortification that just serves its purpose to garrison soldiers or whether it's a residence of a local baron whose security is of vital importance. All gateways to be found in Cilicia efficiently limit the speed and movement of an advancing party. Thirdly, in many cases the flanking tower near by the entrance was employed as well as a cistern. In placing the cistern at the lowest point of the fortification, the architects took advantage firstly of the downward slope so that the rain would be more easily collected. Secondly, an enemy breaching the gate would always have to fight his way upward. The cisterns are mostly covered by a vault and cistern walls are plastered to prevent the seepage of the water. A hatch can be found in most occasions at the centre of the vault or dome.

3.2.2. Posterns

Posterns – small gates hidden away in towers or in isolated parts of the walls leading out of the fortifications, sometimes into the moat – were intended to enable the defenders to sally out and attack the unsuspecting enemy, to serve as escape routes in times of danger or to permit reinforcements to enter a besieged castle. They were typical of most large castles and of urban fortifications. From around the late third century AD siege machinery had been covered by ‘cats’, wooden constructions with vinegar-soaked leather coverings which were intended to protect besiegers from bombardment, including incendiary missiles, coming from the walls. However, the cat had a disadvantage: it allowed protection only for a limited number of men and it isolated them from the main force of the besiegers. From posterns in various parts of the walls the besieged could carry out surprise sorties against these men, emerging rapidly to attack them in large numbers (Lawrence, 1979: 338). Attacking the besiegers and preventing them digging their mines or setting up engines was an attractive proposition.

Posterns were partly but not entirely hidden from the view of the enemy beyond the moat. This is perhaps an indication of the disadvantage of a postern: during a siege it could sometimes be a hazard, a means by which the castle could be entered. This would always be the quandary with posterns; the advantage of a door from a castle had to be weighed against the possibility of its being used by an invader. As well as having towers adjacent to the postern, some of them were defended by machicolations. But launching sallies was not always possible and architects also devised ways of defence which were less risky. The main purpose of these devices was to keep both miners and siege engines away from the walls and so prevent them from inflicting serious damage (Kennedy, 1994: 111).

Typically, a postern gate was small, low (no need for horses to enter here) and in the re-entrant angle between tower and curtain wall where it could be concealed from enemy view and completely covered by the defenders’ fire. In Hellenistic, late Roman, Byzantine and Crusader fortifications posterns have usually bent entrance-passages and are often in

the flanks of towers or in the curtain walls adjoining them (Garlan, 1974: 192)⁶¹. In Cilician castles almost all posterns can be found in a curtain wall adjoining a tower or projecting wall. The flanking tower made sure that the postern would not be too much of a disadvantage to the fortification. In only one example, at Anavarza, a postern gate G (plan 4) consists of a bent entrance. The exterior door is covered by a perfectly preserved slot machicolation. The depressed arch over this outer portal has pivot housings on the interior to accommodate double doors. These doors were secured by a crossbar bolt. Furthermore there is a flanking tower beside the bent entrance that would have enabled archers to fire on the exposed side of the enemy. As common in some Crusader castles, posterns could be built in some of the towers of outer wards, such as the four posterns at Belvoir. This technique was employed at Tumlu and Seleukia. At Tumlu, the postern is located in the lower level of Tower M (plan 18). Pivot holes indicate that wing doors of timber were accommodated. The postern would have enabled the defenders to leave the fortress at the other side, while being covered by archers in tower M or from curtain wall N. At Seleukia, the postern is located in the east wall of a chamber. The entrance leads to a small stretch of space between the main curtain wall and lower moat.

Large fortifications in Cilicia that span an entire outcrop, such as Azgit, Kiz, Meydan, and Sis, have several posterns, almost certainly for strategic reasons. At Azgit, messengers and raiding parties could easily escape unseen at night through an eastern and western postern. The adjacent towers are not of any determinate shape or of bold projection, but they tend to be rounded. At the sea castle of Kiz Kalesi, two posterns would have forced the attacking party to land with a huge number of soldiers on the small stretch of land. Otherwise any attack of the defenders, covered with flanking fire from the battlements would destroy possible siege engines. At the fortress of Meydan, three posterns are present. One of the posterns is located in the eastern wall, not far from the main vaulted gate-corridor. Between the main gateway and postern many arrow loops are visible at the ground and upper levels

⁶¹ For late Roman examples, see Von Petrikovits, 1971: 201 and Johnson, 1976: 122; fig. 69.

(pl. 58a). The combination of the numerous arrow loops and the postern gave the defenders two options when confronted with the besieging army. The west side of the circuit wall contained two other posterns, which were also protected by flanking fire, and enabled the defenders to sally around the south bailey in case of an attack on the east wall and encircle the attackers.

The Armenians did not always employ posterns in their design of fortifications. At fortifications, such as Amuda, Anahşa, Çandır, Çem, Gökvelioğlu, Mancılık, Saimbeyli, Servantikar, Tamrut, and Vagha, no posterns are present. The main reason for the absence is the local topography of the sites. Most Armenian fortifications are located on rocky outcrops, where curtain walls are built on the cliff's edge to enhance the natural strength of the site. A rocky promontory would make it difficult to approach and virtually impossible to breach using mines. At Vagha, only one approach to the fortress was possible, and the gateway was barely 2 m wide. As a result, it could not be used by more than one attacker at a time (Edwards, 176-183). The Armenians preferred in most of these sites to build multiple baileys rising towards an impregnable citadel, which created successive lines of defence. In almost all examples they are built in the lee of a tower or rounded bulge. Furthermore, they can be located in most cases, except at Meydan, far away from the main entrance. At Yılan, the postern is located between the two north-eastern horseshoe-shaped towers and is covered on the interior by a monolithic lintel. The gate has jambs on the exterior and sockets to accommodate a crossbar bolt.

3.2.3. Design of Gateways

Many of the gates of the fortifications in Cilicia have been destroyed as a result of centuries of warfare. The better preserved gates, whether main gates or posterns, can vary greatly in design from a single wooden door to an impressive gate, double doors, crossbar bolt, and machicolation. There is, however, one gateway design which can be identified in 13 Cilician fortifications. This main type, sometimes with slight variations, can be found at Anahşa,

Anavarza, Babaoğlan, Bucak, Gülek, Işık Kalesi, Kız Kalesi, Mancılık, Meydan, Sivranda, Sis, Tumlu, and Yılan.

The design of this exterior door consists of three parts and is referred to by Edwards' frequently as 'the tripartite gate' (Edwards, 1987: 64-65). Firstly, an outer pointed arch is constructed. Secondly, a higher inner rear-arch is built which is in most cases depressed and consists out of seven or more *voussoirs*. In some cases the jambs are covered by a flat arch, as at Meydan, which could have plain or joggled *voussoirs* (pl. 58d). Thirdly, the space between the outer arch and the rear arch creates a slit-shaped opening; this is described as slot machicolation by Edwards.⁶² He considers this to be an Armenian invention, and can according to him be found for the first time at Van Kalesi in the 7th century (Edwards, 1987: 15). This hypothesis is, however, highly speculative. It would be wrong to attribute the appearance of slit-machicolation merely to the arrival of the Armenians in the eastern Mediterranean. Pringle has already pointed out in his study of Byzantine Africa the existence 'of three slit-shaped apertures in the barrel-vault covering the entrance-passage' at Sousse (Pringle, 1981: 169). Despite the fact that these features are attributed to early Muslim builders, Pringle notes interestingly that they were a transposition into stone of a feature built at an earlier date in wood (Pringle, 1981: 169). In contrast to Edwards' assertion, it is not merely the slit-machicolation which makes the gate unique and an Armenian characteristic, but the combination of the latter with the other elements described above.

Slit-machicolation was most likely copied or built by Armenian masons in several Crusader castles, including Saone, and the inner gate at Belvoir. As Belvoir dates to some time after 1168 and, although the other examples probably date to the first half of the 12th century, it is unlikely that they are as early as some of the Armenian examples built in Cilicia. In the 13th century the use of slit-machicolation can be seen in the gate on the east of the Sea Castle at Sidon, and in outer fortification gates at Château Pelerin (Johns, 1997: 40-41).

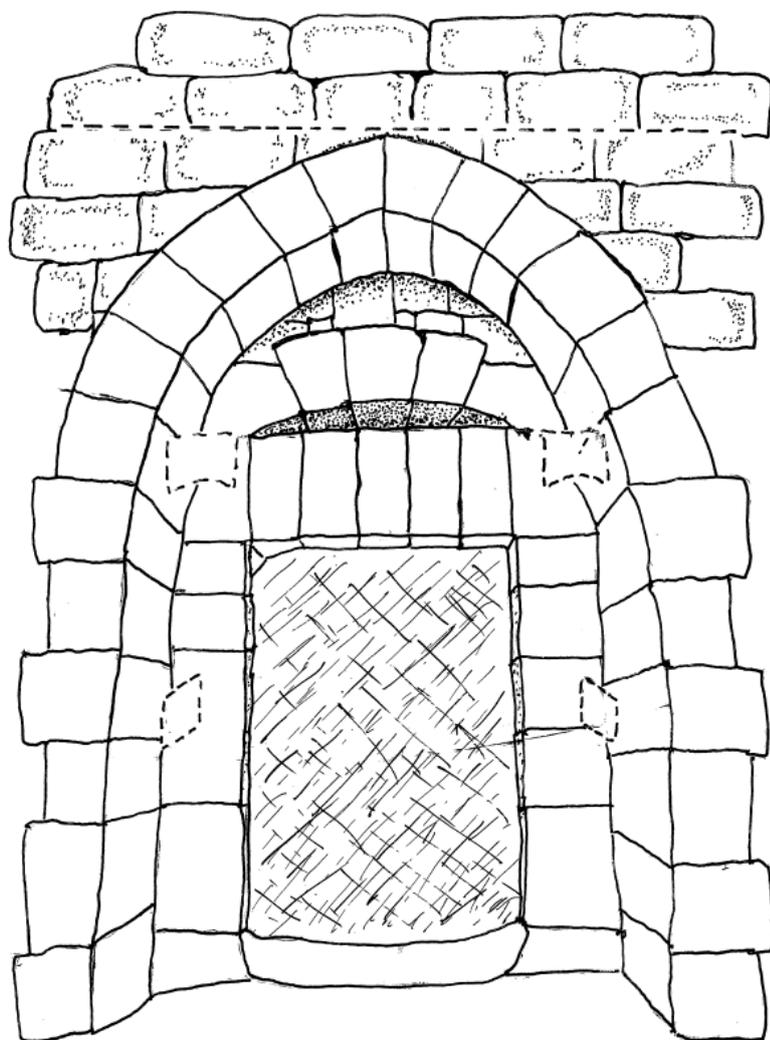
⁶² Throughout this work I have obtained to use the term slit-machicolation, as it approaches more a slit, instead of the slot-machicolation of Edwards.

The gap or slit between the inner and outer arch is usually no more than 40 cm in width and allows defenders to fire down on someone at the gate passage. The portcullis, a wooden or iron grille which was mechanically lowered in front of a gate, was not employed in Cilicia. During my observations there was no indication to be found in the gates for a slot for a portcullis in the sides of the door. On the interior side of the jambs there would be room for rounded pivot housings that would hold wooden double doors. At the point where the arch and jambs meet there are sometimes two rounded or semi-rounded protrusions that likewise protect the corners of the wooden doors. Behind the jambs there were in almost all occasions sockets for a crossbar bolt.

A good example of the typical Rubenid and Armenian tripartite gate can be found at Anahşa, where the three gates of the fortification were almost identical, but only gate A is well preserved (plan 3; pl. 5c). In all cases, the slit-machicolation was manned from a thin parapet atop the door. Despite the assertions of Heffening, this opening could not have accommodated a portcullis as there is no slit for one (Heffening, 1925: 185). A depressed arch of seven *voussoirs* rests on the jambs of gate A. The *voussoirs* have joggled joints and are fixed into position by a single keystone. Behind the jambs are sockets for a crossbar bolt.

The main gate of Meydan is one of the most impressive tripartite gates of medieval Cilicia (pl. 58d). Perfectly fitted mortarless stones surmount the jambs with a flat arch covered by a relieving arch. The lower arch has the wedge-shaped *voussoirs* so typical of Armenian gates, as we discussed above at Yılan. The blocks of the relieving arch has joggled joints. The jambs below are 2.4 m apart (Edwards, 1987: 192). At the point where the jambs and lintels meet, corbelled extensions with rounded faces protect the corners of the door. On the interior side of the outer door of the gate, round pivot housings for a double door are still visible.

Figure 46 - Illustration of Armenian Gateway (by E.I. Stewart)



Another good example of a tripartite gate is to be found at Anavarza, the best preserved gate is the bent entrance G (plan 4; pl. 6g-i). Similar to the bent entrance at Kiz Kalesi the interior of the tower at Anavarza has a semi-dome. The exterior door is covered by a perfectly preserved slit machicolation (pl. 6i). The depressed arch over this outer portal has pivot housings on the interior to accommodate double doors. The doors were secured by a crossbar bolt. In contrast, the inner door of the gatehouse is without any jambs. Directly

above this door is the frame for a now missing dedicatory inscription (just as in Sinap) (pl. 67a). The arch over the jambs, the slit-machicolation, and the *voussoirs* are almost identical in design to the gates in Anahşa. Other identical examples are Babaođlan, Bucak, Kiz Kalesi, Mancılık, Savranda (pl. 64d), Sis (pl. 68d), Tumlu (pl. 75e).

Examples of tripartite gates with some peculiarities can be found at Gülek, and Yılan. At Gülek, gate A is built in the same pattern, but with one exception. The slit-machicolation is not framed in between the outer arch and the jambs of the door, but by a single arch and lintel (pl. 38c). The inner element is actually a flat arch resting on the jambs. The arch or lintel consists of three parts and has a keystone, which is curving out. The interior half of the lintel has a rebated soffit with pivot holes to accommodate double wing doors. The doors were secured by a crossbar bolt. The upper course of each jamb has a conical projection, just as described below in gate A at Meydan (pl. 58d), which protects the corners of the wooden doors from attack. The rather broad outer segment of the door is covered by a high, pointed arch. Undoubtedly a now missing wall surmounted the lintel, which would have equalled the height of the outer arch. Regarding the importance of the site, it can be argued that this gate would have been part of a now vanished elaborate gate complex.

At Yılan, the wall creates three defensible baileys, spread out over a limestone outcrop (plan 20). The entrance into the lower bailey, gate A, differs from the other two gates in that it is not a tripartite unit with a slot machicolation. Gate A simply consists of jambs covered by a now collapsed low-level arch that in turn is flanked on the interior by the higher vault over the door. Gate B has a design almost identical to that of the tripartite gate E of the upper bailey. The outer arch of gate B has collapsed, leaving only the springers and exposing what was once the concealed machicolation (pl. 79f). The jambs are covered by a segmented lintel, depressed relieving arch, and surmounted by a diaphragm wall. Like the lintel in gate E, the three central segments are not wedge-shaped but have flat parallel sides. The east side of gate E, which is almost identical to gate B, is a perfectly preserved example of a tripartite door. The most important features of this gate are the four reliefs above the

jambes (pl. 79g). While the keystone has a figure in a seated position, the flanking voussoirs each depict a rampant lion. Despite the speculation of many scholars, a plausible hypothesis has yet to be found. Only excavations and a thorough analysis of the archaeological material (numismatic, pottery, and building materials) can offer a more precise answer about the chronology.

In conclusion, the uniformity in design throughout the whole of Cilicia could imply several things. Firstly, it could give us an indication towards the dating of these gatehouses. Because of our knowledge of the Armenian kingdom and its history, we can argue a similar point as with the model for identifying Armenian masonry. As there is no example to be found for this type of gateway inside any of the Het'umid strongholds, including Çandır and Lampron, this design could be identified as a Rubenid design and after 1198 eventually an Armenian characteristic. Most gatehouses to be found throughout Cilicia, such as at Gülek, Kiz Kalesi, Mancılık, Tumlu, and Yılan, therefore must have been built between 1198 and 1325. Every hypothesis for an earlier date is unreliable, as the influence sphere of the Rubenids expanded only shortly in the Cilician plain and Cilicia Trachea. Arguably the majority of them would have been built probably in the 13th century. Any later date would be unlikely, as the kingdom suffered severe attacks from the Mamluks from 1275 onwards and would not have sufficient resources. I assume these gatehouses are built between 1198 and 1310, as building elaborated gate complexes would have cost the kingdom many resources. At the beginning of the 13th century, however, the Armenian kings made, profitable arrangements with the Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights, Genoese and Pisan merchants. Building fortifications to secure the kingdom would have been logical. Secondly, it could tell us something about the architects and masons of the Armenians. If the gatehouses were made by different architects, they must have been well aware of the other examples. The Armenians copied the model in several places. Thirdly, it could tell us again about the importance of the stronghold. This elaborate gate complex would have given a huge

advantage to the defenders and therefore is probably only used with the more important fortifications or richer barons in the kingdom.

3.3. Other Components of Armenian Fortifications

3.3.1. Introduction

The varied and often complex elements of fortification employed by the Armenian castle-builders in Cilicia were adapted and developed in response to the growing complexity of medieval siege warfare and the advances made in both siege machines and siege techniques in this period. Alongside the location of their fortifications, it was also in development of elements of fortification that the Armenians were most innovative. They borrowed and adapted without hesitation from the technical achievements of the Byzantine Empire and the Muslims in Northern Syria. The development of many defensive elements would later be borrowed by the likes of the military orders in Cilicia, for example Seleukia, and in the Holy Land, for example Crac des Chevaliers.

In the following section some elements of fortification will be analysed. They are in their own right, not enough, to assign a certain fortification to Armenian builders, but in combination with the two preceding elements (masonry and gateways), they could be helpful in identifying Armenian fortifications.

3.3.2. Curtain Walls

The major part of a castle's defence was the curtain wall itself, which surrounded and protected the other buildings of a castle. In its basic form a castle really only needed to have a curtain wall and a gate to become a castle, although of course it was never actually so limited. Few castles other than watch posts and certain hall-houses lacked mural towers, many castles had additional defensive elements, while moats and ditches are never constructed because of the steep and rocky nature of the Armenian fortifications.

In certain cases the curtain wall functioned as the outer support wall for barrel vaults which surrounded the interior of the castle and served as a living space, kitchens, storage

and various other functions. This is the case for example at Tamrut, where large rooms follow the curtain wall and act as internal buttresses. This can also be seen at Tumlu, where hall K (see plan 18) curves parallel with the curtain wall and has more than three arrow slits on its level. It is normal to have the arrow slits on a level above the hall or vaulted structure, like at Yılan Kalesi (pl. 79b-h). At Vagha (plan 19), the vaulted structures are built aligned alongside the curtain wall (north-south axis), but the barrel vaults K and L are constructed along an east-west axis. In return the curtain walls of Vagha are brought to an unusual height (16 metres from the surface of the cliffs), to provide an adequate backing for the two levels of vaulted structures on the interior. The location of the vaulted undercroft is, however, always dictated by the topography. In contrast to their counterparts in Crusader architecture, it is in most cases impossible, due to the rocky nature of the building sites, to construct a continuous series of vaulted galleries.

Curtain walls were built in the same manner as other types of Armenian construction; that is a poured-wall technique, walls were constructed of three layers, the outer and inner layers consisting of ashlar or large crude stones and the space between them filled with a very solid mortar rubble fill. All curtain walls built by the Armenians in Cilicia are furthermore built with a slight inward tilt of a wall. This batter offers two advantages. The principal benefit is that an attack with a ram at the base of the wall does not cause the top of the wall to recoil outward from the shock so violently.

At the vast majority of sites in Cilicia the wall stood on hard rock, which could not, however, be left entirely in its natural condition if it was to bear any but a very crude construction. In many Armenian castles the curtain walls would not rise from a plinth but simply from a shallow trench cut in the natural rock. As one would expect, the base of the wall is substantially thicker than the top. Since mining proved impractical in the rocky outcrops of Cilicia, a special foundation was deemed unnecessary. This is why, in contrast to the Crusader fortifications taluses are so rare in Armenian fortifications and where they do

appear they normally cover small, irregular clefts in the rock foundation, which is for instance the case at Meydan and Gökvelioğlu.

3.3.3. Battlements, Hoardings (*bretèche/brattices*), and Slit-Machicolation

The evolution of wall-head defences can be easily demonstrated by diverse fortifications to be found in Cilicia. Generally, it shows a steadily development in complexity and sophistication, which allowed the defender to fight back more accurately and gave him better protection in doing so. The underlying principle of wall-head defences was to put wooden or stone hoarding on the tops of the wall which could project and enable the defenders to cover the vulnerable base of the curtain wall (Boas, 2001: 170-71). It is without doubt that the Armenian masons followed and added to the Byzantine tradition.

The battlement formed the top of the curtain wall and consisted out of a parapet in which rectangular gaps or crenels occur at intervals between the solid merlons. These numerous firing positions formed an excellent location from which to fire upon an enemy attacking the walls. A good example of well-preserved battlements can be found at the curtain walls of Yılan(pl. 79e-h) and Anavarza (pl. 6b-f). In most examples in Cilicia a wall-walk ran along the top of the wall, providing access to the embrasures and enabling the defenders to move easily from one position on the wall to another as the need arose. The wall-walk was reached by stone staircases within the thickness of the wall or towers, or by stone or wooden staircases on the inner side of the curtain wall. It was generally possible to gain access to the wall-walk through the towers and to pass along large areas of the castle defences via these passages.

If the curtain wall was high enough it could have a *chemin de ronde* at a lower level than the battlements, giving access to additional firing positions in the wall. This was the case at Yılan Kalesi where the *chemin de ronde* was found on the northern curtain wall of the upper bailey. It was found on a lower level than the battlements above which were well

protected firing positions for archers. The lower passage gave access to four stirrup-shaped arrow-slits.

Figure 47 - Merlons at Anavarza (east-side Southern Bailey)



In the majority of Armenian fortifications battlements are the rule rather than the exception. The battlements and wall-walk are not continuous for the entire length of the circuit wall but are periodically cut off by towers that in contrast to Edwards' observations do not always rise significantly above the height of the circuit (Edwards, 1987: 14). At the southern bailey of Anavarza, the horseshoe-shaped towers of the southern curtain wall (inclusive battlements) have the same height as the battlements of the curtain wall. Other examples can be seen at the curtain walls of Sis, Vagha, and Gökvelioğlu. The only exception is the west side in the upper bailey of Yılan Kalesi. Armenian merlons are frequently rectangular with slightly rounded tops.

A variation can be seen at Yılan Kalesi where a series of merlons have pyramidal crowns and are pierced with loopholes. Because merlons have so little support they are the first elements to collapse. Consequently only a few of these can be found at Yılan.

Figure 48 - Merlons at Yılan Kalesi (Upper Bailey)



Machicolation was developed as means of protecting the weak points in defence works, such as the slit-machicolation by the gateway discussed above. Arrow-slits and positions between the merlons at the top of battlements were not effective against an enemy once he had reached the wall. In most studies the term 'machicolation' generally refers to a small balcony (box) or projecting gallery (wooden hoarding) placed high on a wall and supported by stone corbels. The box or hoarding has openings in its floor through which liquids or stones could be dropped on the enemy. The floor itself was often formed by a row of parallel corbels placed slightly apart from one another. While the principle is similar to the above discussed slit-machicolation, scholars such as Kennedy, refer to 'box machicolation' as 'true machicolation' without any well-founded reason (Kennedy, 1994: 114; and Lawrence, ed. Pringle, 1988: 82). Although there are no wooden hoardings and hardly any complete box-machicolations to be found, evidence of corbels can be found at the keep of Amuda (pl.

3c), at the keep of Anavarza (pl. 6k), near by the entrance at Haruniye (pl. 40e), at the keep of Kız(lar) (pl. 47c), at the hall-house of Sinap near Lampron (pl. 67e), at the curtain walls of Sis (pl. 68g), at the keep of Tece (pl. 71a). A very good example of stone box machicolation is to be found at the curtain walls of Sis (pl. 68h).

Like machicolation, murder holes (*meurtrières*) were openings left in a vault, usually in a gatehouse or entry passage, through which rocks could be cast down. The entrance passage A at Vagha (plan 19) contains an excellent example of the use of this feature (pl. 76b). In a dark passage the assailants would not be aware of the danger above them.

3.3.4. *Arrow-Slits*

The arrow-slit or loop was intended to provide a protected position from which a defender could fire arrows at the assailants. The opening had to be narrow enough to afford maximum protection, while the interior had to be wide enough to allow the archer to stand or crouch in reasonable comfort to position, load, aim, and fire his bow. Originally nothing more than a vertical gap left between two ashlar, the arrow-slit became longer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Its principal disadvantage, the inability of the archer to fire at the base of the wall, was somewhat overcome by the development of the splayed or stirrup-shaped base of the arrow-slit, for example at Tece (pl. 71b). The stirrup-shaped base enabled the archer to direct his fire at least somewhat nearer to the base of the wall. The top of the loophole is rounded on the exterior because the embrasure is normally round headed. The most common type to be found in Armenian fortifications is the type called by Edwards as the '*embrasured loophole*' (Edwards, 1987: 16). While this opening can simply be a splay running through the entire thickness of the wall, the interior half can be widened with straight sides to form a small vaulted chamber known as a casemate. A good example of such a casemate can be seen at both Sinaps (pl. 66b-c; 67a).

The arrow-slit was usually expanded into a triangular compartment which was high enough to allow a convenient approach to the firing position, and, ideally, broad enough to

enable two men to take up position within it. They most likely worked close together, while one person was firing, the other helped by reloading. However, this was often not the case, and at Çem Kalesi the arrow-slits near the gateway had room for only one archer, sometimes in a crouching position. The top of the casemate was generally vaulted with a small barrel vault. Though the use of arrow-slits was limited in early medieval fortifications, they greatly increased in number and improved in design towards the end of the twelfth century and particularly in the thirteenth century as the use of archery increased and developed (Boase, 2006: 170-75).

The best location for arrow-slits in defending the length of a castle wall was in the side walls of a projecting tower adjacent to the curtain walls. However, they are not always ideally located. In some towers at Seleukia, they are placed in a position that would not allow flanking fire at all and were of use only for firing upon an approaching enemy who had not yet reached the blind areas at the foot of the walls. These are useful features, but it is none the less odd that no measures were taken to enable flanking fire.

3.3.5. Round -and Horseshoe-Shaped Towers

The positioning of projecting towers along the curtain walls was of supreme importance in the defence of a castle. Their presence turned a castle from a purely passive refuge, with almost no possibility of defending itself beyond relying on the strength of its walls, to one which could actively defend itself through the use of lateral arrow fire along its walls and towers from positions in the towers.

In order to cover the entire area of the curtain between two towers, it was necessary to place them at a distance that would allow fire from embrasures in a tower to cover at least half of the distance between one tower and the next. In order to be able to fire upon an enemy attacking at the base of the next tower it was desirable for arrow fire to reach all the way to the next tower. In most Armenian castles the maximum distance between towers is on average around 30 m, a distance that the medieval archer was well able to cover as the

range of a standard bow was about 100 m with accuracy and up to 200 m with less accuracy (Boase, 2006: 176).

Throughout the history of fortification the tower has played a dominant role. In Armenian fortifications, in line with the appearance of towers in a wide variety of shapes constructed by the Byzantines, the round or semi-circular tower remained the most common form. In Armenian fortifications we see the construction of semi-circular towers at the curtain wall of Vahga (pl. 76a), the horseshoe – or D-shaped towers of Yılan Kalesi (pl. 79c), and the round tower of the fortress at Sis (pl. 68f). The rounded form of the towers was much more difficult to construct, as it required stones cut to a specific shape. The Armenians, however, would not rely on smaller stones for these constructions as they were more vulnerable to damage during siege. On the whole the rounded design of Armenian towers was advantageous for several reasons. Firstly, having no corners, a round tower was less vulnerable to attempts at dismantling it by knocking out the quoins. Partly because of this, there is an absence of quoins in Armenian military architecture. Secondly, the typical ‘Armenian’ masonry, which is bonded firmly with the poured core and has a protruding face formed, combined with the round design of the towers makes for a more compact and tighter construction. Thirdly, embrasures and arrow-slits in a round tower could cover a more extensive area. Fourthly, the round shape left only a minimum of blind space before the tower which could not be covered by firing positions in the adjacent curtain walls, whereas it was impossible to defend the area in front of a rectangular tower completely. Finally the design of the horseshoe-shaped tower can be seen as the natural development as it combines the strength of the semi-circular tower with the extended sides of a rectangular tower.

