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PRE- AND EARLY-ROMAN ROADS OF ASIA MINOR

The Persian Royal Road

By David French

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1 In this section of Pre- and Early-Roman Roads of Asia Minor*, I wish to make a new proposal for the course of the Persian Royal Road as described by Herodotus and thereby to discard earlier theories, in particular the view that the Royal Road took a northerly route through Asia Minor. In doing so, I rely on the underlying assumption (recurrent in all sections of Pre- and Early-Roman Roads of Asia Minor) that Roman, paved roads are the lineal descendants of earlier, unpaved roads. Accordingly, in this section I aim to exploit the direct relationship (as I understand it) between the route of the earlier (Persian) Royal Road and the course of the later (Roman) provincial roads in Asia, Galatia and Cappadocia. At the same time, in attempting to test earlier theories, I wish to examine Herodotus' distance-figures on which some doubt has been cast.

1.1 The subject of Herodotus' Royal Road¹ has attracted and continues to attract the interest and attention both of historians and of geographers. There is now almost an orthodox theory on the geography of the route. It may be useful, therefore, to review the topographical evidence given by Herodotus (5.52–54 and 7.26–44), at least as regards Asia Minor. Herodotus died c. 420 B.C. His *History*, therefore, completed c. 425 B.C., provides a convenient chronological terminus for the existence and knowledge of the Royal Road.

1.2.1 The text (5.52) and my translation are quoted below, in Appendix 1.

1.2.2 Previously the topographical detail given in this passage of Herodotus has been interpreted as follows, from W to E:

1. the River Halys comes next after Phrygia,
2. there are gates on the Halys; it is absolutely necessary to pass through these gates and in this manner to make the crossing over the Halys; there is a guard-post at this point,
3. the Halys gates stand at the border between Phrygia and Cappadocia.

In the past these details have been assembled into a theory whereby the Royal Road ran northwards to

Gordion, Ancyra and Pteria² and thence eastwards to the River Euphrates.

This, the orthodox theory³ is illustrated by the maps which were published by Calder (1925: 8, map), Dilleman (1962: map, fig. 19, on p. 152), Levick (1967: map facing p. 256), Cook (1985: 277, map 10) and Müller (1994: map, fig. 4) (here Figs. 1–5 respectively).

1.3.1 The route westwards taken by Xerxes in 481 B.C. is given by Herodotus (7.26–31) as follows:

- 7.26 – Xerxes set out with his army from Critalla in Cappadocia, crossed the Halys ($\deltaια-\betaάντες τὸν "Αλυν$) and passed into Phrygia
– and came to Celaenae,
7.30 – to Anaua and the Salt Lake,
– to Colossae
– and to Cydrara, on the border of Lydia and Phrygia, where Croesus had erected an inscribed stele to mark the border;
31 – on entering into Lydia, Xerxes came to a cross-roads, on left to Caria, on right (crossing [$\deltaιαβήνοι τὸν Μαιάνδρον$] the River Maeander and passing Callatebus) to Sardis
– Xerxes took the right and came to Sardis.

To all appearances, Xerxes in 481 B.C. took the same route westwards to Sardis described (in reverse) by Herodotus as the Royal Road. Xerxes, therefore, took the official route, created by and for the Achaemenid administration. In re-creating the course of the Royal Road I make the basic assumption, that the two passages in Herodotus (5.52 and 7.26–44) both refer to the same route, namely the Royal Road.⁴

1.3.2 One point in particular is significant. In Herodotus' description (5.52) the Persian Royal Road did not come twice to the River Halys. Similarly, Xerxes came to the Halys once, not twice (Hdt. 7.26). Only by great ingenuity and an expert knowledge of geography can a traveller passing from Eastern into Western Asia Minor (or vice versa) not cross the Halys twice after crossing it once.⁵

The meaning of two words (Hdt. 5.52.2), therefore, is crucial, since they constitute an impediment to any new hypothesis on the route of the Royal Road:

1. the verb (5.52.2) διεκπερᾶν in the phrase διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν.
2. the verb (7.26) διαβάσινειν in the phrase διαβάντες τὸν Ἀλυν ποταμόν.

The first phrase, with its verb διεκπερᾶν, in the second half of the clause τὰς διεξελάσσαι . . . τὸν ποταμόν is linked to the first half (of the clause) by καὶ and by οὗτο; both are dependant on the word ἀνάγκη. The second half of the clause complements the first.

In LSJ the verb διεκπερᾶν is translated “to pass out through”. The meaning can best be understood, I suggest, by recalling the image not of a bridge but of a channel, corridor or passage, e.g. “to pass out through” the Straits of Gibraltar, Hdt. 4.152, as, indeed, is quoted by LSJ. Let us remember that Herodotus (5.52.2) uses the word “Gates” (πύλαι). Again the image is of some physical feature through which one could pass either inwards or outwards.

1.3.3 My interpretation of Herodotus' descriptions (5.52 and 7.26) is as follows:

1. The Royal Road from Sardis ran eastwards through Phrygia,
2. came to the borders of Cappadocia,
3. arrived at the “Halys Gates”
4. where it passed by (or beside or alongside) the river;
5. it then continued on through Cappadocia to the “Double Gates”.

It is not necessary, in my opinion, to bring together Herodotus' two phrases (5.52)—“after Phrygia is reached the Halys River” and “for the person crossing Cappadocia”—and then to interpret the combined meaning as an indication of a frontier. When there is a specific frontier, Herodotus says so:

1. between Lydia and Phrygia, at Cydrara and
2. between Cappadocia and Cilicia, at the “Double Gates”.

As we shall see below, neither Xenophon nor Artemidoros (*apud* Strabo) place a frontier on the River Halys. Indeed, the first phrase “after Phrygia is reached the River Halys” could mean that the river was reached (some distance) after (leaving) Phrygia. This same interpretation is, I believe, valid also for Xerxes' route (Hdt. 7.26: “crossing the Halys River they came into Phrygia”).

In Herodotus' second statement (διαβάντες τὸν Ἀλυν ποταμόν 7.26), unlike the first and somewhat fuller description (5.52), the essential information on the existence of the Halys Gates has been omitted and the sequence has become unintelligible. In his second usage (7.26) of the verb διαβάσινειν,⁶

Herodotus perhaps conflated the alternative meaning—not (1) the literal, “to cross over a river” (cp. 7.31 διαβῆναι τὸν Μαιάνδρον) but (2) the figurative, “to cross over into a country” (5.52 διαβάντι ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν)—with the sense of the verb which he employed in the first passage (5.52.2) διεκπερᾶν, “to pass out through (sc. the Gates)”. The second account (Hdt. 7.26) of the Halys passage may, therefore, be garbled, as it now stands.

The second description of the Halys route (7.26: Xerxes crossed the Halys) makes no sense, I believe, and cannot be combined with the first (5.52: the Royal Road passed out through the Halys Gates). One solution to the problem of the second passage (7.26) would be a modification in the meaning of the verb διαβάσινειν: another would be a re-organisation and emendation of the second text, in order to align it with the first (5.52).

In either case, the Royal Road did not cross the Halys but ran alongside the river.

1.4 The route taken by the Royal Road, as presented here (Maps, Figs. 8–10), may be reconstructed from the course (established from observed traces) of later, paved, Roman roads. In describing the course of the Royal Road I have deliberately adhered, at all points as far as the River Euphrates, to the line of a known, Roman, paved road. The topographic outline of the Royal Road is thus based on the principle that the Achaemenid road-system including the Royal Road provided the foundations for the Hellenistic road-network inherited by the Romans in 133 B.C., adopted in the initial, Republican phase of Roman administrative control and thereafter developed and expanded, according to requirements, during the Principate. The essential Roman achievement in the creation of a road-network in Asia Minor, no doubt for administrative, commercial and military purposes, was to pave roads which had previously been unpaved.⁷

1.5.1 The distance figures given for the Royal Road (Hdt. 5.52–54) and those for the route which I have here re-constructed coincide with an accuracy perhaps surprising and no doubt suspicious.⁸ I have tabulated them according to the regional arrangement which was adopted by Herodotus, as follows:

1. through Lydia and Phrygia,
2. through Cappadocia (to the Double Gates) and
3. through Cilicia (*sic*) to the Euphrates.

(a) parasangs	(c) 1p. = 5.568 km	(d) 1p. = 5.348 km	(f) modern
1. 94.5	526.18	505.39	c. 738
2. 104.0	579.07	556.19	c. 323
3. 15.5	86.30	82.89	c. 83
<u>214.0</u>	<u>1191.55</u>	<u>1144.47</u>	<u>1144</u>

1 parasang = 30 stadia⁹ (Hdt. 2.6.3, 5.53.3, 6.42.2; Xen. Anab. 2.2.6[?], 5.5.4[?]; Strabo 11.11.5, C 518)

1 parasang = (c) 5.568 km. when 8 st. = 1 mp (Strabo 7.7.4, C 322), hence 1 st. = 185.625 m
= (d) 5.348 km. when 8.33 st. = 1 mp (Polybius *apud* Strabo 7.7.4, C 322), hence 1 st. = 178.271 m
= if 1 milia passuum = 1485 m.

As is evident from the distances given in columns (d) and (f), no emendation to Herodotus' total is necessary, if the shorter stadion (1 st. = 178.271 m) is accepted.

If the Phrygia/Cappadocia border was situated at the Halys Gates, here located on the Kızılırmak near Bahçe (now Bozca) c. 15 km. ENE of Avanos (see below, 1.8 Halys Gates), the distance figure for (1), through Lydia and Phrygia, is evidently wrong. On the other hand, if one divides the road at the Tutup Beli (= the Tutup Pass) c. 5.0 km. W of Hacimurat Hanı (see below, 1.19 and Appendices 2 and 3) and locates the Phrygia/Cappadocia border at or near to the Tutup Beli, the resulting calculation of the modern distances, (1) through Lydia and Phrygia and (2) through Cappadocia, closely coincides with Herodotus' statement, thus:

	Herodotus	1p. = (c)	1p. = (d) (f) modern
1. Thr. Lydia and Phrygia Sart-Tutup Beli	94.5	526.18	505.39 506
2. Through Cappadocia Tutup Beli-Karahan	104.0	579.07	556.19 555
		198.5	1105.65 1061.58 1061
3. Through Cilicia Karahan-Pirot		15.5	86.30 82.89 83
		214.0	1191.55 1144.47 1144 km.

