

ROMAN ROADS & MILESTONES OF ASIA MINOR

M·AQVILLVS M·F
COS·CCCXXI
ΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΟΥ
ΥΠΑΤΟΣ-ΡΟΜΑΙΩΝ
ΤΛΑ

DAVID H. FRENCH

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2. BIBLIOGRAPHY

2.1 Abbreviations

The abbreviations primarily employed here for journals and periodicals are listed in *L'Année Philologique*, “Index of Articles”; they are supplemented, where necessary, by *AJA* 90 (1986), 384-394 “Abbreviations for Periodicals and (2) for Individual Works” and *AJA* 104 (2000), 10-24, and by *Zeitschriftenverzeichnis nach Abkürzungen*, *JdI Archäologische Bibliographie*

The following abbreviations are not generally found in current lists:

AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı
BdI	Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica
MxB	Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς τῆς Σμύρνης

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3. NOTES AND COMMENTS

3.1 The Text of Republican Milestones

The Çamlık inscription (below, no. 5) provides the standard text for those milestones which were erected by Manius Aquillius during his proconsulship, 129-126 BC. In the text – here designated as the “standard” for Manius Aquillius – on the Çamlık milestone, the word *υῖός* is omitted. The extended form of Manius Aquillius’ patronymic – *Μανίου υῖός* – is found only on the milestones of L. Aquillius Florus, at Sağlık (below, no. 1) and at Tire (below, no. 4), but not on the milestone of L. Aquillius Florus at Aydın (below, no. 6. Aydın 1).

There is a close - but not exact - similarity, in form and text, between the milestones of Asia and Macedonia, cp. the Çamlık text (below, no. 5) with the text of the Gallikos and Amygdaleonas milestones (AE 1976. 643 and SEG 40. 543, respectively). One notable distinction between the Macedonian and Asian milestones is the title of the governor: *cos* (for consul) on the Asian, *procos* (for proconsul) on the Macedonian milestones.

Note the simultaneous use of a straight-bar A (in the Latin text) and a broken-bar *alpha* (in the Greek text) on all the milestones.

Note also the ambiguity of the word *restituit*, preserved at Sağlık (below, no. 1) and at Tire (below, no. 4), restored at Aydın (below, no. 6, Aydın 1): does the term apply to the road or to the milestone? (cp. Pekary 1968, 69). The sense of this verb is not always clear. In the case of Sağlık, Tire and Aydın, I have proposed (1995, 101) that the term refers to a restoration (and re-wording) of the original, Aquilan milestones after their destruction during the Mithridatic wars.

¶ For a suggestion that the Republican roads on the Attalid territory of Asia Minor (and Thrace) were not paved but only “trackways” (regularly maintained, passable by vehicles and administered by the Roman authorities), converted from older “trackways”, see an earlier discussion (French 1997, with texts and references). The first paved roads were constructed by Augustus (*viam fecit*): the *Via Sebaste* (from Perge to Colonia Lystra) in 6 BC and, in Asia, an unnamed road N of Ephesus.

3.2 The Context of Republican Milestones

On the evidence of the Side milestone, it is clear that Aquillius was adopting and affirming an existing road-network within the boundaries inherited from the Attalid kingdom, perhaps for civil purposes, possibly also for military reasons. Whatever the purpose, the establishment of an official road net-work should be understood as an assertion – symbolized by the very massiveness of the road-markers – of Roman territorial possession in Asia Minor (French 1991, 53-54).

There is the strongest possibility that (as yet) undiscovered Republican milestones will indicate not simply an addition to our synopsis of roads in Republican Asia but also indirectly the destination of a road, e.g. Apamea, Synnada or Philomelium, although the city itself may not be named, as in the case of Side (text no. 10). Such milestones will thus demonstrate Manius Aquillius' organization of a road-network within the eastern territories of the former Attalid kingdom (roughly speaking, the region bounded by Dorylaeum, Philomelium, Synnada, Apamea, Amblada and Side) and thereby the full reach of his administrative authority in that region.

¶ For notes on the discreet group (of milestones) formed by the three examples, (no. 6) Aydın 1, (no. 1) Sağlık and (no. 4) Tire, and for observations on their historical context (post-Mithridatic restoration of the milestones) and date (c. 70 BC), see French (1995, 100-101).

¶ For the unity of the Aydın text, cp. the remarks on the Sağlık and Tire milestones (French 1995, 100 “the inscription was cut by L. Aquillius Florus as a single whole, . . . not in two halves, each inscribed at a different period, . . . it is not to be divided on the assumption that the second half [which names L. Aquillius Florus] was added, at a later date, to an earlier text [which recorded only Manius Aquillius]”). It is significant – in my view – that the letter-sizes between the upper (lines 1-5) and lower (lines 6-11) halves of the Sağlık text are observably uniform, c. 0.022, and are much less massive than the letters on the “standard” text, Çamlık (below, no. 5), c. 0.060.

¶ For the historical context of the Side milestone, and of the Sağlık, Tire and Aydın 1 milestones, see Mitchell (1999, 19-20).

3.3.1 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones: the Çamlık milestone

On present knowledge there were two major points from which, in the newly-inherited kingdom of Attalus III, the road-distances on Republican milestones were measured: Ephesus and Pergamum. Neither city was named in the text of an existing milestone. Thus, no *caput viae* was indicated for the road on which a milestone was erected. As on very many milestones of the Imperial period the distance-figure was, no doubt, readily understood without the need for a specific indication (usually in the form: “From + City-name”, as in “Ab Epheso”).

The figure V on the Çamlık milestone is manifestly the distance from Ephesus. The modern distance from Efes to the Çamlık station is c. 8 km (= 5 MP). The *caput viae*, therefore, though not named, is clearly Ephesus. The stone may well have been *in situ* when it was discovered during the construction of the İzmir - Aydın railway.

3.3.2 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones: the Dikili milestone

A second milestone was also measured from Ephesus: Dikili near Pergamum (see below, no. 3, distance-figure CXXXI). Less clear is the original position of this stone (now lost). The orthodox interpretation (Dessau s. ILS 1. 27) puts the Dikili milestone on the Ephesus - Pergamum road.

There are three possibilities for the original location of the stone.

- (1) If Pergamum was by-passed by the road from Ephesus, the distance-figure – CXXXI (= 194.5 km) on the Dikili text would place the milestone at Altınova, according to my calculations, i.e. c. 22.5 km beyond Dikili, in the direction of Edremit (ancient Adramyttium).
- (2) The same figure, CXXXI, if applied to a road leading NE or E (to Cyzicus ?) from Pergamum, would take the stone c. 22.5 km eastwards beyond Bergama and correspondingly over 50 km E of Dikili.
- (3) On the other hand, if the road on which the stone was erected ran first to Pergamum and then NW towards Dikili and Altınova (as the modern road), the distance-figure would correspond almost exactly to the modern distance (c. 193 km) from Efes to Bergama and thence to the neighbourhood of Dikili. The modern location, therefore, of the milestone at Dikili would not be far from an original, ancient position on a road running northwards from Pergamum towards Adramyttium.

If possibility (3) is correct (as I believe), Pergamum was simply an (unnamed) intermediary, not a *caput viae*, on the road N from Ephesus to Lampsacus (see below, section 3.3.3). The road was thus measured from Ephesus alone, without regard for intervening cities, cp. Kazıkbağları 1 under Vespasianus, MP LXXXVIII from Ephesus. The same practice – a single *caput viae* – was adopted for the road from Pergamum to Side (see below).

3.3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones: the Kazıkbağları 3 and Tire milestones

On the basis of the low numeral, it is plausible that one milestone – Kazıkbağları 3 – was measured from Pergamum, though found S of the site of Elaea (c. 500 m W of the modern highway below Zeytindağ, in the area called Kazıkbağları). Elaea lies c. 25 km SW of Pergamum. The distance-figure on the Kazıkbağları 3 milestone is III. If milestones on the Ephesus - Pergamum road were all measured from Ephesus, the distance-figure III would suggest that the Kazıkbağları 3 stone was an anomaly. If it had not been erected on the road between Ephesus and Pergamum, it must therefore belong to another road. I suggest three possibilities:

- (1) the stone was carried from a road which, measured from Pergamum, ran eastwards (as does the Side road, q.v. below, section 3.3.4),

(2) the stone was carried from a road which, measured from Pergamum, ran N to Lampsacus (see below, section 3.4) or

(3) the stone may not have been carried c. 25 km southwards from Bergama but relates to a road at Elaea itself, i.e. it was measured from the Ephesus - Pergamum road to the city and port.

A similar uncertainty is attached to the milestone from Tire. The distance figure on this stone, XXIII (= 35.64 km), is certainly measured from Ephesus, but along which road? Tire itself lies 41 km NE from Efes, on a road to Sardis. If the stone was erected on the Ephesus - Lampsacus(?) road, its original location would fall c. 10.5 km N of Torbalı, at a point c. 45 km W of Tire.

3.3.4 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones: the Side milestone

Not immediately obvious is the *caput viae* of the Side milestone: Ephesus or Pergamum?

Note the change in Ramsay's interpretation of the distance-figure on a milestone found at Yaraşlı in 1884 on the road running towards Perge (and, as we now know, to Side). He himself at first (1887, 366) suggested Pergamum as the *caput viae* of the Yaraşlı 1 stone, later (1895-97, 1, 330-331) Ephesus (cp. the commentary on the Yaraşlı 1 stone, below, no. 9[A]). Ramsay's second view (cp. French 1980, 727) persisted until the recording of the Side milestone in 1990. Ramsay (1895-97, 1, 331) calculated 223 MP for a route from Ephesus to Yaraşlı "around by Apameia".

The figure preserved on the milestone found near Side is interpreted (here and previously [French 1991b, 53]) as the distance from Pergamum. On the Side stone, as on all other Republican milestones, the *caput viae* is not named.

The route of the Republican road from Pergamum to Side can be reconstructed as follows:

Bergama – Kınık – Marmarağöl (W side) – Sart (ancient Sardis) – Alaşehir (anc. Philadephia) – Dindarlı – Yenice – Çeşmebaşı – Pamukkale (anc. Hierapolis) – Eskişehir (anc. Laodicia ad Lycum) – Honaz (anc. Colossae) – Kaklık – Başçeşme – Bozkurt – Çaltı – Dereköy – Yaraşlı (anc. Takina) (milestones) – Karacabel – Boğaziçi – Elmacık – Dütmenkocadüzü – Aziziye (plain of) – Pazarçam – Kızılalan Deresi – Ürkütlü – Şerefdede Hüyük (anc. Comama) – Kızılkaya – Bademağacı (plain of) – İstunas Çiftliği – Döşeme Boğazı – Dereli – Aksu (anc. Perga) – Köprü Irmağı (anc. River Eurymedon) (bridge) – Kumköy, Kızlık Dere (milestone) – Side

The distances on this route can be measured, to a certain level of accuracy, from the Turkish 1:200,000 maps:

Bergama to Yaraşlı	329 km = 221.5
Yaraşlı to Side	<u>166 km = 111.5</u>
	<u>495</u> km = 333.0 MP (1 MP = 1.485 km)

The distance-figure on the Side milestone (found c. 5 km [= 3+ MP] W of the town): 331 MP (= 491.5 km).

The alternative route, beginning from Ephesus, would run through Tralles (modern Aydın):

Efes – Çamlık (milestone) – Germencik – Aydın (anc. Tralles) – Nazilli (anc. Nysa) – Sarayköy – Eskişehir (anc. Laodicia ad Lycum) and thence as above to Side

This route too can be measured with some accuracy:

Efes to Yaraşlı	257
Yaraşlı to Side	<u>166</u>
	<u>422</u> km = 284 MP (1 MP = 1.485 km)

It is apparent that the distance, Ephesus to Side through Tralles, falls short of the kilometre equivalent (331 MP = 491.5 km) of the mile-figure on the Side stone.

I have concluded, therefore, that the *caput viae* of the Side milestone was Pergamum, not Ephesus. Ramsay's first opinion is thus confirmed and his second is rejected.

3.4 A Road between Pergamum and the Hebrus? with Map 5.1

Two hypotheses for the establishment of a road from Pergamum through Thrace to the Hebrus are here proposed.

It is argued above (section 3.3.2), and plausibly demonstrable, that the Dikili stone was erected on a road leading N from Pergamum. I propose here that from Pergamum the road ran northwards to Adramyttium, thereafter to a crossing (*traiectus*) of the Hellespont – attested both in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC and in the Imperial period – between Lampsacus and Callipolis, and from Callipolis onwards through the Thracian Chersonese to the River Hebrus, the destination or terminus of the *Via Egnatia* in Macedonia, thereby completing a land link of military status and function between the two provinces, Asia and Macedonia (see Map 5.1), and ultimately Italy.

Almost immediately after the inheritance of the Attalid kingdom in 133 BC and the subsequent conversion of the Hellenistic kingdom into a Roman province, a formal road – a “roadway” (an unpaved, vehicular road – was established through Thrace as far as the Hebrus. This work was carried out, I suggest, by Manius Aquillius, proconsul in Asia 129-126 BC, as a complement to the work of Cn. Egnatius, proconsul in Macedonia. It is not necessary to postulate that Aquillius built a “highway” (a paved, vehicular road), in other words, that he was necessarily responsible for the building of a paved road, the terms for which are *viam munivit* or *viam stravit* or, simply, *viam fecit*.