Round towers were favoured in Hellenistic, Roman, and Muslim fortifications and were extensively used in Byzantine defensive works. However, when the Byzantines constructed the land fortress of Korykos, they only employed projecting rectangular towers. This is in contrast for example with the construction of the fortress of Çardak Kalesi, where

semi-circular and round towers are employed. They do not make full use, however, of the design as no arrow slits are to be found in the towers. More significant than the use of a round or semi-circular form is the extent of its projection from the curtain wall. The fortifications of the military orders were perhaps helped or influenced by Armenian masons when the Hospitallers built their fortress at Seleukia. The construction of five horseshoe-shaped towers at the southern curtain wall provided enough firepower to make the attacking party extremely vulnerable.

4. Conclusion

Throughout Cilicia the Armenians built their fortifications with a high degree of consistency. This does not imply any lack of variation within expected norms nor the complete absence of certain anomalies. In some cases it is hard to identify the extent of Armenian repairs. Something of an impediment to understanding the design of some castles is the lack of information on the state of these buildings prior to their coming into the possession of the Armenians. It is often difficult to identify the remains of the earlier structures which were subsequently expanded by their new owners. For example, it would be of interest to know what sort of castle the Armenians took over at Çem Kalesi and whether the form of the original castle in any way influenced the final design. Therefore some architectural peculiarities have been chosen in this research that must be identified as Armenian constructions. The Rubenid and later Armenian theory can be used for a reliable and more precise dating scheme for the fortifications.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM

1. Introduction

This chapter is a collection of my observations on the rural sites surveyed in Cilicia and a brief description of their physical condition and their relation with the nearby fortifications. More than one hundred years ago the existence of only a handful of rural settlements was noted by Langlois and Alishan (Langlois, 1861: 26-50; Alishan, 1899: 18-35). Their notes were confirmed, for example, by the surveys of Seton-Williams in the 1950s and the Cambridge expedition in the 1960s (Seton-Williams, 1954: 121-174). The latter investigated three Cilician castles in the Cilician plain, and was led by G.R. Youngs (Youngs, 1965: 113-34). Although none of the expedition members had any previous experience with eastern Mediterranean archaeology, they found evidence of a medieval village below the outcrop of Yılan Kalesi (Youngs, 1965: 125). Some twenty to thirty years later, the archaeologist Edwards increased the number of rural settlements with his investigations nearby the fortifications of Amuda, Andil, Çem, Geben, Savranda, and Vagha (Edwards, 1993: 181-249).

The interpretation which had prevailed until now presented a very one-dimensional picture of Armenian society as discussed in Chapter Four. It can only be noted that till today no detailed study has been made regarding the medieval settlements to be found in Cilicia. The basic assumption according to which the Armenians never really settled in the fertile Cilician plain has never been justified or refuted with the aid of archaeological tools. It is interesting to note that the medieval sources, for instance the charters of donations given to military orders, give us an idea not only of the castles that were given to the Orders but also the numerous casalia and small localities or settlements. The importance of these

sites cannot be underestimated. Since all grants given to the military orders were to be found in Cilicia Trachea or the Cilician plain, it is most likely that most casalia and localities therefore are to be found in the fertile Cilician plain, where archaeological evidence of hall-houses, or manor houses is abundant. Some of these small “fortresses” are Anacık (**no. 5**), Belen Keşlik (**no. 20**), Bossek (**no. 22**), Gösne (**no. 44**), Hebilli (**no. 49**), Kız (**no. 59**), Oğlan (**no. 78**), Sinap (near Çandır) (**no. 87**), Sinap (near Lampron) (**no. 88**), Tece (**no. 93**), Tomuk (**no. 95**), and Yanik Kale (**no. 102**). The following archaeological sites could be the equivalent of the maisons fortes – something between a house and castle – found in the west and in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Pringle, 1989: 19; Ellenblum, 1998: 35). They could have been used for a variety of economic and agricultural purposes, from raising cattle to collecting taxes. It is important not to underestimate the importance of these sites, as they are built with a lack of defensive features and with a high degree of uniformity throughout Cilicia.

My own investigations did aim to make a superficial examination of the sites in order to support the dynamic model explained in Chapter Five (4.4. Towards a dynamic model). My observations were based on archaeological sites mentioned by Seton-Williams, Young, Hellenkemper, Edwards, and others, to testify to their current preservation status and to discover some new sites (fortifications and rural settlements) throughout the Armenian kingdom. As a result of my archaeological surveys in Cilicia, new previously unpublished fortifications and settlements were discovered. Before the archaeological surveys, satellite imagery, Panoramia, and Google Earth were consulted in order to find unpublished fortifications and remains of nearby rural settlements. The following variables were taken into account during this process: location in relation to nearby rivers or water streams, roads and dirt trails, and topography. The combination of these variables led to very positive results. The preliminary results of both medieval sources and examination of the sites prove that within the boundaries of the Armenian kingdom there was an intensive Armenian settlement which resembled, in many aspects, the settlement types which existed in other parts of the

mediterranean region during the same period (Ellenblum, 1998: 35-38). Characteristics such as rural *burgi*, fortified and unfortified *maisons fortes*, mills, abbeys, and other are typical for a medieval settled area (Benvenisti, 1970: 233). Combined with the settlement pattern of the Armenians in Cilicia is the importance of the castle, as power symbol and as nucleus for new settlement. As shown in Chapter Five, the spatial distribution of many Armenian *de novo* fortifications should be seen as the basis for rural settlement in Cilicia.

There are, however, a few remarks to be made about the fieldwork. Firstly, many settlements have suffered from the expanding modern Turkish population and further industrialisation of the Cilician plain. For example, at Amuda, the medieval village was located according to Edwards on the north flank of the fortified outcrop (Edwards, 1992: 184). My observations confirmed the expansion of the modern village of Hemite, which most likely used remains of the original rural settlement and the fortification nearby as building materials. At Savranda, the medieval village was once located by Edwards' 'on a gently sloping outcrop about 550 m southeast of the fortress of Savranda' (Edwards, 1993: 199), but is completely destroyed in order to accommodate a reservoir and hydroelectric station. Secondly, the remains found were often fragmentary and almost all heavily overgrown by vegetation. On the majority of the sites the walls survive to no more than a metre in height, but there is more than adequate information to draw some preliminary conclusions about the Armenian rural settlements. Because of above reasons the rural settlements of Amuda, Azgit, Toprak, Savranda, and Yılan will not be included in the catalogue below.

Regarding the organisation of Armenian settlements, for now not much can be added to the observations made by Edwards some 20 years ago (Edwards, 1993: 181-249). Similar to the location of fortifications, the evidence proves that Armenian settlements were always carefully adapted to the topography. When the incline immediately below the fort was too steep, the settlement was positioned on the gently sloping terraces of the neighbouring outcrop, which is the case at Andil. Furthermore, the architecture, wall construction, and masonry of the settlements share many consistencies with the fortifications. For the

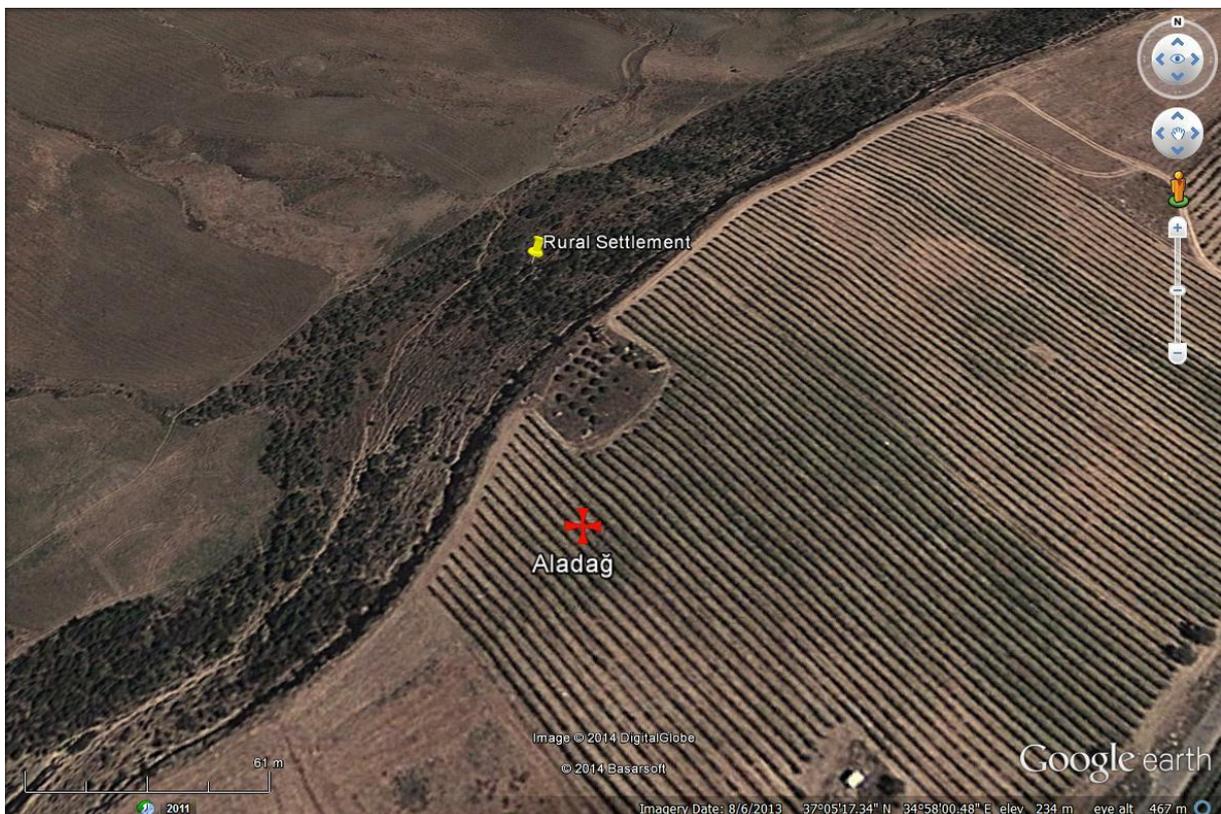
construction ashlar blocks with a protruding boss are used as the exterior facing stones with a poured core and a smaller crude interior facing stone. The presence of this type of Armenian masonry suggests that construction was most likely contemporaneous with the Armenian fortifications. According to the preliminary conclusions of Edwards' and confirmed by my observations most houses are rectangular, with an average length and width seldom exceeding 5.2 m by 3.4 m respectively (Edwards, 1993: 187). Since the walls do not survive to a substantial height it is difficult to determine if the floors and roofs were vaulted or of timber, though the low height of the support walls suggests that they may have been the foundation walls for walls of timber. Post holes at regular intervals are proof that they supported vertical timbers. The prevalence of this construction and the complete deterioration of medieval timbers in other Armenian fortifications could indicate why Armenian rural settlements are so difficult to locate. Since all of the sites are in or near large forests, wood was a plentiful and inexpensive commodity. In none of the sites have windows survived in the fragmentary remains. Most of the rectangular houses share common walls with a single door opening on to a common pathway. There is evidence for a hearth in a number of the structures. No aqueducts or clay water pipes were seen in the masonry, in contrast to some of the Armenian fortifications, for example Azgit, so water was probably drawn from the wells and springs. As with other medieval constructions of this period, sewers were confined to open channels in the street (Ellenblum, 1998: 86-94). The lack of any kind of defensive walls around the villages is consistent with the medieval strategy where garrisons sallied forth to meet an enemy in advance of an attack on the site. When these forces are defeated, the local population with certain possessions would move into the fortress. This example has been mentioned above when discussing the site of Amuda and the Mamluk advance.

2. Catalogue of Settlements

2.1. Aladağ

At 10 km northwest from Kütüklü, near the small village of Aladağ, the remains of an unknown *quadriburgium* are to be found (pl. 2a-c). The *quadriburgium* is identical in size and plan to the example of Kütüklü and was found through the use of satellite imagery. Similar to most of the exposed *quadriburgia* in this area, the fortification is in poor state of preservation. The interior of the site shows no signs of construction. The circuit walls are almost non-existent and rise not more than one metre. Today the area around the fortification supports crops of wheat and melon. While no historical names can be associated with this small site, its importance cannot be underestimated as it was located only 8 km from the tower-keep of Kızlar, 20 km north of Tarsus, and 25 km southeast from the Cilician Gates. Because of the plan and masonry, which is identical almost to Kütüklü, Yaka, and Tumul, it is possible that these castles belonged to the grants donated to the military orders in the 13th century.

Figure 49 – Aladağ, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement



During the survey of Aladağ, a high frequency of standard green monochrome glazed pottery was found, together with the remains of several stone structures north of the fortification. The concentration of both ceramics and stone structures could indicate a settlement of small size located on the gently sloping terraces. During the survey, a waster or defective piece of pottery was noted (Figure 50). A full-scale survey at Aladağ therefore could provide most likely more evidence of ceramic production. As the site is very accessible, it would be interesting to determine the size of the settlement. The same density of Port Saint Symeon ceramics was to be found inside the *quadriburgium*, which could indicate most likely a medieval occupation contemporaneous with the military fortification.

Figure 50 – Aladağ, Glazed sgraffiato - Port St. Symeon (12th-14th c.)



2.2. Andil

Just below the 1,510 m summit of Andil Dağı and its fortified hall-house are the remains of the medieval and modern village. According to some colophons, the hall-house at Andil

functioned as the summer palace for King Het'um I in 1238 (Ēp'rikan, 1903-05, I: 180), which makes the location of a settlement near by not surprising. In contrast to Edwards' observations 25 to 30 years ago, the modern village of Andil today consists of more than 40 homes that are situated on or very near their Armenian predecessors. Surprisingly, on the sides of the mountain large terraces have been cut and cleared for farming; this was made possible by the recycling of building material from the previous rural settlement. During the last year, a new route has been made which, according to the local villagers, destroyed some of the medieval buildings. Fragments of Greek inscriptions and Byzantine coins, as Edwards mentioned before me, testify to a pre-Arab Byzantine presence, but my observations have not shown any evidence of Byzantine constructions (Edwards, 1992: 190).

The principal surviving medieval structure in this village is a small building at Andil Köy, which stands atop a low, gently sloping hill. It consists of two vaulted chambers encased in a singular rectangular unit (pl. 8a-b). The shape of the vaults and the distinctive rusticated exterior facing masonry testify to their Armenian origin. In 1992 local villagers discovered at the base of the southeast wall of the vaulted chambers a small hoard of 18 coins belonging exclusively to the reign of King Levon I (Edwards, 1992: 190). Coins from the periods of Het'um II and Levon II have also been found elsewhere at this site (Edwards, 1992: 190-191). In respect to their size and plan the vaulted chambers bear a superficial resemblance to the tombs seen elsewhere in Cilicia, but the presence of a single square hatch in each pointed vault may indicate that the windowless rooms were heated and used for residential purposes. It is not completely inconceivable that the rectangular chambers functioned as tombs (Machatschek, 1967: 21). Edwards assumes in his work that the fortification on the summit, which is devoid of ecclesiastical architecture, is the royal residence, and consequently theorises that it is possible that the two vaulted chambers functioned as the scriptorium around which the village grew (Edwards, 1992: 190-91). According to my observations and a comparison with similar structures elsewhere in the Mediterranean the most plausible hypothesis is that the rooms could have been used as

vaulted cisterns, which support the presence of the hatch. Similar medieval vaulted cisterns can be found in Syria and Palestine and have often rectangular designs, as for example 'Ain al-Haramiya in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Pringle, 1997: 18-19).

2.3. Babaoğlan

On the northern fringe of Cilicia Pedias is the impressive garrison fort of Babaoğlan. The fort lies in the neighbourhood of several orchards and large tracts of pasture land (pl. 12a-d). At the base of the fortified outcrop on the south to northwestern flank is a small un-walled village. In 1979 Edwards surveyed the remains of what appears to be the apse of a chapel. According to his observations it has a diameter of slightly less than 3 m (Edwards, 1987: 85).

Figure 51 – Babaoğlan, Port St. Symeon Glazed sgraffiato (12th-14th c.)



Today, the masonry that once surmounted the rock-cut walls and constituted the entire nave has been removed. Only a few ashlar of limestone remain in place and while being completely overgrown by vegetation, it is therefore very hard to locate the chapel. On

the south side are two rock-cut niches. The easternmost has a pointed arch and is located in the apse proper, while the other is actually positioned in the nave at the point of junction of the apsidal and nave walls. Following Edwards' analysis of ecclesiastical architecture in Cilicia, this peculiar arrangement of niches indicates that this is an Armenian construction (Edwards, 1983: 123-46). Rock-cut tombs, date unknown, are still visible north of the chapel. This area, as well as the east side of the outcrop, has numerous examples of such tombs, most of which have probably been plundered by now.

Figure 52 – Babaoğlan Kalesi, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement



In the dense brush to the southeast of the chapel Edwards found in 1992 the partial remains of at least 18 distinct structures (Edwards, 1993: 191-92). Today the structures are in a very fragmentary state and completely overgrown by vegetation and only 12 units could be identified. A rough type of Armenian masonry was used to build socles. Around the units a high concentration of green glazed Port St. Symeon Glazed sgraffiato is to be found. The yellow and light green glazed ceramics are also most likely Port St. Symeon. This earthenware would prove, in combination with the Armenian chapel, and the similarities in

masonry between the fortification on the outcrop and the rural settlement, a phase of medieval occupation between the 12th and 14th centuries. This hypothesis is further supported by four Armenian coins found by a local farmer near by the settlement area.

During my survey I found no evidence for springs or wells. Today the closest sources of water are the modern village on the one hand, which is over 400 m away at the south end of the outcrop, or the cisterns of the garrison fort on the other hand. The fort had apart from a main cistern in the complex two subterranean cisterns, which are opened by a small hatch and covered by a vault. The presence of these large reservoirs of water would be of great help to the villagers and emphasize the strong relationship between the two entities even more. The combination of orchards and large tracts of pasture lands for raising cattle would make this site ideally suited for agricultural purposes.

2.4. Çem

The Byzantine-Armenian fortress of Çem Kalesi and the adjoining rural settlement stands on the east flank of a very strategic trail that led travellers from Kadirli (in the Cilician plain) to Göksun. The rural settlement is located east of the fortress and has most likely different periods of occupation. During his observation of the fortress, Edwards noted a Byzantine chapel within the settlement (Edwards, 1987: 113-117; pl. 26i). In addition he noted the presence of many other buildings constructed with the coreless ashlar facing that is distinctive of pre-Arab, Byzantine masonry (Edwards, 1993: 193-94). Today, some, twenty years later, most outlines of buildings were almost impossible to determine because of the thick covering of fallen masonry. But just as with the fortress at Çem Kalesi, it is possible to distinguish some examples of typical Armenian masonry. South of the Byzantine chapel, a rectangular structure was to be found, whose exterior facing stones survived and consisted of the well-dressed Armenian masonry type with a protruding boss. A large amount of roof tiles was to be found alongside this house with some Port St. Symeon Glazed sgraffiato indicating a medieval occupation.

Figure 53 - Çem Kalesi, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement



Excavations should reveal at least Armenian habitation of this Byzantine community and most likely demonstrate continuity. A natural spring was to be found near the southern edge of the site. There is no evidence of any cisterns inside the garrison fort of Çem Kalesi. Their closest source to water is a large well northeast of the fort.

2.5. Fındıkpınar

Approximately 35 km north of the Mediterranean Sea and 23 km southwest of the Het'umid stronghold of Çandır is small garrison fort of Fındıkpınar. The modern village in the Highlands of Cilicia Tracheia lends its name to the medieval site and is located 1 km to the west (Edwards, 1987: 122-24). Today, numerous streams and rivers below the fortified outcrop in the interconnecting agricultural valleys make the area quite lush. Beneath the fort along the east and northeast flank of the outcrop Edwards discovered a sizeable Armenian settlement which covers an area of 1.5 acres (Edwards, 1993: 195). From my observations and conversations with the local people it became clear that the rural settlement and

fortifications has been exposed to treasure hunters recently. Most of the rural settlement is now located in the heavily forested area east of the fortification.

Figure 54 – Findikipinar, Topography of Fortification and Rural Settlement



Making full use of the topography the settlement is divided into large descending terraces, which are joined by a curving street, which is partially cut through the limestone outcrop. According to Edwards, the predominant feature of this site is the large number of rock-cut, vertical faces that clearly define the sizes of the various rooms. Similar to other sites that were surveyed, Findikipinar, shows the same frequency of square joist holes; sockets probably served as supports for wooden or stone roofs. A high density of roof tiles and glazed pottery was found alongside the terraces. The typical Armenian masonry has been used frequently at Findikipinar to continue the rock-cut walls. Following the conclusions of Edwards, at no other site in Cilicia, except the eastern half of the fortress at Lampron, are vertical faces used so extensively (Edwards: 1993: 195). The architectural similarities and its close proximity to the Het'umid fortress of Lampron and Çandır could strongly indicate that

there was a medieval occupation in Fındıklı which was under Het'umid control during the baronial period (1075-1198).

Figure 55 – Fındıklı, Example of Rooftile and Glazed Pottery



2.6. Oğlan (near Kızlar)

Approximately 3 km from the keep-tower (with bailey) of Kızlar, are the remains of the hall-house of Oğlan (pl. 61a-d). Located in the western half of the Cilician plain, 30 km north of Tarsus, this hall-house is located not only in a very fertile area, it has also an abundance of pasture lands near by. With its location in mind and due to the lack of many defensive characteristics, it could be very likely that Oğlan was used for agricultural purposes. In contrast to the keep-tower of Kızlar, which is made with the distinct Armenian masonry, the masonry of Oğlan consists of a mixture of large rectangular ashlar without a protruding boss and courses with smaller stones. The hall-house is rectangular in plan, and counted most

likely two storeys. Where the north side of the structure remains c. 5 m in height, the south end where once the entrance was, is completely destroyed (pl. 61c-d)

Figure 56 – Oğlan, Standard Green Monochrome Glaze (PSS) and Roof Tiles (12th – 14th century)



From my fieldwork around the archaeological site it became clear that a rural settlement must have existed near by. To the northeast of the hall-house scattered remains of stone structures were to be found. A better indication for medieval habitation is the high density of ceramics, and roof tiles that are to be found at the surface (see figure?). The ceramics correspond with the standard green monochrome glazed pottery or Port Saint Symeon ceramics and can be positively dated in between the 12th and 13th century.

2.7. Sinap (near Lampron)

The hall-house of Sinap or Awšini Amfoc´ (Ošinkale) is located 3 km northeast of the Het´umid stronghold of Lampron. It is located on the gentle slope of an agricultural valley. The design of this hall-house is almost identical to the hall-houses of Anacik, Bossek, Sinap

(near Çandır), and Yannik Kale. Directly southwest of the hall-house are the remains of a wall and the remains of diverse stone structures (pl. 67c). From the considerable amount of coursed stonework and the presence of Port Saint Symeon ceramics in the neighbouring terraces southwards it is most likely that a small settlement was located near by this hall-house.

Figure 57 – Sinap, Standard Green and Yellow Monochrome Glaze (PSS – 12th-14th c.)

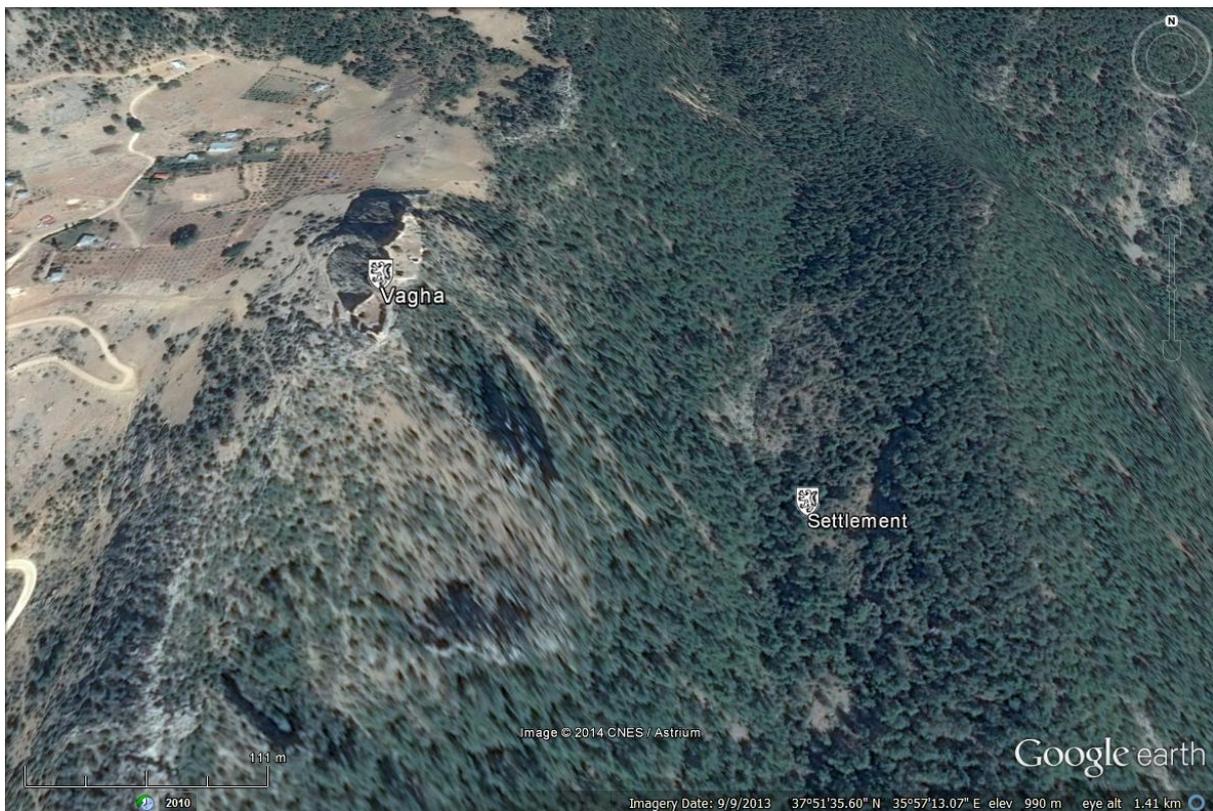


The inscription which was once located on this hall-house, refers to the Armenian King Ošin (1307-1320) and his constable Constantine as donor and builder of the hall-house in 1319 (Langlois, 1854: 27). This identification confirms the hypothesis pointed out in Chapter 5 which attributed the construction of the hall-houses of Anacık, Bossek, Sinap (near Çandır), and Yannik Kale to the period of the Armenian kingdom (1198-1375).

2.8. Vahga

The medieval settlement of Vahga, which is located about 600 m below the fortress-outcrop to the east and northeast, was occupied continuously until the 1920s according to the local villagers. While the post-18th-century stone construction predominates today, Edwards' found significant remains of medieval masonry in order to draw some basic conclusions (Edwards, 1993: 203).

Figure 58 – Vahga, Topography of Fortress and Rural Settlement



While the Byzantine church is still in relative good state of preservation, the settlement which was located to the north, east and southeast of it, has suffered badly. The Byzantine church once served as the nucleus of the Byzantine settlement of Βαγα, but apart from the church all evidence to be found in the settlement points towards a later medieval occupation. As with many other sites a huge density of Port St. Symeon Glazed sgraffiato was to found in and around the settlement. Furthermore, some of the walls have been constructed with typical Armenian masonry and were used as socles. Some ashlar,

however, seem to have been recycled pieces from the earlier Byzantine structures. During my one-day visit of the site I located two functioning springs near by, which would have provided the villagers water for their daily activities. The neighbouring fortification and ancestral seat of the Rubenids had a large cistern for its own uses.

3. Conclusion

Unfortunately, some of our information about the rural settlements of the Armenian kingdom comes from professional travellers, who, being unable to distinguish important archaeological details, have concluded that the medieval settlements are the now missing appendages of the pre-7th-century Byzantine towns. In the *Tabulae Byzantini*, Hellenkemper and Hild state that 'the medieval villages, however, do not indicate that they have reached the extent of its predecessor again' (Hild, 1990: 102).