1.5.2 Do we have here, then, the evidence for the boundary division sketchily implied by Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.2.19, Ikonion, "the last city of Phrygia")? and less obscurely stated by Artemidorus (*apud* Strabo 14.2.29, C 663, Coropassos,¹⁰ "in Lycaonia" and Garsuria,¹¹ "in Cappadocia near the border with Lycaonia")?

1.5.3 Did Herodotus compress the available information into a single, short statement? and in doing so, did he combine (and abbreviate) two related but essentially separate items? namely: 1. the Royal Road passed through Phrygia and then into, and through, Cappadocia and 2. there were "gates" on the Cappadocian road.

1.6 The course of the Royal Road, as here reconstructed, is given below, in Appendix 2, and illustrated on the Maps, Figs. 8–10.

1.7 Modern distances for the reconstructed route are given below, in Appendix 3.

1.8 There are few topographical details in Herodotus' account of the Royal Road (5.52) and scarcely more in his description of Xerxes' route in 481/480 B.C. (7.26–40). Both are here combined in the following list of locations (certain or otherwise). The names of locations on the Royal Road N of Sardis are not included on the maps, Figs. 8–10. All other names have been numbered (see the list accompanying the maps, Figs. 8–10):

Sardis (2)

securely located at Sart, c. 8.0 km. W of Salihli Callatebus (Hdt. 7.31) (3)

not located; perhaps in the neighbourhood of Buldan

Maeander crossing (Hdt. 7.31) (4)

perhaps located at Yeniköy, on the right or northern bank of the Menderes River, c. 3.0 km. due N of Sarayköy. The crossroads I assume to be near Sarayköy itself. The "left-hand road" westwards into Caria would thus have followed the left or southern bank of the River Maeander. The "right-hand road" to Sardis crossed the River Maeander and followed the northern or right bank northeastwards.

Cydrara, on the Lydian/Phrygian border (Hdt. 7.30) (9)

not located. Perhaps to be identified with Carura (see below, 1.19) and located at the mound,¹² c. 1 km. due E of Sarayköy

Lydia/Phrygia border (10)

to be located at or near Sarayköy, i.e. close to the location of Cydrara

Colossae (Hdt. 7.30) (12)

securely located at the mound and ruins c. 2.5 km. N of Honaz; for Colossae, see TIB 7: 309–311

Anaua (Hdt. 7.30) (13)

identified with Synaos and located at Sarıkavak. The salt lake is now the Açı Göl; for Anava and Synaos, see TIB 7: 371

Celaenae (Hdt. 7.26) (14)

securely identified with Apameia and located at Dinar; for Celaenae and Apameia, see TIB 7: 188

Halys (Hdt. 52.2.2)

The River Halys is the modern Kızılırmak.

Halys Gates (Hdt. 52.2.2) (27)

The Halys Gates are here located near Bahçe (now Bozca), c. 15 km. ENE of Avanos, in the passage on the southern bank of the Kızılırmak between the river E of Bahçe and the range of high mountains which run above Sofular and Karakaya eastwards to the peak of the Suvermez Dağ SW of Süksün. The Kızılırmak river at this point runs at the foot of the lofty, precipitous

rocks on the right or northern bank and the slightly less steep and precipitous cliffs on the left or southern bank. The passage on the southern bank, between the cliffs E of Bahçe (now Bozca) and the high ground above Sofular, Karakaya and Karahüyük, runs along an uneven terrace which is dominated by the Sünnetli Tepe (q.v. below) (Pl. IIa, b; map, Fig.11). In order to avoid the high ground it was necessary for the Roman road, from Colonia Archelaïs (modern Aksaray) to Caesareia (modern Kayseri), to run through this passage. The Selcuk road,¹³ from Aksaray to Kayseri, followed the same route. Three roads, therefore, all with the same origin and destination, coincided in the Halys/ Kızılırmak passage: Persian, Roman and Selcuk Turkish (Pl. IIIa).

Halys Guard-post (Hdt. 52.2.2) (27)

The large guard-post ($\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\rho\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha$) I locate on the Sünnetli Tepe,¹⁴ a high, conical, steep sided hill c. 4.0 km. SE of Bozca (formerly Bahçe) (Pl. IIa, b). The sherds visible on the slopes and on the southern side of the site were prehistoric, IA, Hellenistic and Roman but there was none of the well known and readily identifiable Achaemenid pottery such as "triangle ware" or black burnished (sometimes incised) ware found at Gordion and Kalehöyük-Kaman.¹⁵

Critalla (Hdt. 7.26)

not located

Cappadocia/Cilicia¹⁶ border at the Double Gates (Hdt. 52.2.2)

Located here in the Nurhak Dağları, one gate at the Karahan Beli (= col or saddle) (= the Mescitli Geçidi, in the ridge of the Aygörmez Mountain, on the 1:200,000 Turkish map, Malatya) on the western side, the other at the pass, the Gavur Geçidi, above Akçadağ (formerly Arga) on the eastern side, an apposite disposition for "Double Gates". Between the two passes which are c. 8 km. apart, there is a deep valley.¹⁷ I have not searched for the guard-posts mentioned by Herodotus (5.52.2).

Cilicia/Armenia border (Hdt. 5.52.3) (30)

Located along the River Euphrates, the modern Fırat; the crossing (to Tomisa on the opposite bank) was most probably located at Pirot¹⁸ (renamed Kiyıcak), as also on the "Common Road"; for Tomisa and the Euphrates crossing, see below, 1.19).

1.9 If the Royal Road did, indeed, cross the Euphrates to Tomisa, (probably located at Habibuşağı¹⁹ on the N bank of the Fırat, c. 8 km. downstream from Pirot [c. 34 km. ENE of Malatya] as I have suggested here), the question of its eastward continuation must then be resolved. In this

instance I have not been able to follow the principle outlined above (1.4), that earlier, unpaved roads, particularly of the Hellenistic and Achaemenid periods in Asia Minor W of the Euphrates, were the immediate predecessors of Roman, paved roads. The line of the Royal Road as far as the Euphrates has been reconstructed from the known course of Roman roads: east of the Euphrates this procedure has not been possible. I am not aware of paved, Roman roads between Kadıköy and Mardin. If any such exist, I have not seen them. Nor have I seen (or sought) the Roman roads in the region of Nusaybin²⁰ and Mosul.²¹

The terrain E of Habibuşağı imposes the route which is followed by the modern road ENE from the Euphrates bridge as far as the area of Elazığ.²² Thereafter there are three possibilities: (1) eastwards to Bingöl, Muş and Bitlis and thence southwards to Siirt, (2) eastwards to Bingöl and thence southeastwards to Silvan²³ or (3) southeastwards to Diyarbakır and thence to Mardin and Nusaybin.

The third possibility was chosen by Kiepert, by Olmstead, Dillemann and Herzfeld and more recently by von Hagen, Högemann and Chaumont:²⁴ all took the Royal Road to Diyarbakır (ancient Amida) through the Maden-Ergani gap. Hogarth²⁵ chose a route, through the mountains N of Samosata (modern Samsat), which shadows the line of the later Roman road²⁶ between Samosata and Melitene.

The third possibility, the Maden-Ergani gap, is also adopted here, on the grounds that not only is it the natural route between Elazığ and Diyarbakır but it is also the shortest route through the Anti-Taurus mountains.

1.10 From Diyarbakır I have drawn the course of the Royal Road, more-or-less on the alignment of the modern highway (and presumably the Late Roman route),²⁷ through Çınar and Mardin to Nusaybin, ancient Nisibis. The boundary²⁸ between Armenia and Matiene (Hdt. 5.54.5) thus falls between the two ancient cities of Dara²⁹ and Nisibis. The distance given by Herodotus, 56½ p. (= 302.162 km., if 1 p. = 5.348 km.) exactly matches the modern distance, c. 302 km., from Kadıköy to a point c. 10 km. E of Amude Hüyük³⁰ and c. 16.5 km. W of Nusaybin and the Cacak River, of which one branch runs through Nusaybin, while a western branch passes 4 km. W of the town.

1.11 For the final two sections of the Royal Road, from Nusaybin to Shush, that is to say, from Nisibis to Susa, though I have no extended experience of the physical terrain, I have chosen a course³¹ which passes through Eski-Mosul (the crossing of the Tigris), Nineveh, Kalak (the crossing of the Great

Zab), Erbil, Altunkopru (the crossing of the Little Zab), Sa'diyeh (the crossing of the Diyala), Mandali, Zurbatiye and Deh Luran. This is the probable line: without the assistance of a later, paved, Roman road, as in Asia Minor, there can be no certainty that it is the exact line.

For these two sections of Herodotus' Royal Road the distance has been determined by measuring-wheel ("map-measurer") on the relevant maps of the GSGS World Series 1:500,000: c. 956.50 km. Herodotus' figures are $137 + 42\frac{1}{2} = 179\frac{1}{2}$ p. or 959.966 km. (if 1 p. = 5.348 km.), a discrepancy of c. 3.5 km. between the two totals.

1.12 The accuracy of Herodotus' distance figures permits the following observations: (1) that, as Herodotus (5.53) and Ktesias postulated,³² the route of the Royal Road was measured, (2) that the unit of measurement for the Royal Road was indeed the parasang and (3) that the Achaemenid administration may possibly have erected stones which were intended, in the manner of later, Roman milestones, officially to indicate the distances along the road,³³ (4) that such stones were inscribed in Aramaic perhaps and marked in parasangs and also (though possibly only for Asia Minor) in stadia, as seems to be hinted by Herodotus and (5) that the hypothesis of a northern route for Herodotus' Royal Road through Asia Minor together with the suggested emendations³⁴ to his figures for the section through "Cilicia" may now be discarded.