The second hypothesis essentially interprets the function of the two roads, namely, that the construction of a military road through Macedonia to the Hebrus, and thence through Thrace to the Hellespont and so into Asia, had a strategic purpose: the establishment of a land-route from the Adriatic to the newly acquired territories in Asia Minor. That the construction was the result of a co-ordinated operation is a proposition which is not easy to sustain. Egnatius in Macedonia must necessarily be a contemporary of Aquillius in Asia. In other words, Egnatius’ activities which led to the creation of a road and the erection of milestones (bearing his name) along that road cannot logically be earlier than similar activities of Manius Aquillius in Thrace. The crux of the proposition is the date of Cn. Egnatius’ proconsulship in Macedonia.

The evidence to test the first hypothesis, however, is almost non-existent.

In Asia the epigraphic cupboard is bare. Pertinent literary sources are poor. Apart from the Dikili milestone, there are no Republican milestones between Pergamum and Lampsacus. In Thrace, between Callipolis and the Hebrus, there are neither milestones (Republican or, indeed, Imperial) to support this hypothesis, nor any direct, archaeological evidence for a road from the Hellespont to the Hebrus. No one, to my knowledge, has found – or indeed sought – a road across the Kurudağ, the range between the Thracian plain N of modern İpsala and the Gelibolu peninsula – although an old (if not ancient) vehicular track is clearly marked N of Kadıköy on the Turkish 200,000 map, Çanakkale 7-o. Nor, similarly, has the pass eastwards through the central Kurudağ towards Tekirdağ [ancient Rhaidestos], the Derbent Boğazı [now flooded by a *baraj* (dam)], been examined for evidence of a road from the Hebrus to Heraclia-Perinthus (modern Ereğli) and Byzantium, as indicated in the *Itinerarium Antonini* 332,1-9 and in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 601,6-602,7).

The reconstruction (proposed here) of a Republican road through Thrace to the Hebrus is made on the assumption that all territories which the Romans inherited from Attalus both in Asia and in Europe were brought under administrative control by the formalization of roads (that is to say, the conversion of existing routes to Roman control) and the erection of milestones, the whole being the

work of the first proconsul, Manius Aquillius. These territories would include *Attalici agri* in Thrace. I suggest that Attalus held lands in the area extending from the Hellespont (and the Thracian Chersonese proper) *northwards* to the Kurudağ range (at the southern edge of the Thracian plain) and *northwestwards* towards the Hebrus; *contra* Walbank (1983, 145), who stated that Thracian lands – specifically the “Caeneic Chersonese” – lay *south* of the Kurudağ, Attalus’ lands being confined to the Thracian Chersonese itself. By so restricting the extent of Attalid presence, Walbank dissociates the narrow neck of the Thracian Chersonese from the broader area embracing the littoral of the Propontis (where a cluster of Attalid inscriptions have been found) E of the Kurudağ and the lowlands both S of the Kurudağ and W of the Kurudağ towards the Hebrus.

Walbank (2005, i) saw the *Via Egnatia* “ending ultimately at Byzantium with an important branch through the Thracian Chersonese to the crossing of the Dardanelles”. The same destination – Byzantium – is indicated on Sayar’s map (1995, 246). In these accounts the essential direction of the *Via Egnatia* from the Hebrus was not to Callipolis (the route of Cicero) but to Byzantium (as the road [W to E] in the *Itinerarium Antonini* 332 and [E to W] in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 601.6-602.7). Strabo (quoted below) applies the name *Via Egnatia* only to the road in Macedonia as far as the Hebrus: *Via Egnatia*, when applied to the road from the Hebrus to Byzantium, is, therefore, a modern misnomer, cp. Tafel (1842, part 2 and map). The region of eastern Thrace did not become a Roman province – capital at Perinthus – until the year AD 45/46 under the emperor Claudius. Then or later, it can be assumed, the extension to Byzantium was added from the existing (Republican) road from the Hebrus to the Hellespont.

On the basis of the surviving sources and of the (uncertain) identification of place-names attested in those sources, Walbank (1983, 140-146) reconstructed a geography of Thrace between the Hebrus and Byzantium in the years before the campaign of T. Didius, praetor of Macedonia, in 101 BC. In this reconstruction he confines the *agri Attalici* to the Thracian Chersonese and locates (1983, 145) the “Caeneic Chersonese” (the area of Didius’ campaign) in the region “N and W of the Chersonese proper, centring on the R. Melas, but extending inland to include the range of hills now called the Kurudağ . . . and probably the region around the tributaries of the Ergene as far as Cypsela”.

The epigraphic source, however, relating to the “Caeneic Chersonese” has been emended (see below), allowing a less confined area for the *Attalici agri*. Consequently, the sources for Thracian geography and the history of Roman actions in Thrace in the late-2nd century BC can now bear an alternative interpretation, namely, that the *Attalici agri* occupied a wider and geographically well defined area which comprised both the Thracian Chersonese proper and, on the NE, the immediately neighbouring lowlands lying N of the Kavak Çay (Melas Fl.) as far as the Kurudağ chain on the N and E and the territory of Aenus on the W. This geographically definable area formed, I suggest, not Walbank’s “*regio Caenica*” but the essential core of the *Attalici agri*. This is the area which was traversed – as successor of a Republican road – by the Hebrus-Callipolis road of the *Itinerarium Antonini* in order to reach the Hellespont crossing. On this interpretation the military campaigns of T. Didius in 101 BC took place N and NE of the Kurudağ, the territory proper of the Caeni (so the *Barrington Atlas* Map 51), not S of the Kurudağ, here defined as Attalid territory and (after 133 BC) as part of Roman territory. The campaign of Didius can, therefore, be interpreted as a minatory operation in order to protect the former Attalid lands, and the extension of the *Via Egnatia* to the Hellespont, from barbarian vexations of the kind which later, in 63 BC, were described by Cicero (*de Provinciis Consularibus* 2) in Macedonia.

In summary, a Republican road through Thrace can be reconstructed, in my view, on evidence from the Imperial period: the much later *Itinerarium Antonini* [compiled in the late-third cent. AD ?]. The route which included the Callipolis crossing (*Itinerarium Antonini* 333,1-10) begins at the

Hebrus (specifically at Traianopolis on the west side of the river) and is continued from Lampsacus to Laodicia in Asia (*Itinerarium Antonini* 334,1-337,2). Taken together, these two sections in the *Itinerarium Antonini* can be interpreted as a later reflection of a Republican road – a *Via Aquillia*(?) matching the *Via Egnatia* – which ran from the Hebrus to the Hellespont at Callipolis, then to Pergamum, thereafter southeastwards to Laodicia and thence (though not cited in the *Itinerarium Antonini*) to Side.

A second hypothesis was submitted in an introductory paragraph, namely, that the road which ran from the River Hebrus through Thrace into Asia was connected, for strategic and administrative purposes, to the road from the Adriatic through Macedonia to the River Hebrus, i.e. the *Via Egnatia*, established by Cn. Egnatius. This proposition cannot be positively demonstrated from the available sources. Nevertheless, it remains a plausible interpretation. The establishment of an eastern section to Callipolis would be a demonstration of the military thinking which lies behind Cicero's description written some seventy years later (cited below).

Negatively, on the other hand, the concept of co-ordination between Cn. Egnatius and Manius Aquillius is undermined, and should therefore be discarded, by the dates of the two governors. The eastern section, connecting Macedonia with Asia, was created, it is here suggested, by the first proconsul of Asia, M'. Aquillius, whose governorship is securely dated to the years 129-126 BC. If the date of Cn. Egnatius' work is as early as the late 140s, the operation could not have been co-ordinated: on the other hand, if the date of Cn. Egnatius is as late as 133 BC (*contra* Crawford; see below), there may be grounds for proposing a unified operation.

¶ For the erection of milestones in Republican Asia and for the post-Republican paving of roads (in Asia and in Galatia), see above, **3.1** and **3.2**

¶ For the passage (the Derbent Boğazı [now flooded], 1:200,000 sheet Çanakkale 7-o) eastwards to Tekirdağ (formerly Rodosto, ancient Raidestus) through the Kurudağ, a location which – more-or-less – coincides with the frontier between “Europa” and “Rhodopea” (i.e. Thrace) between Apris and Sirogellis, see *ItinBurd* 602, 2 (see the reconstruction of the *ItinBurd* below).

¶ For the date of Cn. Egnatius in Macedonia, see the discussion of Walbank (1983, 141 and n.69 “There are plenty of open spaces in-between 146 and 133” and 2005, vi “may have held his command in 145 BC” but *ibid.* possibly “a date in the 130s”, citing Kallet-Marx [1995, 347-349]). Broughton (1986, 84-85) summarizes the evidence for identifying his family and for dating his proconsulship in Macedonia (by association with other dated officials); he offers only an uncertain year: “ca. 143?”. Loukopoulou (1987, 100 n.186) also summarizes the varying proposals, as published up to the year 1987, for the date of Egnatius and the *Via Egnatia*. Michael Crawford (in discussion) has emphasized that, on present evidence, the contemporaneity of Cn. Egnatius and M' Aquillius is not a tenable proposal.

¶ For the *Via Egnatia* in Macedonia as far as the Hebrus, see Strabo [writing early-first cent. AD?] 333, 9 (C 322).

Strabo here applies the name *Via Egnatia* only to the road as far as the Hebrus. The word ὁδός is ambiguous: it can mean both a paved and an unpaved road. Strabo is not specific.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἡ Ἐγνατία ἐστὶν ὁδὸς πρὸς ἕω, βεβηματισμένη κατὰ μίλιον καὶ κατεστηλωμένη μέχρι Κυψέλων καὶ Ἑβρου ποταμοῦ· μιλίων δ' ἐστὶ

πεντεκοσίων τριάκοντα πέντε

The road from Apollonia to Macedonia is the Egnatia, towards the east, measured by miles and defined by milestones as far as Kypsela and the Hebrus; it totals 535 miles

¶ For a recent account of the *Via Egnatia*, see the report on the 2009 conference at Bitola (Via Egnatia Foundation 2011) and, in particular, for Turkish Thrace and the route of the *Itinerarium* road from the Hebrus, Turkish Meriç, to Perinthus and beyond, see Sayar (2011, with references to Walbank [1983 and 1985], Mottas [1989] and the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 6 [ed. Soustal 1991] and 12 [ed. Külzer 2008]). A review of the historical sources relating to the history of Macedonia in the second century BC (and the *Via Egnatia*) is given by Loukopoulou (1987, 87ff). For a summary of the history and usage of the *Via Egnatia*, particularly in the post-imperial period, see Külzer (2008, 342-344).

¶ For the continuation of the military road through Macedonia eastwards beyond the Hebrus to the Hellespont, see Cicero *de Provinciis Consularibus* [written 56 BC] 2.

In this passage, Cicero sees only a single road which ran through Macedonia to the Hellespont. He does not name the *Via Egnatia* nor does he distinguish between the two sides of the Hebrus, the western (Macedonian) and the eastern (Thracian). Cicero does not indicate separate dates of construction. He does, however, emphasize its status, *via illa nostra*, “that (renowned) road of ours” and its function, *militaris*, “a military road”.

“. . . . Macedonia sic a barbaris vexatur, ut Thessalonicenses positi in gremio imperii nostri relinquere oppidum et arcem munire cogantur, ut via illa nostra, quae per Macedoniam est usque ad Hellespontum militaris, non solum excursionibus barbarorum sit infesta, sed etiam castris Thraecis distincta ac notata”.

Macedonia is disturbed by barbarians to such a degree that the people of Thessalonike, situated within the heart of our imperium, are driven to abandon their city and to build a fortress, (and to such a degree) that the highway, which runs through Macedonia as far as the Hellespont – that military (highway) of ours – not only is plagued by the incursions of the barbarians but is even studded and dotted by Thracian forts.

(after Loeb transl.)

For a comment on this passage and on the description in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, see Collart (1976, 179 and n.21).

¶ For a Thracian attack on the Chersonese between 200 and 196, specifically Lysimachia, see Livy 33, 38, 11. The city was retaken by Antiochus III. Lysimachia was again captured by Thracians (under King Diegylis) in c. 144 BC.

¶ For Thracian attacks on Macedonia, especially in western Macedonia but with assistance of eastern tribes, see Walbank (1983, 133, with references: “From 133 onwards there was continual fighting between the governor of Macedonia and the tribes of Thrace”).

¶ For the continual incursions of the Thracians into Macedonia in the 1st century BC, see Papazoglou (1979, 316 “a refrain in Livy for the period 89-35”).

¶ For the presence of a Pergamene *strategos* in the region of the Chersonese, τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ

τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκιαν τόπων, in the reign of Attalus II (159-138 BC), presumably as a defensive measure against Thracian incursion, see OGIS (339, ll. 12-13 = IK 19 [Sestos]. 1 with citations to the title in inscriptions of Prusa and Thyatira). The phrase emphasizes that Attalus II controlled more than narrow point of the Chersonese. These territories would later have passed, it may be assumed, to Attalus III and then to the Romans. The individuality of the Chersonesus continued under the Romans (IK 19 [Sestos]. 45 C. Manlius Felix, *procurator Augusti regionis Chersonesi*; ?early 2nd cent. AD).

¶ For the extension beyond the Hebrus of the eastern boundary of Roman Macedonia in the late 2nd century BC, and for a restricted definition of the *agri Attalici* (quoted below), see Walbank (1987, 135-136). Against Walbank's views, Kahrstedt (1954, 51-52) maintained that the European legacy of Attalus III was subject to the authority of the proconsul of Asia until the time of Augustus, cp. his comment (op. cit. 50) on the passage in Cicero, "Aber bedeutet das letzere [Cicero *de Provinciis Consularibus* 2] das die Via Egnatia bis zum Hellespont reichte, und das dann von ihr durchgezogene Gebiet zur Provincia Macedonia rechnete?".