The observations of the rural settlements have corrected this misinterpretation, and pointed out that the Armenians have a pattern of settlement which insured a great degree of security when compared with the relatively exposed early Byzantine towns elsewhere. My observations, however, have demonstrated that there could have been a process of continuity between the Byzantine and Armenian period. Çem Kalesi and Vagha are both primary examples of Byzantine-Armenian fortresses near to adjoining towns and are to be dated, according to the masonry and building techniques, before the 7th-century Arab invasion. Future research will show if this type of Greek settlement would have been unusual. Until now, scholars have assumed that most Greeks lived in undefended towns like Phlalias (Kadirli). It could have been different for the Greeks living in the Taurus Mountains, which was located on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier, or *al-thughūr*. This area has been traditionally viewed as an isolated, embattled buffer zone, but recent research by Asa Eger has shown a different perspective of this frontier. This argument is supported by a fact that is

well known, that from ancient times and especially in the middle Byzantine period rural garrisons were encouraged to take families and to farm allotted lands.⁶³

From my observations it became clear that Armenian villages are not only located in close proximity to fortifications, but they are always adjacent to large areas of arable land and pastures or within 3 km of such. Armenian settlements were mostly constructed with the same unique type of Armenian masonry. In combination with the high density of Port St. Symeon Glazed sgraffiato at almost every site, a phase of medieval habitation can be demonstrated. All but one, Babaoğlan, are near streams or rivers. This could indicate their independence from the garrison fort for their daily agricultural activities. As with the proverbial chicken and the egg, it is futile, without any hope for future excavations, to ask whether a fortress was built to protect an existing Armenian village, which was established in advantageous surroundings, or whether a village arose once a region was secured by a fully manned castle. We need to view the two entities in a symbiotic relationship. Fortifications provide security not by being hidden in some isolated region, but by their presence on a strategic, easily defended outcrop, where the garrison could control an important road and communicate quickly via fire signals, pigeons, or mounted courier with neighbouring castles. On the other hand, Armenian monasteries, which are not merged together with villages or fortresses, often find security in their isolation.

Depending on the importance of the fortification and the requirements in manning tension/traction weapons (e.g. catapults), a permanent garrison with between 30 and 115 men might not be uncommon. In times of emergency they could have sallied forth to ambush an enemy or have been stationed at the defences; in times of peace they might occasionally have performed basic maintenance on the fort. They might have received a stipend for their military services or received land and were allowed to keep a sizeable portion of their production from farming and livestock. Unfortunately, no medieval sources on Cilicia

⁶³ Under the Byzantine theme system inalienable grants of land were made to soldiers on condition of hereditary military service. As early as the reign of Heraclius, the theme of Armeniakon was settled with this system of land ownership.

specifies the obligations between the Armenian baron, who administered the fort and district, and his garrison. We can infer from the very large number of references to garrisons who vigorously defended their fortresses that the troops were loyal to their commander and his district. Aside from the obvious military considerations, the erection of a new fortress would by necessity dictate a site where a village, which initially had the families of the garrison and the support personnel (e.g. stable keepers, wheelwrights, masons, and smiths), could be relatively self-sufficient. The nucleus-village would grow with the migration of more civilians who in turn paid taxes to the local baron. Thus for the Armenian dynast this fortress-oriented community might prove to be an important source of income that in time would more than offset the initial (and probably sizeable) expenditure for the construction of the fortress.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

This thesis demonstrated the importance of analysing the historical landscape in order to comprehend more fully the *raisons d'être* of the medieval fortifications in Cilicia. It has become clear through this research that the inheritance of fortifications built by Armenians in the medieval period is far larger than first accepted by previous scholars. The difference between the picture presented here in this thesis and the approach of the 'existing model' can be summarized in the use made of the concept of 'management strategy' as opposed to that of the purely 'military strategy', which was used by Edwards and Molin. Both terms signify, in my opinion, different aspects of the inhabitation of Cilicia by the Armenians. The 'Armenian kingdom' can be limited both in space and time and can be characterized by its bellicose aspects. The nature of 'Armenian settlement', however, was far more diverse and extended over a longer period of time. The expansion of the Rubenid barony from the 1180s, combined with the decline of Het'umid, Byzantine and Norman influence, created a territorial expansion in which new fortifications were established alongside new settlements. The progress of these Armenian settlements throughout Cilicia and especially in the Cilician plain was a natural consequence of the military conquest but the fact that these two processes occurred consequently and influenced each other does not justify identifying one with the other. Many fortifications formed a symbiotic relationship with the nearby fortification. It would be more correct, in my opinion, to study each process separately as two consecutive stages in the creation of the Armenian kingdom.

In the first stage of the Armenian occupation of Cilicia (which is, in our case, the baronial period from 1075 to 1198), the frontier was very fluid and fortifications were taken and lost by diverse powers in the region. Until 1198, and even afterwards on some occasions, there was not one well-defined enemy, and despite the extended residence of T'oros I in Anavarza, a permanent hold of the Rubenids in the Cilician plain was hard to maintain. In order to control their territory, the Het'umids and Rubenids controlled

fortifications, such as Lampron, Çandır, Vagha, and Anavarza, which were already constructed in an earlier phase. Because of their strategic location in the Taurus Mountains Apllarip, appointed by the Byzantine Emperor, decided to establish his seat at Çandır and Lampron, where unassailable castles were already constructed by the Byzantines. In the process of creating a barony in a frontier region, the existence of fortifications on strategic locations in the mountains must have been an important factor in their survival and later success.

In the second stage (which, in our case, is from the coronation of Levon in 1198 to the appearance of the Mamluk threat in 1266) the 'frontiers' were more or less defined and local barons must have seized the initiative (and been granted permission) to construct fortifications, in some cases *de novo*, in the newly gained territories. The study areas of Cilicia Trachea and Cilicia Pedias must have been gradually populated during this period with settlers and migrants, moved mainly by personal motives, such as economic advantages, while the importance of the two poles of power, Tarsus and Sis, increased during this period. Merchants from all directions must have brought in revenues, filled the royal treasury and enabled the repair and refortifications of several sites in Cilicia. The granting of a western march to the Hospitallers and an eastern march to the Teutonic Knights, together with the permission to construct castles and raise taxes from the neighbouring agricultural lands, was a tactical move by Levon I. In doing this, Levon decided to give fertile land, newly acquired by the Rubenids in the preceding decennia, and castles away in the hope of receiving military support from the military orders. This process (1210-1250) coincides with the acquisition of castles and land by the military orders throughout the principality of Antioch and the Holy Land.

The third stage marks the start of the Mamluk incursions in the Cilician plain in 1266 and the final siege and capture of Sis in 1375. The increasing threat of the Mamluk forces, despite the Armenians' newly gained Mongol allies, most likely had a devastating effect on

the eastern half of the Cilician plain and all fortifications in the Amanus region. From 1337, Mamluk conquest remained permanent and decided the fate of the Armenian kingdom.

The differences between the first, second, and third stages, are important to draw in order to distinguish the different *raisons d'être* of the fortifications and their development. The siting of castles was determined not only by strategic thinking but sometimes by more mundane needs, such as water supply and proximity to good agricultural land. The construction of the fortifications in the Cilician plain near the Pyramus and its tributaries definitely proves this point. Any intervisibility could have been merely coincidental and perhaps inevitable as the Armenians were building their fortifications in the plain on the occasional limestone outcrops. The fortifications built by the Armenians *de novo* in the Cilician plain were not just a cluster of a defensive network, but they rather defended agricultural centres. Amuda can serve as a perfect example. During the Mamluk raid of 1266, Amuda sheltered thousands of civilians, whilst its location next to the Pyramus provided it with plenty of fish and probably made it a useful place to collect tolls from people travelling between Sis and the Amanus Gates. All these factors suggest that the outcrop occupied by the castle was chosen because it lay at the heart of a well-populated area good for fishing and farming. The fact that Amuda was granted to the Teutonic Knights, who repaired it with little regard to the Armenian building techniques and on a site which was already fortified in the 12th century, shows that when other castles can be seen from the ramparts it is probably mere coincidence, instead of strategic planning. Its primary functions, as stated in the grant, were as a centre of trade, farming, and offering defence for the villagers.

This work shows clearly that an overwhelming amount of Armenian remains, such as Anavarza, Savranda, Anahşa, Geben, Bağras, almost definitely have foundations which are considerably older. With the establishment of certain architectural paradigms, such as the use of 'Armenian' type masonry, the 'Armenian' type gateway, and other components such as horseshoe-shaped towers, the Armenian contribution to fortifications in medieval Cilicia can be clearly analysed.

In this thesis it is shown that the Armenian kingdom did not possess one heart as so many scholars vaguely stated. According to the archaeological evidence of fortifications and rural settlements the Armenians concentrated themselves along several zones in Cilicia. This thesis has attempted to present a more comprehensive view of the Armenian kingdom with its constellation of fortifications, cities, villages, and monasteries. The fate of the Armenian kingdom turned the process of settlement into a passing phase. The Armenian heritage – the constructions of some of the most impressive fortifications of their time – never disappeared. It is my hope that these archaeological remains will continue to be relevant in the collective memory of many generations to come as well as, so it would seem to me, in the collective memory of many scholars today and that this heritage receives finally the interest it deserves.

APPENDIX ONE: GLOSSARY

Ablaq

Arabic term for the alternate placing of stones of different colours, light and dark, in the frame of a door or window. The technique probably originated in Syria in the Byzantine period and is first recorded in Islamic architecture in repairs carried out in the north wall of the Great Mosque of Damascus dated to 1109. It became very typical in Mamluk mosques and madrasas and is only occasionally found in Frankish architecture.

Ashlar

Large, squared building stones usually applied as a facing on a rubble core or at the quoins (corners) of structures otherwise constructed of coarse masonry to form an accurate angle.

Arrière-voussure

A rear vault: an arch or vault in a thick wall carrying the thickness of the wall (especially one over a door/window frame).

Barrel-vault

Known also as a tunnel-vault, the barrel-vault is an extended arch forming curved, semi-cylindrical roofing. The most basic type of vaulting, its chief disadvantage lies in the considerable outward thrust to either side which made thick side walls with few openings mandatory. Barrel vaults were used in ancient Egypt and were frequently employed in Roman architecture. In the medieval period (in the Latin East from as early as the first half of the twelfth century, somewhat later in the West) barrel vaults were frequently slightly pointed.

Bay

Space covered by a single vault, usually applied to groin or rib-vaulting.

Bezant

Gold coin in use in the Latin East during the Crusader period.

Boss

Carved ornament decorating the intersection of ribs in a vault.

Bracket

Projecting stone employed to support weight such as a supporting arch in a vault.

Brattice/bretèche

A brattice or breteche is a small balcony with machicolation, typical in medieval fortifications, usually built over a gate and sometimes in the corners of the fortress' wall, with the purpose of enabling defenders to shoot arrows or throw objects at the attackers covering under the curtain wall. Depending on whether they have a roof, bretèche can be classified into two types: open and closed. The open type can be assessed from the battlement, chemin de ronde or from a crenel.

Brazier

Movable fireplace of metal, stone or ceramic which was in common use in many regions prior to the introduction of the fireplace and wall chimney.

Casal (casale, casalia)

Latinized French term for village which was in common use in the Latin East originated in Western Europe and stemmed from the Latin word casa (house or farm); casal being a cluster of houses in a rural setting. Occasionally it is referred to in equivalent terms such as feuda, and villae, but casal (casale) is the most frequent form found in medieval charters and documents. In the Latin East the casal was the basic unit of rural habitation, isolated farms (curtiles) being a comparatively uncommon type of settlement in this period. Sources relating

to the Latin East record hundreds of casalia occupied by Franks, Eastern Christians and Muslim peasants and even one by Samaritans. The casalia varied considerably in size and in population; from small hamlets of a few isolated houses to large rural settlements that could almost be defined as towns were it not for their complete lack of urban institutions. A typical casal consisted of the manor house and church, the villeins' dwellings, some communal installations such as mills, ovens, dovecots, and threshing floors, crofts, common pasture and the village's arable lands. The arable land of a casal was defined in units of ploughland known as carruca. One or two carrucae was the usual size of a villein's holding. Frankish settlers in a casal in the Latin East were freemen whereas the Western villain was generally of servile status.

Centring

Temporary support constructed in order to erect an arch, vault or dome.

Curtile

In the Latin East this term refers to a rural holding, usually a farm.

Discharging arch or relieving arch

An arch built over a lintel to take off the upper incumbent weight.

Dispensator

Latin term for steward representing the landlord in rural estates. The dispensator or locator occupied apartments in a castle or rural estate centre and from there managed the estate and lands of the lord, collecting taxes, solving disputes and managing rural activities in general.

Faubourg

French term, originally forsbourg, deriving from the Latin foris (out of) and the Vulgar Latin (Germanic) burgum (town or fortress). The faubourg was a settlement that developed outside

a fortified town or a castle relying on the fortifications as a deterrent against attack. In times of danger the settlers would find safety behind the fortification walls. Eventually these settlements often became fortified themselves.

Flat Arch

Horizontal stone spanning above an opening, doorway or window. Sometimes referred to as a lintel.

Groin Vault

Vault formed of two intersecting barrel vaults, the groin being the curved arris formed at the intersection of the vaulting surfaces. In this vaulting, as opposed to barrel vaults, the weight is carried to the four corners and supported on piers, thereby enabling unlimited expansion of a roofed area by the addition of more piers and vaulted bays.

Hoarding

A hoard or hoarding was a temporary wooden (shed-like) construction that was placed on the exterior of the ramparts of a castle during a siege. The purpose of a hoarding was to allow the defenders to improve their field of fire along the length of the curtain wall and, most particularly, directly downwards to the wall base.

Imbrices (Imbrex)

Baked clay roof tiles of semi-cylindrical form, used together with the tegulae to cover the joints of the latter and prevent seepage of water.

Jambs

A door jamb or doorpost is the vertical portion of the frame onto which a door is secured. The jamb bears the weight of the door through its hinges.

Joist Holes

Support of floors and roof utilizing wood? Horizontal support that runs from wall to wall and can carry floor and ceiling.

Keystone

A keystone is the wedge-shaped stone piece at the apex of a masonry vault or arch, which is the final piece placed during construction and locks all the stones into position, allowing the arch to bear weight. Although a masonry arch or vault cannot be self-supporting until the keystone is placed, the keystone experiences the least pressure of any of the voussoirs, due to its position at the apex.

Machicoulis (Machicolation)

Opening above a doorway or along a fortification wall through which objects could be dropped on assailants. Above doors these were usually in the form of slits or shafts between two arches or as small balconies supported on corbels. On fortification walls there could be either balconies or galleries.

Maison Forte

Fortified rural estate centre. A type of manor house established by feudal lords that was typical of rural France in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

Marginal Drafting

Working on the margins of an ashlar to form a smooth levelled border on its external surface.

Putlog holes

Holes or open spaces between stones placed at equal distances along the top inner faces of two parallel walls that are to be vaulted over with a barrel vault. The holes served as slots

into which transverse beams were inserted to form the bases for semicircular scaffolding onto which the vault was constructed.

Quadriburgium

Rectangular fort consisting of four curtain walls and projecting corner towers.

Quoin

A masonry block at the corner of a wall. They exist to provide strength for a wall made with inferior stone/rubble.

Relieving Arch

A relieving arch or discharging arch is an arch built over a lintel or architrave to take off the super incumbent weight.

Revetment

A facing, as of masonry, used to support an embankment.

Rib vault

Developing from the groin vault, the groins being replaced by profiled stone ribs which were usually constructed first, the spaces between being filled by light masonry. This was the basis of the Gothic system, the light weight rib network allowing the construction of taller, lighter buildings.

Salient

Outward buldge that cuts out to form an angle and projects to flank an enemy approach.

Socles

In archaeology, a socle is used to refer to a wall base, frequently of stone, that supports the upper part of the wall, which is mostly made in Cilicia of wood or mud brick.

Vousoir

From old French (vossoir) and Vulgar Latin (volsorium) meaning a wedge-shaped stone used to form an arch. This term was in use at least since the thirteenth century.

APPENDIX TWO: A GAZETTEER OF MEDIEVAL SITES IN CILICIA

The following section is a gazetteer of all major, archaeological sites from the Armenian kingdom. The sites are presented alphabetically and each site is defined by two to four categories of information that will provide an immediate reference to some basic facts. The emphasis here is on the archaeology of Cilicia and thus a place is listed with * when there is some physical, extant evidence of medieval occupation or construction has taken place. Consequently, for instance, the city of Adana is listed without *. Although we know historically that some Armenians lived within its collapsed walls after the 10th century, no particular medieval remains are to be found in the current city. This in contrast to the city of Misis, where a current archaeology team of the University of Pisa are excavating the remains of the fortified outcrop.

The modern Turkish name for each site is the first entry because the medieval toponym, in the majority of the cases, is unknown or in dispute. The Turkish designation, and not the Armenian, appears on modern maps. If variant spellings or two separate names are commonly used for a site, then both will be listed.

The second entry, the Classification of Buildings, is a number that represents the type of occupation and construction that is present at a given site. This typology has been worked out in Chapter 5. The order is as follows: 1 = Watch Posts; 2 = Quadriburgia (without keep); 3 = Tower Keeps/ Hall Houses (without bailey); 4 = Keep and Bailey (sometimes incorporated); 5 = Castle without Enclosure; 6 = Enclosure Castle; 7 = Fortress/Citadel; 8 = Sea Castle; 9 = Rural Settlement or unfortified medieval village; 10 = Classical site; 11 =

Cloister.⁶⁴ If it suspected that a particular site does have Armenian remains, but the published information is simply inadequate or too unprofessional for one to draw firm conclusions, a question mark (?) follows the number. If the site is incorporated in the discussions of this thesis, then the name of the site will be underlined.

The third entry is the exact location of each site if known. The geographic coordinates found on Google Earth indicate the position of each site by degrees and minutes in latitude (north) and longitude (east). The fourth entry is a summary from modern publications where more information can be found. The goal of this gazetteer is neither to provide a historical description nor analyse the historiographic veracity of the textual evidence here. While such a study is certainly necessary, its presence here is a separate effort entirely and one which would outweigh the dissertation itself not only in new data, but in sheer volume. The fifth entry is collection of my personal observations.⁶⁵

Abidye

Toponymy: Abedi

Typology: 9

History: Casale mentioned in the grant of 1212 by Levon I to the Teutonic Knights (Langlois, 1863: 118)

Adana

Toponymy: τὰ Ἰῶανα, τὰ Ἰῶανά, Athena, Adena, Azara, Ađana,

Typology: 10

⁶⁴ The category of “Classical site” will be cited whether the city was occupied by the Armenians themselves or uninhabited but adjacent to an Armenian site.

⁶⁵ Because of the time limit it was impossible for me to visit every site. A good attempt, however, has been made during the summers between 2011 and 2013.

Location: 37°0'06"N ; 35°19'44"E

Agner, Eĝner *

Toponymy: Aguener, Akanc', Eĝnar

Typology: 11

Location: 37°26'54"N ; 35°27'34"E

Akkale (near Lamas)*

Location: 36°31'44"N ; 34°13'21"E

Typology: 10

Ak Kale

Typology: 6

Location: 37°32'55"N ; 36°22'02"E

Publications: Fedden and Thomson, 1957: 12; 22; 54 - Boase, 1978: 149; 153 - Edwards, 1987: 55-56

Plan: Plan no. 1 (Appendix 3)

Akkilise*

Typology: 11

Location: 37°42'31"N ; 35°37'00"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1986: 98 - Hild, 1990: 167

Akören*

Typology: 11

Location: 37°28'23"N ; 35°27'51"

Aladağ

Toponymy: 2

Location: 37°05'18"N ; 34°58'00"E

Alafakılar

Toponymy: Alifakılı, Kaleyüzü

Typology: 1

Location: 37°30'50"N ; 35°43'54"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 57

Alahan*

Typology: 11

Location: 36°47'29"N ; 33°21'10"E

Alaiye*

Toponymy: Alanya Köyü, Alanyalı

Location: 37°05'52"N ; 34°30'25"

Publications: Hild, 1990: 170

Amanus Mountains

Toponymy: Ἀμανός, Montana Nigra, Seaw Liarn (Armenian for Black Mountains), Nur Dağları (Amanus Dağları)

Location: Mountain range divided into two ranges by the Belen Pass (Syrian Gates); the southern the Kizil Dağ with the Gebel Akmar and Gebel Simon, and the northern the Nur Dağları stretching up to Mar'ash

Amanus Gates

Toponymy: Ἀμανικαὶ πύλαι, Ἀμανίδες πύλαι, Pylae Amanides, Derbendal Marrim

Location: It lies between the modern cities of Osmaniye and Fevsipaşa. On the south it is approached by a group of shallow valleys, and a southern track runs through them from Osmaniye to Islahiye. To the north another pass, the Bahçe, leads to a route between the Hamus and Pyramus rivers.

Amayk'

Toponymy: Amoyk', 'Amāōs

Amuda, Hemite Kalesi

Toponymy: Amouda, Amoudain, Amutay, Adamodana, Qal'at al-'Āmudain

Typology: 4

Location: 37°11'17"N ; 36°05'40"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 225-29 – Boase, 1978: 113-15 - Hellenkemper, 1976: 123-31 – Edwards, 1987: 58-62

Plan: Plan no. 2 (Appendix 3)

Amuq Plain

Location: Marshy plain north of Antioch, stretching in a long but little used corridor up to Mar'ash, between the Amanus Mountains and the Kurd Dagh

Anabat

Typology: 11

Anacık

Typology: 3

Location: 37°23'55"N ; 36°20'17"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 62

Anahşa

Toponymy: Eskianahşa Rodentos, Butrentum

Typology: 7

Location: 37°23'36"N ; 34°54'23"E

Publications: Langlois, 1861: 166; 377-79 - Heffening, 1925: 179-89 – Hild, 1981: 185 – Edwards, 1987: 62-65

Plan: Plan no. 3 (Appendix 3)

Anavarza

Toponymy: Ἀνάβαρζα, Anazarbus, 'Ain Zarba, 'Ain Zarbā, Nāwarzā, Ānāzarbā, Anavarza

Typology: 7

Location: 37°15'14"N ; 35°54'17"E

Publications: Gough, 1952: 85-150 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 191-201 – Hild, 1990: 178-85 –
Edwards, 1987: 65-72

Plan: Plan no. 4 (Appendix 3)

Andıl Kalesi & Andıl Köy

Toponymy: Andul

Typology: 5 & 9

Location: 37°32'50"N ; 35°47'35"E & 37°32'28"N ; 35°47'22"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 66; 264 – Edwards, 1987: 72-77

Andouchedza

Toponymy: Antouchezda, Antiochetta?

Andriasank^t

Toponymy: Alabozan, Alibozan Fenk

Typology: 11

Andırın

Toponymy: Ἀνδρασός

Location: 37°34'36"N ; 36°21'09"

Ane, Han Kalesi*

Location: 37°49'52"N ; 36°52'30"

Anamur*

Toponymy: Ἄνεμούριον, Ἄνεμώριον, Ἄνεμόνη, Anemurium, Anemorium, Anemourion, Astalimure, Stallimuri, Stallimuro

Typology: 10

Location: 36°01'20"N ; 32°48'11"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 187-191

Antiochetta*

Toponymy: Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράγῳ, Antiochia ad Cragum, Antiochia parva, Antiochet, Antiozeta, Andawšc, Andūšič

Typology: 10

Location: 36°09'24"N ; 32°24'54"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 191-93

Areg

Toponymy: Aregin, Aregni, Aregi

Typology: 11

Ark'akaĭn

Toponymy: Ark'akaĭni, probably Peri Kalesi

Typology: 11

Arslanköy

Toponymy: Aslanköy

Typology: 6

Location: 36°59'31"N ; 34°17'24"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 76-77

Arsuz

Toponymy: Port Bonnel, Rhossus, Rosus

Typology: 10

Asgouras:

Toponymy: Ἄσκορα, Askurās

Publications: Hild, 1990: 199-200

Aşılı, Nürfet Yolu

Typology: 6

Location: 37°35'08"N ; 31°15'00"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 199

Avlik, Koçlu*

Location: 37°29'47"N ; 36°11'27"E

Ayas, Yumurtalık

Toponymy: Αἰγαῖαι, Αἰγέαι, Αἰγαί, Ἀγιάσιν, Āyās, Ayas, Aegea[e] Ayacium, Ayazzo, Ayaccio, Lajazzo, Layazzo, La Giazza, La Jazza, Laicum, Laiacium, Laizo,

Typology: 6 and 8

Location: 36°46'03"N ; 35°47'19"E

Publications: Langlois, 1863: 4 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 154-64 – Boase, 1978: 137-44 – Edwards, 1987: 77-83

Ayas, Elaiussa Sebaste*

Typology: 10

Location: 36°29'01"N ; 34°10'26"E

Aydap İskelesi

Toponymy: Ἴωτάπη, Ayžutap

Typology: 10

Location: 36°19'36"N ; 32°16'56"E

Aygek

Toponymy: Aygeak

Ayun

Toponymy: Ayn, Ayim, Heion, Ayinselime (?)

Typology: 9

History: Unidentified casale granted by Levon I in 1212 to the Teutonic Knights (Langlois, Cartulaire: 117; 119; 121).

Azgit

Toponymy: Šoľakan

Typology: 4

Location: 37°36'35"N ; 36°22'56"E

Publications: Fedden & Thomson, 1957: 46 – Boase, 1978: 84-91 – Mutafian, 1988, I: 301; 416 – Edwards, 1987: 82-84 – Hild, 1990: 418

Babaoğlan

Typology: 6

Location: 37°14'35"N ; 36°11'14"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 84-87 – Hild, 1990: 411

Plan: Plan no. 5 (Appendix 3)

Babıklı

Typology: 4

Location: 37°29'38"N ; 36°15'35"E

Bağras

Toponymy: Πάγραι, Bağras, Bakras, Gaston, Guastone

Typology: 7

Location: 36°25'36"N ; 36°13'31"E

Publications: Cahen, 1940: 141-55 – Müller-Wiener, 1966: 48 – Deschamps, 1973: 165-71;
359 – Boase, 1978: 35-49 – Edwards, 1983: 415-55

Barseleanc' Vank'

Typology: 11

Başnalar

Typology: 6

Location: 36°50'36"N ; 34°29'16"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1896: 40 – Edwards, 1987: 87-89

Bayremker

Typology: 6

Location: 37°47'24"N ; 35°35'08"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 88-91

Belen Keşlik

Typology: 3

Location: 36°58'21"N ; 34°33'11"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 90

Bodrum

Toponymy: Καστάβαλα, Hieropolis Castabala, Budrum

Typology: 6

Location: 37°10'39"N ; 36°11'14"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1976: 137-39 – Dagron, 1987: 203-208 – Edwards, 1987: 92-95

Bossek

Typology: 3

Location: 37°23'32"N ; 36°36'26"E

Bostan

Toponymy: Kopitař, Gobidar, Gubidara

Typology: 7

Location: 37°38'13"N ; 35°36'19"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 94-98 – Hild, 1990: 217; 310

Bucak

Typology: 6

Location: 37°26'41"N ; 35°55'44"E

Publications: Fedden & Thomson, 1957: 12 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 214 – Edwards, 1987: 97

Buquequia

Toponymy: Buchona, Bucona, Bequoqua

Typology: 9

Büyükçakır*

Location: 37°46'11"N ; 35°24'39"E

Büyükçamurlu*

Location: 37°53'31"N ; 36°24'04"E

Buyuksofulu*

Typology: 5

Location: 37°35'48"N ; 35°07'44"E

Çalan, Sivlan Kalesi

Toponymy: La Roche de la Roussel, Hadjâr Choghlan, K'ar Šutran, Shoglân, Chilvan Kale, Shalan Kale, Sultan Kale

Typology: 7

Location: 36°39'35"N ; 36°19'32"E

Plan: Plan no. 6 (Appendix 3)

Calendria, Aydıncık

Toponymy: Κελένδερις, Chelindri, Gilindire, Celenderet, Candalar, Kelenderis

Typology: 10

Location: 36°08'51"N ; 33°21'40"E

Publications: Cahen, 1940: 141; 512 – Deschamps, 1973: 70; 363 – Edwards, 1987: 99-102

Çandır

Toponymy: Baberon, Barbaron, Paperawn, Paperōn, Candirli

Typology: 7

Location: 37°01'09"N ; 34°36'52"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 72 – Gottwald, 1936: 86-100 – Edwards, 1987: 102-110

Çardak

Toponymy: Gavur Kalesi

Typology: 6

Location: 37°04'28"; 36°19'07"

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 110-13 – Hild, 1990: 269

Plan: Plan no. 7 (Appendix 3)

Çebis, Petler

Typology: 6

Location: 37°36'26"N ; 36°29'59"E

Cemilli*

Location: 36°48'10"N ; 34°27'10"E

Çem Kalesi

Toponymy: Añudzberd, Kınaskalesi, Kale Farnas, Sıpha, Çemkale

Typology: 7

Location: 37°33'01"N ; 36°02'25"

Publications: Dagron, 1987: 192-96 – Edwards, 1987: 113-17 – Hild, 1990: 197

Plan: Plan no. 8 (Appendix 3)

Çığsar, Su Çati

Typology: 6

Location: 37°46'12"N ; 36°17'50"E

Çirak

Toponymy: Žirak

Typology: 11

Çoxat'

Typology: 11

Çukur Çömelek

Typology: 6

Location: 37°22'23"N ; 35°04'14"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1986: 97 – Hild, 1990: 231