1.13 Two literary sources, Xenophon and Strabo, are relevant to the subject of the Royal Road.

Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.2) describes Cyrus' march eastwards from Sardis in the year 401 B.C. The first part of his account was written soon after 386 B.C. (so the OCD). Xenophon was thus living and composing c. 25–40 years after Herodotus. It is possible, but unlikely, that the road-network had changed in the intervening years, between Herodotus' *Histories* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*. The line of Cyrus' expedition, indicated in some detail in the "anabasis", the going-up-country, can be understood, I believe, as the description of a march not along informal, ad hoc routes but along regularly used roads of which the Royal Road between Sardis and Susa was perhaps the most important.³⁵

The account, in tabulated form, is given below, in Appendix 5. There should, in theory, be a close connection between the two descriptions, (1) of Herodotus and (2) of Xenophon, since both start (or end) at Sardis and continue eastwards to Cappadocia. In fact, it has been thought that the two did not coincide beyond (i.e. NE of) Afyon. According to earlier suggestions, Xenophon's route

northwards from Celaenae (modern Dinar) to the Afyon plain passed by Synnada (modern Şuhut), as did the Royal Road (so it is assumed here). From Afyon the routes divided, it has been thought: the Royal Road to Gordion and Ancyra, the route of Cyrus to Iconium and the Cilician Gates.³⁶

If now the traditional suggestions are abandoned and a new course for the Royal Road adopted, some degree of coincidence between the Anabasis route and the Royal Road becomes a reasonable hypothesis.

The data, however, do not unequivocally support this proposal. In Xenophon's account there are three sites—Peltae, Ceramon Agora and Caystrou Pedium—which were not named by Herodotus. None is conclusively identified. It has been thought that the three sites were located between Dinar and Afyon. There is, however, no external evidence to confirm or to refute the possibility that they were situated NE of Dinar, along the road to Çay. Nor on present evidence can it be shown that the three sites lay directly N of Celaenae/Apameia, between the modern Dinar and Afyon.

Xenophon's note (1.2.10), that Ceramon Agora was the last city before Mysia, suggests, but does not prove, a northerly route through Afyon. The identification of Peltae would settle the question.

1.14 A third possibility has been raised:³⁷ a route leading NNW from Celaenae/Apameia (modern Dinar) to Eumeneia (modern Işıklı), then continuing N to Sebaste (modern Selçikler) and thence running N/NE through the valley of the Banaz Çay before turning E to Sincanlı and Afyon.

The advantages of this route are twofold. It satisfies the conditions raised by

1. the relatively high figure for the distance between Celaenae and Tyriaeum (reasonably identified with Lageina and located at or near İlgin) and
2. the route's proximity to Mysia (*Anab.* 1.2.10). It is extraordinary that Xenophon's distance figure for the section Celaenae–Tyriaeum is 72 parasangs, whereas the total distance, Sardis through Lydia and Phrygia, is only 92.5 parasangs according to Herodotus. The figure for the direct route from Celaenae to Tyriaeum, i.e. for the route of the Royal Road via Tatarlı in the Çolovası and Akharım in the Karamıkovası, is 192 km, i.e. 34.5 parasangs if 1 p. = 5.568 km. On this calculation, Xenophon's figure of 72 p., Celaenae–Tyriaeum, is excessive.³⁸

The distance, 72 p. (= 400 km, if 1 p. = 5.568 km.) suggests a detour from the line of the Royal Road.

The proposed route, Dinar–Işıklı–Banaz–Sincanlı, meets this figure without difficulty. If, then, Ceramon Agora is to be located near Banaz (c. 32 km. E of Uşak) the second statement in Xenophon's account, namely, that Cyrus' route took

him close to Mysia (Anab. 1.2.10: Ceramon Agora was "the last city before Mysia") is not surprising and does not require topographical explanation. On the other hand, there may have been a tactical reason (?a feint, a deception or dissimulation,³⁹ an avoidance of suspicion,⁴⁰ a lack of money)⁴¹ for the divergence northwards from the arterial route to the east (to the Euphrates), i.e. from the Royal Road.

1.15 However neat the solution offered above (1.13), a major obstacle can be set against it. The parasang, the basic unit employed by Xenophon, can be understood only if it is shorter than either of the distances calculated above (1.5.1), namely:

$$\begin{aligned} 1 \text{ parasang} &= 30 \text{ stadia} \\ &= 5.568 \text{ km. (1 stadion} = 185.625\text{m}) \\ &\quad (1 \text{ mp} = 8 \text{ st.}) \\ &= 5.348 \text{ km. (1 stadion} = 178.271\text{m}) \\ &\quad (1 \text{ mp} = 8.33 \text{ st.}) \end{aligned}$$

if 1 mp = 1.485 km.

For the ancient distances (in Xenophon's account) and modern measurements to coincide, it must be demonstrated that Xenophon's parasang must be equivalent to 4.561 km. or, alternatively, 1 stadion = 152 m. I do so by the following reckoning:

Verifiable sections	modern distances	Xenophon
1. Maeander–Colossae	35	8
2. Colossae–Celaenae	92	20
3. Tyriaeum–Iconium	88	20
4. Dana (= Tyana)–Tarsus	118	25
	<hr/> 333 km.	<hr/> 73 p.

If, in the above four cases, the total distance in km. is divided by the total distance in parasangs, an average figure, km. per parasang, can be calculated: 4.561 km./parasang (or 1 stadion = 152 m.). Thus in the four stages listed above, the following figures result:

1. 35	= 7.68	Xenophon 8
2. 92	= 20.18	" 20
3. 88	= 19.30	" 20
4. 118 km.	= 25.88 p.	" 25 p.

By the same calculation (1 p. = 4.561 km.), Xenophon's figure, 72 p., for the section, Celaenae–Tyriaeum, relates almost exactly to the modern figure, 326 km. (= 71.48 p.), for the route, Dinar–İşkili–Banaz–Sincanlı–Afyon–İlgın. His figure, 55 p., for the section, Iconium–Dana (= Tyana), agrees precisely with the modern figure, 251 km. (= 55 p.) for the route, Konya–Karaman–Ayrancı–Eregli–Kemerhisar, i.e. Iconium–Laranda–Derbe–(by-passing Sidamaria)–Cybistra–Tyana.

Dr. Geoffery Summers reminds me that Xenophon's parasang may be no more than an indication of distance measured by time taken on foot or

on horse, i.e. marching-time.⁴² He refers me to Hansman's calculations.⁴³ By this argument, therefore, there is no requirement necessarily to align the parasang with the stadion: Xenophon's unit was simply a distance marchable in one day or in fractions of one day.⁴⁴

1.16 From Tyriaeum eastwards the direction of Cyrus' march diverges from that of the Royal Road (if one accepts the reconstruction outlined above, 1.6). The Royal Road crosses Cappadocia to the Halys and the Euphrates (probably at Pirot, W of Tomisa). Cyrus marched to the Cilician Gates through Iconium (modern Konya) and Tyana (modern Kemerhisar). Recent research⁴⁵ re-unites the two roads at the Cilician Gates.

1.17 Sites named in Xenophon's account (marked by * if found also in Herodotus' description of the Royal Road; see above, 1.8) are as follows:

- Sardis* (2) securely located at Sart, c. 8.0 km. W of Salihli
- Maeander crossing* (4) perhaps located at Yeniköy
- Colossae* (12) securely located at the mound and ruins c. 2.5 km. N of Honaz
- Celaenae* (14) securely identified with Apameia and located at Dinar
- Peltae (15) perhaps to be located at the hüyük (= mound) of Çivril;⁴⁶ for Peltae, see TIB 7: 357
- Ceramon Agora (16) perhaps in the locality of Susuz,⁴⁷ c. 5 km. WNW of Acmonia (modern Ahat) and c. 8 km. S of Banaz; for Ceramon Agora, see TIB 7: 393 and references
- Midoucrene ("Spring of Midas") (20) location not known, possibly at the modern springs of Ulupınar c. 11.5 km. NW of Akşehir; perhaps to be identified with the Alandri Fontes, known from Livy's account (38.15.15) of the march of C. Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C.
- Thymbrium (21) perhaps the older name of Philomelium, which is securely located at Akşehir
- Tyriaeum (22) to be identified with Lageina and located at or near İlgın
- Iconium (31) securely located at Konya
- Dana (32) to be identified with Tyana⁴⁸ ("an inhabited city, large and prosperous", Xenophon Anab. 1.2.20) which is securely located at Kemerhisar

Tarsus (33)

securely located at the modern Tarsus

The stages are listed below, Appendix 5, and illustrated on the maps, Figs 8–10.

1.18 The second literary source which throws some, if later, light on the course of the Royal Road is that of Artemidorus (writing c. mid-first century B.C.), as quoted by Strabo (14.2.29, C 663) (writing in the late-first century B.C./early first century A.D.). Artemidorus describes the “Common Road”, ἡ κοινὴ ὁδός, to the East. The details are tabulated below, Appendix 6, and illustrated on the maps, Figs 8–10, cp. Levick’s map (here Fig. 3) and Syme’s map (here Fig. 7).⁴⁹

I postulate that the route as described by Artemidorus and repeated by Strabo can be identified almost for its entirety with the Royal Road as reconstructed above (1.6), and in part with Cyrus’ route as defined in the previous paragraph (1.16).

Unlike the Royal Road which began at Sardis, the starting-point of Artemidorus’ Common Road was Ephesus and the first section passed along the Maeander valley. It then came to the Phrygian border at Caroura (=? Cydrara of Herodotus) where it joined the line of the Royal Road. Thereafter the course of the two roads coincided.

The figures given by Artemidorus, however, do not wholly match the summary totals in Herodotus. Some do: others do not. Between Ephesus and Caroura the distance is stated to be 740 stadia or 131.92 km, if 1 st., based on the short parasang (d) = 178.27 km. The modern distance is c. 134 km. (along the northern bank of the Maeander) from Efes to Sarayköy. A reasonable fit, therefore. Similarly, if 1 st. = 178.27 km, the ancient and modern figures coincide for section 3 and for the total of sections 2–4. For the remaining sections, 2, 5–7, however, the ancient figures, on any reckoning of the parasang, are evidently incorrect, i.e. too short. Between Mazaca and Tomisa Artemidorus’ figure is 1440 st. or 267.26 km. (calculated on the long parasang): the modern distance between Kayseri and Pirot (on the S bank of the Euphrates) is 364 km. Needless to say, a shorter, straight-line distance is not permitted by the terrain between Kayseri and Malatya. For these discrepancies I have no explanation. Nevertheless I accept that the course of Artemidorus’ Common Road as described in Strabo coincided with the line of Herodotus’ Royal Road. The initial section (Ephesus to Caroura) of the Common Road, though departing from the line of the Royal Road, perhaps reflects an alternative route to Ephesus in the Achaemenid road-network. It is interesting to note that Herodotus (5.54) added the section, Sardis to Ephesus, to the calculation of

the total distance from Susa to Sardis. In this light Ephesus appears as an alternative destination⁵⁰ of the Royal Road, perhaps also as an alternative administrative centre.