The *Lex portorii Asiae* (compiled in AD 62) mentioned "royal land", βασιλεία χώρα, and specified the custom-posts established by Attalus III; it also referred to the cities and peoples not under Attalus (§§28-29 ll. 68-71) (Engelmann and Knibbe 1989, 90-92). There is no specific mention of Thrace and the Thracian Chersonese although the king possessed lands in the Chersonese. Except for Byzantium, no city of Thrace, even if free (as Sestos), was named. On this basis, it may be concluded that some parts of the historical summary which was set out in the *lex portorii* (§§ 1-30) no longer applied to Thrace and the Thracian Chersonese, since the latter had passed (in 101 BC) into the administration of Macedonia. On historical and geographical consequences of the *lex portorii*, see the interpretations of Mitchell (2008, esp. 184 and 187; note particularly the suggestion that the summary in §§ 1-30 of the *lex portorii* belongs "to the early years of the Asian province, perhaps between 129 and 126 BC").

The history of the area between 133 (death of Attalus III) and 101 BC (the campaign of T. Didius and the *lex de piratis*) is not clear. I have assumed here that after 133 BC the Attalid lands in Thrace were administered first from Asia before passing (as stipulated in the *lex de piratis*, 101 BC) to Macedonia.

¶ For Attalid lands in Thrace, see Cicero *de lege agraria* [written 63 BC] 2, 50:

"Adiungit (sc. P. Servilius Rullus) agros Bithyniae regio quibus nunc publicani fruuntur, deinde Attalicos agros in Cherroneso, in Macedonia qui regis Philippi sive Persae fuerunt, . . ."

He (sc. P. Servilius Rullus) adds the royal lands of Bithynia which the tax-contractors now exploit, then the Attalid lands in the Chersonese, (and) in Macedonia (the lands) which belonged to king Philip or to Perses, . . .

The term 'Cherronesus' is redefined above as the Thracian Chersonese together with the neighbouring lowlands S of the Kurudağ. Northwards beyond – and, probably, also NE of – the Kurudağ lay the Thracian tribal lands.

¶ The Thracian Chersonese and neighbouring lands, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεις (Polybius 18,51,3) passed (in 281 BC) from Lysimachus to Seleucus I, later (in 196 BC) to Antiochus III. After the battle of Magnesia (190 BC) and the subsequent, territorial arrangements laid down at Apamea (188 BC), the Chersonese and the Thracian areas which had

been held by Antiochus were now given to the Attalid, Eumenes II of Pergamum (197-160/159 BC).

Regi Eumeni Chersonesum in Europa et Lysimachiam, castella vicos agrum quibus finibus tenuerat Antiochus, adiecerunt; . . . (Livy 38.39.14).

To King Eumenes they attached the Chersonese in Europe, and Lysimachia, the strongholds, the villages, the lands, within the boundaries which Antiochus held; . . .

It is presumably these lands which Attalus III inherited from Eumenes and which subsequently passed into Roman hands. The statement of Livy forms a background to Cicero's comment on *Attalici agri* (quoted above) and the citation in the *lex portorii* (outlined above). For a late indication of the boundary between Europe and Thrace, see below (section 3.5 Synopsis).

The cities of Maronea and Aenus – which could have been given to him – were not transferred to Eumenes (Livy 39.28.12).

At a later date (the 2nd cent. AD), the Chersonesus was defined as “infra Thraciam” . . . from the Melas Gulf to the Propontis (Ptolemy 3, 11, 9).

¶ For a historical over-view of the events in the Chersonese during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, see Krauss (IK 19 [Sestos] pp. 21-24).

¶ For an account of the Pergamene inscriptions at or near Bisanthe (Rhaidestos, mod. Tekirdağ) and a compilation of the epigraphic evidence pointing to an Attalid presence in the region of Bisanthe (c. 40 km W of Perinthus, mod. Marmaraereğlisi) on the coast of the Propontis, see Sayar (1999).

¶ For the route from the Adriatic through Macedonia, see *Itinerarium Antonini* 329-331; for the route from the Hebrus to Callipolis, see *Itinerarium Antonini* 333,4-8 A Traianopoli Dimis - Syrascele - Arris - Afrodisiade - Callipoli. The distance-figures given in the *Itinerarium*, however, are unreliable (e.g. XXXIII MP between Afrodisiade and Callipolis); the total, 129/130 MP from Traianopolis to Callipolis, requires adjustment. The *Barrington Atlas* Map 51, does not suggest an identification, nor a location, for any named place between Traianopolis and Callipolis except Afrodisias Col. Flaviopolis, in an area c. 20 km NE of Bolayır. The line of the *Itinerarium* road from Traianopolis to Callipolis is not indicated on the *Barrington Atlas* Map 51.

¶ For the crossing of the Hellespont at Callipolis, see *Itinerarium Antonini* 333,9 A Callipoli traiectionem IN ASIA Lam(p)sacum usque . . .

¶ For a winter journey from Callipolis through Thrace to the Hebrus and beyond in December AD 143, see Aelius Aristides, *Orations* 48. 62 (cited by Walbank [2005, vi]).

¶ For a discussion of the *Via Egnatia* in Thrace, see Walbank (1983 and 1985, with references not only to the history and destination of the *Via Egnatia* and to the geography of the region which is now Turkish Thrace but also to a date [101 BC] for a Roman military incursion (specifically under T. Didius, *praetor* in Macedonia) into lands occupied by the Thracian *Caeni*. It is not directly stated by Walbank that a road east from the Hebrus was built under T. Didius, cp. Walbank (1983, 145-146): T. Didius “secured lines of communication between the Hebrus and the Thracian Chersonese and provided greater security . . .”, certainly, in my view, an acceptable interpretation of Didius' campaign strategy.

On the basis of the first edition of the Cnidian version of the *lex de piratis persequendis* (Hassall, Crawford and Reynolds 1974), Walbank referred to a “Caeneic Chersonese” and the campaign of T. Didius in Thrace. Crawford (1996, 264-265), however, now accepts an emendation of the passages which refers to the *Caenice*, as follows:

Cnidus col. IV lines 8 and 10-11

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------|
| l. 8 | Χερσόνησον Καινικήν τε |
| l. 10 | Χερσόνησός τε <καὶ> Και- |
| l. 11 | νηκή |

Crawford, citing the comments of Papazoglou (1979, 316 n.52) and Loukoupoulou (Loukoupoulou and Hatzopoulos 1987, 74-78), accepts that the Chersonese and the Caenice regions as two entities.

For the *regio Caenica*, see Pliny (NH 4.40 (the tribes of Thrace, including those who lived in the river-hinterland of the Hebrus) *Caenici* , and 47 (describing the inland area of Thrace) *intus, Bizye* *regio Caenica, colonia Flaviopolis*, and Ptolemy (3, 11, 6): Καινική (στρατηγία). Alongside the *regio Caenica* came (presumably) also the lands of the Astii, Maduateni and the Coreli, the tribes named alongside the Caeni in the attack on Manlius Vulso (Livy 38, 40.7, cited in full, below **3.5**).

For the *regio Caenica* assigned to the responsibility of the Roman authorities (whether praetor, propraetor or proconsul) in the province of Macedonia, see the passage in the Cnidian text:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| ll. 10-12 | οὗ τε ἐπαρχεία Χερσόνησός τε <καὶ> Και-
νηκή [ἐστὶ]ν, ταύτην {τε} τὴν ἐπαρχείαν ἅμα
με[τ]ὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας διακατεχέτω |
|-----------|---|

If the *Chersonesus* and the *Caenice* are separate entities (as is argued above), then the Chersonesus is here removed, by the *lex de piratis*, from the authority of Asia and given to that of Macedonia.

3.5 Manlius Vulso in Thrace, 188 BC, and the route from Callipolis to the Hebrus with Maps 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3a-b and a Synopsis, The Hebrus-Callipolis route in the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

This section is dedicated to the twin proposition that the route taken by Cn. Manlius Vulso on his return from the campaign in Asia Minor in the early 2nd century BC preceded the Republican road, through Thrace to the Hebrus, organized later in the 2nd century (above, Section 3.4) and that the road from Macedonia to the Chersonese, outlined in the much later *Itinerarium Antonini*, sheds light on the putative course both of Vulso's march and of the Republican road – a road attested in the sources but neither epigraphically documented nor archaeologically confirmed.

In the interpretation given here on Vulso's route, doubt falls on the place-name **Cypsela** – printed here and in the passage and translation below, in bold face – and its location. I suggest that **Cypsela** is not to be equated with the modern İpsala: in my view, the name should read **Cypasis**.

At the same time, there must be some doubt on Livy's chronology of Vulso's march from Lysimachia to the Hebrus: the time scale is too short.

The route of Vulso is described by Livy (38.40.1-7 and 41.1-4 [OCT text]) (and the Teubner and Budé texts), as follows:

His foederibus decretisque datis Manlius cum decem legatis omniq[ue] exercitu ad Hellespontum profectus, . . . Contractis deinde ex omni ora navibus et Eumenis etiam classe per fratrem Athenaeum fratrem regis ab Elaea adducta, copias omnes in Europam traiecit. Inde grave praeda omnis generis agmen trahens Lysimachiae per Chersonesum modicis itineribus stativa habuit, ut quam maxime recentibus et integris iumentis Thraciam, per quam iter volgo horrebant, ingrederetur. Quo profectus est ab Lysimachia die, ad amnem Melana, quem vocant; inde postero die **Cypsela** pervenit. A **Cypselis** via decem millium fere sylvestris, angusta, confragosa excipiebat, propter cuius difficultatem itineris in duas partes divisus exercitus, et praecedere una iussa, altera magno intervallo cogere agmen; media impedimenta interposuit; plaustra cum pecunia publica erant pretiosaque alia praeda. Ita cum per saltum iret, Thracum decem haud amplius milia ex quattuor populis, Astii et Caenei et Maduateni et Coreli, ad ipsas angustias viam circumsederunt.

(proelium)

Romanorum primum agmen extra saltum circa templum Mendidium* castra loco aperto posuit; pars altera ad custodiam impedimentorum medio in saltu, duplici circumdato vallo, mansit. Postero die, prius explorato saltu quam moverent, primis se coniungunt. In eo proelio cum et impedimentorum et calorum pars et milites aliquot, cum passim toto prope saltu pugnaretur, cecidissent, plurimum Q. Minuci Thermi morte damnum est acceptum, fortis ac strenui viri. Eo die ad Hebrum flumen perventum est. Inde Aeniorum fines praeter Apollonis, Zerynthium quem vocant incolae, templum superant.

* alternatively Bendidium

Having published these treaties and decrees, Manlius with the ten commissioners and all the army set out [sc. from Apamea] for the Hellespont . . . Then, collecting ships from the whole coast, the fleet of Eumenes also being brought up from Elaea by his brother, Athenaeus, he ferried all his forces across to Europe. Then, leading a column heavily laden with every sort

of booty by short stages through the Chersonese, he established a base at Lysimachia in order that with his pack animals as far as possible fresh and in good condition he might enter Thrace, the journey through which was generally feared. On the day on which he left Lysimachia Vulso reached the river called Melas ('Black'), and on the following day he arrived at Cypsela. After Cypsela he entered on a road running for about ten miles through forests, a narrow and rugged track; and because of the difficult going he divided his army in two parts, and directed one section to go on ahead, the other to bring up the rear at a considerable distance, while he placed the baggage between the two sections; there were wagons laden with public money and other valuable booty.

As they were marching in this order through the defile, not more than 10,000 Thracians of four tribes, the Astii and the Caeni and the Maduateni and the Coreli, blocked the road at the narrow point.

(skirmish with the Thracians in the narrows)

The head of the Roman column encamped outside the defile near the temple of Mendis (or Bendis) on open ground; the rest remained within the defile to guard the baggage-train, sheltered by a double rampart. The following day, having reconnoitred the defile before they moved, they joined the van. In the battle there was a loss both of baggage and of camp-followers and a considerable number of soldiers had fallen, since there was fighting everywhere along the whole defile, but the most serious blow received was the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a man of courage and strength. That day they reached the Hebrus river. Then they crossed the frontiers of the Aenians near the temple of Apollo, whom the natives call Zerynthius.

(based on the OCT text and the Loeb translation)

From this description of Vulso's route it appears that in the early-2nd century BC some sort of road ran from Lysimachia in the Thracian Chersonese northwards over the modern Kurudağ – the range running approximately E to W from the Sea of Marmara to the valley of the Meriç – S of Keşan and Malkara to a crossing (name not given) of the River Meriç (the Evros Potamos in modern Greek, the ancient Hebrus). It is probable, however, that Vulso's route through this area of modern Thrace was, in the late-third century BC, a known Macedonian/Thracian road to the Hellespont and (later in the 2nd century BC) an Attalid road.

The terrain between Gelibolu and the Meriç is worthy of a short description as the modern background relevant to the ancient topography which, both directly and indirectly, Livy himself provides. Gelibolu itself is situated on a narrow peninsula oriented approximately SW-NE. Beyond Bolayır the high ground falls away northwards into a plain, the northern side of which is bordered by the Kurudağ range. A river, the Kavak Dere, flows down the southern edge of this plain. The high ground of the Kurudağ runs approximately E-W, on the E towards Tekirdağ, on the W towards Enez (anc. Aenus). NW of the Kurudağ lies the river plain of the Meriç. The Kurudağ at its highest point rises to 649 m. It is forested, the lower slopes being covered in open woodland, mostly oak. The modern road over the Kurudağ takes a route through a narrow, twisting valley which opens out onto a rolling, undulating plain, now devoted to agriculture but interspersed with patches of oak woodland. Some patches are marshy; the areas close to the Meriç are liable to floods. In winter this area is subject to snow and ice. The modern road from Keşan westwards to Enez follows the high ground at the western end of the Kurudağ ridge.