Çukurhisar

Toponymy: Gantchi, Gaintchi, Gantchoug, Ghorriculi, Kanč‘, Kanč’i

Typology: 6

Location: 37°49'19"N ; 36°33'29"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 285

Çukurköy*

Location: 37°22'23"N ; 35°06'24"E

Cumbethfort

Typology: 9

Cumurlu*

Location: 37°57'09"N ; 36°01'50"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 232

Degirmendere Kale

Typology: 5

Location: 37°39'17"N ; 36°14'20"E

Dibi

Toponymy: Kaledibi

Typology: 6

Location: 37°34'28"N ; 36°25'46"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 117-19

Dio-Caesarea, Uzuncaburç*

Typology: 10

Location: 36°35'04"N ; 33°55'36"E

Dokurcun, Beyoluğu

Typology: 5

Location: 37°44'59"N ; 36°15'14"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 241

Elmalı Kale*

Location: 37°40'47"N ; 35°54'27"E

Epiphaneia, Gözene*

Toponymy: Ἐπιφάνεια, Kanīsat as-saudā, al-Kanīsa as-saudā', al-Kanīsa, Keniz, Gözeneler

Typology: 10

Location: 36°58'22"N ; 36°07'12"E

Ermenek

Toponymy: Jamengane, Germanicae, Germanicopolis, Žermanik, Ermenāk

Typology: 10

Location: 36°38'16"N ; 32°53'40"E

Esenli, Essende Kale

Typology: 5

Location: 37°38'19"N ; 36°07'25"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 113 – Hild, 1990: 251

Evciler

Typology: 4

Location: 37°02'20"N ; 34°29'38"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 119-22

Fenk

Typology: 11

Fındıklı

Toponymy: Kizil Kale

Typology: 6

Location: 37°55'17"N ; 36°25'47"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 121

Fındıkpınar

Typology: 6

Location: 36°55'32"N ; 34°22'56"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 122-4

Fırnis*

Toponymy: Fawīnaws, Fōīnōs, Fornauce, Fernus, Fernuz

Location: 37°46'06"N ; 36°41'12"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 211

Geben, Meryemçil Kalesi

Toponymy: Καπνισπερτι, Kapan, Gaban, Gheiben, Gabnupert, Gabnūpīrat, Çinçin Kale

Typology: 7

Location: 37°48'52"N ; 36°24'29"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 124-31 – Mutafian, 1988, I: 389 – Hild, 1990: 287

Plan: Plan no. 9 (Appendix 3)

Gediği

Typology: 11

Location: 36°59'30"N ; 34°22'47"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 130

Gemrjgeri Vank'

Typology: 11

Genzin*

Toponymy: Gaënsin, Ghensin, Gensin

Location: 37°12'15"N ; 34°47'00"E

Germałbiwr

Toponymy: Ĵermałbiwr

Typology: 11

Göksun

Toponymy: Κουκουσος, Κυκουσός, Coxon, Cocussus, Gôgison

Typology: 10

Location: 38°00'52"N ; 36°30'23"E

Gökvelioğlu

Toponymy: Gueval-oğlu, Kizlar Kale, Mosku

Typology: 7

Location: 36°50'39"N ; 35°36'29"E

Publications: Cahen, 1940: 151 – Youngs, 1965: 118-125 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 165-69, Edwards, 1987: 132-37 – Hild, 1990: 454

Plan: Plan no. 10 (Appendix 3)

Gösne

Toponymy: Gösnekoy

Typology: 3

Location: 36°59'32"N ; 34°34'30"E

Publications: Gottwald, 1941: 96 – Edwards, 19897: 136-39 – Hild, 1990: 351

Grner

Toponymy: Kerner

Typology: 11

Gülek

Toponymy: Guglag, Kuklak, Gogulat, Cogolaquum, Kawlāk

Typology: 7

Location: 37°16'08"N ; 34°47'27"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 132-37 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 225-27 – Edwards, 1987: 139-42

Haçtırın

Typology: 1

Location: 37°31'40"N ; 36°21'51"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 141

Haruniye

Toponymy: Irenopolis, Neronias, Düziçi, Hārūnīyya, Harunia, Haroun, Harouniya, al-Hārūnīya, Aronia, Haronia

Typology: 6

Location: 37°16'06"N ; 36°29'16"E

Publications: Cahen, 1940: 145-49, Edwards, 1987: 143-47 – Hild, 1990: 247 – Eger, 2006: 463-70

Plan: Plan no. 11 (Appendix 3)

Hasanbeyli

Typology: 1

Location: 37°07'54"N ; 36°33'48"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1976: 120-22 - Edwards, 1987: 146-49 – Hild, 1990: 409

Hebilli

Typology: 5

Location: 36°55'05"N ; 34°39'42"E

Heçkeren*

Location: 37°14'20"N ; 36°12'17"E

Hisar

Typology: 5

Location: 37°00'42"N ; 34°27'25"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 148

Hotalan

Toponymy: Hotalanı

Typology: 1

Location: 37°30'01"N ; 35°14'48"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 146-51 – Hild, 1990: 272

Işa Kalesi

Typology: 5

Location: 37°29'15"N ; 35°06'55"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 150-53

Plan: Plan no. 12 (Appendix 3)

Iskenderun

Toponymy: Ἀλεξάνδρεια, Alexandretta, Alexandria, Myriandrus, Issa, Iskandarūna

Typology: 10

Location: 36°35'13"N ; 36°10'24"E

ĵəvalk

Toponymy: Tchevlik

Typology: 11

Joacheth

Typology: 9

Joroy Vanck'

Typology: 11

ĵrhor

Toponymy: Cirorim

Typology: 11

Kadirli

Toponymy: Φλαβιάς, Flavias, Flaviopolis, Kars

Typology: 10

Location: 37°22'13"N ; 36°06'01"E

Kalası

Typology: 6

Location: 37°36'03"N ; 36°28'27"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 152-55

Kalealtı

Typology: 5

Location: 37°32'10"N ; 36°09'42"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 282

Kaleboynu

Typology: 6

Location: 37°42'30"N ; 36°27'15"E

Kalkan

Typology: 6

Location: 37°34'51"N ; 36°03'13"E

Karafrenk

Toponymy: Frenk Kale

Typology: 2

Location: 37°10'00"N ; 36°35'33"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 154-57

K'arašit'*

Typology: 11

Location: 36°52'27"N ; 35°44'08"E

K'artizkuenoc'

Toponymy: Kardizguenotz

Typology: 11

Kastaławn

Toponymy: Gasdagh'ōn

Typology: 11

Kinet

Toponymy: Canamella, Calamella, Caramella,

Typology: 10

Location: 36°51'13"N ; 36°09'25"E

Kız(lar) Kalesi

Toponymy: Kız, İanifakışla, Yanıphakışla

Typology: 4

Location: 37°09'10"N ; 34°55'32"E

Publications: Gottwald, 1941: 94 – Edwards, 1987: 157-61 – Hild, 1990: 306

Plan: Plan no. 13 (Appendix 3)

Kiz Kalesi

Typology: 8

Location: 36°27'24"N ; 34°09'03"E

Korykos

Toponymy: Κούρικος, Κώρικος, Κούρικον, Κοῦρκος, Qurquš, Co[u]rc[h], Curc[us],
Kiwrikos, Gořigos

Typology: 7

Location: 36°27'50"N ; 34°09'03"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 393-409 – Herzfeld, 1930: 161-89 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 242-
49 – Edwards, 1987: 161-7 – Dagron, 1987: 44 – Hild, 1990: 315-20

Kozcağız

Typology: 4

Location: 37°00'44"N ; 36°35'14"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 169-71

Kumkale

Typology: 4

Location: 37°20'N ; 36°16'E

Publications: Fedden & Thomson, 1957: 44 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 131-34 – Edwards, 1987: 170-73

Kütüklü

Typology: 2

Location: 37°01'35"N ; 35°03'31"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 169-71

Kuzucubelen

Typology: 1

Location: 36°50'30"N ; 34°25'59"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1896: 41 – Edwards, 1987: 172-75

Lamas

Toponymy: Λάμος, al-Lāmis, Lamaws

Typology: 6

Location: 36°33'26"N; 34°14'28"E

Publications: Langlois, 1861: 233-37 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 240-42 – Edwards, 1987: 174-76

Lampron, Çamlıyayla

Toponymy: Lambrōn, Embruns, Namrun, Tāmṛūn

Typology: 7

Location: 37°09'57"N ; 34°36'11"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 80-102 - Robinson, 1969: 183-207 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 228-33 – Edwards, 1987: 176-85

Liman

Toponymy: Aghliman

Typology: 6

Location: 36°16'42"N ; 33°50'08"E

Loulon

Toponymy: Lulon, Lulwa, Lu'lu'a, Loulva, Loulou, Luluah

Typology: 10

Mallos

Toponymy: Μαλλός, [Hışn] al-Mallūn, Melos, Melun, Mlun, Malo

Typology: 10

Location: 36°45'27"N ; 35°29'12"E

Mamure Kalesi

Toponymy: Stalemura, Anemourion, Mamur, Mamuriye, Kalesçi, Memoriyeh

Typology: 7

Location: 36°04'52"N ; 32°53'39"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 338-39

Mancılık Kalesi

Toponymy: Negher? Nfir? Nigrinum, castrum regis nigrum

Typology: 7

Location: 36°48'16"N ; 36°18'33"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1896: 22 – Cahen, 1940: 148 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 104-08 –
Edwards, 184-87

Plan: Plan no. 14 (Appendix 3)

Manion, Menyan Kalesi*

Toponymy: Manioun, Maniawn, Men[n]an

Location: 36°32'59"N ; 33°02'50"E

Publications: Mutafian, 1988, I: 436; 453 – Hild, 1990: 341

Mansurlu

Typology: 2

Location: 37°52'27"N ; 35°37'52"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 187

Maran

Typology: 7

Location: 37°49'49"N ; 35°49'42"E

Publications: Fedden & Thomson, 1957: 12; 54 – Edwards, 1987: 187-89

Mar'ash

Toponymy: Kahramanmaraş, Germanikeia, Γερμανίικια

Typology: 10

Location: 37°35'09"N ; 36°56'16"E

Maškewor

Toponymy: Maschguévor, Machegévor

Typology: 11

Mavga

Toponymy: Maghva, Mavga Kale, Manga, Malva, Māfgā

Location: 36°43'36"N ; 33°30'18"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 327

Meck'ar

Typology: 11

Menevşe Kalesi*

Toponymy: Menewsche, Manascha, Manaşa

Location: 36°52'45"N ; 34°29'04"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1896: 41 – Hild, 1990: 347-48

Meydan

Toponymy: Barjberd, Barjraber, Barsbirt, Bars Birt, Partzapert, Partrspert, Barsbirt (High Castle)

Typology: 7

Location: 37°30'44"N ; 35°21'43"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 189-94

Meydancık Kalesi*

Location: 36°14'08"N ; 33°24'57"E

Mezgit Kalesi*

Typology: 10

Location: 36°29'59"N ; 34°01'37"E

Milvan

Toponymy: Μελοῦς κάστρον, Mawlovon, Mawlewawn, Molevon, Mons Livonis

Typology: 5

Location: 37°18'28"N ; 34°58'34"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 150-56 – Edwards, 1987: 195-98

Misis, Yakapınar

Toponymy: Μοψουεστία, Mamistra, Mopsuestria, Massisah, Msis, al-Maṣṣīṣa, Maṣīṣtā, Malmistra

Typology: 10

Location: 36°57'26"N ; 35°37'27"E

Publications: Langlois, 1861: 446-63 – Edwards, 1987: 198-200 – Dagron, 1987: 132 – Hild, 1990: 351-59

Mitisin

Toponymy: Mitizawn, Mitizōn

Typology: 1

Location: 36°59'11"N ; 36°21'12"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 200

Mlič*

Toponymy: Melidj

Typology: 11

Location: 36°59'55"N ; 34°36'32"E

Mut*

Toponymy: Κλαυδιούπολις, Claudiopolis

Typology: 10

Location: 37°10'53"N ; 33°12'23"E

Oğlan

Typology: 3

Location: 37°10'58"N ; 34°55'37"E

Publications: Hild, 1990: 368

Payas

Toponymy: Pegae, Baiae, Bayyās

Typology: 6

Location: 36°45'36"N ; 36°12'01"E

Publications: Cahen, 1940: 149; 208 – Hellenkemper, 1986: 105-08 – Edwards, 1987: 201-04 – Hild, 1990: 206

Pillar of Jonah

Toponymy: Portella

Typology: 1

Location: 36°39'21"N ; 36°12'51"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1896: 19 – Hellenkemper, 1986: 108-11 – Edwards, 1987: 204-06 – Hild, 1990: 302

Podandus

Typology: 10

Location: 37°06'26"N ; 34°52'37"E

Ritafiye I

Typology: 6

Location: 37°39'47"N ; 36°18'17"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 205-08

Ritafiye II

Typology: 4

Location: 37°40'57"N ; 36°16'49"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 205-208

Saimbeyli

Toponymy: Hadjin, Haçən, Haçin

Typology: 6

Location: 37°59'09"N ; 36°05'33"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 62; 174-77 – Mutafian, 1988, I: 297 – Edwards, 1987: 208-211

Plan: Plan no. 15 (Appendix 3)

Sarı Çiçek

Typology: 5

Location: 37°29'39"N ; 35°17'46"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 211-15

Sari Seki

Toponymy: Castrum Puellarum?, Saqaltutan, Qaṭrağāš

Typology: 6

Location: 36°39'33"N ; 36°13'11"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1986: 110-12 – Edwards, 1987: 215

Savranda

Toponymy: Σαρβανδικὸν ὄρος, Sarvandik'ar, Saruandawi, Selvendegar, Sirfandakār, Savaran

Typology: 7

Location: 37°08'58"N ; 36°27'17"E

Publications: Deschamps, 1937: 379 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 111-15 – Edwards, 1987: 216-21

Plan: Plan no. 16 (Appendix 3)

Sespin

Toponymy: Selpin

Typology: 9

Seleukia

Toponymy: Σελεύκεια, Silifke, Silāwḳyā, Salūqiya, Saleph, Salefo, Seleph

Typology: 7

Location: 36°22'36"N ; 33°54'58"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1976: 249-54 – Edwards, 1987: 221-29 – Hild, 1990: 402-06

Sinap Kalesi (near Çandır)

Typology: 3

Location: 37°01'01"N ; 34°34'31"E

Publications: Gottwald, 1941: 96 – Edwards, 1987: 230

Sinap (near Lampron)

Toponymy: Awšini Amfoc', Ošinburg, Ošinkale, Sinop Kalesi

Typology: 3

Location: 37°10'54"N ; 34°36'44"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 231-33

Sis, Kozan

Toponymy: Σίδιον, Sisium, Sīs, Sīsiya, Sūsana, Assissium, Oussis

Typology: 7

Location: 37°26'36"N ; 35°48'37"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 241-65 – Edwards, 1987: 233-37 – Hild, 1990: 413-16

Skevra

Toponymy: Sghevra, Skewra

Typology: 11

Softa Kalesi

Toponymy: Συκή, Siq, Sykē, Sechin, Siquinium, Siquino, Sechino

Typology: 7

Location: 36°06'13"N ; 33°01'03"E

Sulayayla

Typology: 5

Location: 37°33'24"N ; 36°31'05"E

Tamrut

Typology: 6

Location: 37°27'45"N ; 35°10'06"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 237-41

Plan: Plan no. 17 (Appendix 3)

Tarsus

Toponymy: Ταρσός, Θαρσός, Ἰarasūs

Typology: 10

Location: 36°55'25"N ; 34°53'27"E

Publications: Alishan, 1899: 305-22 – Cahen, 1940: 233 – Dagrón, 1987: 37 – Hild, 1990: 428-39 – Eger, 2006: 538-551

Tece

Typology: 4

Location: 36°43'08"N ; 34°27'08"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1986: 42 – Edwards, 1987: 241-44

Tokmar

Toponymy: Norpert? Castellum Novum?

Typology: 7

Location: 36°15'23"N ; 33°46'13"E

Publications: Hellenkemper, 1986: 35 – Hild, 1990: 367

Tömük

Typology: 3

Location: 36°38'16"N ; 34°21'35"E

Publications: Heberdey, 1896: 45 – Hild, 1990: 449

Toprak

Toponymy: Tall ḥamdūn, Thila, Til Hamdoun, Toprakkale

Typology: 7

Location: 37°03'00"N ; 36°08'11"E

Publications: Gottwald, 1941: 89-104 – Cahen, 1940: 147-50; 325 – Müller-Wiener, 1966: 75 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 140-53 – Edwards, 1987: 244-53 – Hild, 1990: 445-47

Trapesak

Toponymy: Darbsak, Terbezek

Typology: 6

Location: 36°31'53"N ; 36°21'53"E

Publications: Cahen, 1940: 141; 512 – Edwards, 1987: 253 – Mutafian, 1988, I, 134; 329-31

Trazarg

Toponymy: Tres Arcus, Tres Arces, Drazark

Typology: 11

Tumil

Typology: 2

Location: 36°49'34"N ; 34°39'44"E

Publications: Langlois, 1861: 254 – Edwards, 1987: 254 – Hild, 1990: 447

Tumlu

Toponymy: T'lsap

Typology: 6

Location: 37°09'01"N ; 35°42'05"E

Publications: Langlois, 1861: 444 – Youngs, 1965: 113-18 – Edwards, 1987: 255-59 – Hild, 1990: 449

Plan: Plan no. 18 (Appendix 3)

Turunçlu*

Location: 37°31'10"N ; 36°03'08"E

Vahqa, Eski Feke

Toponymy: Вақã, Vahka, Bahgã, Bahgai,

Typology: 7

Location: 37°51'37"N ; 35°57'05"E

Publications: Dunbar, 1964: 175-84 – Edwards, 1987: 259-65 – Hild, 1990: 207-08

Plan: Plan no. 19 (Appendix 3)

Yaka

Typology: 2

Location: 36°51'40"N ; 34°44'03"E

Publications: Langlois, 1861: 254 – Edwards, 1987: 265:67 – Hild, 1990: 458

Yanik Kale

Typology: 3

Location: 37°26'42"N ; 35°11'41"E

Yeni Köy, Gire Kale

Toponymy: Κυριακη, Gireyi

Location: 37°31'17"N ; 35°25'58"E

Publications: Edwards, 1987: 267-69

Yılan Kalesi

Typology: 7

Location: 37°00'53"N ; 35°44'52"E

Publications: Gottwald, 1941: 83-93 – Youngs, 1965: 125-34 – Hellenkemper, 1976: 169-87
– Edwards, 1987: 269-76

Plan: Plan no. 20 (Appendix 3)

APPENDIX THREE: PLANS

Plan 1 - Ak Kale

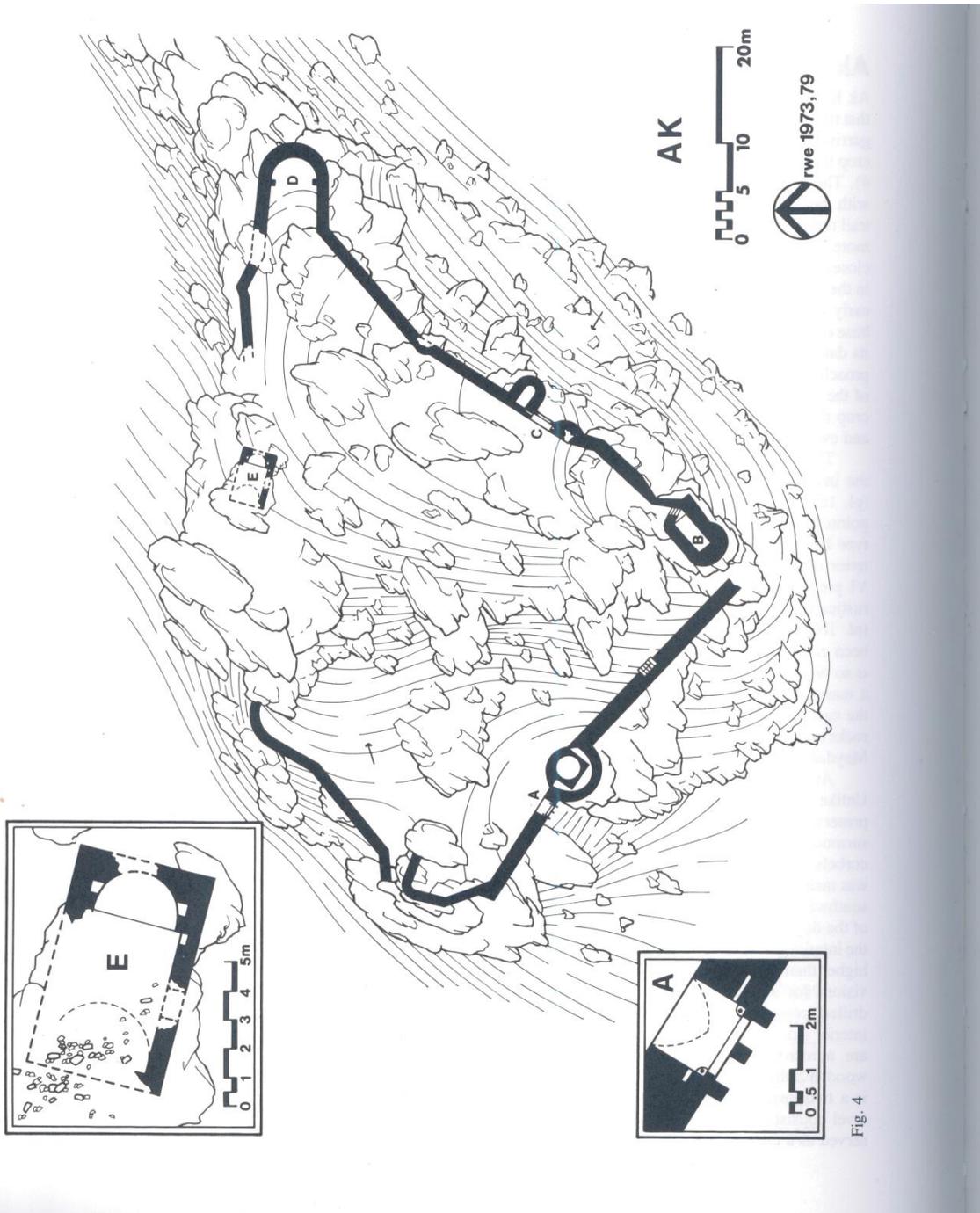


Fig. 4

Plan 2 - Amuda

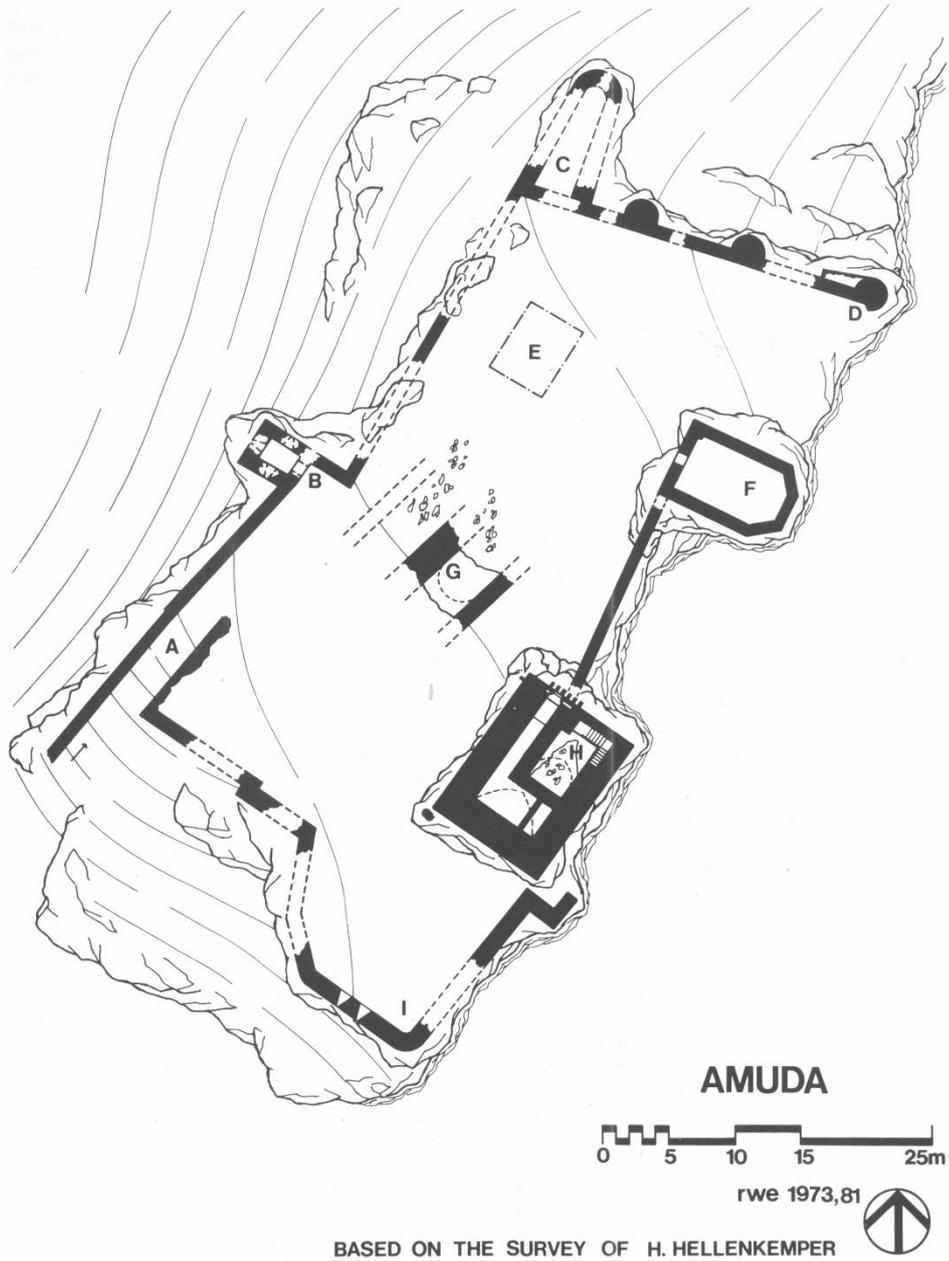


Fig. 6

Plan 3 - Anahşa

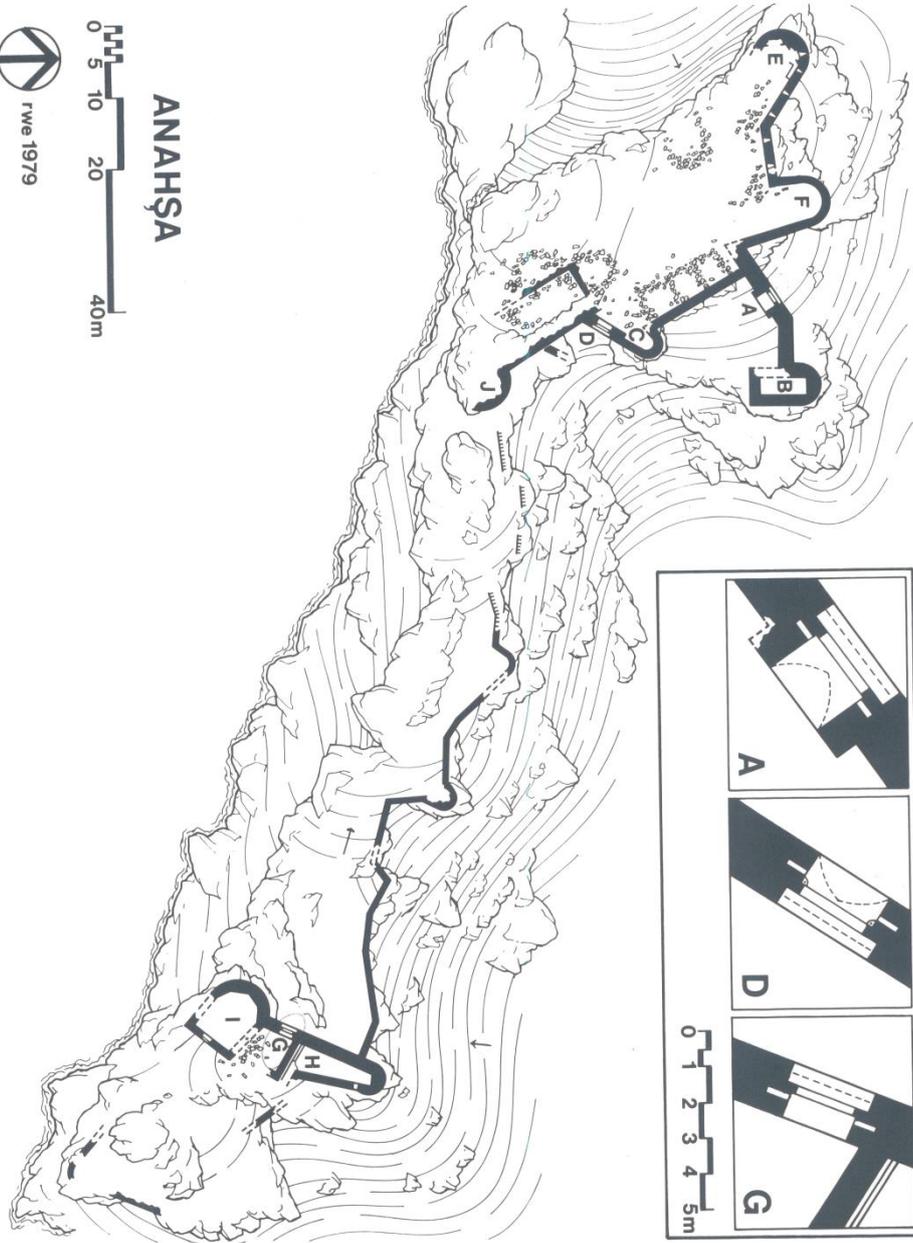
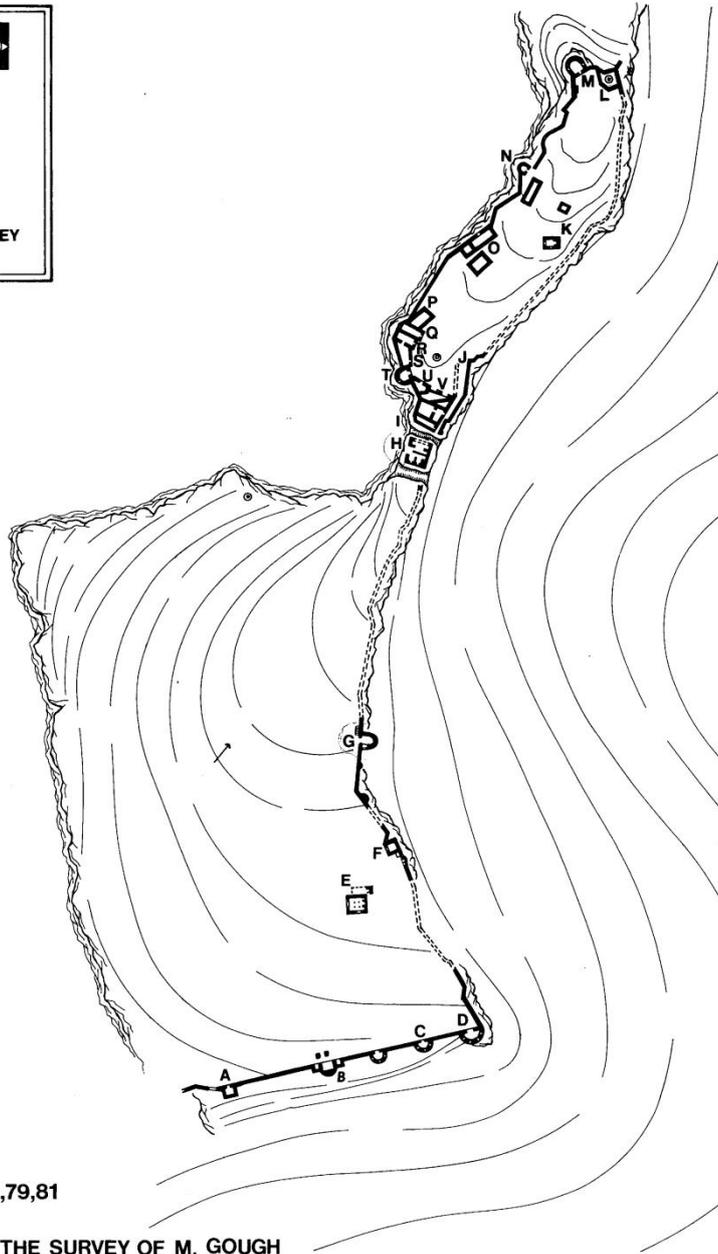
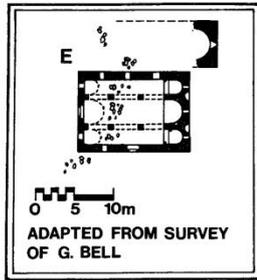