It is also interesting to note that the figure, given by Artemidorus *apud* Strabo, for the distance between Ephesus and Caroura (through Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa and Antiocheia) is not accurate, yet it is known that milestones were erected along this route as early as 128 B.C. by the proconsul, Manius Aquillius, that is to say, a good half-century before Artemidorus’ work. Artemidorus (“geb. um 100 v.Chr. in Ephesos”, KIP 1: 617 [Gärtner]) wrote in the mid-first century B.C.

1.19 The sites named on Artemidorus’ Common Road (*apud* Strabo 14.2.29, C 663) are as follows (marked by * when they are also named by Herodotus, see above, 1.8):

- Ephesus (1)
 - securely located at the ruins of Efes near Selcuk
 - Magnesia (5)
 - securely located at the site near Tekin
 - Tralles (6)
 - securely located at Aydin
 - Nysa (7)
 - securely located at Sultanhisar
 - Antiocheia (8)
 - securely located at the site near Azizabat
 - Carura* (9)
 - at the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia (Strabo 12.8.17, C 578, quoted below, Appendix 7); perhaps to be identified with Cydrara (see above, 1.8), which also lay at the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia (Hdt. 7.30), and to be located at the *hüyük*⁵¹ (= mound) c. 1.00 km. due E of Sarayköy
 - Laodiceia (11)
 - securely located at Eskihisar
 - Apameia* (14)
 - identified with Celaenae (Hdt. 7.26; see above, 1.8) and securely located at Dinar
 - Metropolis (17)
 - to be located at Tatarlı⁵² in the Çöl Ovası; for Metropolis, see TIB 7: 337
 - Chelidonia (18)
 - possibly to be located in the Çamur Ovası, N of Karadilli
 - Holmi (19)
 - possibly to be located in the Karamık Ovası, SW of Çay; perhaps at the large mound (visited DHF 14.08.1983) beside Karamikkaracaören village; for Holmi, see TIB 7: 292
 - Philomelium (21)
 - securely located at Akşehir; for Philomelium, see TIB 7: 359

Tyriaeum (22)

identified with Lageina and located at Ilgin; for Tyriaeum and Lagina, see TIB 7: 409–411

Laodiceia (23)

securely located at Ladik; for Laodiceia, see TIB 7: 327

Coropassus (25)

possibly to be located at the large mound beside Hacımurat Hanı, c. 5 km. E of the Tutup Beli (see above, 1.5) and c. 5 km. SE of Eğribayat;⁵³ but cf. TIB 4: 194, at Akhan (c. 22 km. W of Aksaray)

Garsauria (26)

possibly the older name of *Colonia Archelaïs*, which is securely located at Aksaray; for Garsauria and Archelaïs, see TIB 2: 207

Soanda

location not known; but cf. TIB 2: 282, at Soğanlı (c. 40 km. SE of Nevşehir)

Sadachora

location not known; but cf. TIB 2: 192, at İncesu

Mazaca (28)

identified with Caesareia and securely located at Kayseri; for Mazaca and Caesareia, see TIB 2: 193
Kaisarea

Herphae

location not known

Tomisa (30)

probably located at Habibuşağı⁵⁴ on the N bank of the Firat, downstream from the mound of Pirot,⁵⁵ rather than at Kadıköy,⁵⁶ opposite Pirot, on the N bank.

1.20 The theory that in Asia Minor the Persian Royal Road, described by Herodotus, passed from Sardis northwards to Ancyra and Pteria before turning southwards to the Taurus Mountains may now be set aside in favour of a direct route which crossed through the centre of Phrygia and Cappadocia, straight to the crossing of the Euphrates near Tomisa. Support for this hypothesis can be found in the exact correlation between modern measurements along the route proposed here and the distances given by Herodotus. Doubts on the accuracy of his figures may therefore be discounted. The road from Sardis to Susa was indeed correctly (*όπθως*) measured, as Herodotus (5.53) assumed and, as he stated, the parasang was employed as the basic unit of distance.

In establishing the route, one can thereby propose locations for the few toponyms mentioned by Herodotus, in particular the "Gates on the Halys" and the "Double Gates" between Cappadocia and Cilicia, the region on the Euphrates.

The method employed here, to determine the course of the Royal Road, is simple: the route can be established by reference to later, paved, Roman

roads. For the whole of its course W of the Euphrates, the Royal Road has been drawn along the line of a paved, Roman road.

Other pre-Roman roads can now now be assessed in the light of the route, proposed here, for the Persian Royal Road. The march of Cyrus, described by Xenophon, in 401 B.C. does not entirely coincide with that of Herodotus' Royal Road. Nor should it do so. Cyrus followed whatever roads were most suited to his plans (whether strategic or tactical).⁵⁷ The long divergence after Celaenae and before Iconium was probably tactical deception or dissimulation.

The distance figures in Xenophon's narrative were not, it seems, based on measurements which can be converted to the length of the stadion as recorded by Herodotus and calculable in metres, namely 1p = 178.271 m. An adjustment from a long parasang (5.568 or 5.348 km.) to a 'short' parasang (4.561 km.) is necessary in order to achieve agreement between ancient figures and modern measurements.

On the other hand, Artemidorus' "Common Road", described by Strabo, is identical to the Royal Road, at least from the border of Lydia eastwards. The distance figures in this account, however, do not coincide with modern measurements. The reasons for the discrepancy are not immediately apparent.

Having delineated a route for the Royal Road (Maps, Figs. 8–10), I believe that we now possess a firm base for speculation on the form and nature of the Achaemenid road-system in Asia Minor. This subject is discussed in the third paper of this series on the Pre- and Early Roman Roads in Asia Minor.

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Texts

I have used the OCT for Herodotus and Xenophon, and the Budé and Loeb texts for Diodorus and Strabo.

* Pre- and Early-Roman Roads of Asia Minor

1 The Second Millennium and Early Iron Age

2 The Persian Royal Road

3 The Persian Road-Network

4 A Hellenistic Stadion Stone

5 The Hellenistic Road Network

6 The March of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C.

7 Asia Minor, Greece and the Development of Roman Roads in Italy

8 The Earliest Roman Paved Roads in Asia Minor

A version of this paper was given at the Second Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Izmir, 4–8 May, 1987, as reported (p. xii) in the Proceedings of the Colloquium (Çilingiroğlu, A. and French, D. H. eds 1991).

¹ For nineteenth and twentieth century bibliography, see Magie (1950, 2: 787) and Syme (1939: 173); for more recent publications, see Müller (1994: 20, 21 and nn.12–15, 20 and 21); see also Olmstead (1948: 299–301), Goodchild and Forbes (1956: 496 and map, fig. 456), Starr (1962), Dilleyman (1962: 147), Herzfeld (1968: 100), von Hagen (1974: 278–81; 1981, *non vidi*), Devreker and Waelkens (1984, 1: 14 n.24), Balcer (1984: 171, 177), Cook (1985), Mellink (1988: 216), Young (1988: 90–91), Briant (1991: 68–68 and n.4 and 1996: 68 n.4, 369–88 and map, fig. 35 [p. 378]), Graf (1994: 175), Syme (1995: 3–23) and Debord (1995: 89 and n.1). There is a popular book by Lyle (1966), and a popularising account by David Stronach in the *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Archaeology* (ed. Sherratt, A. 1980): 209 and map, fig. 30.

² Pteria was associated by Ramsay (1890: 29, 33), inter alios, with the Royal Road and the course of the latter was accommodated to the position of Boğazköy, the ancient Hattusas, which had been identified by Texier (1839–49, 1: 225) with Pterion (Steph. Byz. Πτέριον πόλις Μήδων . . . λέγεται καὶ θηλικῶς ἡ Πτερία). Hence the reason for the supposed northerly route of the Royal Road. For references to this identification, see Kirsten (PW23: 1496). Summers has now shown that Pteria (so Herodotus 1.72, ἡ Πτερία), not Mithradation as has been proposed (St. Pont. 1: 26, and 3.1: [p.] 226; Calder and Bean eds, Classical Map of Asia Minor, London 1958), is to be sought on the Kerkeneş Dağ in North-central Cappadocia; the settlement on the mountain top was a synoecism enforced by the Medes; see the full report by Summers (1997).

³ Ramsay (1890: 29), Garstang (1910: 199), Calder (1925: 8), Olmstead (1948: 300), Dilleyman (1962: map, fig. 19, on p. 152), Cook (1983: 108 and 1985: 276); extensive discussion by Magie (1950, 2: 787–93), Levick (1967: 10–13), Graf (1994: 177–8 “Northern Hypothesis”) and Debord (1995: 1995: 91). Calder (1925: 8), followed by Goodchild and Forbes (1956: 496), took the main itinerary directly from the Afyon area to the Cilician Gates while allowing Herodotus’ Royal Road to take the northern route. How and Wells (1928, 2: 415) summarised Calder’s arguments as follows: “The Royal Road of Herodotus is a confused compound of the route followed by Croesus, Cyrus (1.75–79) and Xerxes (5.26), which went from Sardis by Ancyra north of the Anatolian desert, and then, after crossing the Halys, east to Pteria, and the true Royal Road, which went south of the desert and the Halys by Laodicea and Cybistra to the Cilician Gates and Zeugma”.