In order to define the relationship between the later Roman road, the path of Vulso and the modern terrain, it is important to establish the route of the *Itinerarium Antonini* (333, 9-10) and, in

particular, the location of the crossing on the River Hebrus.

On the lower Hebrus there was a crossing between Traianopolis and Syracella according to the *Itinerarium Antonini*, through Dymae (var. Dimae), 13 miles (var. XII) from Traianopolis. This crossing served two roads in Thrace:

- (1) Traianopolis - Heraclia - Byzantium (*Itinerarium Antonini* 332, 1-8 [see above, **13**] and *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 601, 6 – 602, 7); this road ran from the crossing on the Hebrus first to Cypsela/Gypsala and then to Syracella (var. Syrascele), and thence to Rhaidestus and Heraclia, and on to Byzantium,
- (2) Traianopolis to Callipolis (*Itinerarium Antonini* 333, 1-8); this road ran first to Dymae (var. Dimae), then to Syrascele (333, 3 Syracella), and thence to Arris and Aphrodisias, and finally to Callipolis. At Callipolis there was a ferry-crossing of the Hellespont to Lampsacus (*Itinerarium Antonini* 333, 9-10 A Callipoli traiectum in Asia Lam(p)sacum) and thence a road to Pergamum.

Road (1) coincides with road (2) as far as Syracella; here the two roads separated and road (2) turned southeastwards to Callipolis, to the crossing into Asia.

In reverse direction (i.e. S to N, the route taken by Manlius Vulso), road (2) can be tentatively reconstructed as follows: from the crossing of the Hellespont at Gelibolu (ancient Callipolis) the road ran northeastwards to the bridge over the Kavaksuyu, turned northward to Kadıköy and thence northwestwards, over the range of the Kurudağ, to Mahmutköy from where it ran westwards to the Meriç.

Where then was the crossing of the Hebrus River? The location is uncertain.

One possibility is Poros, due E of the modern Pherai between Kipi and Doriskos on the western bank of the Hebrus, as indicated by Mottas (1989, Map p. 83, “? Dymae”) and almost due W of İpsala on the eastern bank).

Another crossing is also possible: W of Karpuzlu (12-13 km S of İpsala) on the E branch of the Evros/Meriç, and below the modern Doriskos (and the ancient Doriscus) on the W branch of the Evros/Meriç at a point which is marked on the Turkish 200,000 map (Uzunköprü m-1) as *Taşlı savat* (stone [or paved] watering-place) and also *Egnatia geçidi* (the Egnatia crossing! from what source?) (see also Mottas (1989, 85 *Tachli Sobat*) quoting Bakalakis (1961, 19 Τασλή Σουπάτ); the locals claim (Bakalakis l.c.) that there is an equivalent stone-paving on the bank of the eastern branch of the Meriç). Is this paving the remains of a stone-footing for a ford or underwater causeway? Or perhaps a sort of “pier” or ramp, part dry, part underwater, extending from the bank into the river and providing, at all times, whatever the height of the river, a dry and safe footing for ferry-passengers to embark or disembark without inconvenience?

In the *Itinerarium Antonini* (332, 2) and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (602, 5) Cypsela appears both as Gypsala or Cipsala (*ItinAnt*), Gipsila (*ItinBurd*) 29 mp (25 mp *ItinBurd*) E from Traianopolis (mod. Loutros, c. 15 km E of Alexandroupolis). On the basis of the resemblance between the two names, Cypsela/Gypsala has been identified, as in the *Barrington Atlas* (Map 51) and earlier by Soustal (1991, 330 “jetzt İpsala”) with the modern İpsala, close to the modern crossing of the River Meriç between Kipi and İpsala, situated on the E bank of the River Meriç and c. 37 km (= 25 mp) (approximately along the line of the modern road) from the site of Loutros (anc. Traianopolis).

¶ For a reconstruction of the route given in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, see the synopsis below.

If, however, Livy's *Cypsela* is identified with *Gypsala*, then his statement, that Vulso reached *Cypsela* two days after leaving Lysimachia, must certainly be false: the distance from Lysimachia (at Bolayır) to the nearest point on the Hebrus River is not less than 80 km (c. 54 MP) on the shortest line, i.e. as the crow flies. From *Cypsela*, moreover, Vulso, took a narrow, rough path which led through thick forest (*via sylvestris, angusta, confragosa excipiebat, propter cuius difficultatem itineris . . .*) and fought a skirmish with the Thracians, losing men and booty, and then made camp over-night.

On the basis of Livy's account [38.40.1-7 and 41.1-4, given above, with translation], the line of Vulso's march and the site of the skirmish with the Thracians match neither the physical terrain W of İpsala nor the distance from İpsala to the Meriç (anc. Hebrus). If *Cypsela* is located at İpsala, Vulso would have crossed over a flat, river plain for a short distance only, no more than three Roman miles.

The evident textual difficulty in Livy's account could be most simply resolved by the assumption of a confusion between two similar names, i.e. if *Cypsela* (in the passage of Livy, quoted here) were emended to *Cypasis*. The editor of the OCT volume VI illustrates two branches in the manuscript traditions. In one branch the following, amenable variations (of *Cypsela*) are cited: Gypsea, Gipsea, Gypseis. Thus: (C for G) Cyp<a>seis. It may also be noted that the reading *Cypsela* is found only in the second branch; see the outline of the stemmata (OCT vol. VI, xix *Stemmata Codicum*).

One must also conclude that the march from Lysimachia to the Hebrus (together with the encounter and skirmish with the Thracians) took more than two days, possibly five or six, and occurred some distance from the Hebrus, initially in hilly, wooded terrain and then beyond the high ground over a lightly forested plain with low, rolling hills.

Named sites on the two routes, Vulso and the *Itinerarium*, coincide only at the beginning – (Callipolis and) the crossing of the Hellespont – and the crossing of the Hebrus.

The Republican road to Macedonia similarly is known only at the starting point on the Hellespont – Callipolis – and its presumed destination, the crossing of the Hebrus.

Nevertheless, the nature of the modern terrain after the peninsula of Gelibolu – a river and plain, then a narrow defile through a forested range and thereafter an undulating, lightly wooded plain to the E bank of the Meriç – along the most direct route, as set out above for the *Itinerarium*, reflects the physical details given by Livy. Modern topography, a historical account and a re-constructed *Itinerarium* support (but do not prove) the existence of a Republican road along a similar line.

In summary, one may accept that it is possible, if not probable, that Vulso's westwards route was, indeed, the forerunner of the later Republican road which extended eastwards from Macedonia, over the Hebrus and through the (Thracian) Chersonese to the crossing between Callipolis and Lampsacus. Further, it is plausible that *Cypsela*/*Gypsela* did indeed lie on Vulso's route before he came to the crossing of the Hebrus but not at the location – modern İpsala – which is usually accepted.

In conclusion, I suggest that the topography of Vulso's march has been confused, and the chronology of events distorted, by Livy.

RECONSTRUCTION. Vulso's route revised and reconstructed**Day 1**

Lysimachia - crossing of River Melas

(undulating terrain, then flat plain)

Bolayır – bridge on R. Kavak: 17 km (one day, 11+ MP)

Day 2

crossing of River Melas - Cypasis

(flat plain)

Kavak bridge - [Kadıköy ?] - Kocaçeşme (form. Adılhan): 17 km (one day, 11+ MP)

Day 3

Cypasis - [? name] [rough, narrow, forest track; skirmish with the Thracians in the narrows; camped in open ground; 10 miles, “decem millia fere”]

(narrow valley; crossing of Kurudağ range; then open valley)

Kocaçeşme - Yerlisu: 14.5 km (one day, 10- MP)

Days 4-5?

[? name] - Hebrus Flumen

(flat river plain, then low, undulating terrain)

Yerlisu - passage along S bank of river [Çamlıca Çayı]; crossing on river [Muzalı Çayı], to N bank, at Karahisar - Kocahıdır - Karpuzlu and crossing located on the E bank of the Meriç; Livy assigns only one day but 40 km (27- MP) suggests at least two days, i.e. 11+ MP x 2 (NB Days 1 and 2 = 22 MP)

Day 6(?)

Hebrus Flumen - [?] (unnamed crossing of Hebrus to W bank; passage through territory of Aenus) (river plain)

The E bank on E branch of the Evros/Meriç - thence to a point (the *taşlı savat*) on the W bank of the Evros/Meriç below Doriskos (the ancient site).

(Livy's Day 3) Manlius Vulso may not always have followed the precise line of the later Roman road listed in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (above, road [2]) from Callipolis on the Hellespont to the Hebrus; over the Kurudağ range, for example, he may have taken an earlier, more direct, track before then passing through the undulating lowland towards an unnamed crossing of the Hebrus. The easiest route over the Kurudağ range is indicated (1:200,000 sheet Çanakkale 7-8.o) as an established vehicular road (*araba yolu*, cart-track) between Kadıköy and Mahmutköy through Süleymaniye, somewhat to the E of the modern road. No investigation of this route has been made.

(Livy's Day 4) This day would have a long and rapid march (40 km) with wagons after the skirmish (*proelium*) on Day 3 but Livy is precise: 1 day.

There must here be a lacuna in Livy's chronology. The actions after the skirmish on Day 3 – re-uniting of the two sections, re-grouping of wagon-train, and concentration of forces, [+ burial of the dead (?)] – would surely require one day. The march then continued (slowed by wagons?). These requirements suggest a time-scale longer than that allotted by Livy. I have here inserted one day.

If Cypsela is located at Kocahıdır, as in the reconstructed route in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (see below, Synopsis), then Vulso did indeed pass first through Cypasis and then through Cypsela/Gypsela before reaching the Hebrus.

SYNOPSIS. The roads in the *Itinerarium Antoninini* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

ItinAnt	ItinBurd		ItinAnt
332, 1 Traianopoli	602, 7 Traianopoli	(Loutro)	333,4 Traianopoli
	XIII (19.3 km)		XIII (19.3 km)
	XXVIII = XVIII (28.22 km)		
	602, 6 mut. Demas	(? Karpuzlu)	333, 4 Dimis
	XII = VII ? (10.4 km)		
332, 2 Gypsala	602, 5 mans. Gipsila	(? Kocahıdır)	
			XXXVIII = XXVIII ? (41.6 km)
	XII = VII ? (10.4)		
	XXV = XXI ? (31.2 km)		
	602, 4 mut. Drippa	(? Karahisar)	
	XIII (20.8)		
332, 3 Syracella	602, 3 mans. Sirogellis	(? Mahmutköy)	333, 5 Syrascele
	602, 2 finis Europae et Rhodopeae	(Derbent Boğazı)	
	X (14.85 km)		
	XXI (31.2 km)		
	602, 1 mut. Zesutera	(?)	
	XII (17.8 km)		
			XXI = XI ? (16.3 km)
332, 4 Apris	601, 10 civ. Apris	(Kermiyen)	
	XII (17.8 km)		
	XXVI (38.6 km)		
	602, 9 mut. Bedizo	(?)	
	XII (17.8 km)		
332, 5 Risisto	602, 8 mans. Registo	Tekirdağ	
		(?) Kadıköy	333, 6 Arris
			XXXVIII = XIII ? (20.8)
		(?) nr Bolayır	333, 7 Aphrodisiade
			XXXVIII = VIII ? (13.4)
		Gelibolu	333, 8 Callipoli

Note: in this reconstruction of the itineraries, Gypsala is located at or near Kocahıdır: according to “orthodox” views Gypsala is identified with the modern İpsala. An alternative location for Syracella – where the two roads divide – at Malkara is proposed by Sayar (1999, 246 and Map). For Apris at Kermiyen (near Yürük), c. 35 km W of Tekirdağ, see Sayar (1998, 324 and nn.3-4 with references to his earlier surveys; 1999, 246 with Map) and Külzer (2008, 255).

¶ For the existence of Macedonian roads not only through Macedonia itself but also through Thrace, in particular the road work of Philip V in 190 BC, see the passage in Livy [39.28.7]:

Et cum eo consule [sc. Manius Acilius] belli partem quamcumque mihi delegavit gessi, et sequenti consule L. Scipioni, cum terra statuisset ducere exercitum ad Hellespontum, non iter tantum per regnum nostrum dedi, sed vias etiam munivi, pontes feci, commeatus praebui, nec per Macedoniam tantum sed per Thraciam etiam, ubi inter cetera pax quoque praestanda a barbaris erat.

And with that consul [sc. Manius Acilius] I [sc. King Philip] conducted whatever campaign he assigned to me, and for the following consul, L. Scipio, when he decided to lead his army to the Hellespont by land, I not merely gave him right of passage through our kingdom but also paved roads, built bridges furnished supplies, and this not only through Macedonia but also through Thrace, where along with everything else I had to maintain peace with the barbarians.

These Macedonian roads through Thrace no doubt survived as visible guides for the course of later Roman roads.

¶ For the location of Lysimachia at Azmakağzı on the Bakla Burnu N of Bolayır, see PW 13, 2, 2554 4); KIP 3, 838 [Mansel]; *Barrington Atlas* Map 51 (citing PW and Isaac 1986); New Pauly 8, 37-38 [I. v Bredow]. For the revised location, Lysimachia at a site at or near Bolayır, see Külzer (2008, 499) citing Sayar (2000, 1, 103 and map 1 (p. 104), and 2001, 2, 291 and map 2); see also, more recently, Sayar (2007, 271). For ancient testimony, see Strabo VII fr. 51:

ἐν μέσῳ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ Λυσιμαχία πόλις . . . ἐκατέρωθεν δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Μέλανι κόλῳ Καρδία κεῖται, μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Χερρονήσῳ πόλεων· ἐν δὲ τῇ Προποντίδι Πακτύη

In the middle of the isthmus Lysimachia, a city . . . on either side, on the gulf of Melas lies Kardia, largest of the cities on the Chersonese . . . on the Propontis Pactye.