Fig. 7

Plan 4 - Anavarza



ANAVARZA



rwe 1973,74,79,81



BASED ON THE SURVEY OF M. GOUGH

Fig. 8

Plan 5 - Babaoğlan

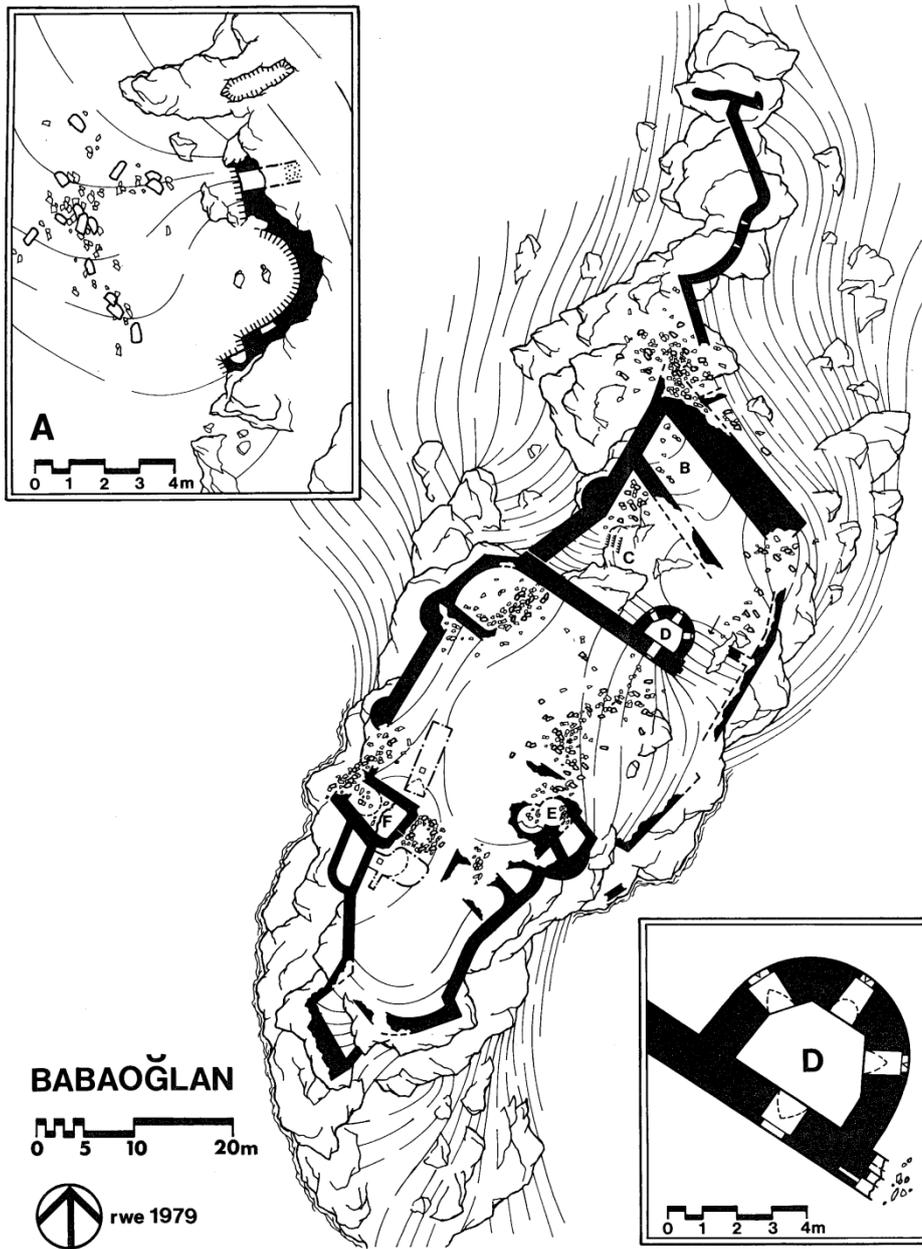


Fig. 15

Plan 6 - Çalan

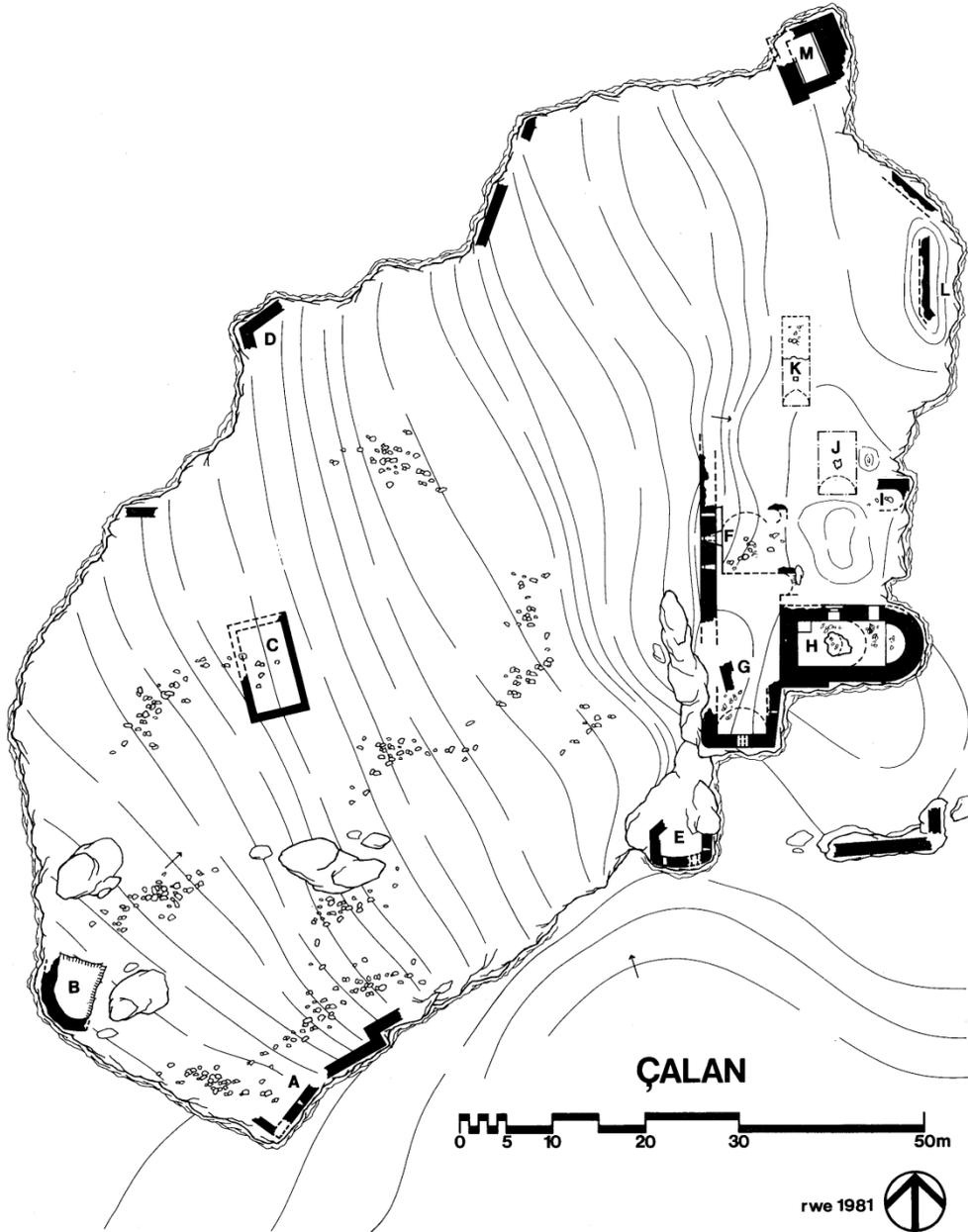


Fig. 23

Plan 7 - Çardak

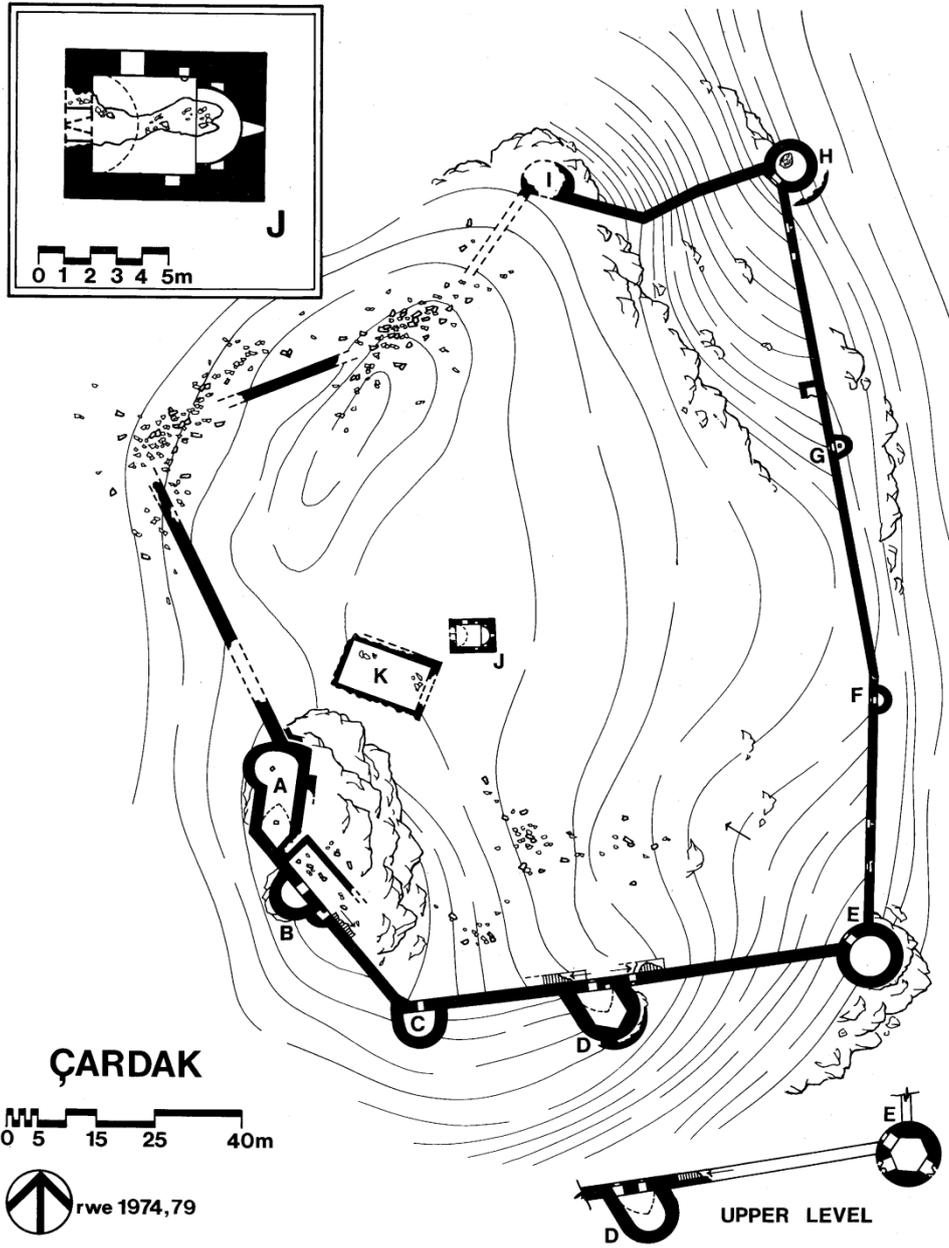


Fig. 25

Plan 8 - Çem Kalesi

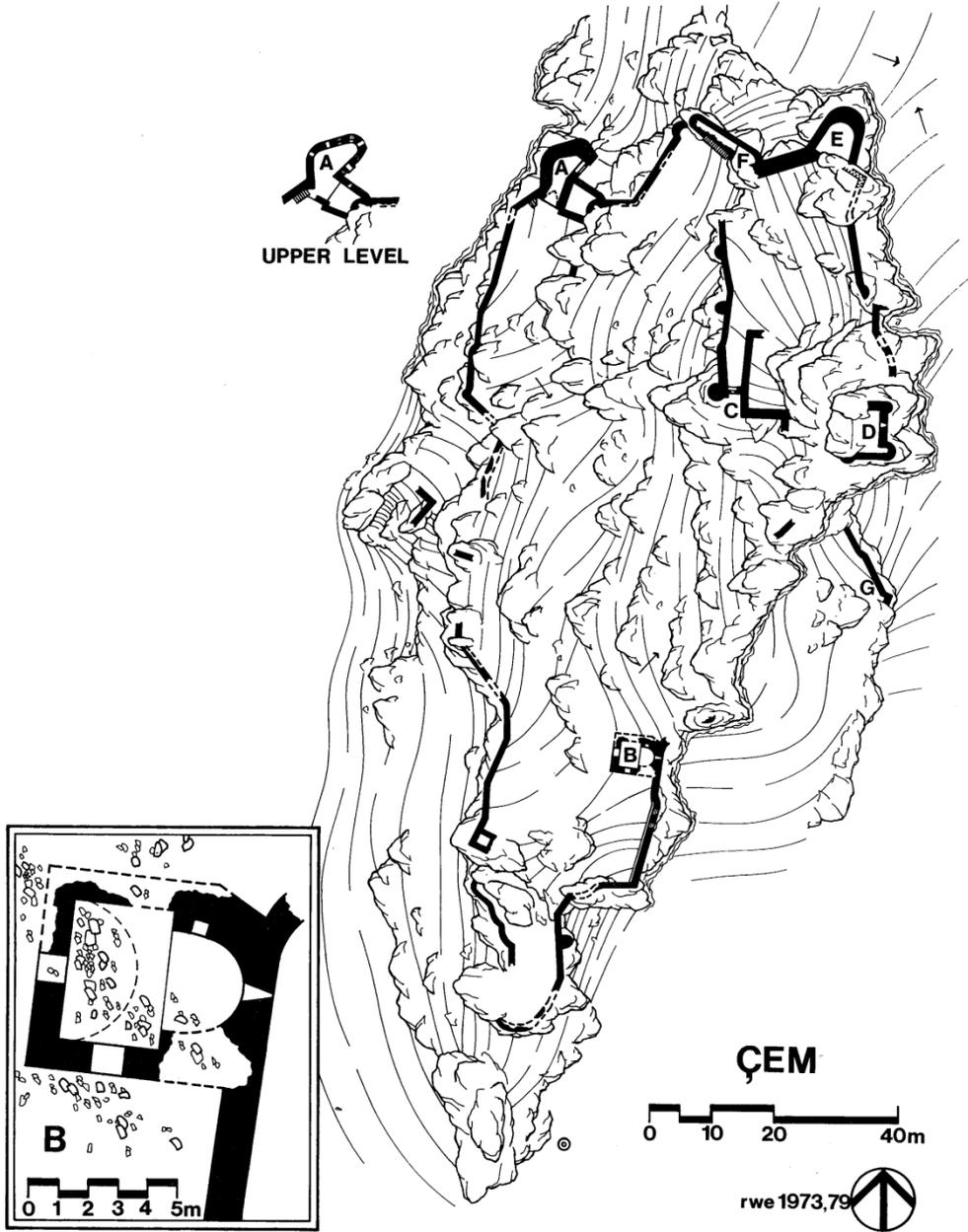


Fig. 26

Plan 9 - Geben

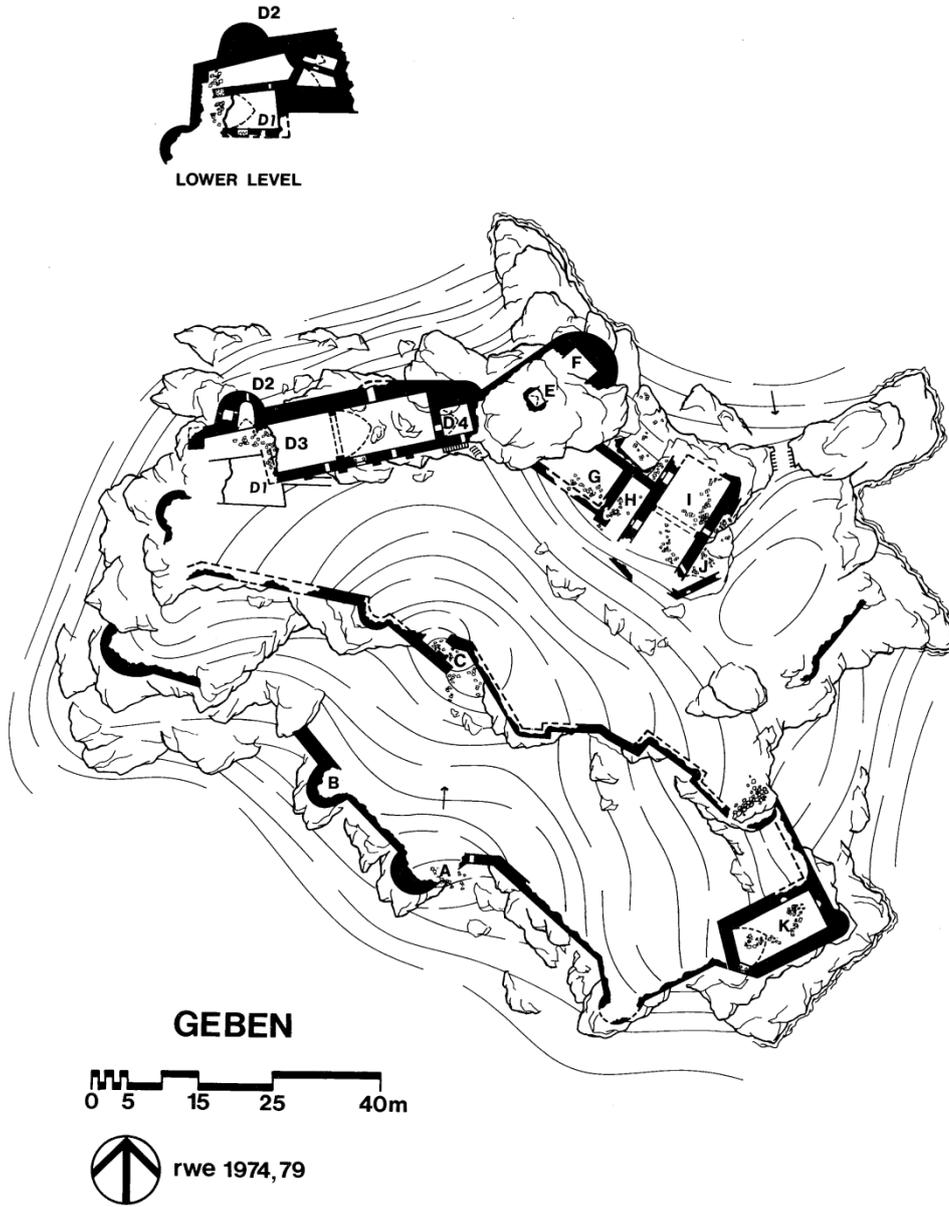


Fig. 32

Plan 10 - Gökvelioğlu

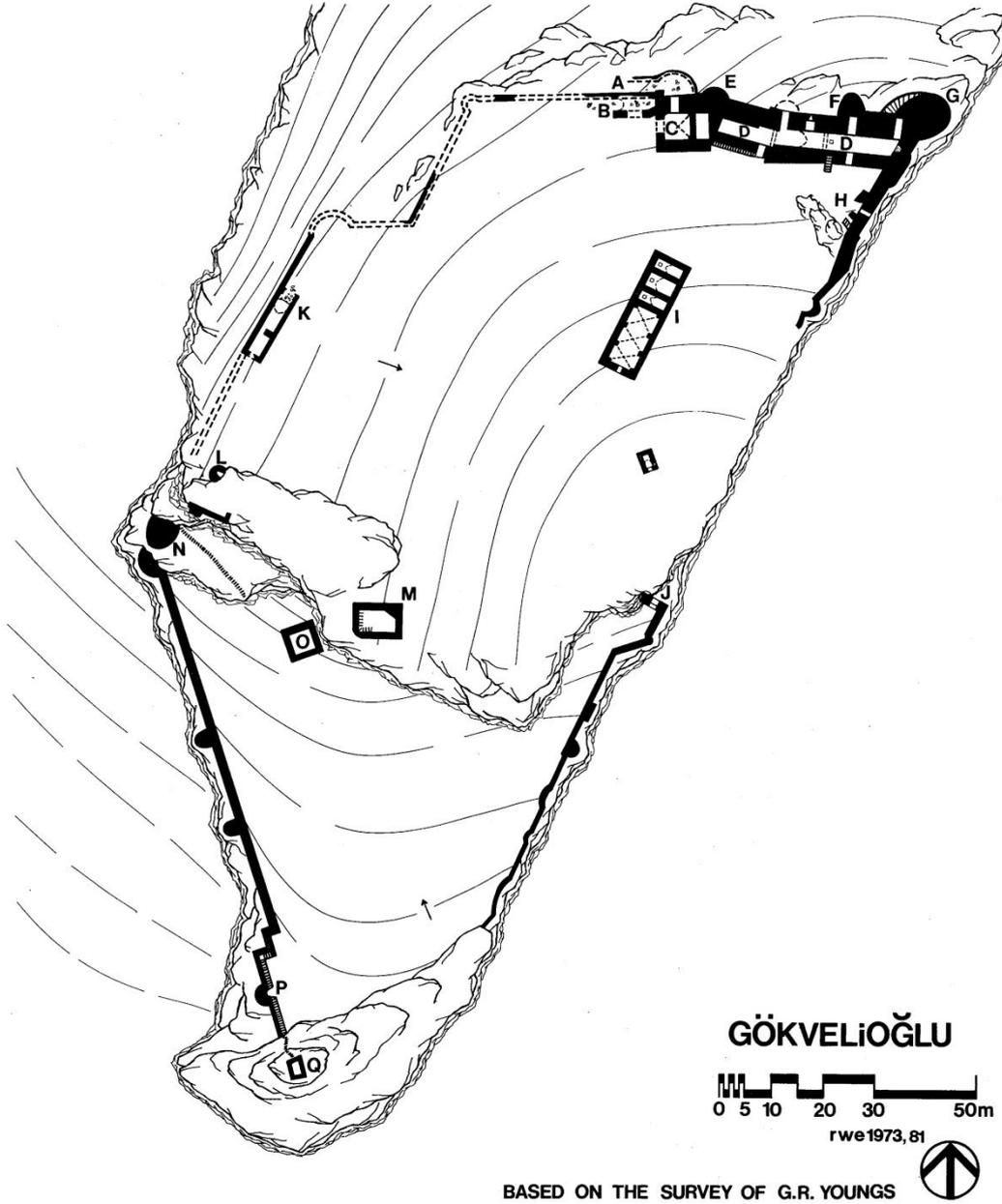


Fig. 34

Plan 11 - Haruniye