⁴ The same assumption was made by How and Wells but with reference to the northern route, through Pteria, Ancyra and Pessinus: “As Xerxes crossed the Halys, Critalla should be somewhere on the Royal Road (cf. 5.52), perhaps at Caesarea Mazaca, and Xerxes must have followed the circuitous route of that road by Pteria, Ancyra and Pessinus. He must then have turned south into the Maeander valley to avoid the rough and difficult route by Satala and the Hermus valley” (1928, 2: 137); Calder (CR 39 [1925], p. 9) would place Critalla near Sebasteia (Sivas) and make Xerxes follow the route of Cyrus across the Halys and over the plateau to Sardis, but Ramsay now holds (*JHS* 40 (1920), pp. 89f) that Herodotus knew nothing of Xerxes route from Critalla to Celaenae, and inserted the Halys merely as the boundary between Phrygia and Cappadocia. He believes that Xerxes must have come through the Cilician gates, and places Critalla near Cybistra. He holds that the necessary and unavoidable line of march for a large army thence to Celaenae is the southern or Pisidian route along the southern edge of Lycaonia by Laranda, and so past

the lakes Trogitis, Karalis, and Limnae to Celaenae” (1928, 2: 416).

⁵ So Macan (1895, 2: 292 “That the road, if it crossed the Halys once, must have crossed the Halys twice, apparently never occurred to Herodotus” and 1908, 1: 193 “. . . the road must have crossed the the Halys twice”); also Garstang (1910: 366 n.2; additionally quoting Kiepert [1857]) and How and Wells (1928, 2: 2 on Hdt. 5.52). Calder, in fact, had responded to this point (1925: 9 n.3): “For ‘literalist’ interpreters of Herodotus, his route must, of course, cross the Halys twice. Herodotus himself was no doubt unconscious of this. As Mr J.A.R. Munro points out to me, he may have imagined that all east-to-west routes in Asia Minor crossed the Halys”.

⁶ In relation to the Tigris and the two rivers Zab, the Great and the Little, Herodotus (5.52.4–5) uses the verb διαπορθμεύσαι, to cross a river by ferry. The verb is not employed for the crossing of the Maeander (Hdt. 7.31, by a bridge of boats). For a contrary interpretation, that the Tigris and the two Zabs were crossed by pontoon-bridge, “porte-bateaux”, see Briant (1991: 74 n.27). See also below, n.18.

⁷ For Roman paving of earlier, unpaved roads, see French (1980: 711). Dr Geoffrey Summers reminds me that some Achaemenid roads were paved, e.g. between Persepolis and Susa. He refers me to Kleiss (1981: 45–83), Sumner (1986: 17) and Koch (1986: 133). Ghirshman (1954: 145–6) mentions “the road joining Susa and Persepolis, of which a part can still be seen near Bebahan” and comments (1954: 187) that “the building of roads as well as increased security made for rapidity of transport. At this period a method of road-building was developed that consisted in paving the softer parts of the road, and even of making artificial ruts for wheeled transport”. Forbes discusses (1955: 133, with a false reference, n.31, to Diodorus 2.1 *sic*) Persian roads as “tracks” (his term) and writes: “We do hear of two paved highways between Susa and Ecbatana. But Diodorus tells us at the same time that stretches of the Royal Road were difficult because of the many steep slopes but still practicable for carriages . . .”. Bulliet (1975: 16, with reference to Ghirshman [1961: 145–6] and Forbes [1955: 138 = error for 133], without specific quotation) writes: “. . . long paved roads, a stretch of road near Pasargadae still preserved with cart ruts . . . Diodorus says that the main Persian road was up to taking wheeled traffic”. For three passages in Diodorus (2.13.5 and 14, and 2.22.3) which refer to built roads in Persia, see below, Appendix 8.

⁸ For the difficulties, as perceived by modern scholars, in Herodotus’ distance figures, see Müller (1994: 19–20, 24) and nn.16 and 35 below. The problem of reconciliation was understood by Kiepert (1857: 126).

⁹ For a discussion of the stadium, see Lehmann-Haupt (PW 3A: 1933 and 1940) and Chantraine (KIP 5: 336); cp. the remarks of Debord (1995: 93).

¹⁰ For the location of Coropassus at Hacimurat Hanı near Eğribayat, see below, 1.19.

¹¹ For Garsauria = later Colonia Archelais, see below, 1.19.

¹² Site, 1 km. E of Sarayköy (visited DHF 25.07.1960), occupied in third and second millennium, IA and later (including Hellenistic and Roman periods); reported by Mellaart (1954: 192 map 3; and 1955: map and 133 no.77) and Lloyd and Mellaart (1962: list [p. 197] and map 6 [site no.30]). For earlier views on Cydara, see Ruge (PW Suppl. 4: 1125).

¹³ For the Selçuk han, see Erdmann (1961: 130 no.35 Sari Han).

¹⁴ For Sünneti Tepe, see Hild (1977: 71 and map 5, and 80 with references to other citations).

¹⁵ For Achaemenid “triangle ware” and other wares at Van, Altintepe near Erzincan and other sites in Eastern Anatolia, see Summers (1993: 86–7 with references to earlier citations) and Köroğlu (1995: 28–30). For pottery of the Achaemenid period from Tilkigediği near Kerkeneş Dağ, see Summers *et al.* (1995: 46).

- ¹⁶ Cilicia was the name given (three times) by Herodotus (5.52) to the region on the W bank of the Euphrates opposite Armenia, or more exactly opposite the territory of Sōphēnē (Σοφηνή, Strabo 11.12.3, C.521 and 12.2.1, C.535). Herodotus (1.72) said that the River Halys flowed through Cilicia; see the discussion of Cook (1985: 263 and 277 map 10) and Syme (1939: 299 n.4: "To Herodotus, the Halys flowed διὰ Κιλικῶν (i.72); and the "Eleventh Strategia" of Cappadocia was Cilician (Strabo xii I, 4, p. 534). The usage went back to very early times. For Cilicia with the meaning of Lycaonia, cf. also Appian, *BC* v 75, 319; *Mithr.* 75". Here it is assumed that Herodotus, for whatever reason, believed that some part of "Cilicia" embraced the mid-Euphrates region of Melitene and reached as far as the basin of the upper Halys; cp. Herzfeld: "Melitene . . . at that time a part of Cilicia" (1968: 100). Dilleman (1962: 151–2) points up the difficulties: "Tenant fermement à son identification des Portes de Cilicie, Calder conclut que la route royale passait au sud du Grand Lac Salé, donc ne coupait pas l'Halys et ne franchissait pas l'Euphrate à Malatya. Cette identification est ainsi au cœur de problème. Pour le résoudre, la plupart des commentateurs d'Hérodote ont supposé que la province de l Cilicie s'étendait à l'époque sur la rive droite du fleuve et que les Portes correspondaient à une des défilés ouverts à l'ouest de Malatya, hypothèse d'autant plus probable que les Anciens ont multiplié cette notion de porte; . . . Aucune source ne confirme l'extension de cette satrapie vers le nord-est; son nom est pourtant assez élastique puisqu'on le retrouve plus tard largement au nord du Taurus, appliqué à une satrapie de Cappadoce avec César comme capitale". By identifying the Cilicia of Herodotus (5.52) with classical Cilicia Pedias, Calder (1925: 10) and others, more recently Müller (1994: 20 with references to earlier statements and illustrations of this theory), have been able to take the Royal Road through the Cilician Gates to the Euphrates at Zeugma. Herodotus' distance figures, especially for "Cilicia" were acknowledged to be a stumbling block to the theory: "The plain truth is that . . . Herodotus' figures have no resemblance to what Macan" [1895, 2: 290] "calls 'the facts'" (Calder 1925: 1); cp. Müller (1994: 19–20, 24).
- ¹⁷ For the Byzantine bridge in the valley between the two passes, see Hild (1977: 99 and Pl.68); the bridge marks the course of the Roman road (from Caesarea to Melitene) and thereby also the route of the Royal Road.
- ¹⁸ For the site and occupation (Chalcolithic, EBA, 2 Millennium, Classical, post-Classical), see Serdaroglu (1977: 16–17, 64–5, 119 and map, Pl.59), Özdogan (1977: 55–6) and Yakar and Gürsan-Salzmann (1979: map, fig.1 [site no.7]). For the rescue excavations at Pirot (re-named Kiyicak) 1980–3, now lost under the waters of the Karakaya dam, see Karaca (1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984). The river-crossing may have been made by ferry, as Herodotus' epithet for the Euphrates, νησιπέρητος, might suggest, rather than by a bridge of boats, as Briant (1996: 374–6, νέυσιπερέτος = porte-bateaux = ponte de bateau). For the verb, διαπορθμεύσσαι, see above, n.6.
- ¹⁹ For the ancient site (called Yazılıkaya) and reported occupation (EBA, IA, Roman and Byzantine sherds) at Habibuşağı, see Serdaroglu (1977: 17, 65), Özdogan (1977: 82–3 and plan, fig.61) and Yakar and Gürsan-Salzmann (1979: map, fig.1 [site no.5]).
- ²⁰ For the milestone found in the cemetery of Amude, 3 km. S of Amude hüyükü, see Poidebard (1928: 110), "à peu près in situ" (Dilleman 1962: 81). But on what road?
- ²¹ For the route from Diyarbakir to Mosul, see Dilleman (1962: 147 and map, fig.18; 160).
- ²² Herodotus refers (5.53) without giving a toponym, as habitual-ly in his account of the Royal Road (cp. Dilleman 1962: 150), to a guard-post, φυλακτήριον, in Armenia. A possible identification is Dadima, indicated by Kiepert on his *Karte von Kleinasien* (2nd ed.), sheet Malatja (Berlin 1913) and by Calder, W.M. and Bean, G.E. (eds) on the *Classical Map of Asia*

Minor (London 1958). For Dādim (= ancient Dadima), the Byzantine/Medieval site, see Tomaschek (1898: 138), Honigmann (1961: 70, 72) and Howard-Johnston (1983: 263 n.11). The modern toponym, Tadim, is thought, justifiably, to be derived from medieval Dādim/ancient Dadima (Tomaschek l.c.). An ancient site is located on and around the mound at Tadim (Huntington 1901: 181–2; Charles Burney survey 1956 [Burney 1958: 204, map 3], site no.290). Huntington (l.c.) describes the presence (at Tadim) of a perimeter wall, a mosaic and a (?)church. In 1969 I saw from the air a fortified site on a flat-topped, conical hill, Meryem Tepe, 2.5 km. N of Tepeköy (c. 8 km. SW of Elazığ and c. 4 km. NW of Tadim) (map, fig.12); it does not seem to have been reported in the archaeological literature on the area. The hill-top site, however, is the most likely location of Herodotus' guard-post, since the position totally dominates the communications in the Elazığ region, especially the routes W to the Fırat, S to Ergani and Diyarbakır and E to Bingöl; cf. Olmstead: "The fort is probably that at the main pass" [? = Ergani] (1948: 300). The conical shape, and the position and isolation of Meryem Tepe recall the most striking features of Sünnetli Tepe (Pl. IIa) near Bozca and the Achaemenid sites on Altintepe (Özgürç 1966: 37 and Pl.7, and 1969: 59 and Pl.1) and Çimentepe II (Summers 1993: 95) near Erzincan (Pl. IIIa-b).