Sayar (1998, 325 and nn.6-8; 2007, 271) and Külzer (2008, 439) put Kardia at Bakla Burnu.

¶ For the location of Aphrodisias [Ptolemy 3, 11, 7 Ἀφροδισιάς] NE of Bolayır rather than at Bolayır itself, see *Barrington Atlas* Map 51 and references (Directory II, 773 Aphrodisias/Col. Flaviopolis). For an alternative location of Aphrodisias (and Colonia Flaviopolis) at Kadıköy (form. Evreşe), see Külzer (2008, 254).

¶ For Cypasis, see PW 12, 1, 51-52 (Oberhummer); BAtlas map 51 (Directory II, 776, citing PW) [? at Taşağıl İskelesi]; TIB 12, 487; to be located at the foot of the pass over the Kurudağ, at or near Kocaçeşme (form. Adilhan), c. 10 km. W of Kadıköy (? ancient Aphrodisias); the village is situated c. 21 km. NE of Bolayır (? ancient Lysimachia), on the N side of the Kavak Dere which is securely identified with the River Melas).

¶ For the ancient geography of the modern Saros Körfeşi (Saros Gulf), see Scylax 67:

Μέλας κόλπος, Μέλας ποταμός, Δερὶς ἐμπόριον, Κῶβρυς ἐμπόριον Καρδιανῶν καὶ ἄλλο Κύπασις

Melas Bay, the River Melas the Deris Emprium, Kobrys, emporium of Kardia, and another,

(the emporium) Kypasis

For Kypasis in Europe, see Stephanus Byzantius: Κύπασις πόλις περὶ Ἑλλάσποντον. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ [= Hecataeus 136]. Kypasis: “nicht localisiert” according to the Külzer (2008, 487), citing Isaac (1986, 187).

¶ For the crossing on the Hebrus below Doriscus (“petite cité hellénistique”, identified with a site c. 1.5 km S of the modern Doriskos) and for alternative routes between the Hebrus and Karpuzlu, see Mottas (1989, 87 and map, p. 83).

¶ For the location of Cypsela at or near the modern İpsala, see PW 12, 1, 117-118 Kypsela (Oberhummer); KIP 3, 408 Kypsela [Danoff]; Mottas (1989, 91 and n.40); BAtlas map 51 (Directory II, 776, citing PW) with question-mark. On published evidence, the town of İpsala itself is not an ancient site (KIP *ibid.*). Note that recently, however, a little to the E of İpsala, the remains of an aqueduct (? date) have been observed by Sayar (2004, 230 and Figs 5-7).

The identification seems to be based on a kling-klang resemblance in the names, Cypsela and İpsala. Tafel (1842, part 2, 58) cited Stephanus of Byzantium: Ὑψηλὶς κατοικία Θρακῶν, *a habitation of the Thracians*; this name, rather than Kypsela, seems closer, in form, to İpsala. A κατοικία at İpsala may well have escaped modern observation. Stephanus also lists Kypsela πόλις Θράκης πλησίον τοῦ Ἑβρου, *a city of the Thrace near the Hebrus*, near but on the Hebrus. Pomponius Mela 2, 24 describes Cypsela as ‘ingens aliquando’, *once large*. Strabo (VII fr. 47 [Ep. Vat.]) notes that the Hebrus was navigable inland for 120 stadia (22+ km) as far as Cypsela.

Index to sites on maps **5.2** and **5.3**

1. Lampsacus
2. Callipolis
3. Lysimachia
4. Aphrodisias ?
5. Melas fl.
6. Arris ?
7. Cypasis ?
8. Vulso's path
9. *Itinerarium* road ?
10. Syracella ?
11. Derbent Boğazi
12. Drippa ?
13. Gipsila ?
14. Dimis ?
15. crossing
16. Traianopolis
17. Aenus

4. MILESTONES

4.1 Numbered Milestones

1. Sağlık
2. Kazıkbağları 3
3. Dikili
4. Tire
5. Çamlık
6. Aydın 1
7. Alan
8. Harmanlı
- 9(A)-(B). Yaraşlı 1-2
10. Selimiye (Side)

4.2 Designated Roads and Numbered Milestones

R.1 Ephesus - Pergamum - Lampsacus

1. Sağlık
2. Kazıkbağları 3
3. Dikili

R.2 Ephesus - Sardis

4. Tire

R.3 Ephesus - Tralles - Laodicia (- Apamea - Synnada - Docimium ?)

5. Çamlık
6. Aydın 1

R.4 Pergamum - Thyatira - Sardis - Laodicia - Side

7. Alan
8. Harmanlı
- 9(A)-(B). Yaraşlı 1-2
10. Selimiye (Side)

4.2a Concordance of Republican Roads and Designated Imperial Roads

- | | | |
|--|-----------|--|
| R.1 Ephesus - Pergamum - Lampsacus | | 3.5 [Asia]. D.1 |
| R.2 Ephesus - Sardis | | 3.5 [Asia]. D.2 |
| R.3 Ephesus - Tralles - Laodicia (- Apamea - Synnada - Docimium ?) | | 3.5 [Asia]. D.3 |
| R.4 Pergamum - Thyatira - Sardis - Laodicia - Side | | 3.5 [Asia]. E.1 + 3.6 [Lycia-Pamphylia]. A.1 and C.7 |

4.3 Epigraphic Conventions

MAJUSCULE	Letters read on the stone (or preserved in an earlier copy) but not understood by the editor
[α β γ] [a b c]	Letters, lost through breakage or no longer visible, restored by the editor
{α β γ} {a b c}	Letters cut in antiquity but thought by the editor to be superfluous
⟨α β γ⟩ ⟨a b c⟩	Letters thought by the editor to have been accidentally omitted in antiquity and, therefore, supplied by the editor
(α β γ) (a b c)	Letters supplied by the editor in order to complete or to amplify an ancient abbreviation
⌈α β γ⌋ ⌈a b c⌋	Letters erased in antiquity but still wholly visible
⌊α β γ⌋ ⌊a b c⌋	Letters erased in antiquity and only partly preserved
⌈[α β γ]⌋ ⌈[a b c]⌋	Letters erased in antiquity, no longer visible, restored by the editor
α̇ β̇ γ̇ α̇ β̇ γ̇	Letters, damaged and/or only partly preserved, the interpretation of which is open to doubt; consult the drawing (where available)
(sic)	Words or letters correctly cut but thought to be grammatically or orthographically remarkable or unusual; where possible, given by the editor as preserved on the stone
α̂ β̂ γ̂ α̂ β̂ γ̂	(A modern error) Letters or words emended from an earlier copy of an inscription which is not now available to the editor; a note is given in the apparatus or in the commentary
/α β γ/ /a b c/	(An ancient error) Letters or words incorrectly cut, or malformed, or for which, in error, different letters or words have been inscribed on the stone; suggested corrections are supplied by the editor; consult the drawing (where available) and the commentary
α̅ β̅ γ̅ α̅ β̅ γ̅	Letters seen by an earlier copyist but no longer visible or preserved
(vac) or (v)	vacat, i.e. an empty space
[. . 4 . .] [. . . .]	The figure, or the number of dots, within the square brackets indicates the precise number of letters required to fill a known space or to complete the inscription
[- - - -] - - - -	The dashes within the square brackets indicate an indefinite number of letters to be restored in the text in order to fill a known space or to complete the inscription; if the square bracket is not present, the number of missing letters (and hence of missing lines) is not known
ligatures	The presence of ligatured letters is indicated in the commentary
α β γ ab c α β γ ab c	The vertical line indicates the original line-divisions, whether falling in a single word or between two words, in an inscription which is printed as continuous text or as verse
αβ γ ab c αβ γ ab c	The double vertical line indicates the end of every fifth line (the fifth, tenth, fifteenth and so on), whether falling in a single word or between two words, in an inscription printed as continuous text or as verse

4.4 Texts

R.1 EPHESUS - PERGAMUM - LAMPSACUS**1. Sağlık**

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	İzmir, Torbalı 35-17-0
<i>Map</i>	Manisa 12-Iö
<i>Location</i>	Lying beside a service-road (for an irrigation canal), above and S of the old village road (now cut by the canal); c. 1 km W of the village. Formerly standing at the head of a tomb higher up the slope, the milestone was rolled down the hill-side by the road-building machines. In 2007 it was erected in the open-air display of milestones at the site of Ephesus.
<i>Copy</i>	DHF 04.xi.1994. DHF photos (Pl. 7.1.1-2 [p. 58]) and squeeze (Pl. 7.2.1 [p. 63]) (both 05.xi.1994) in BIAA. Text here from DHF squeeze
<i>BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs</i>	Squeeze: 35. İzmir 19, Sağlık (= B/W Neg.: Squ. M/27.04) Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF M/94/20.10-12 (2) Col. Slide: DHF 404. 31-32
<i>Publication</i>	French 1995, 99 no. 3 and Pl. 20.3 AE 1995. 1464 (text of French) SEG 45. 1625 (text of French 1995)
<i>Description</i>	A simple cylinder. Simple, straight shaft. Complete; there is some slight damage by the road-machine to the surface of the text and the edges are slightly chipped. White ("Belevi") marble. The top and base surfaces are flat. Surface and letters: salt-encrusted and slightly worn. Letters: (Latin) A, (Greek) broken-bar <i>alpha</i> . The inscription starts c. 0.04 from the top.
<i>Dimensions</i>	Ht c. 1.47; diam. (top and bottom) 0.69. Letters: (line 1) c. 0.022, (line 3) c. 0.022, (lines 5-6) c. 0.02, (lines 7-10) c. 0.022
<i>Text</i>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 10%;"> <p>2</p> <p>4</p> <p>6</p> <p>8</p> <p>10</p> <p>12</p> </div> <div style="width: 85%;"> <p>[M' Aq]υῖλλιος·M'·f</p> <p>[cos ..]</p> <p>Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος</p> <p>Μανίου υἱὸς ὑπατος</p> <p>[Ῥωμα]ίῳ[v ..]</p> <p>L·A[qu]illius·M'·f·M'·n</p> <p>[Fl]oῤus·q·restituit [?]</p> <p>Λεύκιος Ἀκύλλιος</p> <p>[Μα]νίου υἱὸς Μανίου δὲ</p> <p>[υἱὼ]νδς Φλῶρος ταμίας</p> <p>ἀπ[ο]κατέστησεν</p> <p>[?]</p> </div> </div>
<i>Caput Viae</i>	[Ephesus]
<i>Date</i>	70 BC
<i>Commentary</i>	For the significance of the patronymic Μανίου υἱός in line 4, see above, 3. Notes

lines 7 and 12: on 4. Tire (below, lines 4 and 8) a number is present after **restituit** (line 4) and **ἀποκατέστησεν** (line 8); here, in similar positions, it is not possible to discern a distance figure

and Comments. 3.1 The Text of Republican Milestones

2. Kazıkbağları 3

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	İzmir, Bergama 35-03-5
<i>Map</i>	Ayvalık 9-Iğ
<i>Location</i>	“A quarante minutes au sud de la scala de Klissé-keui, dans un champ,” (Pottier and Besnault). [Klissé-Keui = Kiliseköy = Reşadiye = modern Zeytindağ; scala de Klissé-Keui = Reşadiye İsk(elesi) on map, Ayvalık 9-Iğ]. Now in the Archaeological Museum, Bergama
<i>Copy</i>	Pottier and Besnault (? date) (facsimile of published text, Fig. 6.1.1 [p. 50]); Schuchhardt, K. (? date); DHF 08.xi.1994. DHF squeeze (drawing, Fig. 6.2.1 [p. 54]) and photo. (Pl. 7.1.3 [p. 59]) in BIAA. Text here from DHF squeeze
<i>BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs</i>	Squeeze: 35. İzmir 13, Kazıkbağları 3 Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF M/94/20.15 (2) Col. Slide: DHF 405. 05-06
<i>Publication</i>	Pottier and Besnault 1880, 379 no. 6 Mommsen 1884a, 64 no. 172 (text of Pottier and Besnault) CIL 3. 7184 (text of Pottier and Besnault, and of Schuchhardt) CIL 1 ² . 648 (text in CIL 3) IGRR 4. 270 (text in CIL 3) RRMAM 2, 1. 485 (notice only)
<i>Description</i>	A simple cylinder and plinth. Simple, straight shaft. Complete but somewhat chipped, especially at the top r. Hard, white marble. The top surface is flat; the base is roughly finished but round. Surface and letters: worn. The inscription begins c. 0.08 from the top. Letters: (Latin) A, (Greek) broken-bar <i>alpha</i>
<i>Dimensions</i>	Ht (vis.) 1.38 [1.50 (Pottier and Besnault)], (shaft) 1.25; diam. (top) 0.605, (base) 0.635. Letters: 1. 1 A 0.08, 1. 2 O 0.07, 1. 4 A of MAN 0.05, O of NIO 0.036
<i>Text</i>	<p>M'·Aquill[ius] M'·f</p> <p>2 (vac) cos</p> <p>(vac) III</p> <p>4 Μάνιος Ἀκύλ[λιος]</p> <p>(vac) Μανίου</p> <p>6 ὑπατος Ῥωμ[αίων]</p> <p>(vac) γ'</p>
<i>Caput Viae</i>	(Pergamum)
<i>Date</i>	AD 129-126
<i>Commentary</i>	It is possible that the stone had been carried to the position where it was first recorded. For a comment on the distance-figure, see above, see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones.