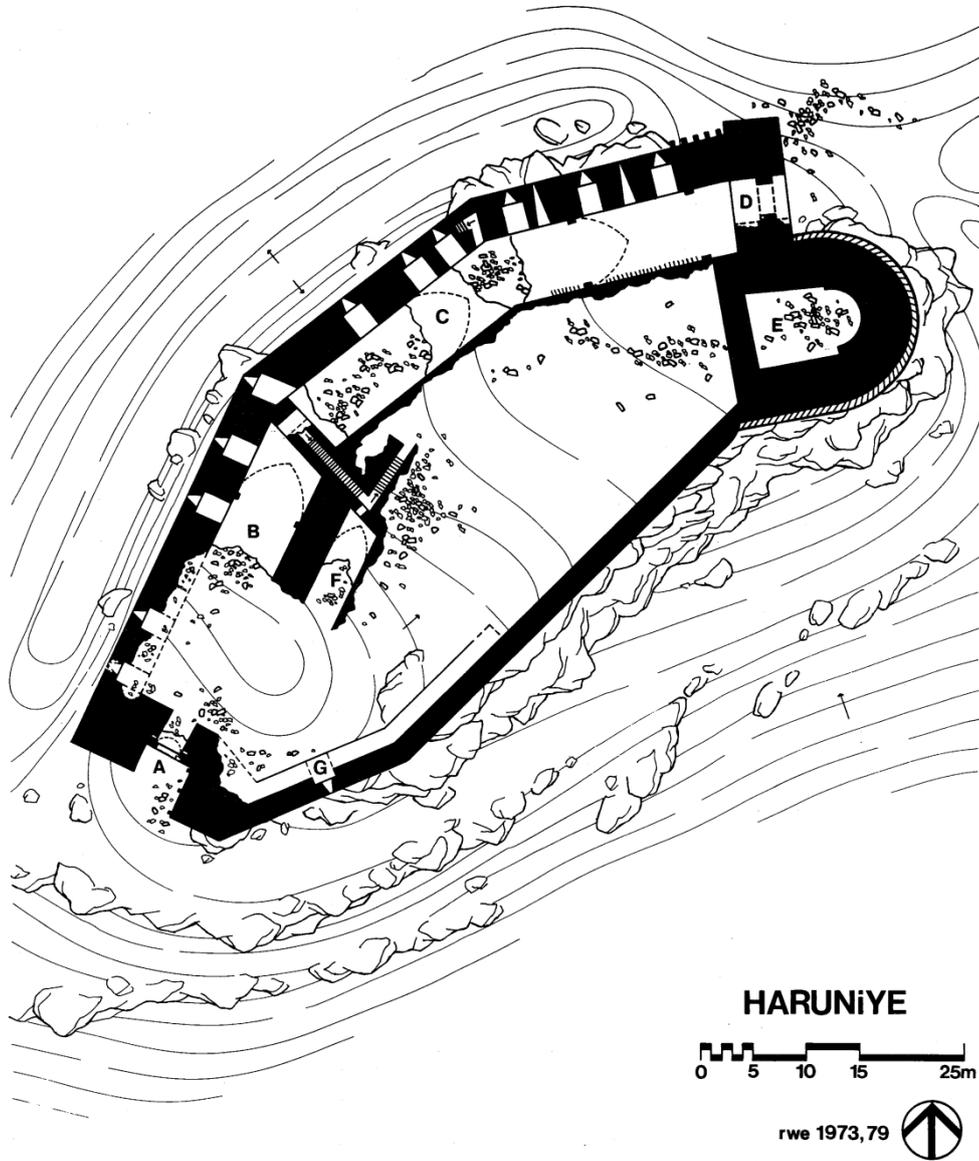


Fig. 38

Plan 12 - İsa

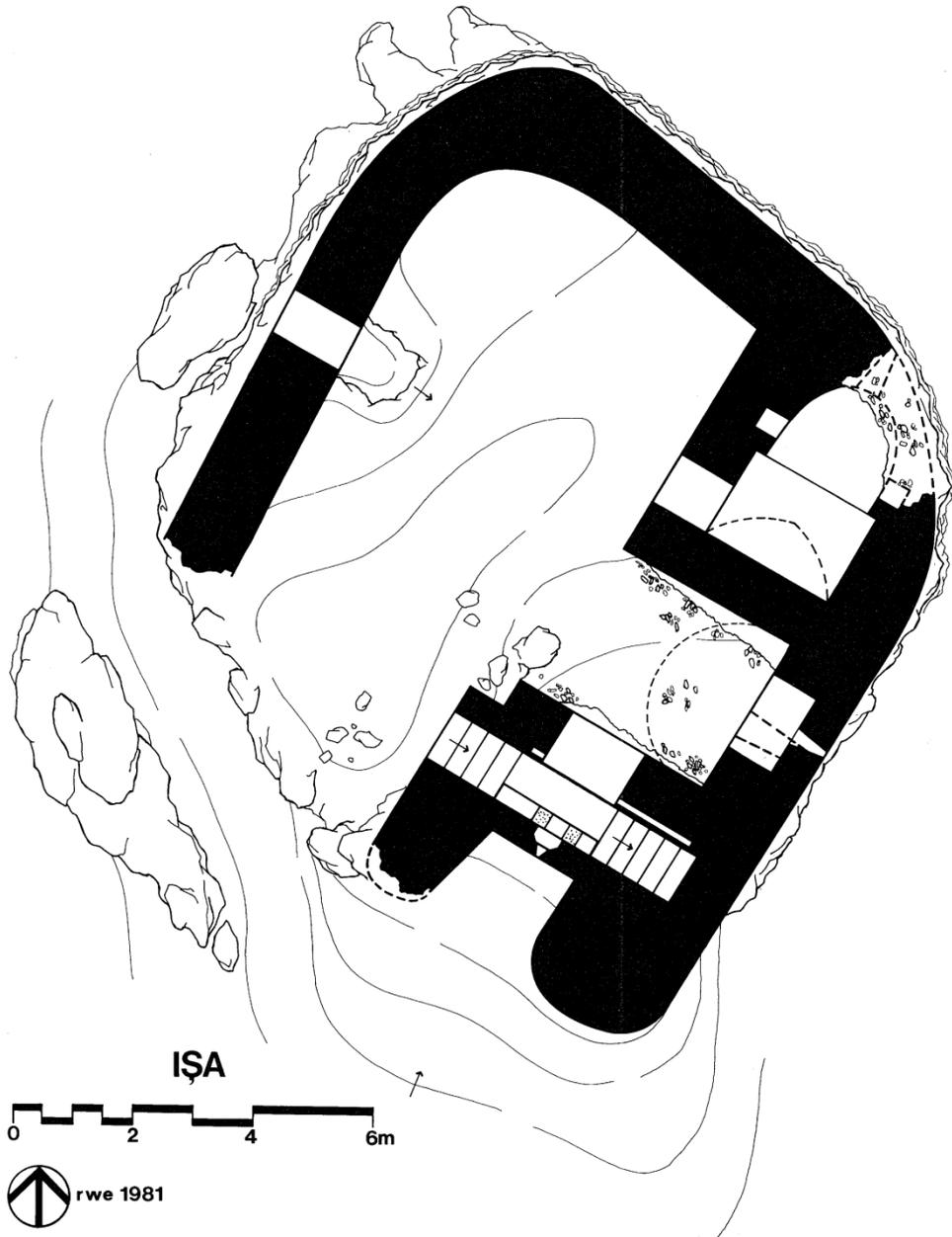


Fig. 42

Plan 13 - Kız(lar)

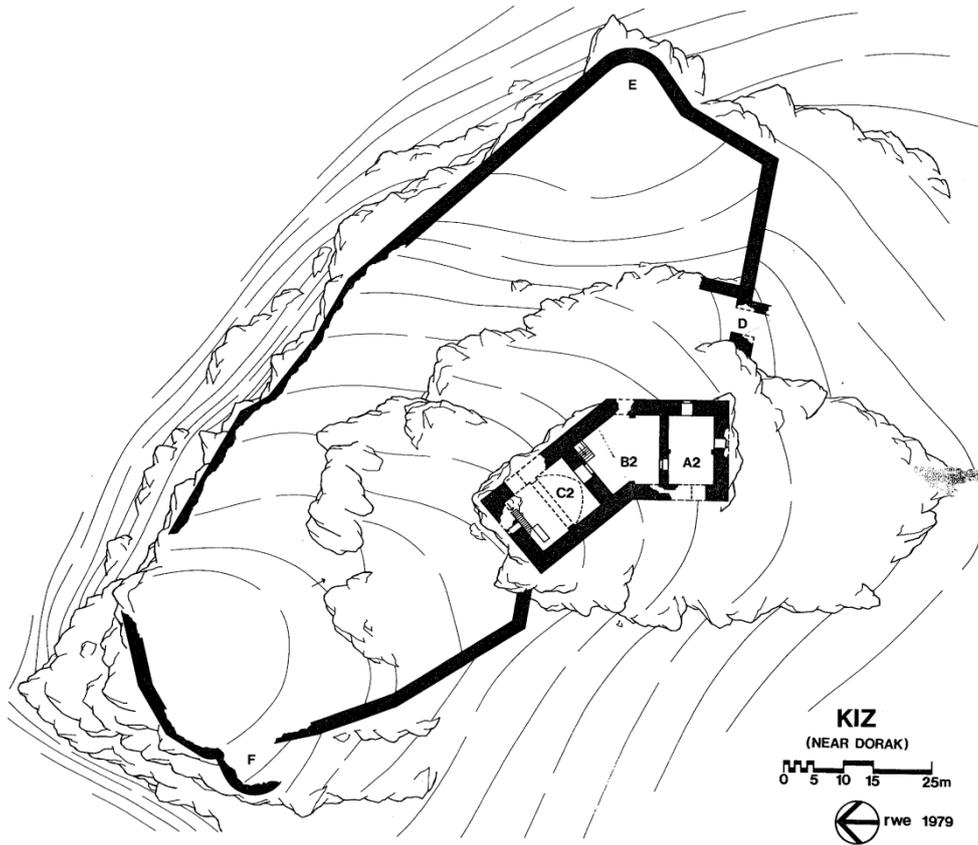


Fig. 45

Plan 14 - Mancılık

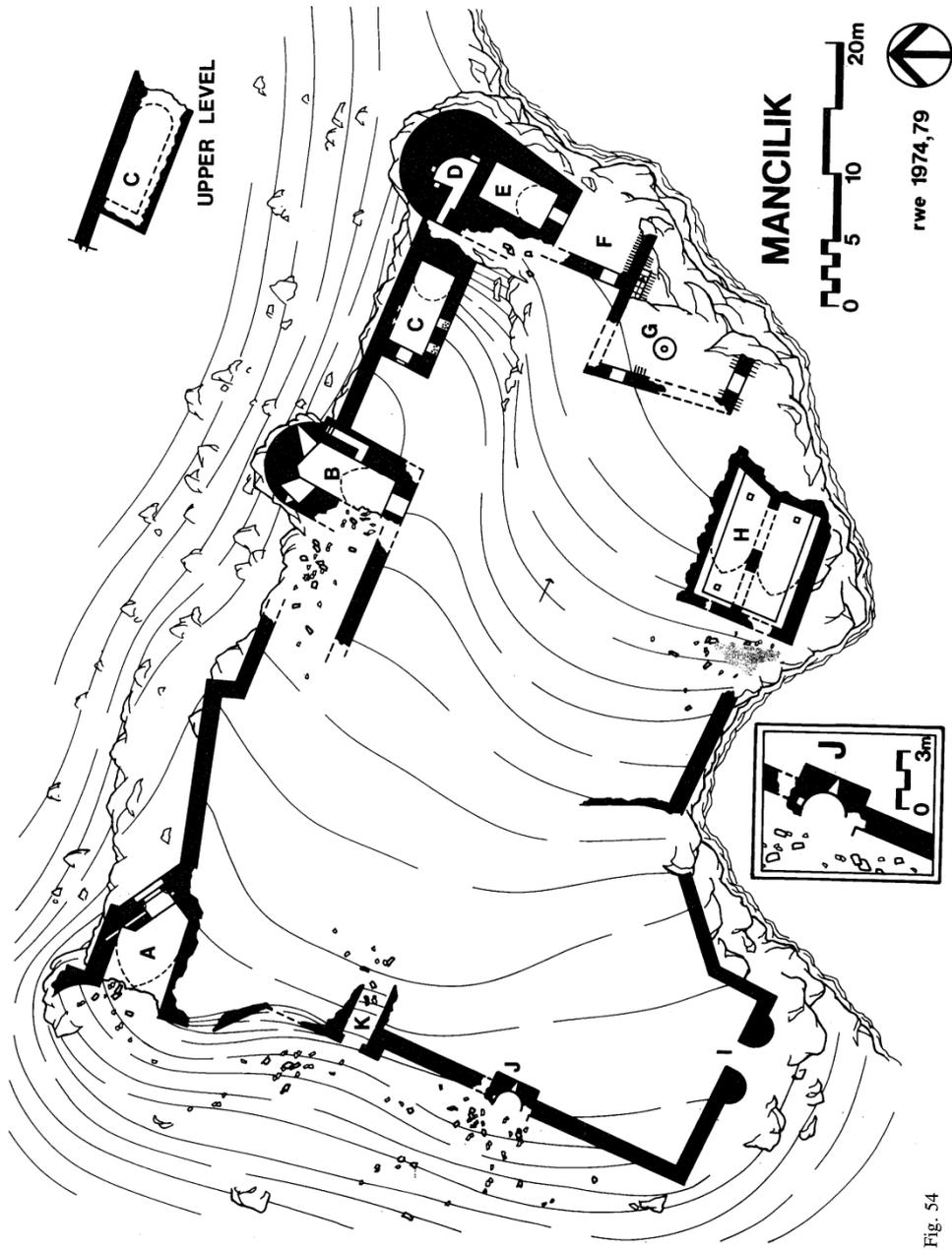
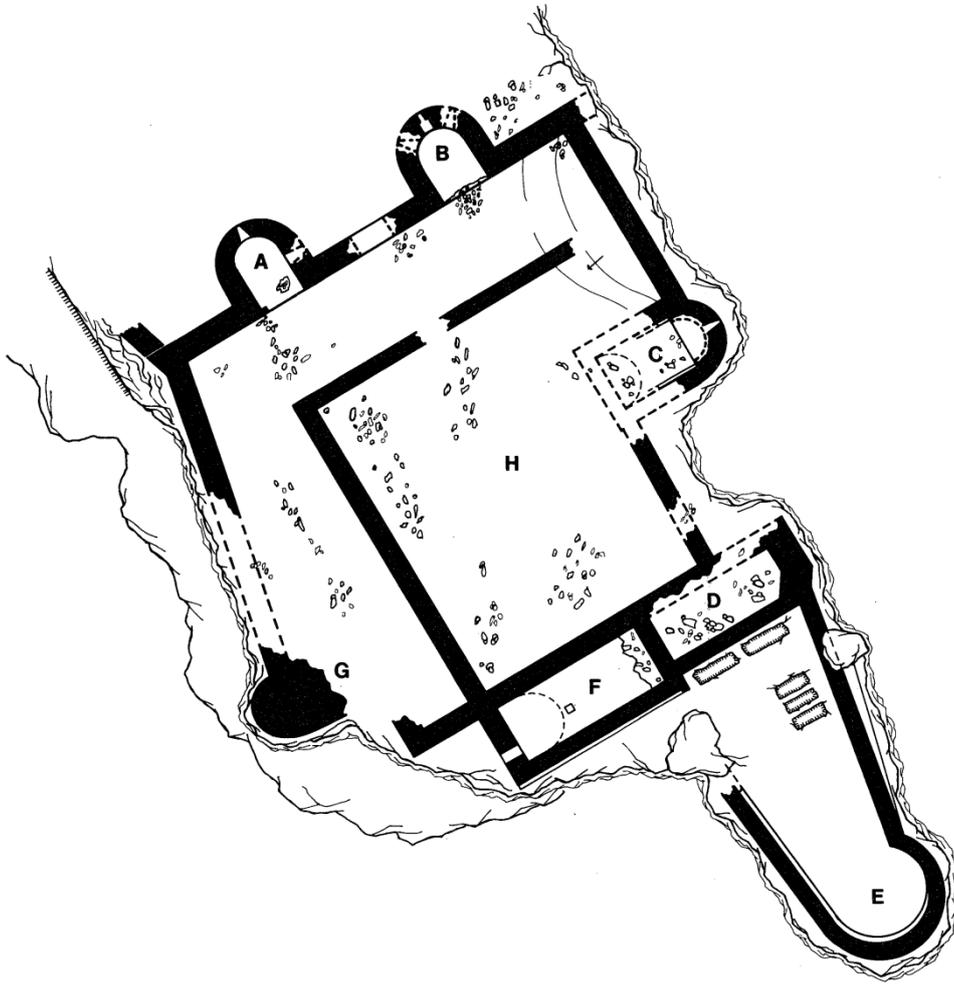
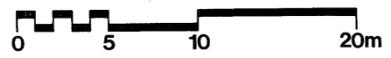


Fig. 54

Plan 15 - Saimbeyli



SAIMBEYLI



rwe 1981



Fig. 62

Plan 16 - Savranda

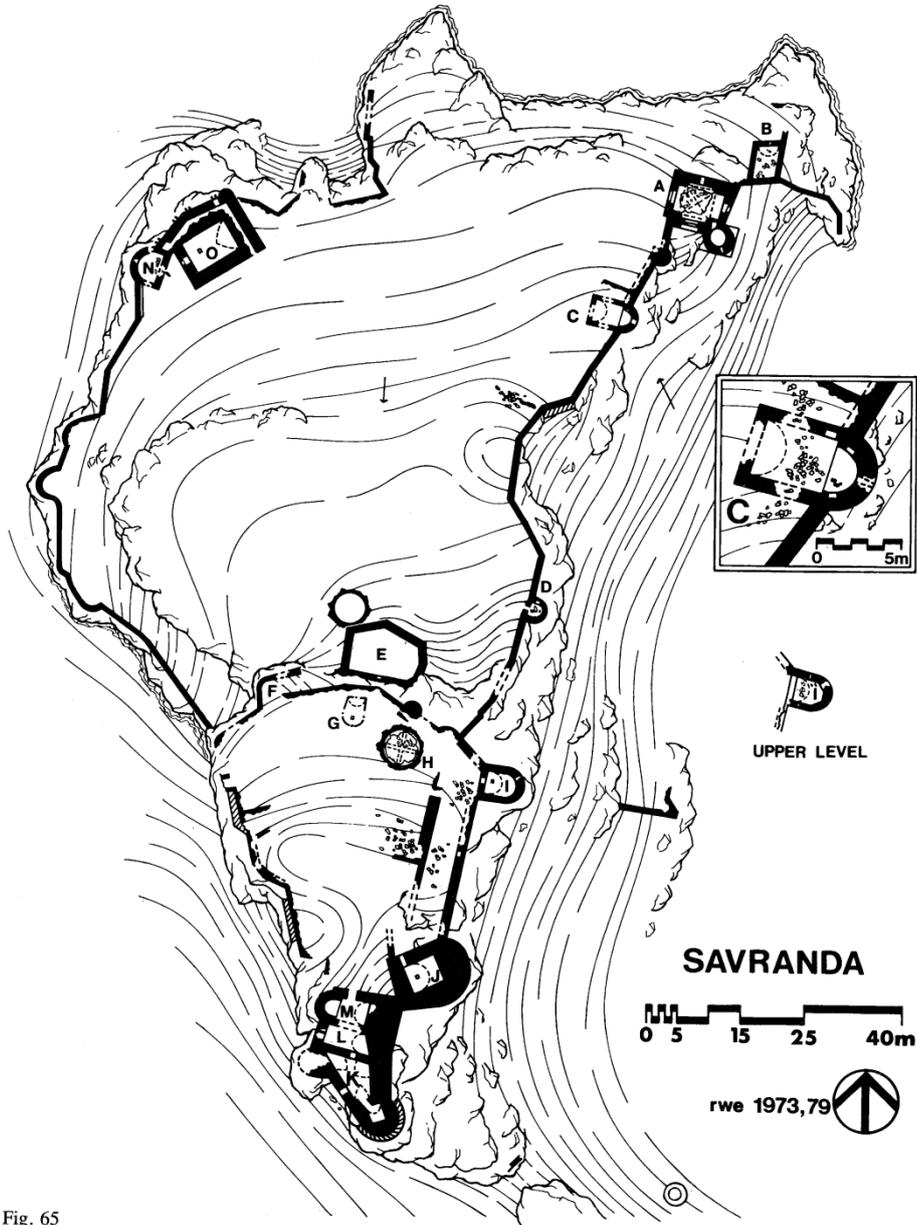


Fig. 65

Plan 17 - Tamrut

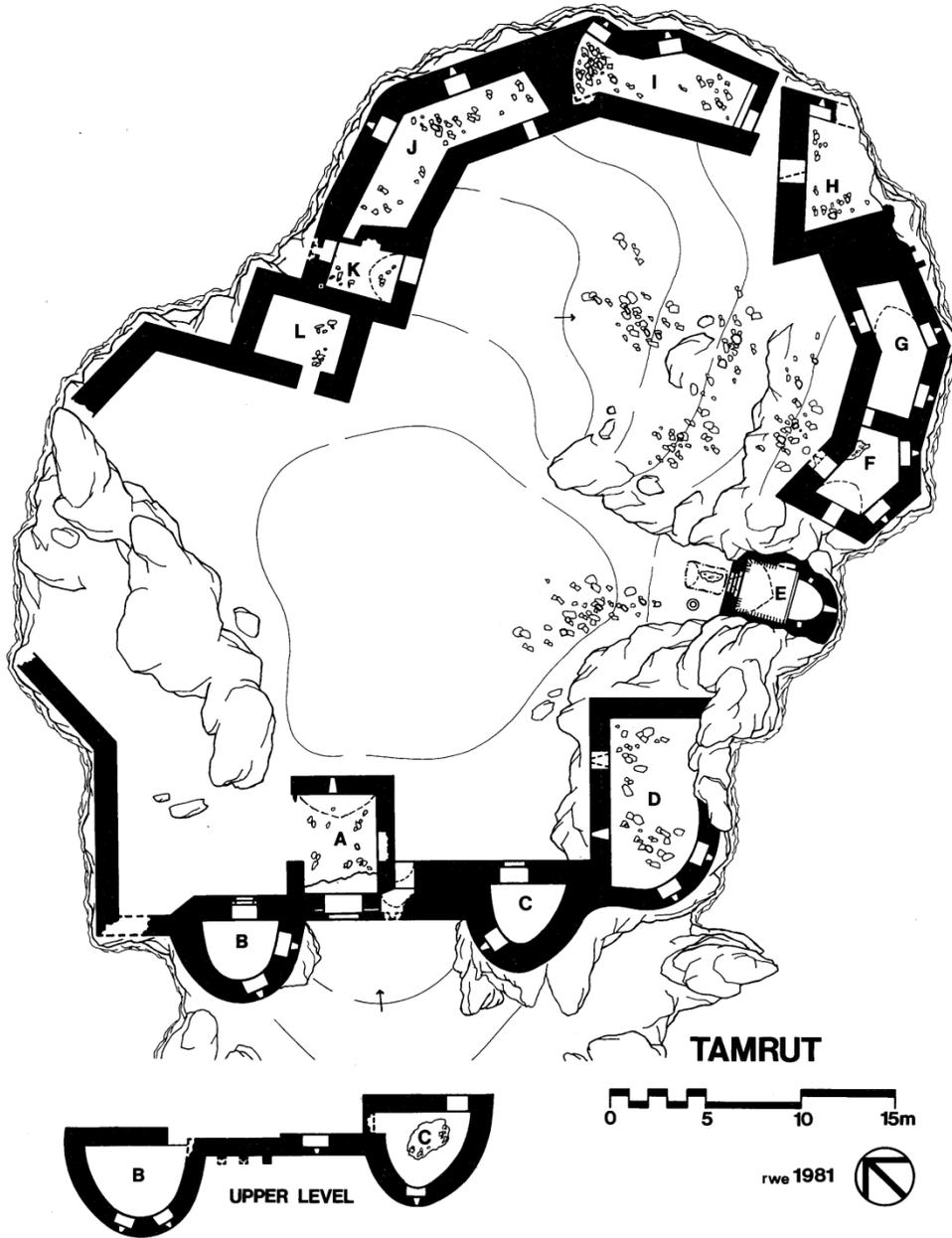
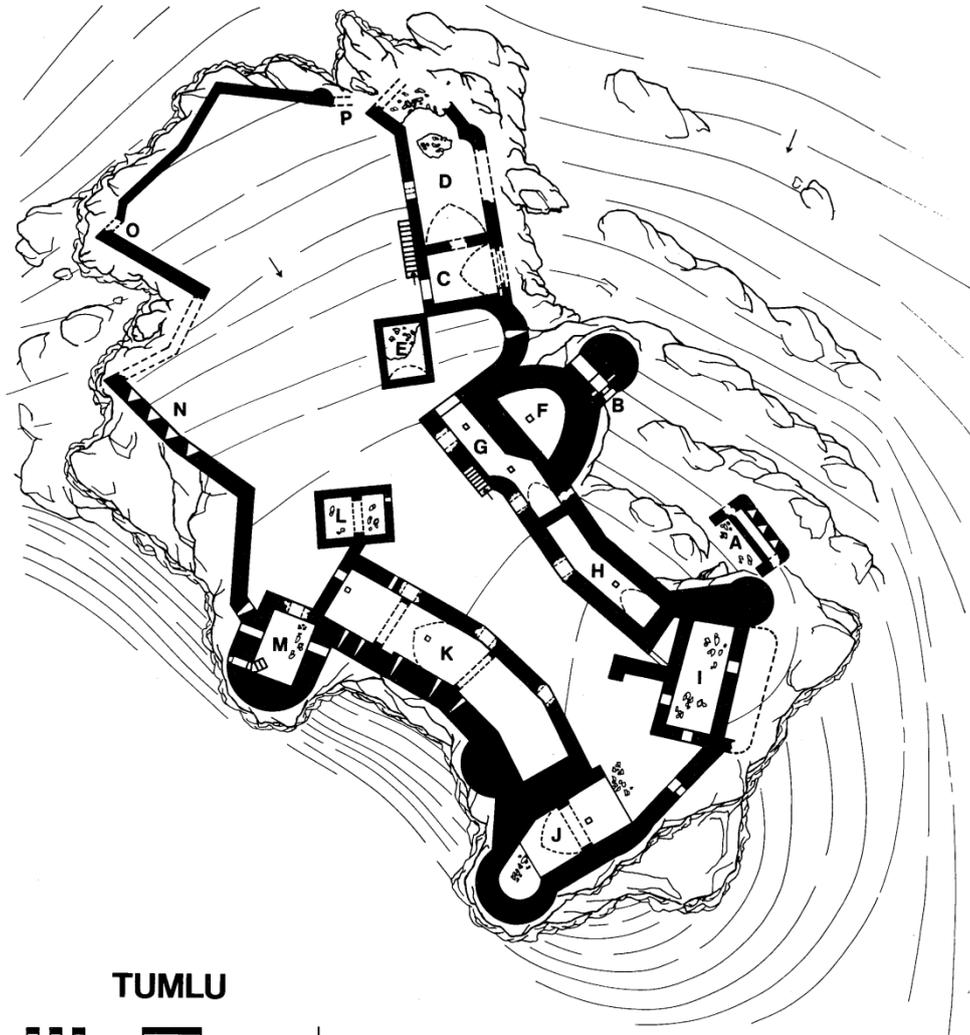