- ²³ For the route, Bingöl–Genç–Lice–Silvan (ancient Martyriopolis), through the Anti-Taurus in the Byzantine period, see Howard-Johnston (1989: 213 and map, fig.14.1).
- ²⁴ Kiepert (1857: 131 and map), Olmstead (1948: 300), Dillemann (1962: 147, 150 and map, fig.19 = here Fig.2), Herzfeld (1968: 100), von Hagen (1976: 279 and map), Höggemann (1986), Chaumont (1986–7: 295–6 and map, fig.9) and Müller (1994: 4, map fig.3, here Fig.4). For the route/road, indicated on the *Tab. Peut.*, between Melitene and [Amida] ad Tygrem, see Dilleman (1962: 155 and maps, figs 17 and 18, Route 1). Correctly in my view, Dilleman (l.c.) identifies the Maden-Ergani route both as the line of the Persian Royal Road and as the line of the later *Tab. Peut.* route. His locations of sites along the *Tab. Peut.* route, however, are here abandoned in favour of the following: Kadıköyü (for the site, see below, n.54) = **Ad Aras**, the hill (tepe) above Karik Mevkii, c. 2 km. NE of Kömürhan (for the site and location of Kömürhan, c. 4.25 km. ENE of the village Habibuşağı [see below, n.54] and c. 0.70 km. W of the caravansaray, see Özdogan (1977: 83 site P52/3]) = **Chirtonia**, (?) below Tecolur (6 km. E of Karaali (map, Fig.12) = **Mahara**, Aşağı Hoh (map, Fig.12), now re-named Kavaktepe, where there is (or was) "a large fortification wall" and reportedly "large quantities of tiles" (Huntington 1901: 182) = **Colchis**, (?) on the ridge c. 1.5 km. S of Karasaz (map, Fig.12) = **Coruili**, (?) in the valley c. 1.5 km. SW of Şeyhbayram and c. 3 km. SE of Dicle İstasyonu = **Arsinia**, (?) on the col c. 1.5 km. WSW of Büyük Kinir, now renamed Kavurmaküpü = **Coissa**, (?) near Aşağı Termül, now renamed Aşağı Kuyulu = [unnamed site], Diyarbakır = **[Amida]** ad **Tygrem**. The distance-figures given on the *Tab. Peut.* coincide with distances measured on the Turkish 1:200,000 maps, except for the first stage, Melitene–Ad Aras (on the Euphrates), where the number VIII is much too short for the distance between Eski Malatya and the S bank of the Fırat opposite Habibuşağı or even for the distance between Eski Malatya and Pirot. If, however, VIII is emended to [X]VIII, the adjusted figure then meets the modern, measured distance from Eski Malatya to the Fırat River at the Pirot-Kadıköyü crossing, and the ancient total, 135 MP (adjusted), agrees with the distance (measured on the Turkish 1:200,000 map) from Eski Malatya to Diyarbakır.
- ²⁵ Hogarth in Macan (1895, 2: 299–303), Müller (1994: map, fig.3, here Fig.4); cp. the remark of Young (1988: 232), The royal road ran "between Samsat and Malatya".

- ²⁶ French (1983: 81 and map, fig.7.1).
- ²⁷ For the route as depicted on the Tab. Peut., see Dilleman (1962: 155–9). For the Late-Roman fortified site, overlooking the road, at Kale Zerzevan, c. 2 km. SE of Aşağı Honik, now re-named Aşağı Konak, and c. 15 km. SE of Çınar, see Deichmann and Peschlow (1977: 7–40).
- ²⁸ For the historical background of this subject, see Dilleman (1962: 124–5); cp. Croke and Crow (1983: 144 and 149), “Dara was located eighteen km. north-west of Nisibis and five km. from the Persian frontier, on the edge of the Mesopotamian plain just north of the modern Nusaybin–Mardin highway”.
- ²⁹ For Dara, see the discussions and descriptions of Crow (1981), Croke and Crow (1983), Whitby (1986) and Ahunbay (1990, 1991).
- ³⁰ For Amude hüyük = ancient Amouda, see Dilleman (1962: 81 and n.4, and map, fig.18, and 159), quoting modern (*PW* 1,2: 1984 **Amudis**) and ancient sources (Amm. Marc. 18,6,14 and Theophylactus 5,4).
- ³¹ Given in outline by Graf (1994: 179), quoting Dilleman (1962: 147), for the Royal Road as far as Erbil (ancient Arbela). For this section, however, I have adopted here a line which runs somewhat S of the route (through Cizre and Dohuk) proposed by Dilleman (1962: map, Fig.18 [p. 149]) and illustrated by Müller (1994: 20 and Fig.2).
- ³² εἰ δὲ ὄρθως μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλήι τοῖσι παρασάγγησ καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, . . . (Hdt. 5,53); cp. . . . καὶ ἄφεσις ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου μέχρι Βάκτρων καὶ Ἰνδικῆς ἀριθμὸς σταθμῶν, ἡμερῶν, παρασάγγων (Ktesias, *Persica* 64). Herodotus' figures for the Royal Road suggest (to me) the existence of units of measurement. The three regional totals (above, 1.5) show a consistent exactitude which is compatible with Herodotus' supposition that the Royal road might perhaps have been correctly (όρθως) measured. Debord (1995: 92) draws attention to the use of parasangs as an exact unit of measurement for tax/tribute purposes (Hdt 6,42); contra Müller (1994: 24).
- ³³ Persian distance-markers are not known (Bivar 1985: 629). In Asia Minor, at least, none have survived.
- ³⁴ Earlier references are given by Müller (1994: 19); the problem is cited by Graf (1994: 178 “troublesome arbitrary emendations”).
- ³⁵ cp. Briant: “La Voie Royale d'Hérodote n'est qu'une voie royale parmi d'autres” (1991: 69–70); on secondary roads, see below n.57.
- ³⁶ The variations are documented and graphically illustrated by Levick (1967: map facing p. 256) (here Fig. 3); discussion by Debord (1995: 95).
- ³⁷ Xenophon *Anabasis* (1) Loeb ed.[1921], map (between pp. 494–5) (here Fig.6), (2) Budé ed.[1992], map; see also Levick's map (1967: facing p. 256) (here Fig. 3) and the map of Briant (1996: map, fig. 36 [p. 379]).
- ³⁸ Even the distance for the possible alternative route, Dinar–Afyon–Konya (= 334 km. = 60 p. if 1 p. = 5.568 k), is considerably less than Xenophon's figure, 92 p., for his route, Celaenae–Iconium.
- ³⁹ *Anab.* 1.1.6: Cyrus attempted to maintain secrecy in order to catch the King unawares, cp. *Anab.* 1.2.1: Cyrus intends to campaign against the Pisidians.
- ⁴⁰ *Anab.* 1.1.9: Cyrus “concealed” his army groups in order to allay suspicion.
- ⁴¹ *Anab.* 1.2.12: at or after Cayster Pedion Cyrus was obliged to give four months pay to the troops since for three months they had received nothing.
- ⁴² Bivar (1985: 628): “The widespread tradition that the parasang represented the distance that infantry could march in the hour makes such figures plausible”; see also Masqueray (*Anabasis* 1.2.8, 6th ed. Budé [1992], n.2 on p. 50): “Le mot parasange n'est pas toujours une unité de longeur . . . Il en résulte que dans l'usage courant le parasange n'était qu'une unité horaire, équivalant à notre expression indéterminé une heure de marche”; see also Müller (1994: 24).
- ⁴³ Hansman (1968: 118) quoted by Bivar (1985: 628).
- ⁴⁴ Müller (1994: 25, 28 and figs 5, 6) makes an attempt to illustrate a day's march and its relation to way-stations.
- ⁴⁵ Müller 1994: 29 and map, fig. 6.
- ⁴⁶ Huyük (= mound) on the E side of the modern town; mostly EBA and LBA but there is also IA and later occupation.
- ⁴⁷ There is said to be an ancient site at Susuz according to the Museum authorities in Uşak.
- ⁴⁸ For Dana = Tyana, Magie (1950, 2: 1095 n.4) and Masqueray (*Anabasis* [Budé 6th ed. 1992] 1.2.20, n.2 on p. 53); for Dana = Dâna, WNW of Aleppo, see Albright (1922: 74).
- ⁴⁹ Description and discussion by Levick (1967: 11 and map facing p. 256) (here Fig. 3).
- ⁵⁰ Ktesias *Persica* 64, quoted above, n.32.
- ⁵¹ See above, n.12. Strabo (12.8.17, C 578) mentions natural sources of hot water “above the bank of the Maeander . . .”. Today the nearest hot-springs are located at Karahayıt, c. 14 km. E of Sarayköy and 6 km. NW of Pamukkale.
- ⁵² For an inscription of Metropolis at Tatarlı, see Drew Bear (1978: 19 no.11 and pl. 6) and French (1991: 51 no.2 and pl. 7); for a photograph of the acropolis of Metropolis above Tatarlı, see French (1991: 52 and pl. 8).
- ⁵³ For a unique coin of Coropassus as a member of the Commune Lycaniae, see Troxell (1987: 56).
- ⁵⁴ For Tomisa: see Sturm (*PW* 6A: 1701) and Honigmann (*PW Suppl.* 4: 983); Tomisa was a village in Sophene, a region which lay opposite Melitene (Strabo 12.2.1, C 535). Tomisa in Sophene had been a phrourion of Cappadocia, was bought by Sophene from the Cappadocians and later given back to the Cappadocians by Lucullus. For Urartian Tumeški = Tomisa, see Tomaschek (1898: 137), Adontz (1946: 199), Salvini (1972: 100–111), Astour (1979: 3) and Diakonoff and Kashkai (1981: 88); see also von Hagen (1976: 279). For the Urartian rock-cut inscription at Habibuşağı, see König (1955–57, 2: 130 no.104), Beran (1956), Kalaç (1956), Melikishvili (1960: 306 no.158) and van Loon (1974); for the ancient site, called Yazılıkaya, see above n.19. Yazılıkaya lies c. 0.5 km. W of Habibuşağı and c. 9 km. E of Kadıköy (the village opposite Pirot, on the N bank of the Firat, c. 3 km. below Izoli, now re-named Kuşsarayı) where there was (until the completion of the Karakaya dam) an ancient site (Serdaroğlu 1977: 118 and map, pl. 59); perhaps = the Ad Aras station (*Tab. Peut.*; Plutarch *Lucullus* 24.6); for the hitherto conjectured location, *Ad Aras* at Tomisa, see Dilleman (1962: 117, 155) and Graf (1994: 179).
- ⁵⁵ For Pirot, see above, n.18.
- ⁵⁶ See above, n. 54
- ⁵⁷ On the existence of secondary roads alongside the major routes (“grands axes”, “grands itinéraires”), see Briant (1991: 74 quoting Seibert [1985: 18–21] and 1996: 371–2) and Debord (1995: 89–90).