3. Dikili

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	İzmir, Bergama 35-03-0
<i>Map</i>	Ayvalık 9-If
<i>Location</i>	“ , gefunden beim Bau der neuen Strasse welche Dikeli koei (Atarneus) mit

dem Innern verbindet. Er liegt ungefähr 100 Schritt von dem kleinen Stationshäusen entfernt welcher sich gerade halbwegs zwischen Bergama und Dikeli befindet ” (Gelzer in Curtius). Present whereabouts of the stone not established (DHF visit 10.x.1997).

Copy Ernst Curtius, between 14 September and 07 October, 1871. The stone has not been examined by DHF. Text here of Gelzer in Curtius and in CIL

Publication Gelzer in Curtius 1872, 73 no. 5
CIL 3. 6093 (copy from Curtius)
Ramsay 1881, 47 (notice of Curtius text; comment on the distance figure)
ILS 1. 27 (text in CIL 3. 7183)
CIL 3. 7183 (copy of Curtius)
CIL 1². 647 (text in CIL 3. 6093 and 7183)
IGRR 4. 264 (text in CIL 3. 7183)
Warmington 1940, 152 no. 12 (text in CIL 3. 6093 and 7183)
ILLRP 1². 455 (text in CIL 3. 6093 and 7183; also CIL 1². 647 and ILS)
RRMAM 2, 1. 474 (notice only)

Description & Dimensions Not given

<i>Text</i>	M' Aquillius M' f
2	cos
	CXXXI
4	[Μάνι]ος [᾿Α]κύλλ[ι]ος Μανίου
	ὑπατος· Ῥωμαίων
6	ρλα΄

Caput Viae (Ephesus)

Commentary As at Çamlık, so here, the *caput viae* can only be Ephesus.

For a comment on the distance-figure, see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones

R.2 EPHESUS - SARDIS

4. Tire

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	İzmir, Tire 35-16-0
<i>Map</i>	Manisa 15-Io
<i>Location</i>	“Teira” (Iordanidis <i>apud</i> Haussouillier). Present whereabouts of the stone not established (DHF visit 04.xi.1998).
<i>Copy</i>	Iordanidis (? date); Haussouillier (? date). The stone has not been examined by DHF. Text here of Haussouillier (facsimile of published copy, Fig. 6.1.2 [p. 50])
<i>Publication</i>	Haussouillier 1899, 295 no. 2 (text from a squeeze of Iordanidis) AE 1899. 220 (text in Haussouillier) CIL 3. 14202 ⁴ (copy of Iordanidis in Haussouillier) CIL 3. Add. (p.) 2328 ⁸⁴ (text [2] from a squeeze of Haussouillier) ILS 2. 5814 (text in CIL 3. 14202 ⁴ [text in Haussouillier]) CIL 1 ² . 651 (cf. p. 725) (text in Haussouillier) IGRR 4. 1659 (text in CIL 3. 14202 ⁴) ILLRP 1 ² . 456 (text in CIL 1 ² . 651; also CIL 3. 14202 ⁴ and ILS) IK 17, 2 (eds Meriç et al.). 3602 (text collated from CIL 1 ² . 651 and CIL 3. 14202 ² ; notice of ILS, IGRR, and ILLRP) RRMAM 2, 1. 499 (notice only)
<i>Description</i>	“Marbre de forme cylindrique” (Iordanidis <i>apud</i> Haussouillier). “Je n’ai de l’inscription de Teira qu’un estampage Autant que j’en puis juger par l’estampage, la pierre est brisée en deux morceaux et incomplète” (Haussouillier). Letters: (Latin) A, (Greek) broken-bar <i>alpha</i>
<i>Dimensions</i>	“. . . . ; longueur : 1 ^m , 30” (Iordanidis <i>apud</i> Haussouillier)
<i>Text</i>	<p>(1) (on the front face)</p> <p>M’ Aquill̃[us M’ f cos XXIII]</p> <p>2 [M]ἀνιο[ς] Ἀκύλλι[ος Μα]γίου υἱὸς [κδ’]</p> <p>[L] Aquilius·M’ f M’ n Floru[s q]</p> <p>4 (vac) restitu[it XX]I III</p> <p>[Λε]ύκιος Ἀκύλλιο[ς M]ανίου υἱὸς</p> <p>6 [M]ανίου δὲ υἱ[ωνὸς Φλω]ρος ταμίας</p> <p>(vac) ἀποκατέσ[τησεν]</p> <p>8 (vac) κδ’</p> <p>line 1: [us M’ f cos] (IK)</p> <p>line 2: [M]ἀνιο[ς] Ἀκύλλι[ος Μα]γίου υἱὸς [ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων] (IK) but on Haussouillier’s copy (Fig. 6.1.2 [p. **]) there seems to be no space for ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων; the title is present in the Sağlık text (lines 4-5)</p> <p>line 3: in IK the full version of the title <i>quaestor</i> was restored after Florus but only the abbreviation <i>q(uaestor)</i> is used in this position on the Sağlık stone</p> <p>(2) (on the r. of text [1])</p> <p>(RPhil) - - - - (CIL 3. Add.) - - - -</p> <p> O[- - - -] O</p>

PH.[- - - -]
RIQ[- - - -]
A.[- - - -]
II[- - - -]
D.[- - - -]
T[- - - -]

PIΓ
RIG
ΛΕ
II
DN
TIC
 (vac)
Μ [-]

Caput Viae (Ephesus)

Date (1) 70 BC

(2) (?)

Commentary The only example (to date) for the re-use of a Republican milestone.

For the significance of the patronymic Μαντίου υἱός in line 4, see above, 3. Notes and Comments.

3.1 The Text of Republican Milestones.

The *caput viae* of this milestone was, undoubtedly, Ephesus – and the destination, most probably but not certainly, Sardis. It is possible, however, that the stone was carried to Tire from the Torbalı region; see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones.

R.3 EPHESUS - TRALLES - LAODICIA (- APAMEA - SYNNADA - DOCIMIUM ?)**5. Çamlık, form. Aziziye**

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	İzmir, Selçuk 35-15-0
<i>Map</i>	Aydın 11-İp
<i>Location</i>	Found in 1880. “On the platform, at Aziziye, the first stop on the railway from Ephesus to Tralles” (Fontrier 1880). The stone remained there until 2007; it was taken in that year to Selçuk and erected in the open-air display of milestones at the site of Ephesus.
<i>Copy</i>	Fontrier, A. M. 1880; Ramsay 1880 (facsimile of printed text, Fig. 6.1.3 [p. 51]); DHF 29.iii.1975. DHF photos (Pl. 7.1.4 [p. 59]) and squeeze (drawing, Fig. 6.2.2 [p. 54]) in BIAA. Text here from DHF squeeze
<i>BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs</i>	Squeeze: 35. İzmir 05, Camlık Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF M/85/05.10-11 (2) Col. Slide: DHF 283.5-9
<i>Publication</i>	Fontrier 1880, 495 Ramsay 1881, 45 Mommsen 1884a, 64 no. 174 (text of Ramsay) Mommsen 1884b, 591 no. 1397 (text of Ramsay) MκB 5, 1 (1884-85)[1885], 70 no. vo' [= 470] (copy of Fontrier) CIL 3. 7205 (text of Fontrier in MκB and Ramsay) CIL 1 ² . 649 (text in CIL 3. 7205; notice of Fontrier [in MκB] and Ramsay) I. Magnesia (ed. Kern). 255 (text of Fontrier [in MκB] in CIL 3) RRMAM 2, 1. 472 (notice only) IK 17, 1 (eds Meriç et al.). 3159 (text from Fontrier [in MκB], and notice of Ramsay, CIL 1 ² . 649 and 3. 7205, and I. Magnesia [not examined by Kern])
<i>Description</i>	A simple cylinder on a square plinth. Complete but slightly chipped at the top. Hard, grey limestone. The shaft noticeably tapers towards the top. The surface and letters: slightly worn
<i>Dimensions</i>	Ht 1.80; diam. (top) 0.575; (plinth) ht 0.44, wi. 0.80, depth 0.78. Letters: C of COS 0.06
<i>Text</i>	<p>M'·Aquillius·M'·f</p> <p>2 (vac) cos</p> <p>(vac) V</p> <p>4 Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος</p> <p>(vac) Μανίου</p> <p>6 ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων</p> <p>(vac) ε'</p>
<i>Caput Viae</i>	(Ephesus)
<i>Date</i>	AD 129-126 BC
<i>Commentary</i>	For a comment on the distance-figure, see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones. The inscription here on the Çamlık milestone exhibits the standard text for Republican milestones erected in Asia during the years immediately following the creation of the Roman province.

6. Aydın 1

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	Aydın 09-00-0
<i>Map</i>	Aydın 15-Ir
<i>Location</i>	“Juselhisar . . . by zekere Fontein . . .” (van Egmond and Heyman); “Ad fontem extra oppidum Güzelhisar ubi Tralles fuerunt, versus pagum Omerbeili” (CIL 3. 479). Present whereabouts not established (DHF visit to the Aydın Museum 13.xii.1983).
<i>Copy</i>	van Egmond and Heyman (?)late-April (?)1720. The stone has not been examined by DHF. Text here of van Egmond and Heyman (facsimile of the printed text, Fig. 6.1.4 [p. 51]), together with subsequent revisions (facsimile of Cavedoni’s publication, see Fig. 6.1.5 [p. 52]) and collations (facsimile of the text printed in CIL 3, see Fig. 6.1.6 [p. 52])
<i>Publication</i>	van Egmond and Heyman 1757, 1, 134 CIG 2. 2920 (text of van Egmond and Heyman) Cavedoni 1846, 187 (revision of van Egmond and Heyman text in CIG) CIL 1 ¹ . 557 (text of van Egmond and Heyman as revised by Cavedoni; notice of CIG and Cavedoni) CIL 3. 479 (text of van Egmond and Heyman as revised by Cavedoni; notice of CIG text and of Cavedoni) Garrucci 1877, 234 no. 913 (text from CIG with Cavedoni’s revisions, and an addition to l. 12; notice of CIL 1 ¹ . 557) Ramsay 1881, 45-46 (comment – with restorations – on CIG text); CIL 1 ² . 650 (van Egmond and Heyman’s text revised by Cavedoni; notice of CIG and CIL 3. 479) I. Magnesia (ed. Kern 1900). v. s. 255 (citation of Cavedoni’s revised text in CIL 3. 479); CIL 3. 14201 ¹¹ (notice of Haussouillier’s restorations based on his text of the Tire milestone [above, no. 4]) IK 17, 1 (eds Meriç et al.). 3161 (text in CIG and comments of Cavedoni) RRMAM 2, 1. 198 (notice only) IK 36, 1 (ed. Poljakov). 170 (text collated from earlier publications, with notes and commentary)
<i>Description</i>	“ . . . een grooste ronde steen . . .” (van Egmond and Heyman)
<i>Dimensions</i>	Not known
<i>Text</i>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 50px; text-align: right;">2</div> <div> M’ [Aquillius M’f] co[s] X[X]VIII[I] </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 50px; text-align: right;">4</div> <div> Μάν[ι]ος Ἀκύλ<λ>ιος Μαν[ί]ου ὕπατο[ς] </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 50px; text-align: right;">6</div> <div> Ῥωμαίων κθ’ </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 50px; text-align: right;">8</div> <div> L Aq[uillius M’ f M’ n] Flor[us q restituit XXVIII] </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 50px; text-align: right;">10</div> <div> Λεύκιο[ς] Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου υἱὸς Μ[ανίου δὲ υἱωνὸς Φλωρός] </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 50px; text-align: right;">12</div> <div> ταμ[ίας] ἀποκατέστησεν [κθ’] </div> </div>

- line 2: CL (van Egmond and Heyman); *Cos* (Cavedoni)
 line 4: ΜΑΝΟΣ ΑΚΥΑΟΣ (van Egmond and Heyman)
 line 5: ΜΑΝΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟΥ (van Egmond and Heyman)
 line 7: ΚΟ (van Egmond and Heyman), i.e. κθ'
 line 8: ΕΑC (van Egmond and Heyman); L. ΑQ (Cavedoni)
 line 9: Flor[us quaestor restituit] (CIL and IK 17, 1 and 36, 1); Flor[us q
 restituit XXVIII] (DHF), cp. 1. Sağlık line 7 [Fl]orus·q·restituit (as
 French [1995, 99 no. 3])
 line 10: ΑΕΥΚΙΟ (van Egmond and Heyman); ΑΕΥΚΙΟ (Cavedoni)
 line 11: ΝΟΣΜ (van Egmond and Heyman); ΥΙΟΣ Μ
 (Hausoullier); υἱὸς Μ[ανίου υἱωνός] (CIL and IK); υἱὸς Μ[ανίου δὲ
 υἱωνός Φλωρός] (DHF), cp. 1. Sağlık line 10 υἱὸς Μανίου δὲ |
 [υἱω]γός Φλωρός (as French [1995, 99 no. 3]) and 4. Tire [Μ]ανίου
 δὲ υἱ[ωνός Φλω]ρός
 line 12: ΤΑΝ (van Egmond and Heyman), ταμ[ίας] (Garrucci and
 then Hausoullier)
 line 13: [κθ'] om. CIL and IK

Caput Viae (Ephesus)

Date 70 BC

Commentary The first of the 10 Republican examples to be recorded in Asia Minor.

For the omission of υἱός in Aquillius' patronymic (line 5), see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.1

The Text of Republican Milestones.