Fig. 70

Plan 18 - Tumlu



TUMLU



rwe 1974

BASED ON THE SURVEY OF G.R. YOUNGS

Fig. 74

Plan 19 - Vagha

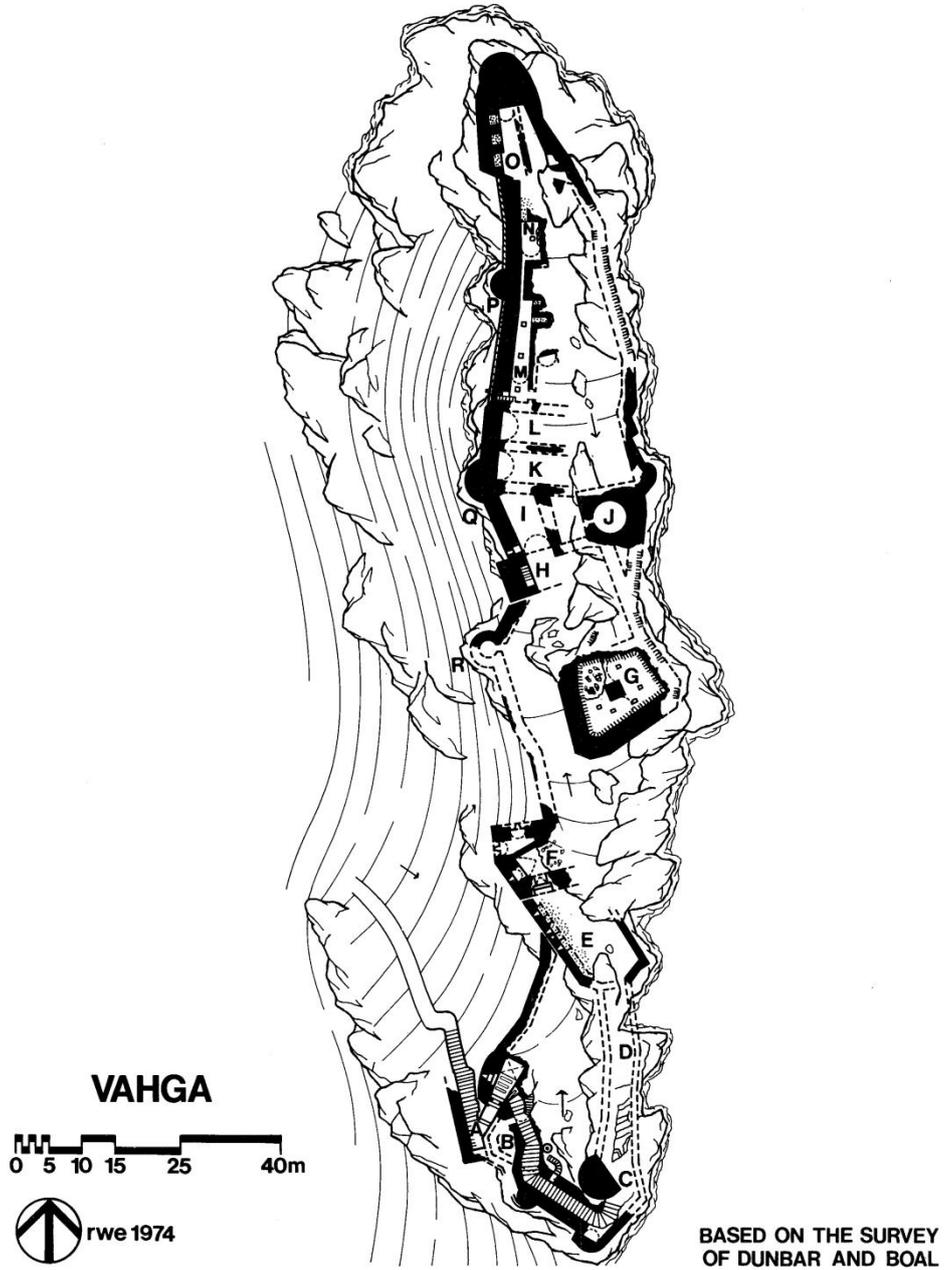
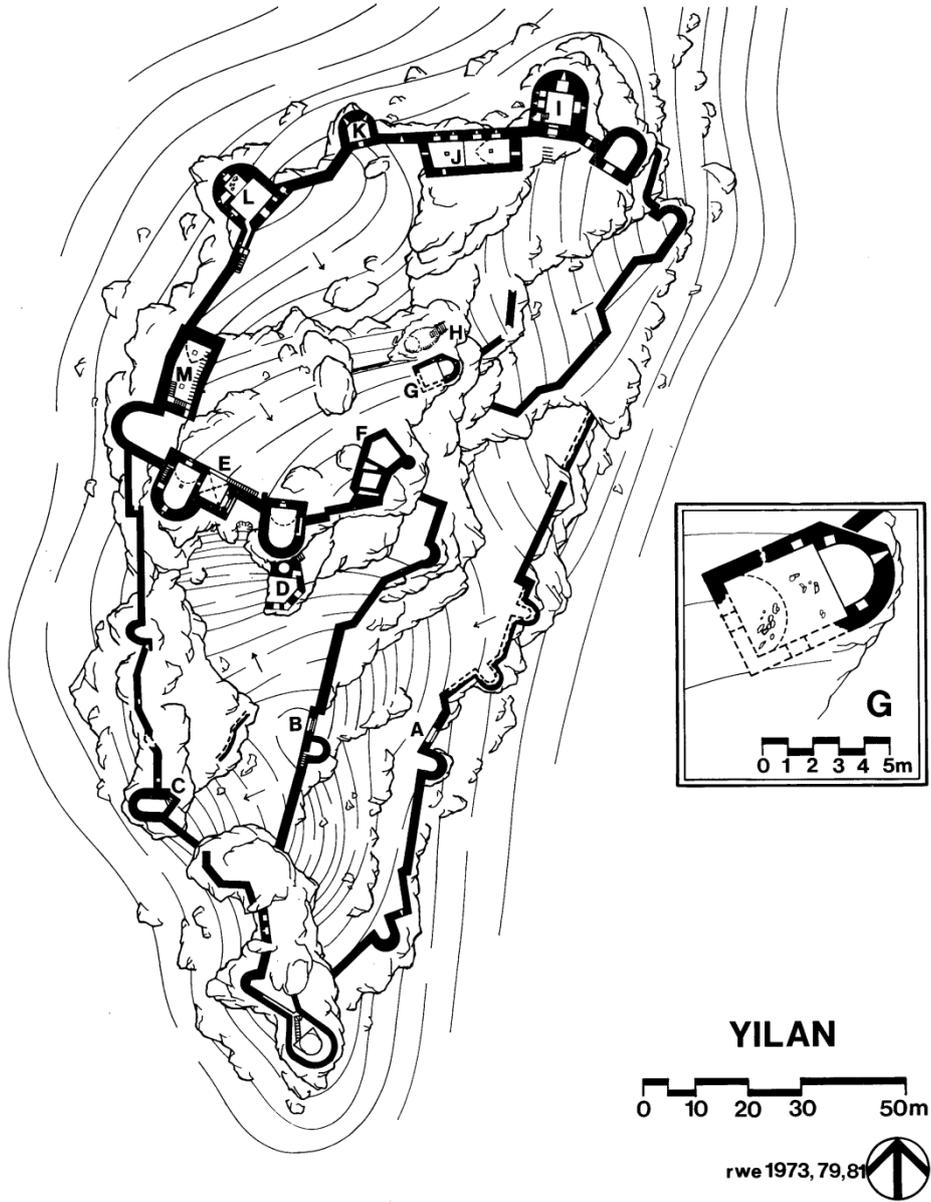


Fig. 75

Plan 20 - Yilan



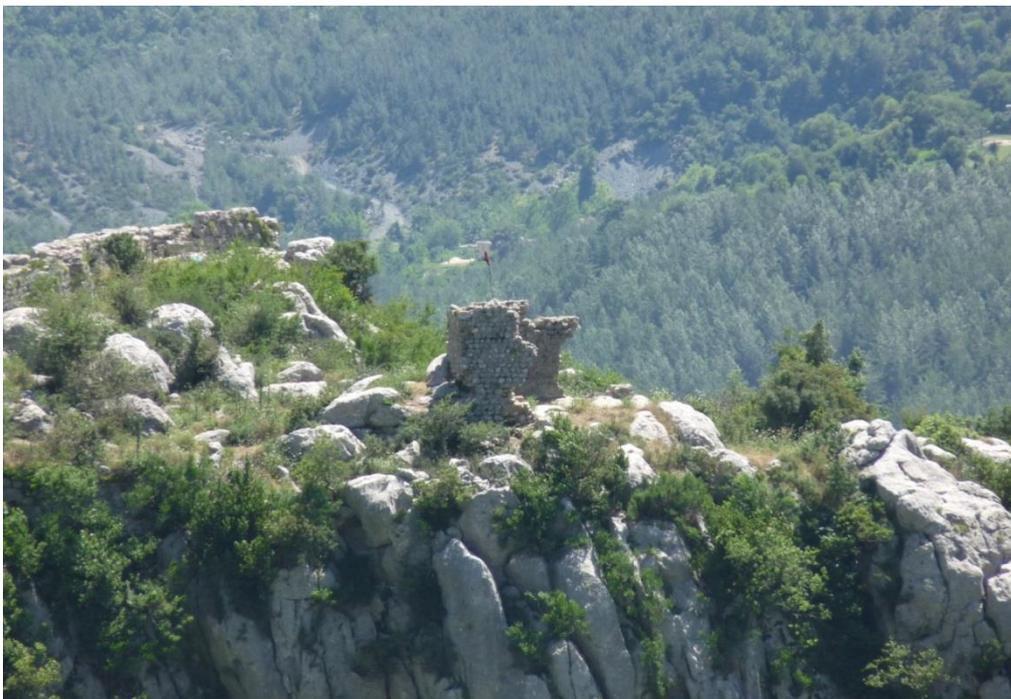
ADAPTED FROM THE SURVEY OF G. R. YOUNGS

Fig. 78

APPENDIX FOUR: PHOTOGRAPHS



2a. Ak Kale, looking south at the exterior of the fort



1b. Ak Kale, looking south at the exterior of the chapel



2a. Aladağ, looking north at the exterior of the fort



2b. Aladağ, looking east at one of corners of the fort



2c. Aladağ, looking west at one of the corners of the fort



3a. Amuda, looking southwest at the fort



3b. Amuda, looking north at G (plan 2)



3c. Amuda, looking south at keep H (plan 2)



4a. Anacık, looking west inside the fort



4b. Anacık, looking north at the gateway of the fort



4c. Anacık, looking southwest through window at first floor



5a. Anahşa, looking southeast at F (plan 3)



5b. Anahşa, looking east at G, H, and I (plan 3)



5c. Anahşa, looking southeast at A (plan 3)



6a. Anavarza, looking at the exterior of the middle bailey on the outcrop



6b. Anavarza, looking north at the curtain wall of the southern bailey



6c. Anavarza, looking north at A (plan 4)



6d. Anavarza, looking north at the interior of the southern bailey



6e. Anavarza, looking south at the *opus listatum* of the southern bailey



6f. Anavarza, looking east at the eastern curtain wall of the southern bailey between D and F (plan 4)



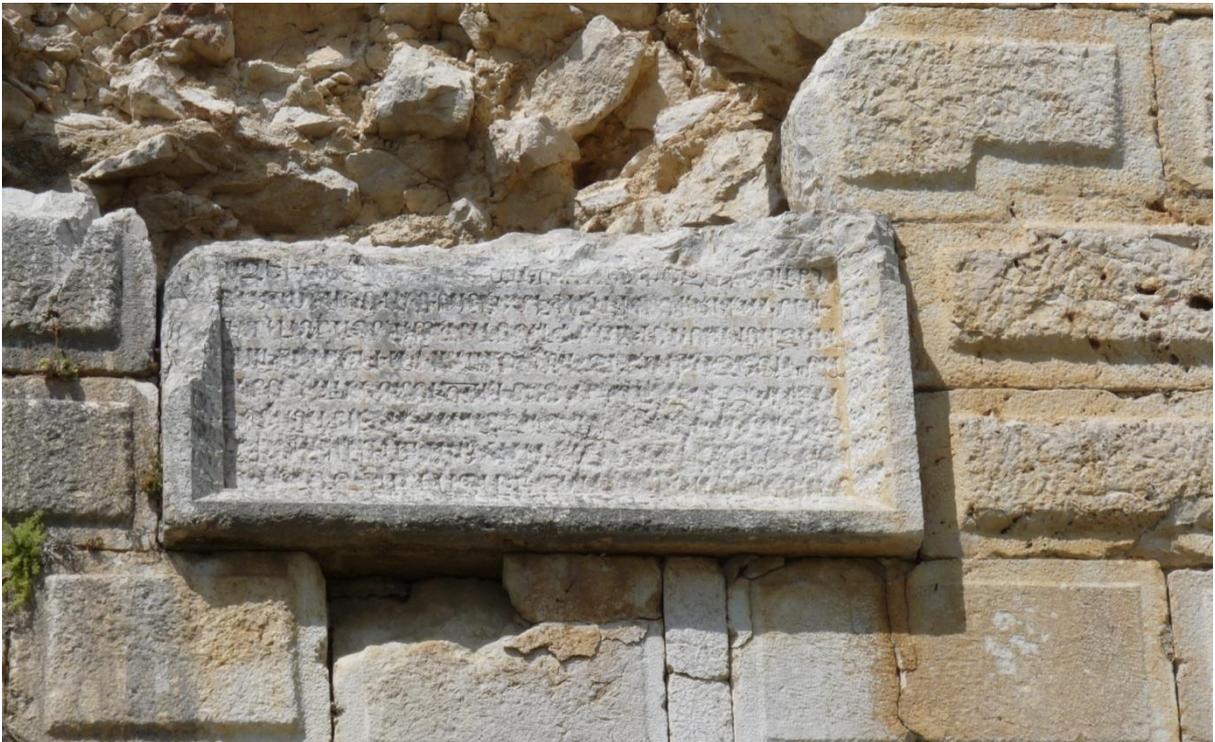
6g. Anavarza, looking east at the interior access to bent entrance G (plan 4)



6h. Anavarza, looking at the exterior gateway of bent entrance G (plan 4)



6i. Anavarza, looking at the slot machicolation above bent entrance G (plan 4)



6j. Anavarza, looking at the Armenian inscription on Norman keep H (plan 4)



6k. Anavarza, looking north at keep H (plan 4)



6l. Anavarza, looking north at the northern bailey



7a. Andil Kalesi, looking north at the exterior of the fort



7b. Andıl Kalesi, looking south at the exterior of the fort



8a. Andıl Köy, looking southwest at the exterior of the rectangular structure



8b. Andıl Köy, looking east at the interior of the vaulted structure



9a. Aşılı, looking east at the exterior of the fort



10a. Ayas, looking north at the interior of repaired curtain wall



10b. Ayas, looking west at the interior of a tower complex



10c. Ayas, looking east at the exterior of the sea castle



11a. Azgit, looking north at the exterior of the fort



11b. Azgit, looking east at the exterior of the main gateway



11c. Azgit, looking northeast at the exterior of the postern



11d. Azgit, looking east at the interior of the curtain wall



11e. Azgit, looking south at the interior of the multi-storied complex



12a. Babaoğlan, looking north at the fortified outcrop



12b. Babaoğlan, looking southwest at the exterior of D (plan 5)



12c. Babaoğlan, looking north at the opening into D (plan 5)



13a. Babikli, looking west at the fortified outcrop



13b. Babikli, looking north at the entrance to the fort



13c. Babikli, looking south at the interior of the curtain wall



14a. Bağras, looking north at the exterior of the fort



14b. Bağras, looking northwest at the exterior of the fortified outcrop



14c. Bağras, looking northwest at the exterior of the outer curtain wall



14d. Bağras, looking northeast at the talus



14e. Bağras, looking east at the interior of a vaulted room



14f. Bağras, looking east at the interior of chapel



15a. Başnalar, looking south at the interior of the eastern wall



16a. Belen Keşlik, looking southwest at the fort



16b. Belen Keşlik, looking west at the exterior of the arrow slit of the south-eastern arrow slit



16c. Belen Keşlik, looking north at the entrance



17a. Bodrum, looking east at the fortified outcrop



17b. Bodrum, looking west at the exterior of the fort



17c. Bodrum, looking east from the classical site of Hieropolis Kastabala to the outcrop



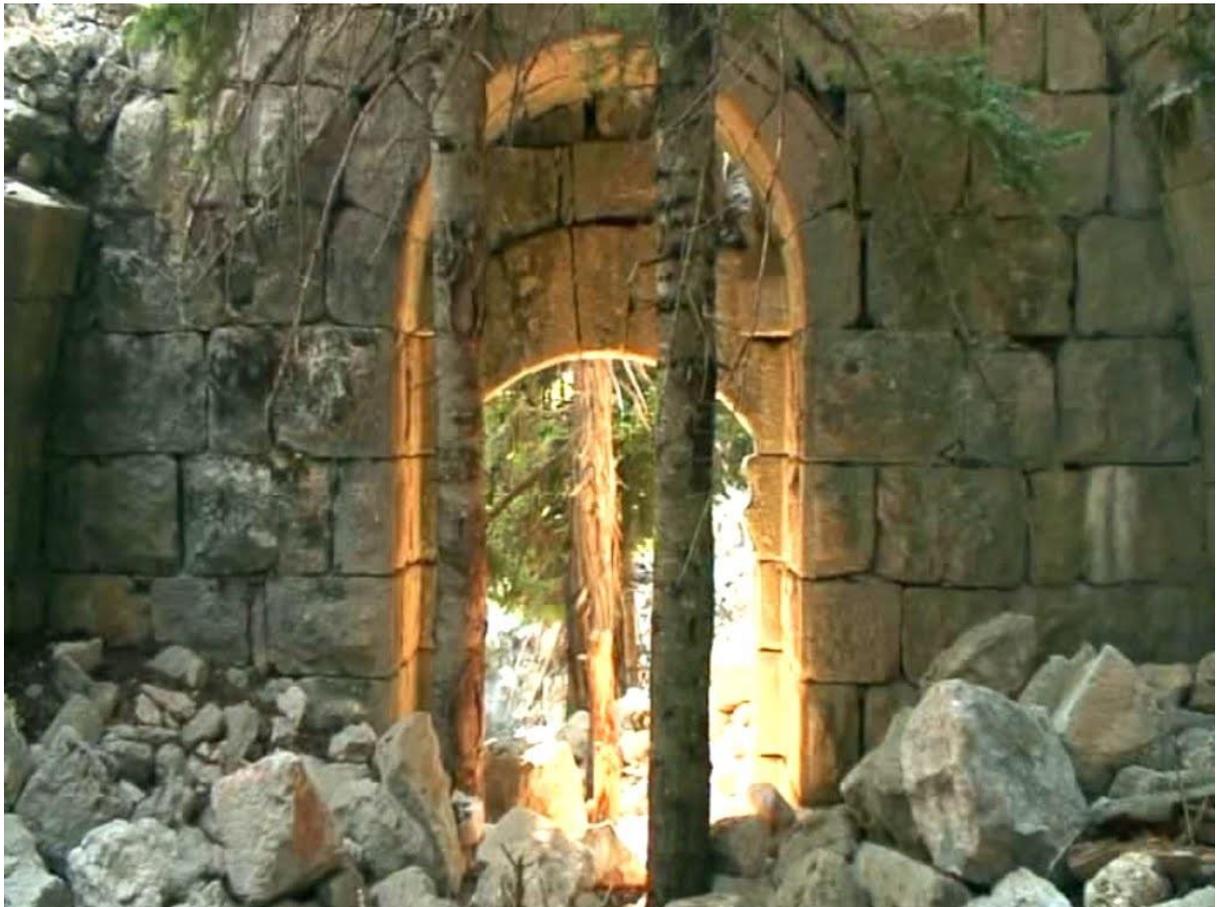
18a. Bossek, looking north at the exterior of the fort



18b. Bossek, looking west at the interior of the lower level



19a. Bostan, looking southwest at the fortified outcrop



19b. Bostan, looking east at the interior of the exterior entrance of the gatehouse



19c. Bostan, looking east at the exterior of the interior entrance of the gatehouse



20a. Bucak, looking east the fortified outcrop



20b. Bucak, looking northwest at the exterior of the fort



20c. Bucak, looking north at the interior of the fort



21a. Buyuksofulu, looking north at the fortified outcrop



21b. Buyuksofulu, looking west at the interior of the fort



21c. Buyuksofulu, looking southeast at the interior side of the fort



22a. Çalan, looking east at the fortified outcrop



22b. Çalan, looking north at the exterior of E (plan 6)



22c. Çalan, looking south at F (plan 6)



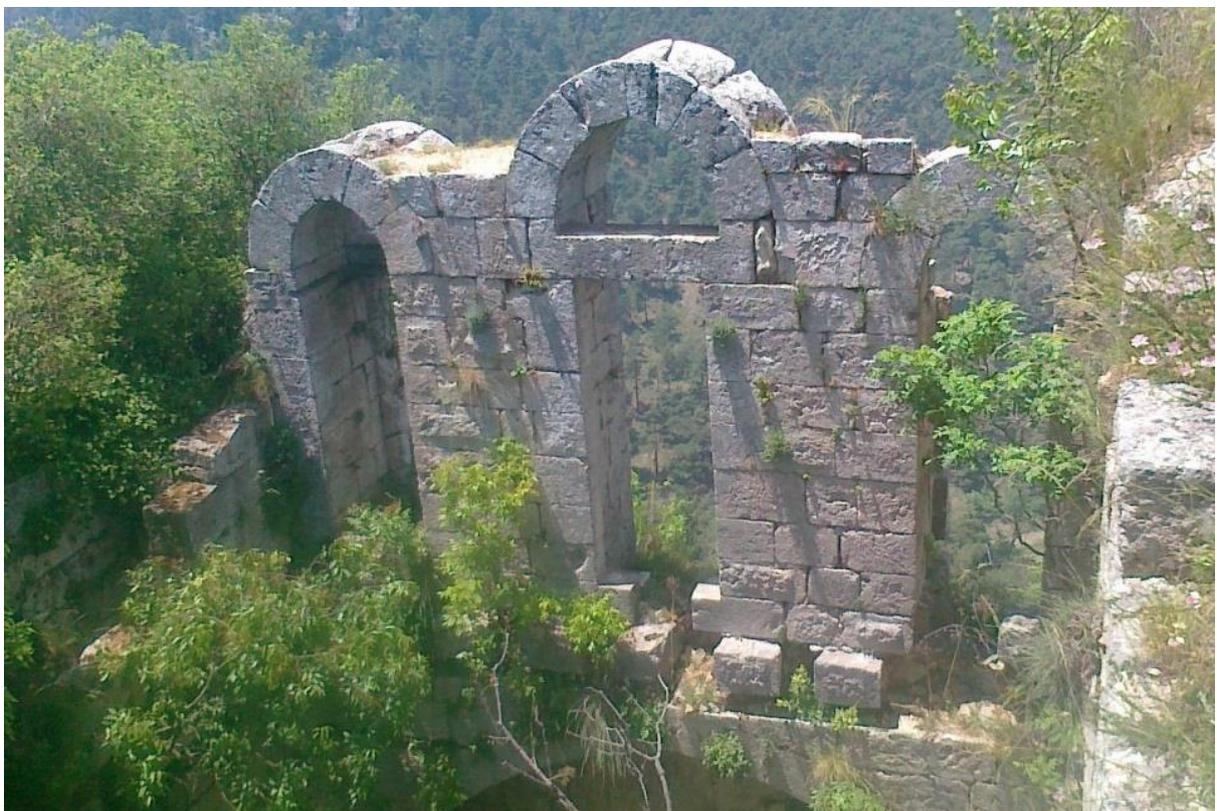
22d. Çalan, looking south at the entrance at H (plan 6)



23a. Çandır, looking east the the western side of the fortified outcrop



23b. Çandır, looking north at the interior of a vaulted room



23c. Çandır, looking southwest at the central window in the upper-level west wall of the room



23d. Çandır, looking at a cross in the Armenian church



23e. Çandır, looking at the interior of Armenian church



24a. Çardak, looking northeast at the exterior of C and D (plan 7)



24b. Çardak, looking east at D from C (plan 7)



24c. Çardak, looking east at the interior of the south wall



25a. Çebiş, looking east at the fortified outcrop



26a. Çem, looking south at the fortified outcrop



26b. Çem, looking southwest at the exterior of gateway A (plan 8)



26c. Çem, looking southwest at a spolia from gateway A (plan 8)



26d. Çem, looking south at a cross east of gateway A



26e. Çem, looking south at Greek inscription above the gateway A



26f. Çem, looking northwest at the tympanum in the outer door of gatehouse A



26g. Çem, looking east at the interior side of the eastern curtain wall and battlements



26h. Çem, looking southeast at the interior side of the eastern curtain wall



26i – Çem, Byzantine Chapel in Rural Settlement



27a. Çiğsar, Su Çati, looking north at the exterior of the fort



27b Çiğsar, Su Çati, looking east at the exterior of the western curtain wall



27c. Çiğşar, Su Çati, looking east at a section of the southern curtain wall



28a. Çukurhisar, looking north at a round tower of the fort



28b. Çukurhisar, looking east at the entrance of the fort



29a. Degirmendere Kale, looking south at the exterior of the fort



29b. Degirmendere Kale, looking west at the entrance of the fort



29c. Degirmendere Kale, looking southwest at the exterior of the round tower



30a. Dokurcun, looking north at the exterior of the fort



31a. Esenli, looking west at the fortified outcrop



32a. Evciler, looking southwest at the exterior of the donjon



32b. Evciler, looking northeast at the exterior of the donjon



32c. Evciler, looking northwest at the interior of the donjon



33a. Fındıklı, looking northeast at the fortified outcrop



33b. Findikli, looking north at the exterior face of the south tower



34a. Geben, looking northeast at the fortified outcrop



35a. Gediği, looking north to the fortified outcrop



36a. Gökvelioğlu, looking east at the upper-level bailey



36b. Gökvelioğlu, looking northwest at the entrance to the lower bailey J (plan 10)



36c. Gökvelioğlu, looking west at the eastern curtain wall of the lower bailey



36d. Gökvelioğlu, looking southwest at the northeast corner of the fortified outcrop



36e. Gökvelioğlu, looking northeast at B and C (plan 10)



36f. Gökvelioğlu, looking west through D (plan 10)



36g. Gökvelioğlu, looking east at the interior of C (plan 10)



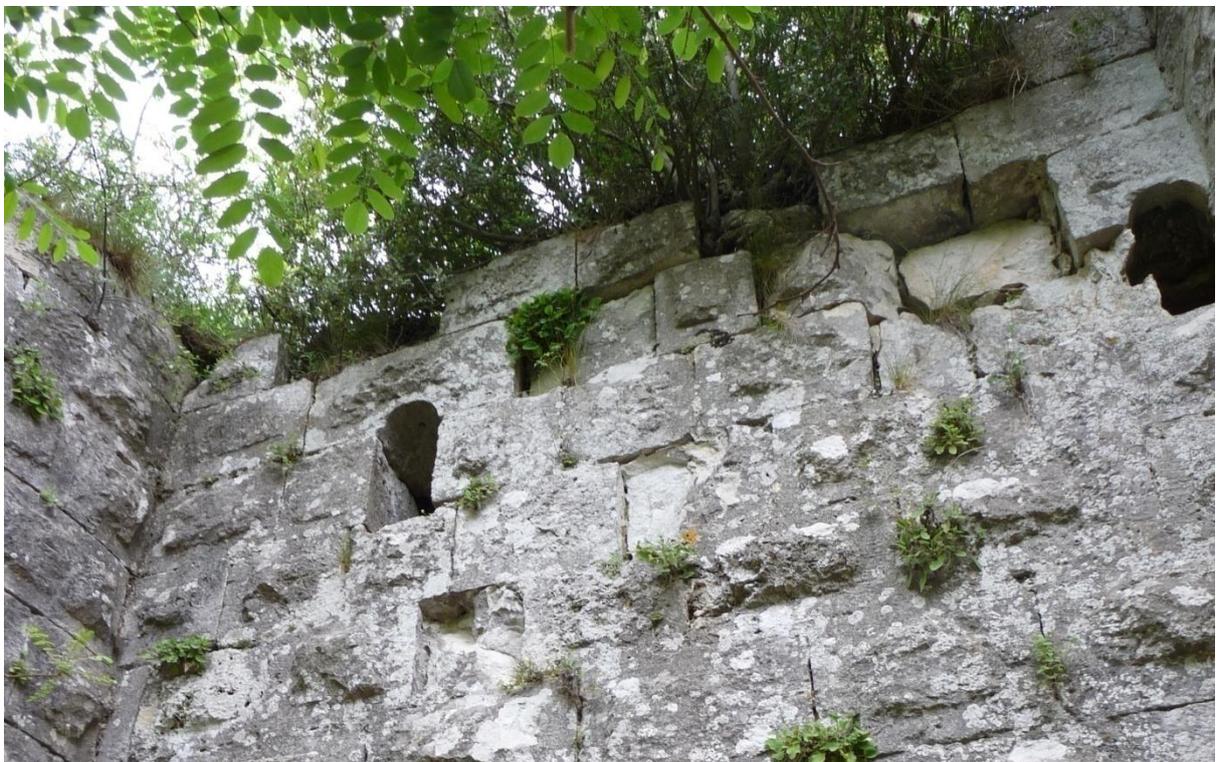
37a. Gösne, looking north at the fortified outcrop



37b. Gösne, looking west at the exterior of the east building



37c. Gösne, looking east at the entrance to the east building



37d. Gösne, looking south at the northern windows of the east building



37e. Gösne, looking east at the interior of the east building



38a. Gülek, looking northwest at the exterior of the 'Armenian' gateway



38b. Gülek looking south over the Cilician Gates



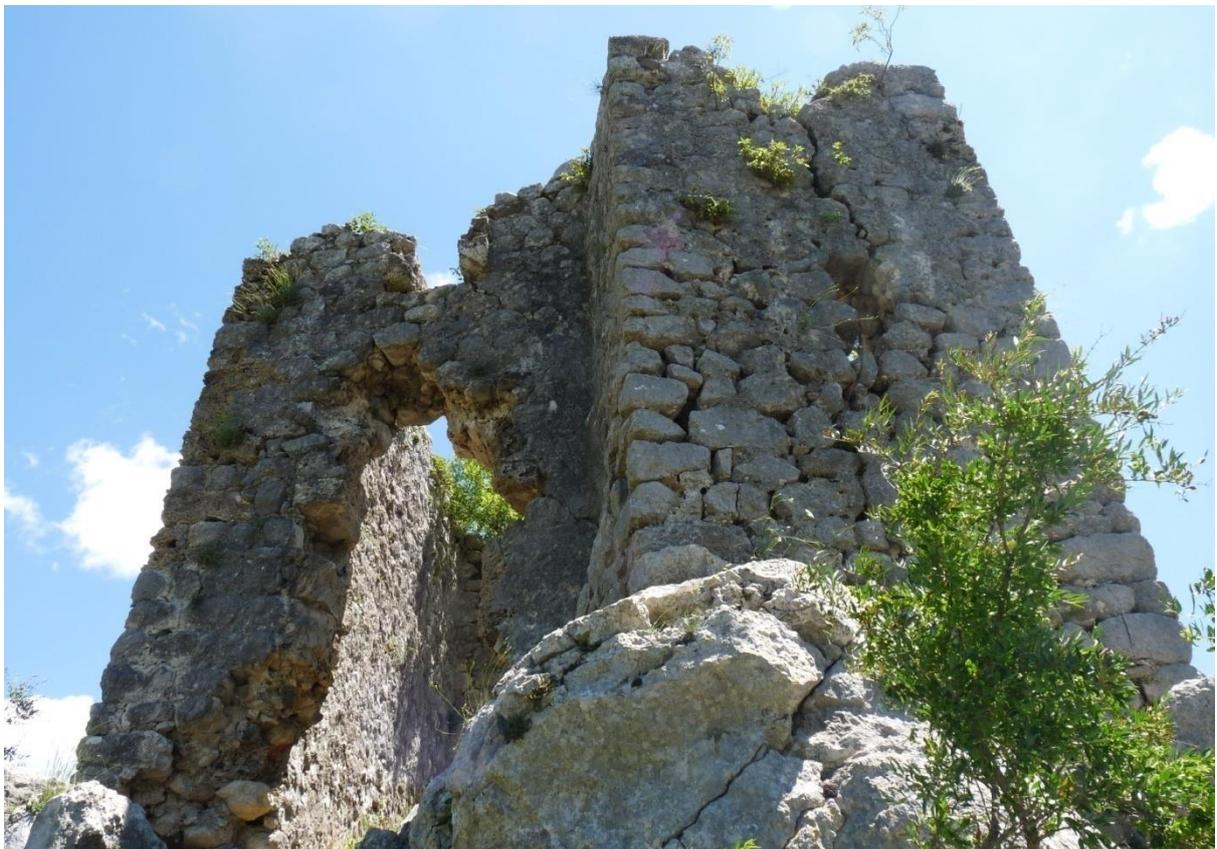
38c. Gülek, looking northwest through the 'Armenian' gateway and machicolation