Abbreviations

After each first use, I have abbreviated parasang to p., stadion to st. and Roman miles, milia passuum, to mp.

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Note: the bibliographical abbreviations employed here are listed in AJA 90 (1986): pp. 384–395 “Abbreviations (1) for Periodicals and (2) for Individual Works”.

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APPENDIX 1. THE ROYAL ROAD HERODOTUS HISTORIES 5.52–54

"Εχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὡδεῖ σταθμοί τε πανταχῆ εἰσι βασιλήιοι καὶ καταλύσιες κάλλισται, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἄπασα καὶ ἀσφαλέος. διὰ μὲν γε Λιδίης καὶ Φρυγίης σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἴκοσί εἰσι, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ὁ "Αλυς ποταμός, ἐπ' ᾧ πύλαι τε ἔπειστ, τὰς διεξελάσαι πάσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὐτῷ διεκπεράν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκήν καὶ ταῦτη πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δύοντές εἰσι τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὔροισι διξάς τε πύλας διεξελάσαι καὶ διξᾶ φυλακτήρια παραμείψεαι. ταῦτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικῆς ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσι σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὐρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νησιπέρητος, τῷ οὖν οἷα Εὐφράτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μέν εἰσι καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἔξι καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι.

.... ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐσβάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν σταθμοί εἰσι τέσσερες (καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἐπτά καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν). ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κιστίνην χώρην μεταβαίνοντι ἑνδεκα σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἔοντα καὶ τούτου νησιπέρητον, ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοί εἰσι ἑνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. καταγωγαὶ μέν ννν σταθμῶν τοσαντάι εἰσι ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι· εἰ δὲ δρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλῆιη τοῖσι παρασάγγησι καὶ δι παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσπερ οὐτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδιά ἐστι ἐς τὰ βασιλία, τὰ Μεμνόνεια καλέόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχλια καὶ μύρια παρασαγγέων ἔοντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων.

.... οἱ γὰρ ἔξι Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ οὐτῷ τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μηκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

52.1 There is for this road the following (information): There are everywhere Royal staging-posts and very fine inns; the whole road (passes) through inhabited country and is safe. Through Lydia and

Phrygia there are twenty staging-posts; (the distance is) 94½ parasangs.

2 After Phrygia is reached the River Halys, at which there are gates, which it is absolutely necessary to pass through and, (in doing so) in this manner, (it is absolutely necessary) to make the passage along the river; and (there is) a large guard-post at this point. For the person crossing into Cappadocia and travelling through this country [= Cappadocia] as far as the borders with Cilicia there are thirty less two staging-posts, and 104 parasangs; on the borders of this country [= Cilicia] one passes through double gates and passes double forts.

3 For the person passing through these (gates) and travelling the road through Cilicia there are three staging-posts, and fifteen parasangs. The border of Cilicia and Armenia is a river, crossed by boat, whose name is Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen resting-stations and (the distance is) 56½ parangs, and there is a fort on the road

5 After Armenia, for the person entering the land of Matiene there are thirty-four staging-posts and (the distance is) 137 parasangs.

6 After this (land), for the person crossing into the region of Kissia (there are) eleven stations, and it is 42½ parasangs to the river Choaspes—and this too is crossed by boat—on which the city of Susa is founded. All these stations are 111 (in number). For the person going up from Sardis to Susa there are this many resting-stations;

53 if, then, the Royal road is correctly measured in parasangs and if the parasang makes thirty stades (as indeed it does make) the stades from Sardis to the palace of Memnon, as it is called, are (in number) 13,500, 450 parasangs

54.2 the stades from Ephesus to Sardis are 540 (in number), and thus the three-month road-journey is lengthened by three days.

APPENDIX 2. THE ROYAL ROAD

The route in modern topography, based on the maps of the Turkish 1 : 200,000 series

Manisa sheet

Sart–Salihli–Yeniköy

Alaşehir sheet

Alkan–Alaşehir–Afşar (*c.* 2 km. W of Sarıgöl)–Dindarlı–Bozalan–Buldan to Sarayköy road

Denizli sheet

Tosunlar–Menderes bridge at Yeniköy–Sarayköy–Eskihisar–Honaz, site of Colossae–Kocabas–Kaklik–Başçeşme

Isparta–Burdur sheet

Başçeşme–Bozkurt–Çardak–Sarıkavak–Akkeçili

Dinar sheet

Hırka–Gencali–Dinar–Çobansaray (formerly Porsama)–Uluköy–Akpinarlı (formerly Horu)–Çölovası, N of Tatarlı–Çicektepe)–Karadilli–(Çamurovası)

Akşehir sheet

(Çamurovası, N of Oynağan)–Çayıryazı (formerly Genelli)–Akharım–Karamıkkaracaören–Çay–Sultandağı (formerly İshaklı)–Ulupınar–Akşehir–Argithanı–Osmaniye

İlgın sheet

İlgın–Zaferiye–Kadınhanı–Halıcı Ladık–Ertuğrul–Meydan İstayonu, Kinik–Gögenç–Yazibelen (formerly Tutup)–(Tutup Beli)–Eğribyat, Hacimurat Hanı–Akbaşhanı

Aksaray sheet

(Akbaş Beli)–Akörenkişla–Ortakuyu–Güneşli–Malır Hüyük–Künk Hüyük–Aksaray–Dorukini–(Nevşehir yolu)

Niğde sheet

Ağzikarahane–(Han harabesi)–(Nevşehir yolu)–Acıgöl–(Nevşehir yolu)

Avanos sheet

(Nevşehir yolu)–Nevşehir–Sarıhan–Bozca–Karahüyük–Süksün

Kayseri sheet

Boğaz–Anbar–Kayseri–Aydınlar (formerly Tavlasın)–Kamber–Akmescit (formerly Zerezek)–Yünören (formerly Kölete)–Kayabaşı (formerly Sindal)–Taf–İcadiye–Mezgitli yayLASı–(Kuruçay)

Saimbeyli sheet

(Kurudere)–İmirzağa–Kayapınar–(Şar)–Mollahüseyin

Elbistan sheet

Kemer–Yalak–Keklikoluk–Mehmetbey–Alicılıbucak–Kanlıkavak–Kızılca–Yazıköy–Afşin–Izgın–Elbistan–Gücüük–Çerkezuşağı–Darıca

Malatya sheet

Darıcadere–Kozluca–Kürecik–Karahan Beli (= Mescitli Geçidi on map)–Gavur Geçidi–Develi–Güzelyurt (formerly Eğin)–Çatyol–Eskimalatya–Meydancık–Pirot–(Fırat)–Kadıköy

Elazığ sheet

Habibuşağı → eastwards

APPENDIX 3. THE ROYAL ROAD

The distances according to modern topography, as determined by measuring-wheel (“map-measurer”) on the maps of the Turkish 1 : 200,000 series (sheets Manisa, Alaşehir, Denizli, Isparta–Burdur, Dinar, Akşehir, İlgin, Aksaray, Niğde, Avanos, Kayseri, Saimbeyli, Elbistan, Malatya).

Sart (Sardis)–Alaşehir (Philadelphia)	44.5		
Alaşehir–Sarayköy	<u>66.5</u>	111	
(Lydia/Phrygia border)			
Sarayköy–Eskihisar	19		
Eskihisar–Honaz: site of Colossae	16		
Honaz–Sarıkavak (Sanaos)	50		
Sarıkavak–Dinar	39		
Dinar–Çölovası, N of Tatarlı	33.5		
Çölovası–Çay	68		
Çay–Akşehir (Philomelium)	45		
Akşehir–Argithani	27.5		
Argithani–İlgin (Tyriaeum)	18		
İlgin–Ladik (Laodiceia)	42		
Ladik–Tutup Beli	<u>37</u>	395	506
(Phrygia/Cappadocia border)			
Tutup Beli–Hacımurat Hanı (?Coropassus)	5		
Hacımurat Hanı–Aksaray (?Garsauria)	123		
Aksaray–Nevşehir	70		
Nevşehir–Bozca (“Halys Gates”)	<u>34</u>	232	
Bozca–Kayseri (Mazaca/Caesarea)	42		
Kayseri–Karahan Pass	<u>281</u>	<u>323</u>	555
(Cappadocia/Cilicia border)			
Karahan Pass–Eskimalaty	53		
Eskimalaty–Pirot	<u>30</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>83</u>
(Cilicia/Armenia border)			<u>1144</u>
Distances on alternative routes			
(1) Efes (Ephesus)–Antiochia–Sarayköy (?Carura/Cydrara)			345
(2) Alaşehir–Yenice (Tripolis)	53		
Yenice–Pamukkale (Hierapolis)	21		
Pamukkale–Eskihisar (Laodiceia)	<u>10</u>	84	

APPENDIX 4. THE ROYAL ROAD EAST OF THE EUPHRATES

Herodotus Histories 5.54.1–3

The distances according to modern topography, as determined by measuring-wheel (“map-measurer”) on the maps of the Turkish 1 : 200,000 series (sheets Malatya, Elazığ, Palu, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Nusaybin).