R.4 PERGAMUM - THYATIRA - SARDIS - LAODICIA - SIDE**7. Alan**

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	Burdur, Yeşilova 15-05-0
<i>Map</i>	Isparta-Burdur 33-Ih
<i>Location</i>	In the village; at the school. Brought, in 1966, from the Ördek Gediği c. 5.10 km NW of Dereköy, on the shore of the Çorak Gölü
<i>Copy</i>	DHF 13.viii.1983. DHF photos (Pl. 7.1.5 [p. 59]) and squeeze (drawing, Fig. 6.2.3 [p. 55]) in BIAA. Text here from DHF squeeze
<i>BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs</i>	Squeeze: 15. Burdur 06, Alan Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF M/83/07.08 (2) Col. Slide: DHF 238. 13
<i>Publication</i>	French 1984, 124 and Fig. 6 RRMAM 2, 1. 266 (notice only)
<i>Description</i>	A simple cylinder. Complete. Hard, pale limestone. The shaft tapers slightly towards the top; no base. The top surface is flat. There is no prepared panel for the inscription.
<i>Dimensions</i>	Ht (vis.) 1.50; diam. (top) 0.66. Letters: (lines 1-2) 0.62, (lines 3-4) 0.035-45, (line 5) 0.09-10
<i>Text</i>	<p>M' Aquillius M' f</p> <p>2 (vac) cos CCXIV</p> <p>Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου</p> <p>4 ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων</p> <p>(vac) σιδ'</p>
<i>Caput Viae</i>	(Pergamum)
<i>Date</i>	129-126 BC

8. Harmanlı

<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	Burdur, Yeşilova 15-05-0
<i>Map</i>	Isparta-Burdur 34-It
<i>Location</i>	At Korlam Mevkii, Aktaş (on the land of Karaköy Mahallesi); c. 3.0 km E of N from the village and c. 1.5 km E of N from Karaköy Mahallesi
<i>Copy</i>	DHF 12.viii.1983. No squeeze. DHF photos in BIAA (Pl. 7.1.6-7 [pp. 60]). Text here from DHF notes
<i>BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs</i>	Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF M/83/07.02-04 (2) Col. Slide: DHF 238. 10-12
<i>Publication</i>	RRMAM 2, 1. 279 (notice only)
<i>Description</i>	A simple cylinder. Now broken into at least 3 pieces (1 large and 2 small). Hard, pale limestone. The shaft is straight; no evidence of a base. The top surface is flat. Very worn
<i>Dimensions</i>	Ht 1.15 + 0.27; diam. (top) 0.68. Letters: (line 1) c. 0.065
<i>Text</i>	(larger of 2 small pieces)

[M' Aquill]ius M' f
 2 (vac) [co]s
 (vac) [CCXXI]
 4 [Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου υἱός]
 (vac) ὕπατος [Ῥωμαίων]
 (large fragment)
 6 (vac) σκα'

line 6: ΣΚΔ is possible

Caput Viae (Pergamum)
Date 129-126 BC

9(A). Yaraşlı 1

Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code Burdur, Yeşilova 15-05-0
Map Isparta-Burdur 34-It
Location In the village; in the street, at the NE corner of the house (no. 87) of Kemal Akköprü. Now used as a *dibektaş* (stone basin for pounding wheat grains)
Copy Ramsay and Smith 1884; Ramsay 1886; DHF 15.x.1975. DHF photo. (Pl. 7.1.8 [p. 61]) and squeeze in BIAA. Text here from the copy of Ramsay and Smith, and from DHF squeeze
BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs
 Squeeze: 15. Burdur 29, Yaraşlı 1
 Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF R/75/14.08
Publication Mommsen 1884b, 593 no. 1402 (text from the copy of Ramsay and Smith)
 Ramsay 1887, 366 (notice and comments)
 Ramsay 1895-97, 1, 330 no. 140 (comments on the distance figure and the *caput viae*)
 CIL 3. 7177 (text from the copy of Ramsay and Smith)
 CIL 3. 14199⁸ (text from the copy of Ramsay and Smith)
 CIL 1². 646 (text from the copy of Ramsay and Smith in Mommsen 1884b and in CIL 3. 7177)
 IGRR 4. 880 (text in CIL 3. 7177)
 Magie 1950, 2, 1048 n.39 (notice and discussion)
 Bean 1959, 91 (notice and discussion)
 French 1980, 714 no. 2 (text from DHF copy)
 RRMAM 2, 1. 294 (notice only)
Description A simple cylinder. The base is lost, having been hollowed out for use as a *dibektaş* (stone basin for pounding wheat grains); otherwise complete. Hard, grey limestone. The surface and letters are worn and damaged (since first seen by Ramsay and Smith).
 Note in the Greek version the use of a broken-bar *alpha*, a lunate *sigma* and an archaic *omega*.
Dimensions Ht (ex.) 0.91; diam. (top) 0.65. Letters: (line 1) c. 0.060, (line 2) 0.065-70, (lines 4-5) c. 0.040-60, (line 6) 0.065
Text M' Aquillius M' f
 2 (vac) cos

CCXXIII

4 Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου
ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων
6 σκγ'

Caput Viae (Pergamum)

Date 129-126 BC

Commentary Ramsay initially considered that “the miles were reckoned from Pergamos”, i.e. from Pergamum, as *caput viae* of the road on which the milestone had been erected (1887, 366: “The number engraved on it in Greek and Latin is CKΓ, CCXXIII, which like all others of the milestones of Aquillius, must be the distance from Ephesos”). This early opinion was noted (in 1902) by Mommsen (CIL 3. 7177). Later, after his 1887 publication, Ramsay (1895-97, 1, 330-331) revised this view: “I at first held that opinion, and wrote so to him” [Mommsen] “because Ephesos was less than 223 miles distant. But the analogy of so many other milestones of Aquillius, with numbers reckoned from Ephesos (even one” [= at Dikili, above, no. 3] “near Pergamos), makes it necessary to suppose that this distance also was reckoned in that way”.

It can now be demonstrated that the *caput viae* was Pergamum; see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones.

9(B). Yaraşlı 2

Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code and Map As 9(A)

Location In the village; at the central crossroads, near the school and opposite the *kahve* (coffee-shop)

Copy DHF 14.x.1975. DHF photos (Pl. 7.1.9 [p. 61]) and squeeze in BIAA. Text here from DHF squeeze

BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs

Squeeze: 15. Burdur 30, Yaraşlı 2

Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF R/75/14.01-02

(2) Col. Slide: DHF 141.11

Publication French 1980, 727 map 1 no. 7 (location only)
RRMAM 2, 1. 295 (notice only)

Description A simple cylinder, on a plinth. Hard, grey limestone. The top surface is flat. The shaft tapers very slightly towards the top; the plinth is square. The surface and letters are worn.

Note in the Greek version the use of a broken-bar *alpha*, a lunate *sigma* and an archaic *omega*.

Dimensions Ht 1.78, (base) 0.41; wi. (base) 0.58; diam. (top) 0.51; depth (base) 0.80. Letters: (lines 1-2) 0.045-55, (line 4-5) 0.035-50

Text M' Aquillius [M' f]

2 (vac) cos

(vac) CCXXVII

4 Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου

(vac) ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων

6 (vac) σκζ'

Caput Viae (Pergamum)

Date 129-126 BC

10. Selimiye (Side)

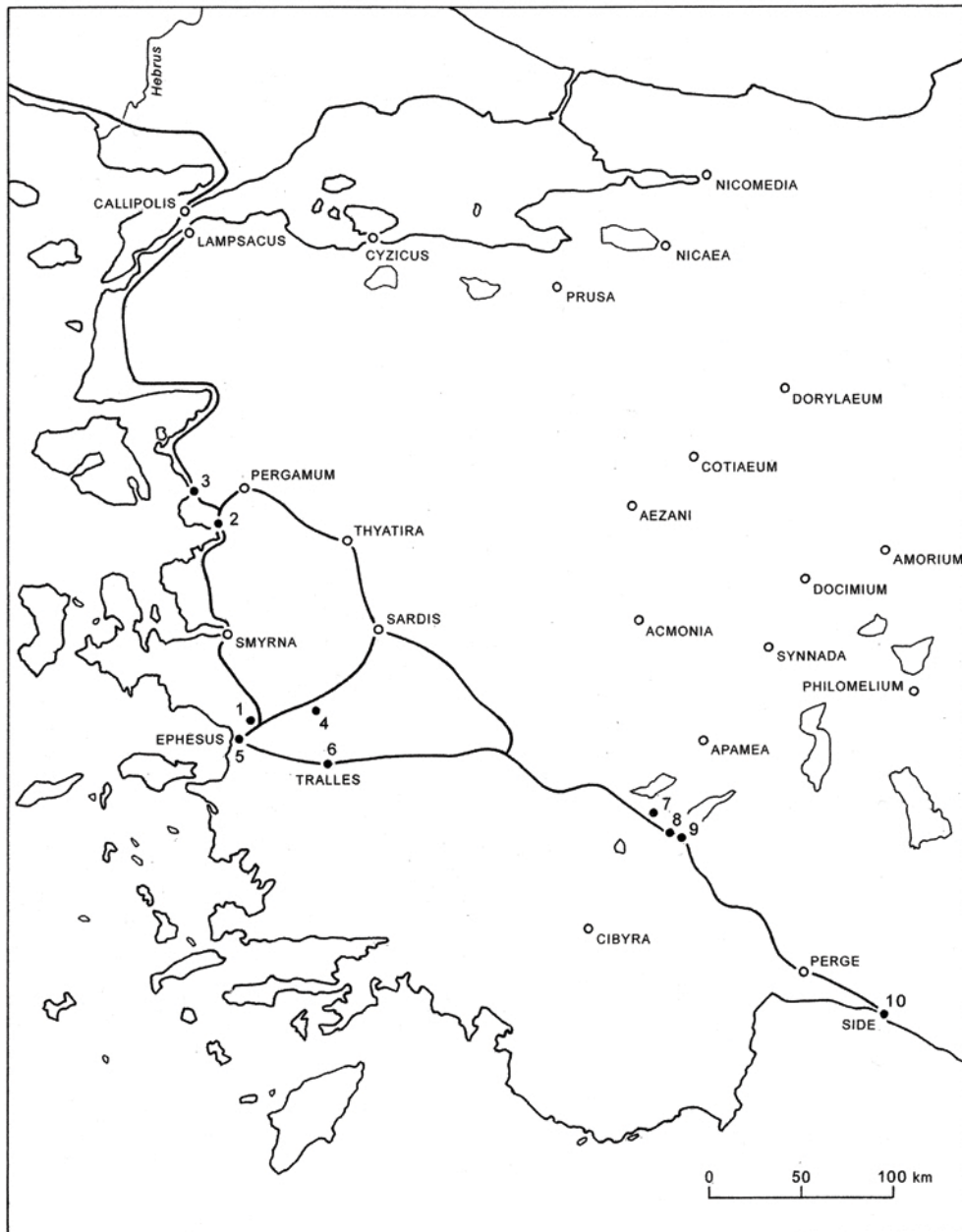
<i>Province, Sub-Province + Admin. Code</i>	Antalya, Manavgat 07-10-0
<i>Map</i>	Antalya 47-IIc
<i>Location</i>	Erected at the entrance to Hotel Caesar, c. 5 km W of Side. Found on the W side of the hotel during landscaping operations on the E bank of the Kuru Dere (Kızıldere on the 200,000 map)
<i>Copy</i>	DHF 21.vii.1990; Sencer Şahin (? date). DHF photos (Pl. 7.1.10 [p. 61]) and squeeze (drawing, Fig. 6.2.4 [p. 55]) in BIAA. Text here from DHF squeeze
<i>BIAA Collections: Squeeze and Stone Photographs</i>	Squeeze: 07. Antalya 02, Selimiye Stone: (1) B/W Neg.: DHF M/90/16.12-14 (2) Col. Slide: DHF 319. 13-14
<i>Publication</i>	French 1991a, 155 (notice only) French 1991b, 53 no. 3 and Pl. 6, b SEG 41. 1336 (text of French 1991b) AE 1991. 1529 (text of French) IK 44 (ed. Nollé). 175 (copy of Şahin)
<i>Description</i>	A simple cylinder. Complete. Soft, pale limestone (? from a local source). No decoration, no base. The surface is roughly dressed. The inscription is cut on a smoothed surface, prepared for the length of the lines. The distance numerals in Latin are smaller than the other letters, e.g. COS, and were perhaps added after the realization of an error in spacing. Letters: sharp and clear; (Latin text) A, (Greek text) broken-bar <i>alpha</i> and archaic <i>omega</i>
<i>Dimensions</i>	Ht (vis.) 1.46; diam. (top) 0.81. Letters: (Latin text) (line 1) L 0.118, (line 2) C of COS 0.108, C of CCC 0.87; (Greek text) (line 3) K 0.05, O 0.04
<i>Text</i>	<p>M'·Aquillius·M'·f</p> <p>2 (vac) cos·CCCXXI</p> <p>Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου</p> <p>4 ὑπατὸς·Ρωμαίων (sic)</p> <p>(vac) τλα'</p>
<i>Caput Viae</i>	(Pergamum)
<i>Date</i>	129-126 BC
<i>Commentary</i>	The <i>caput viae</i> of the road on which the milestone had been erected and from which the distance, 331 miles, was measured: Pergamum. The measurable distances from Ephesus to Side do not fit the distance in Roman miles given on the Side stone; see above, 3. Notes and Comments. 3.3 Distance Figures on Republican Milestones.