39a. Haçtırın, looking east at the fortified outcrop



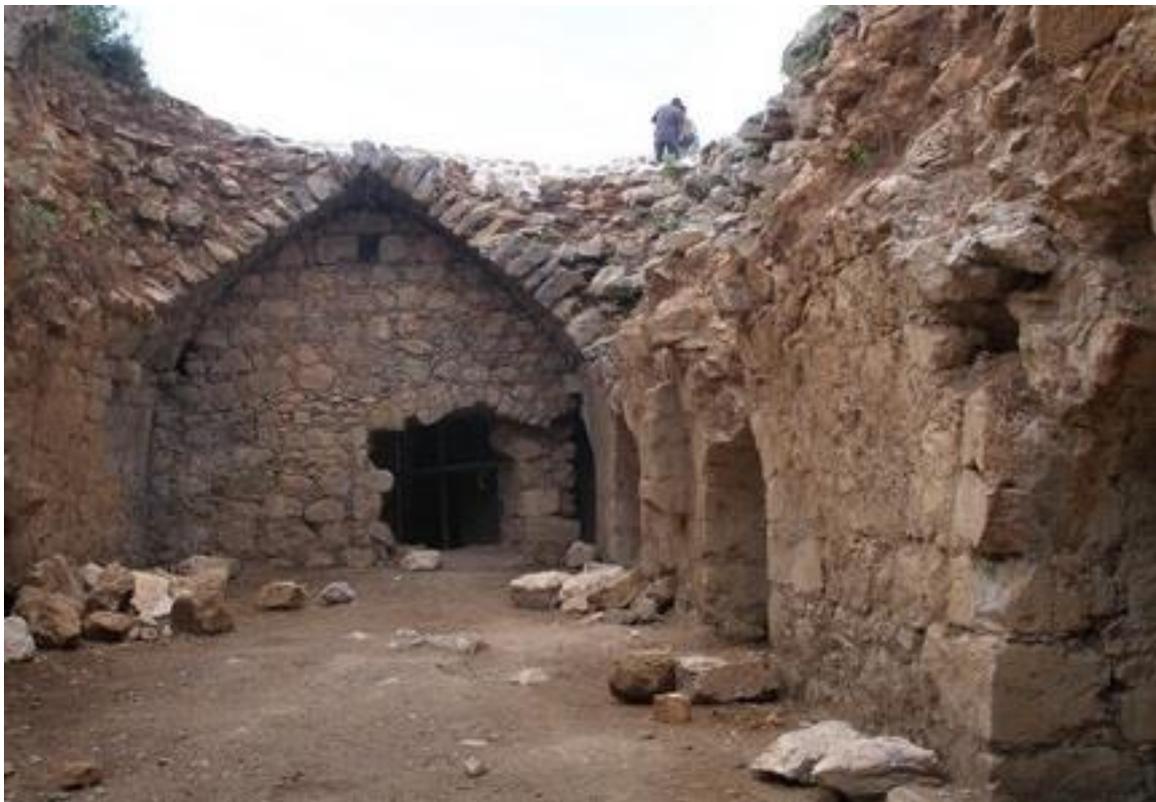
39b. Haçtırın, looking northwest at the exterior of the watchpost



39c. Haçtırın, looking southeast at the exterior of the entrance



40a. Haruniye, looking northeast at the restored exterior of gateway A (plan 11)



40b. Haruniye, looking west through C (plan 11)



40c. Haruniye, looking west at D and E (plan 11)



40d. Haruniye, looking north at arrow slit in C (plan 11)



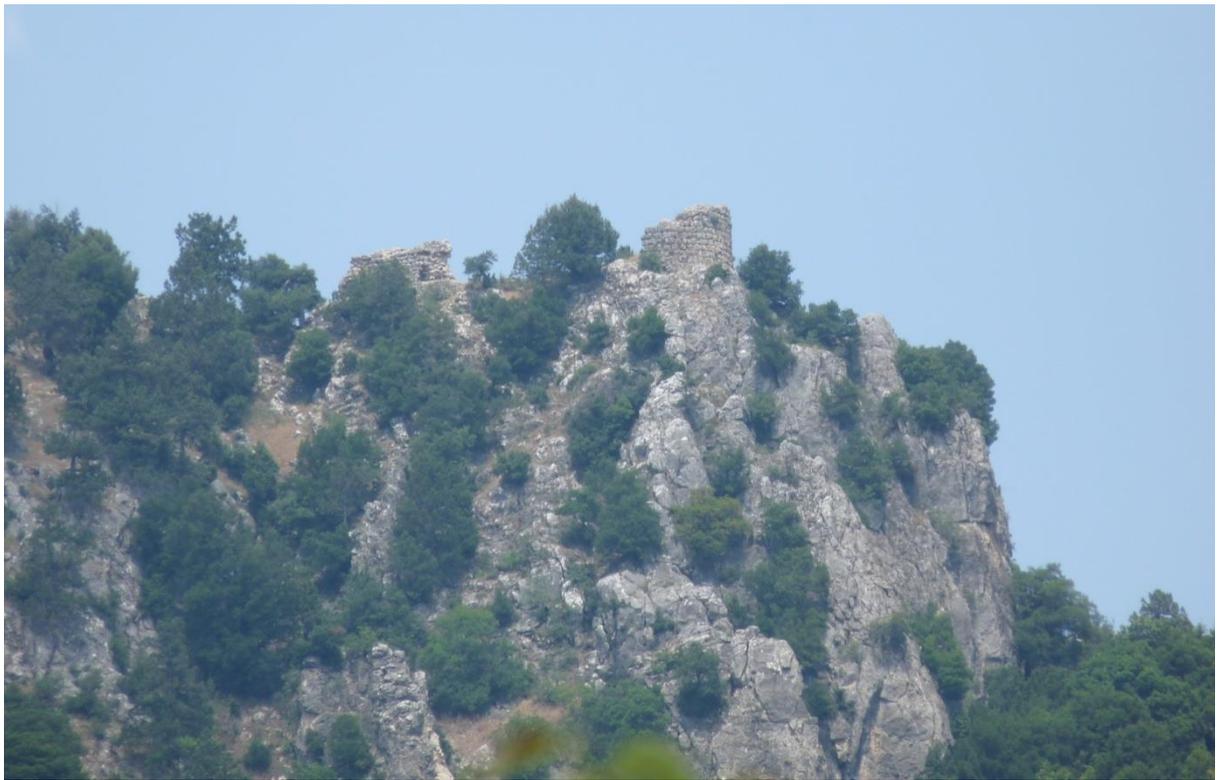
40e. Haruniye, looking south at corbels on exterior of the northern wall



41a. Hebilli, looking east at the exterior of the fort



41b. Hebilli, looking northeast at the exterior of the fort



42a. Hisar, looking east at the fortified outcrop



43a. Kalealti, looking northeast at the fortified outcrop



44a. Kaleboynu, looking east at the exterior of the fort



45a. Kalkan, looking north at the south end of the fort



46a. Karafrenk, looking northwest at the exterior of the fort



47a. Kız(lar), looking west at the fortified outcrop



47b. Kız(lar), looking northeast at the west and south face of the keep



47c. Kız(lar), looking north at the west face of the keep with the corbels on the west side



47d. Kız(lar), looking south at the interior of the south window in A1 (plan 13)



48a. Kiz Kalesi, looking south at the sea castle



48b. Kiz Kalesi, looking southwest at rectangular tower



48c. Kiz Kalesi, looking east at the western exterior of the fort



48d. Kiz Kalesi, looking at the mosaics in the interior of the fort



48e. Kiz Kalesi, looking at the inscription above the second level entrance to the rectangular tower



48f. Kiz Kalesi, looking south at the upper part and Lusignan repairs



48g. Kiz Kalesi, looking west at the interior of the fort



49a. Korykos, looking east at the exterior of the land castle



49b. Korykos, looking southeast at the 'Classical' entrance



49c. Korykos, looking south at the interior of the sea-entrance



49d. Korykos, looking south at the eastern curtain wall



49e. Korykos, looking southeast at the interior the curtain wall



49f. Korykos, looking northeast from the sea castle towards the land castle



50a. Kumkale, looking west at the east face of the fort



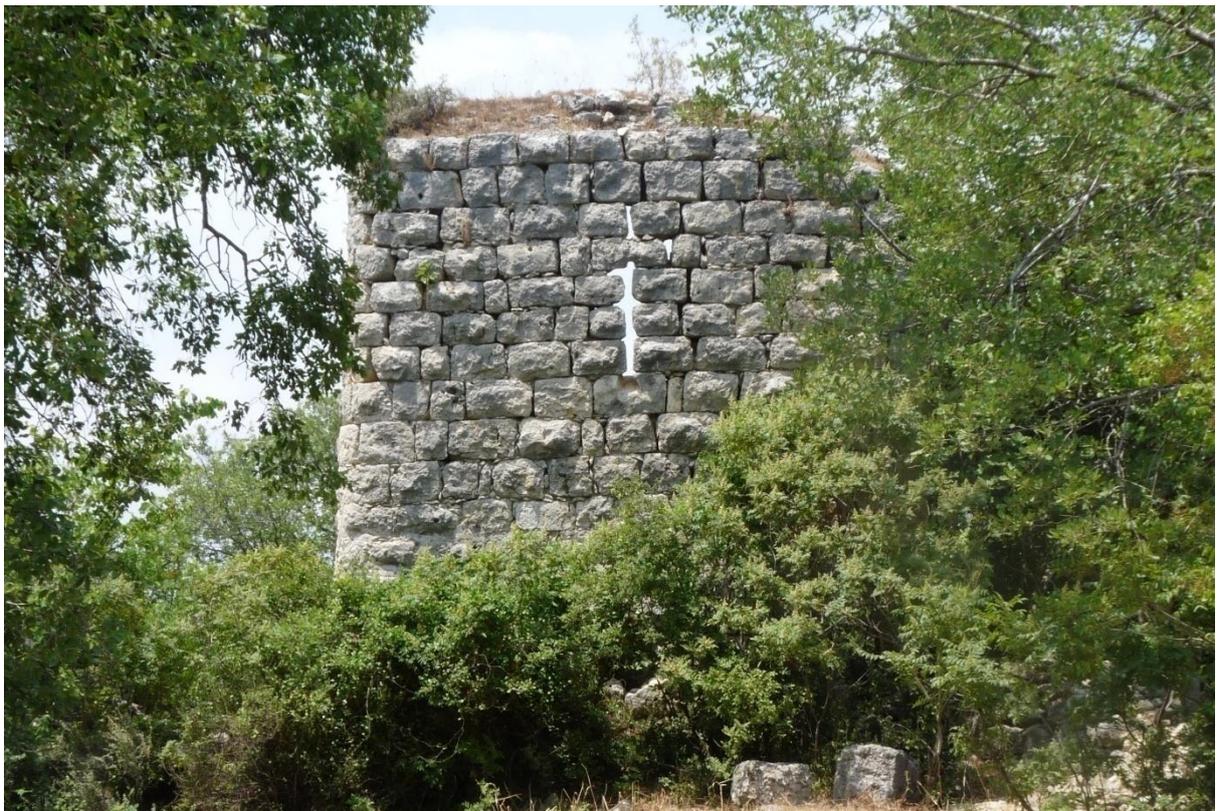
51a. Kütüklü, looking north at the exterior of the southern curtain wall



51b. Kütüklü, looking at the detail of masonry of the northwest tower



52a. Kuzucubelen, looking north at the exterior of the fort



52b. Kuzucubelen, looking west at the east side of the fort



53a. Lamas, looking west at the exterior of the fort



53b. Lamas, looking at a stone irrigation channel on the exterior of the fort



53c. Lamas, looking north at the exterior of the circuit wall



54a. Lampron, looking west at the fortified outcrop



54b. Lampron, looking east at the approach towards the outcrop



54c. Lampron, looking east at the exterior of a destroyed bent-entrance



54d. Lampron, looking north at the upper part of the baronial headquarters



54e. Lampron, looking northwest at the interior of the bent entrance



55a. Liman, looking south at the fort inside the Turkish military compound



55b. Liman, looking south at the exterior of the fort



56a. Mamure Kalesi, looking south at the exterior of the inner circuit wall



56b. Mamure Kalesi, looking east at the entrance to the bailey



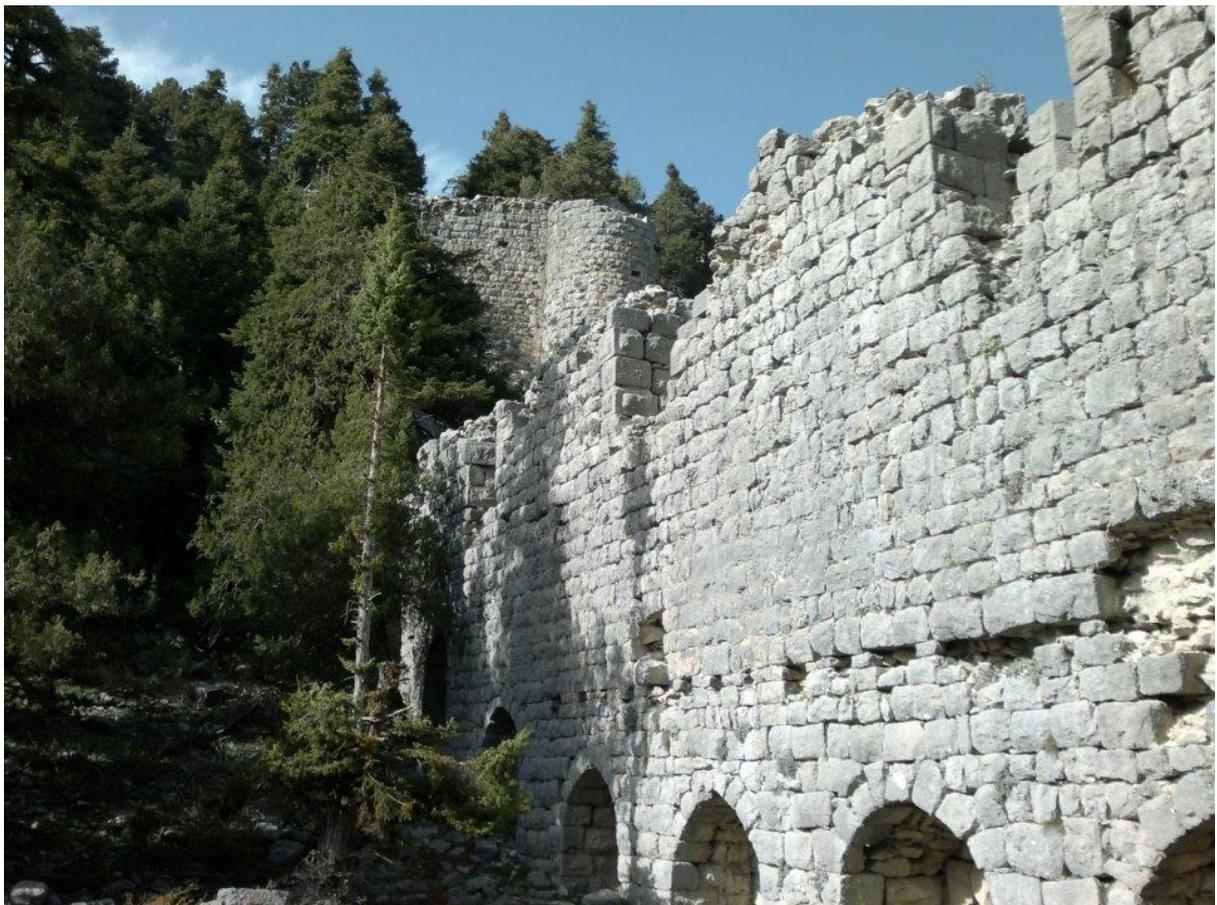
57a. Mavga, looking east at the cave fortress



57b. Mavga, looking northeast at the fortified outcrop



57c. Mavga, looking north at the fortified outcrop and caves



58a. Meydan, looking northeast at the interior of the curtain wall



58b. Meydan, looking south at the south bailey from the north bailey



58c. Meydan, looking north at round tower along the southern curtain



58d. Meydan, looking west at the exterior of 'Armenian' gateway



59a. Misis, looking east at the bridge



59b. Misis, looking east at classical structure on the east bank of Misis



60a. Misisin, northeast at the exterior of the fort



61a. Oğlan, looking southeast at the exterior of the fort



61b. Oğlan, looking northwest at the exterior of the fort



61c. Ođlan, looking south at the exterior of the fort



61d. Ođlan, looking south at the exterior of the fort and the fort of Kiz(lar) in the distance



62a. Payas, looking northwest at the exterior of the fort



63a. Saimbeyli, looking southeast at the exterior of the gateway



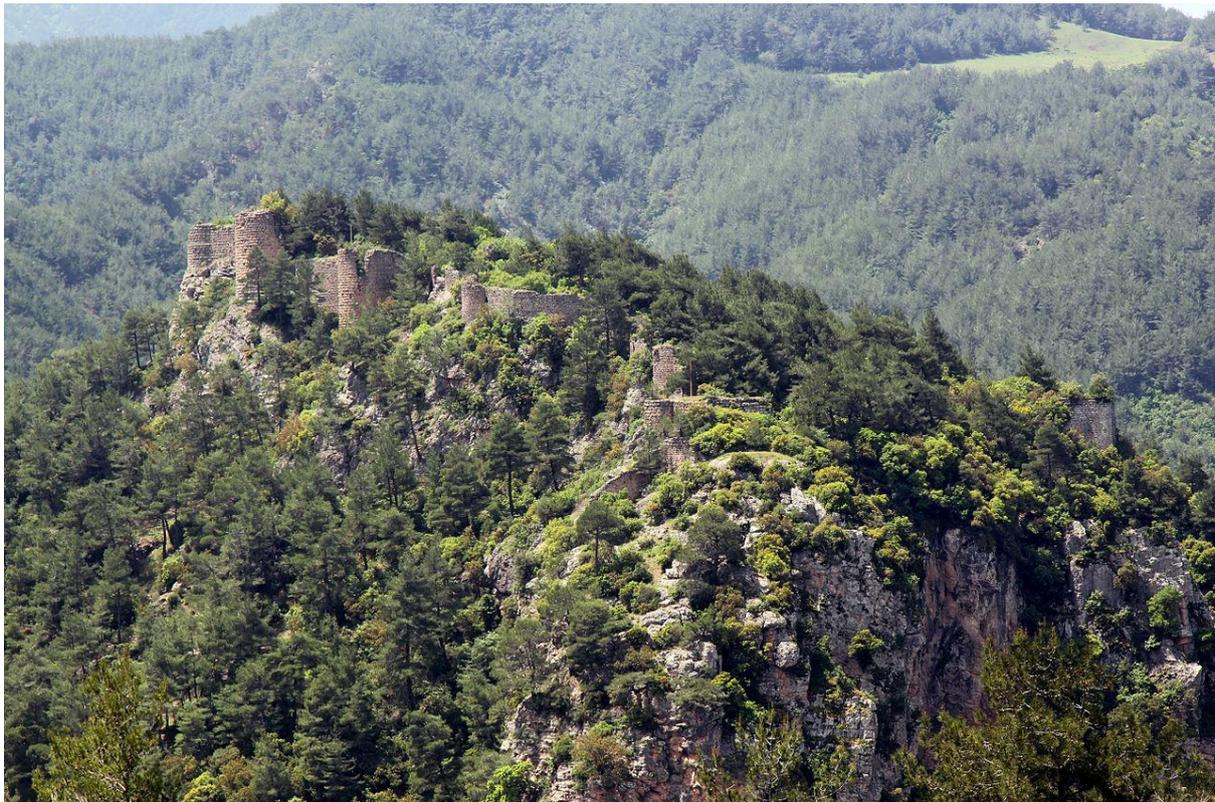
63b. Saimbeyli, looking southeast at the exterior of A (plan 15)



63c. Saimbeyli, looking northwest at the interior of A and B (plan 15)



63d. Saimbeyli, looking northeast at the west flank of the fort



64a. Savranda, looking north from I to A and B (plan 16)



64b. Savranda, looking north at the round tower near gateway A (plan 16)



64c. Savranda, looking east at the interior entrance of gateway A (plan 16)



64d. Savranda, looking north at the exterior entrance of gateway A (plan 16)



65a. Silifke, looking northwest at the fortified outcrop



65b. Silifke, looking northwest at the exterior of the curtain wall



65c. Silifke, looking north at the Calycadnus or Göksu River



65d. Silifke, looking east at the interior of a vaulted room



65e. Silifke, looking east at the interior of a vaulted room



66a. Sinap (near Çandır), looking northeast at the exterior of the fort



66b. Sinap (near Çandır), looking north at the two arrow slits on the upper level of the south wall



66c. Sinap (near Çandır), looking south at the two arrow slits on the upper level of the south wall



67a. Sinap (near Lampron), looking north at the fort



67b. Sinap (near Lampron), looking north at the upper level of the fort



67c. Sinap (near Lampron), looking south at the centre of rural settlement



67e. Sinap (near Lampron), looking north at the corbels on the south side of the fort



68a. Sis, looking north at the fortified outcrop



68b. Sis, looking south at the southern bailey



68c. Sis, looking at the western flank of the outcrop



68d. Sis, looking south at the exterior of 'Armenian' gateway



68e. Sis, looking northeast at the interior of the circuit wall



68f. Sis, looking southwest at the eastern flank of the outcrop



68g. Sis, looking southeast at the exterior of the circuit wall with corbels and box machicolation



68h. Sis, looking at the box machicolation along the circuit wall



69a. Softa Kalesi, looking north at the fortified outcrop



69b. Softa Kalesi, looking west at the upper bailey



70a. Sulayayla, looking north at the fortified outcrop



70b. Sulayayla, looking northwest at the exterior of the fort



71a. Tece, looking northeast at the interior of the fort



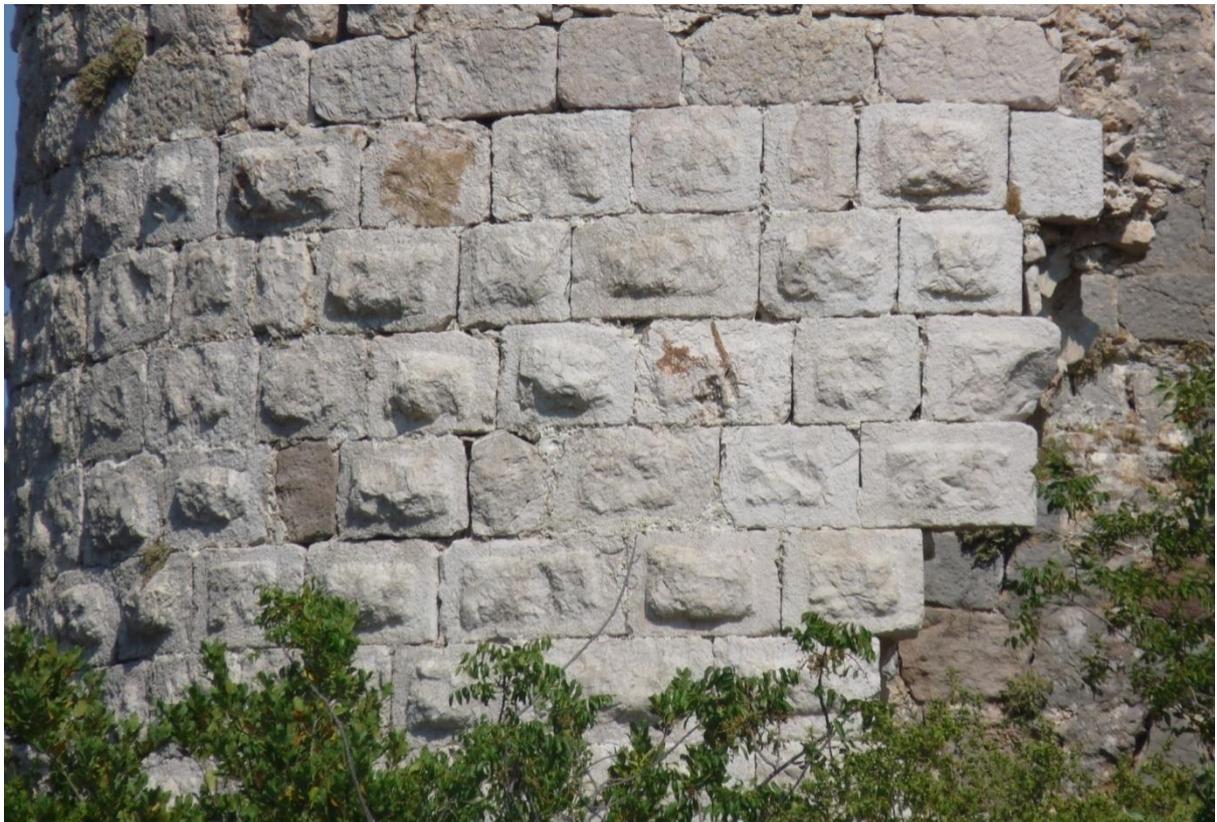
71b. Tece, looking south on the exterior arrow slits of the northern wall



71c. Tece, looking northeast at the interior lower level of the fort



72a. Tokmar, looking south at the fortified outcrop



72b. Tokmar, looking at the masonry of a round tower on the northern circuit



72c. Tokmar, looking northeast at the interior of the curtain wall



72d. Tokmar, looking south from the fortified outcrop to the Mediterranean Sea



73a. Toprak, looking north at the fortified outcrop



73b. Toprak, looking northwest at the exterior of the fort



74a. Trapesak, looking northwest at the exterior of the south undercroft



74b. Trapesak, looking north at the aqueduct adjacent to the fort



75a. Tumlu, looking north at the fortified outcrop



75b. Tumlu, looking northwest at the fortified outcrop



75c. Tumlu, looking southwest at the fortified outcrop



75d. Tumlu, looking west at the exterior of H (plan 18)



75e. Tumlu, looking northeast at the exterior of B (plan 18)



75f. Tumlu, looking east at the fortified outcrop



76a. Vahga, looking northeast at the fortified outcrop



76b. Vahga, looking northeast at the exterior of the south door of entrance A (plan 19)



76c. Vahga, looking south at the interior of the fort and the valley



76d. Vahga, looking southwest at the east face of F (plan 19)



77a. Yaka, looking north at the fort



78a. Yanik Kale, looking north at the fort



78b. Yanik Kale, looking east of the fort



79a. Yılan Kalesi, looking east at the fortified outcrop



79b. Yılan Kalesi, looking south at the northern flank of the fortified outcrop



79c. Yılan Kalesi, looking east at the west flank of E (plan 20)



79d. Yılan Kalesi, looking west at the exterior of gateway A (plan 20)



79e. Yılan Kalesi, looking west at the battlements south of B (plan 20)



79f. Yılan Kalesi, looking north at 'Armenian' gateway E (plan 20)



79g. Yılan Kalesi, looking at the inscription at the upper part of gateway E (plan 20)



79h. Yılan Kalesi, looking northeast at K and J (plan 20)

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