5. MAPS

5.1 Map of Republican Roads

5.2 Gelibolu to the Meriç (based on Turkish 1:500,000)

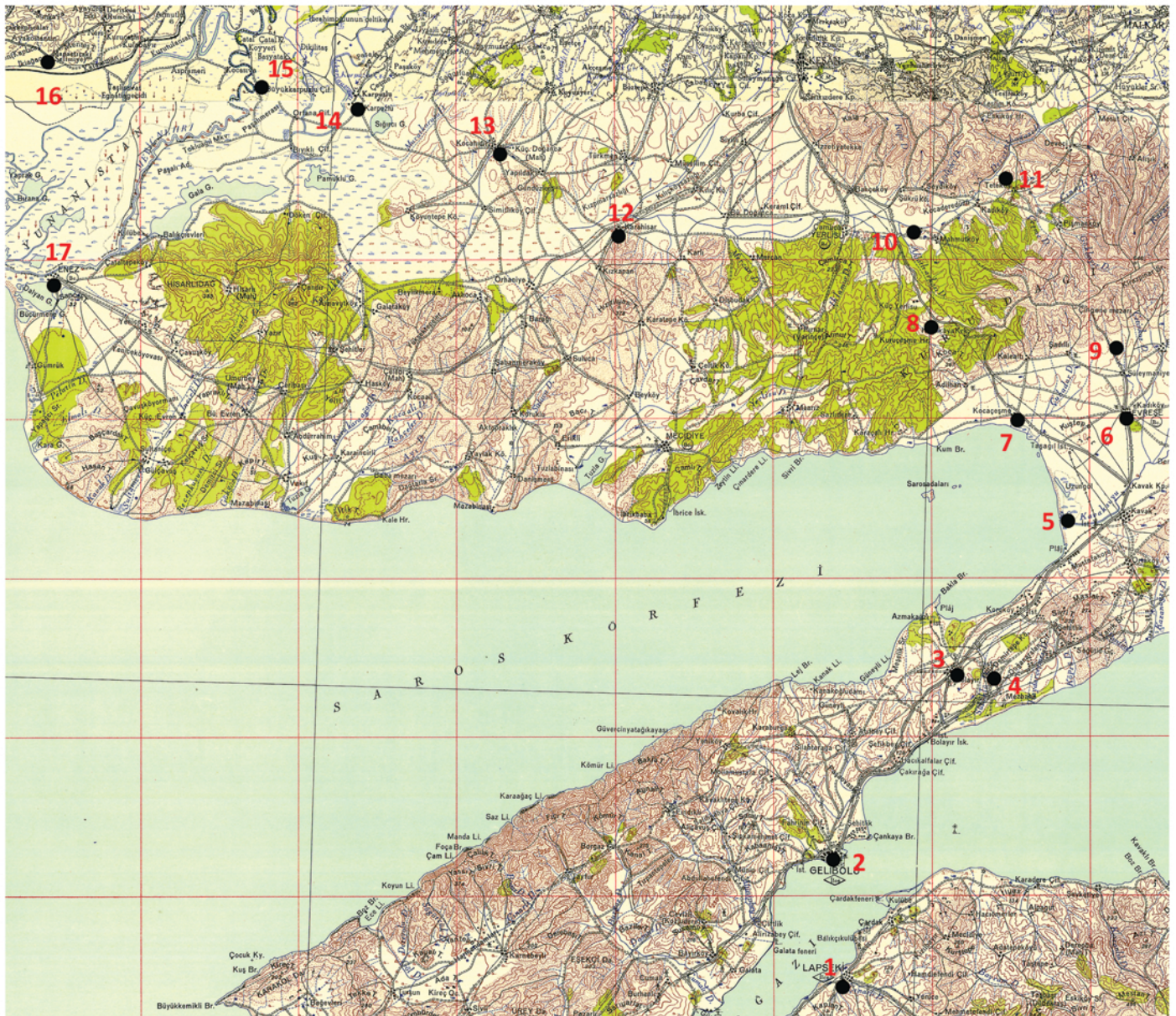
5.3 Gelibolu to the Meriç (based on Turkish 1:200,000)



5.1 Map of Republican Roads



5.2 Gelibolu to the Meriç (based on Turkish 1:500,000)



5.3 Gelibolu to the Meriç (based on Turkish 1:200,000)

6. ILLUSTRATIONS: FIGURES

6.1 Facsimiles of Published Texts

1. 2. Kazıkbağları 3	Pottier and Besnault 1880, 379 no. 6
2. 4. Tire	Haussoillier 1899, 295 no. 2
3. 5. Çamlık	Ramsay 1881, 45
4. 6. Aydın 1	van Egmond and Heyman 1757, 1, 134
5. 6. Aydın 1	Cavedoni 1846, 187
6. 6. Aydın 1	CIL 3. 479

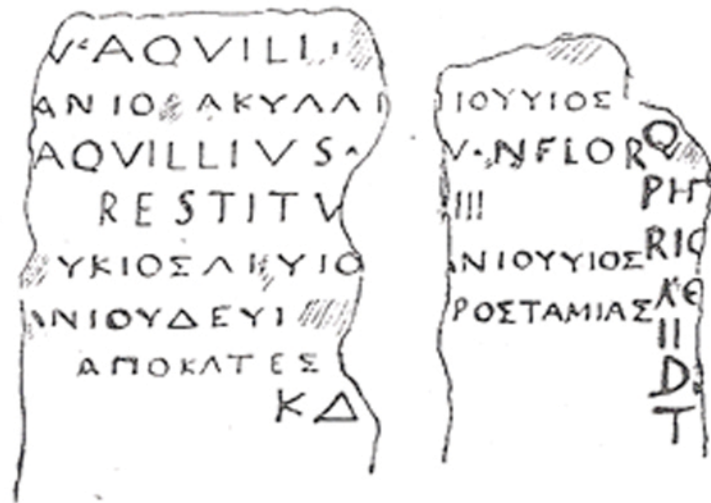
6.1 Facsimiles of Published Texts

(1) M · A Q V I L
C O S
III
ΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙΟΣ
ΜΑΝΙΟΥ
ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑ

M(anus) Aquil[lius M(anii) f(ilius)]
co(n)s(ul).
III

Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Μανίου, ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων].

6.1.1 2. Kazıkbağları 3 Pottier and Besnault 1880, 379 no. 6



6.1.2 4. Tire Haussouillier 1899, 295 no. 2

6.1 Facsimiles of Published Texts

MANI^ΟΣΑΚΥΛΛΙ^ΟΣΜΑΝΙ^ΟΥ
ΥΤΑΤΟΣΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
Ε

6.1.3 5. Çamlık Ramsay 1881, 45

M/
CL
X . . . VIII
ΜΑΝ^ΟΣΑΚΥΑΙ^ΟΣ
ΜΑ^ΝΟΥΥΠΑΤΟ
ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΚΟ
ΕΑC.
FLOR.
ΑΕΥΚΙΟ
ΝΟΣΜ
ΤΑΝ

6.1.4 6. Aydın 1 van Egmond and Heyman 1757, 1, 134

6.1 Facsimiles of Published Texts

MA	MV . Aquillins MV . F .
CL	Cos
X . . . VIII	XXVIIIi (?)
MANΩΣ ΑΚΥΑΙΟΣ	MANΩΣ ΑΚΥΑΙΟΣ
ΜΑΝΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟ	ΜΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ	ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΚΟ	ΚΘ (?)
EAC	L. Aquillius . . F .
FLOR	FLORus . . .
ΑΕΥΚΙΟ	ΑΕΥΚΙΟΣ Ακυλτος
ΝΟΣΜ υιος Φλωρος
TAN

6.1.5 6. Aydın 1 Cavedoni 1846, 187

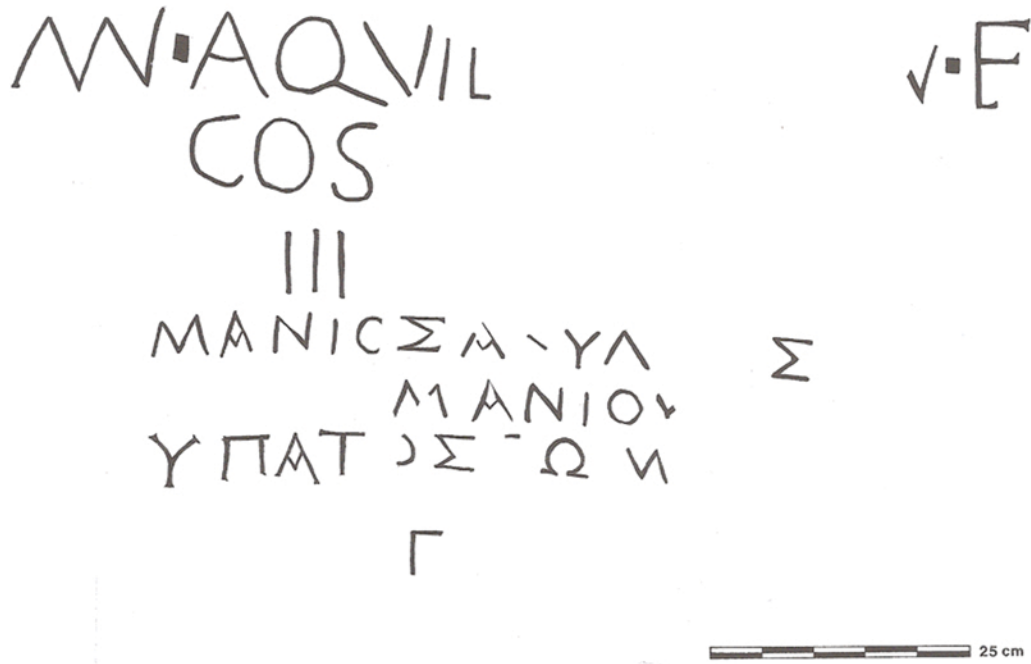
<i>trahitur:</i>	<i>lege:</i>
M/	MV . aquilius m'. f.
CL	Cos
X . . . VIII	XxVIIIi
ΜΑΝΩΣΑΚΥΑΙΟΣ	ΜΑΝΩΣ ΑΚΥΛΙΟΣ
ΜΑΝΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟ	ΜΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ	ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΚΟ	ΚΘ
EAC	L. Aquillius m. f.
FLOR	FLORus . . .
ΑΕΥΚΙΟ	ΑΕΥΚΙΟΣ ακυλ
ΝΟΣΜ	ΛΙΟΣ Μαρκου . . .
TAN

6.1.6 6. Aydın 1 CIL 3. 479

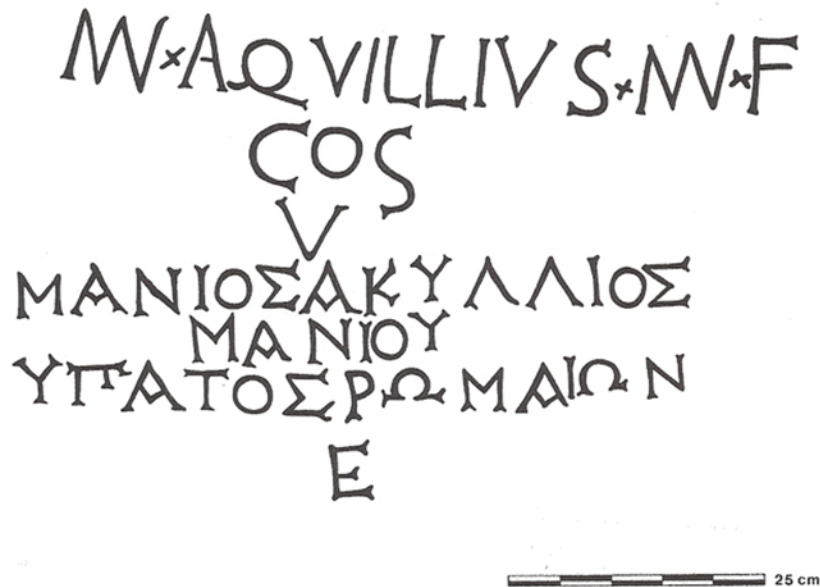
6.2 Drawings of Squeezes

1. 2. Kazıkbağları 3
2. 5. Çamlık
3. 7. Alan
4. 10. Selimiye (Side)

6.2 Drawings of Squeezes



6.2.1 2. Kazıkbağları 3



6.2.2 5. Çamlık

6.2 Drawings of Squeezes

Μ·Α·Ο·ΒΙΛΛΙΝΣ·Μ·Φ
 ΚΟΣ·ΚΚΧΙΥ
 ΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙΟΣ Μ ΝΙΟΥ
 ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
 ΚΙΒ

 25 cm

6.2.3 7. Alan

Μ·Α·Ο·ΒΙΛΛΙΝΣ Μ·Φ
 ΚΟΣ·ΚΚΚΧΧΧΙ
 ΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΟΥ
 ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
 ΤΛΑ

 50 cm

6.2.4 10. Selimiye (Side)

7. ILLUSTRATIONS: PLATES

7.1 Photographs of Milestones

1. 1. Sağlık
2. 1. Sağlık
3. 2. Kazıkbağları 3
4. 5. Çamlık
5. 7. Alan
6. 8. Harmanlı
7. 8. Harmanlı
8. 9(A). Yaraşlı 1
9. 9(B). Yaraşlı 2
10. 10. Selimiye (Side)

7.1 Photographs of Milestones



7.1.1 1. Sağlık



7.1.2 1. Sağlık

7.1 Photographs of Milestones



7.1.3 2. Kazıkbağları 3



7.1.4 5. Çamlık



7.1.5 7. Alan

7.1 Photographs of Milestones



7.1.6 8. Harmanlı



7.1.7 8. Harmanlı

7.1 Photographs of Milestones



7.1.8 9(A). Yaraşlı 1



7.1.9 9(B). Yaraşlı 2



7.1.10 10. Selimiye (Side)

7.2 Photographs of Squeezes

1. 1. Sağlık

7.2 Photographs of Squeezes



7.2.1 1. Sağlık