Malatya sheet
Kadıköy

Elazığ sheet
Habibuşağı–Kömürhan–valley–Karaali–Tadim–Karasaz, Deveboynu ridge above village–Gezni İstasyonu–valley–Maden–Kalemdan–Ergani

Palu sheet

Diyarbakır sheet
Diyarbakır–Çınar–Mardin–Göllü–Ortaköy (formerly Gülharim)–Akıncı (formerly Kasır)–Amude
Hüyükü–Nusaybin

Kadıköy–Habibuşağı	9.00
Habibuşağı–Tadim	38.50
Tadim–Gezni İstasyonu	37.00
Gezni İstasyonu–Ergani	34.00
Ergani–Diyarbakır	57.50
Diyarbakır–Çınar	30.00
Çınar–Mardin İstasyonu	58.00
Mardin–wadi, 16.5 km. W of Nusaybin	<u>38.00</u>
	302.00

GSGS World Series 1 : 500,000 (Musul, Baghdad and Dizful sheets)

Note: All distances are approximate

wadi–Nusaybin centre	16.50
Nusaybin centre–Eski Musul	153.75
Eski Musul–Erbil	126.25
Erbil–Altunkopru	50
Altunkopru–Mandali	270
Mandali–Zurbatiyeh	90
Zurbatiyeh–Deh Luran	130
Deh Luran–Shush	<u>120</u>
	<u>956.50</u>
	1258.50

Herodotus 5.54

Armenia	56.5
Matiene	137
Kissia	<u>42.5</u>
	236 p.

If 1 p. = 5.348 km.,,

56.5	302.162
137.0	732.676
<u>42.5</u>	<u>227.290</u>
236.0 p.	1262.128 km.

APPENDIX 5. THE ANABASIS

Cyrus' route in 401 B.C. from Sardis to Tarsus, according to Xenophon (writing *c.* 386 B.C.)

	(a) p. 22	1p. =	(c) 5.568 122.5	(d) 5.348 117.7	(e) 4.561 100.3	(f) modern 106
Sardis Maeander (at Yeniköy)						
Colossae	8		44.5	42.8	36.5	39
Celaenae	20		111.4	107.0	91.2	92
Peltae (?at Çivril)		10	55.9	53.5	45.6	47
Ceramon Agora (?at Susuz)		12	66.8	64.2	54.7	55
Caystrou Pedion (?at Çay)		30	167.0	160.4	136.8	132
Thymbrium		10	55.9	53.5	45.6	46
Tyriaeum	72	<u>10</u>	55.9	53.5	45.6	<u>46</u> 326
Iconium (?camp) (<i>c.</i> 11 km. E of Derbe)		20	111.4	107.0	91.2	88
Dana (= Tyana)		30	167.0	160.4	136.8	137
Tarsus	55	<u>25</u>	139.2	133.7	114.0	<u>114</u> 251
		<u>222</u>	<u>139.2</u>	<u>133.7</u>	<u>114.0</u>	<u>118</u>
1 parasang = 30 stadia			1236.7	1187.4	1012.3	<u>1024</u>

if 1 mp = 1485 m.

1 parasang = (e) 4.561 km. (1 st. = 152.03 m.), if 73 p. = 333 km.

(see above, 1.15)

APPENDIX 6. THE COMMON ROAD

The κοινὴ ὁδός according to Artemidorus (writing c. mid-first century B.C.) *apud* Strabo (writing late-first century B.C./early first century B.C.) 14.2.29, C 663.

1. Ephesus–Carura (at the border of Caria and Phrygia) through Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa and Antiocheia
From Carura into Phrygia through Laodiceia, Apameia, Metropolis and Chelidonia
2. Carura–Holmi (at the beginning of [Phrygia] Paroreios)
3. Holmi–Tyriaeum (near Lycaonia) (at the end of [Phrygia] Paroreios) through Philomelium
4. Tyriaeum–Coropassus (in Lycaonia) through Laodiceia
5. Coropassus–Garsauria (in Cappadocia) (near border with Lycaonia)
6. Garsauria–Mazaca (metropolis of the Cappadocians) through Soanda and Sadocora
7. Mazaca–Tomisa (in Sophene) through Herphae

For details of the modern distances, Ephesus–Tomisa, see App. 3.

	(b) st.	740	1 p. =	(c) 5.568		= (d) 5.348		(f) modern
1.				137.34		131.92		134
2.	920		170.75		164.00		225.5	
3.	500		92.80		89.14		90.5	
4.	840	2260	155.90	419.45	149.75	402.89	84.0	400
5.	120		22.27		21.39		123.0	
6.	680		126.21		121.22		146.0	
7.	1440	2240	267.26	415.74	256.71	399.22	364.0	633
		5240		972.53		934.13		1167

If 1 parasang = 30 stadia,

5240 st. = 174.66 p.

= 972.51 km. (on long parasang (c), 5.568 km.) (1 p. = 185.60 m.)

= 934.08 km. (on short parasang (d), 5.348 km.) (1 p. = 178.27 m.)

= 796.62 km. (on parasang (e), 4.561 km.) (1 p. = 152.03 m.)

APPENDIX 7. THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN PHRYGIA AND CARIA

The location of Carura (Strabo 12.8.17, C 578)

"Οριον δέ ἐστι τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Καρίας τὰ Κάροντα· κώμη δ' ἐστὶν αὗτη πανδοχεῖα ἔχουσα καὶ ζεστῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβολάς, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Μαιάνδρῳ, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ χείλους.

The boundary of Phrygia and Caria is Carura. It is a village having inns, and springs of hot waters, some in the river Maeander, some above its banks . . .

APPENDIX 8. ROADS IN PERSIA

(1) The “Road of Semiramis” through the Zagros to Ecbatana (Diodorus 2.13.5)

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπ’ Ἐκβατάνων τὴν πορείαν ποιησαμένη παρεγένετο πρὸς ὄρος τὸ Ζαρκαῖον καλούμενον· τοῦτο δ’ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς παρῆκον σταδίους καὶ πλῆρες δὲ κρημνῶν καὶ φαράγγων μακρὰν εἶχε τὴν περίοδον. ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο οὖν ἄμα μὲν μυημένον ἀθάνατον ἑαυτῆς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἄμα δὲ σύντομον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὁδόν· διόπερ τούς τε κρημνοὺς κατακόψασα καὶ τοὺς κοίλους τόπους χώσασα σύντομον καὶ πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασεν ὁδόν, ἣ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Σεμιράμιδος καλεῖται.

After this she [sc. Semiramis] advanced in the direction of Ecbatana and arrived at the mountain called Zarcaeus [= the Zagros range]; and since this extended many stades and was full of cliffs and chasms it rendered the journey round a long one. And so she became ambitious both to leave an immortal monument of herself and at the same time to shorten her way; consequently she cut through the cliffs, filled up the low places, and thus at great expense built a short road, which to this day is called the road of Semiramis. (Loeb transl.)

(2) Roads of Semiramis in Persia (Diodorus 2.14.1)

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθε τήν τε Περσίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν ἅπασαν ἵς ἐπῆρχε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. πανταχοῦ δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄρη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρώγας πέτρας διακόπτουσα κατεσκεύασεν ὁδούς πολυτελεῖς,

After this she [Semiramis] visited Persis and every other country over which she ruled throughout Asia. Everywhere she cut through mountains and the precipitous cliffs and constructed expensive roads, . . . (Loeb transl.)

(3) The “Memnonian”: the Road of Memnon in Susiana (Diodorus 2.22.3)

οἰκοδομῆσαι δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας τὰ ἐν Σούσοις βασίλεια τὰ διαιμείναντα μέχρι τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας, κληθέντα δ’ ἀπ’ ἔκεινου Μεμνόνεια· κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρον ὁδὸν τὴν μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων ὄνομαζομένην Μεμνόνειαν.

He [Memnon] also built a palace in the upper city of Susa which stood until the time of the Persian Empire and was called after him Memnonian; moreover, he constructed through the country a public highway which bears his name to this time. (Loeb transl.)

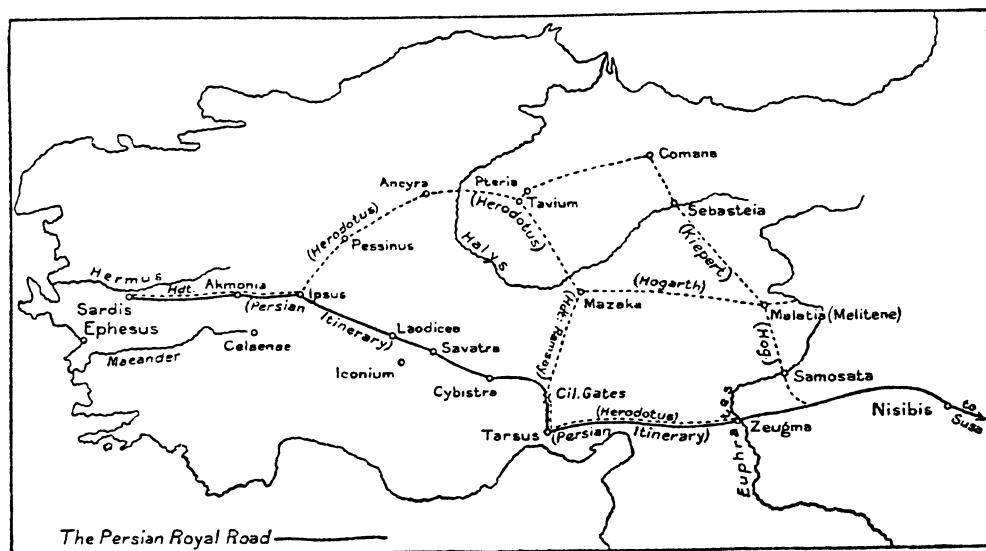


Fig. 1 Map: Calder (1925: 8).

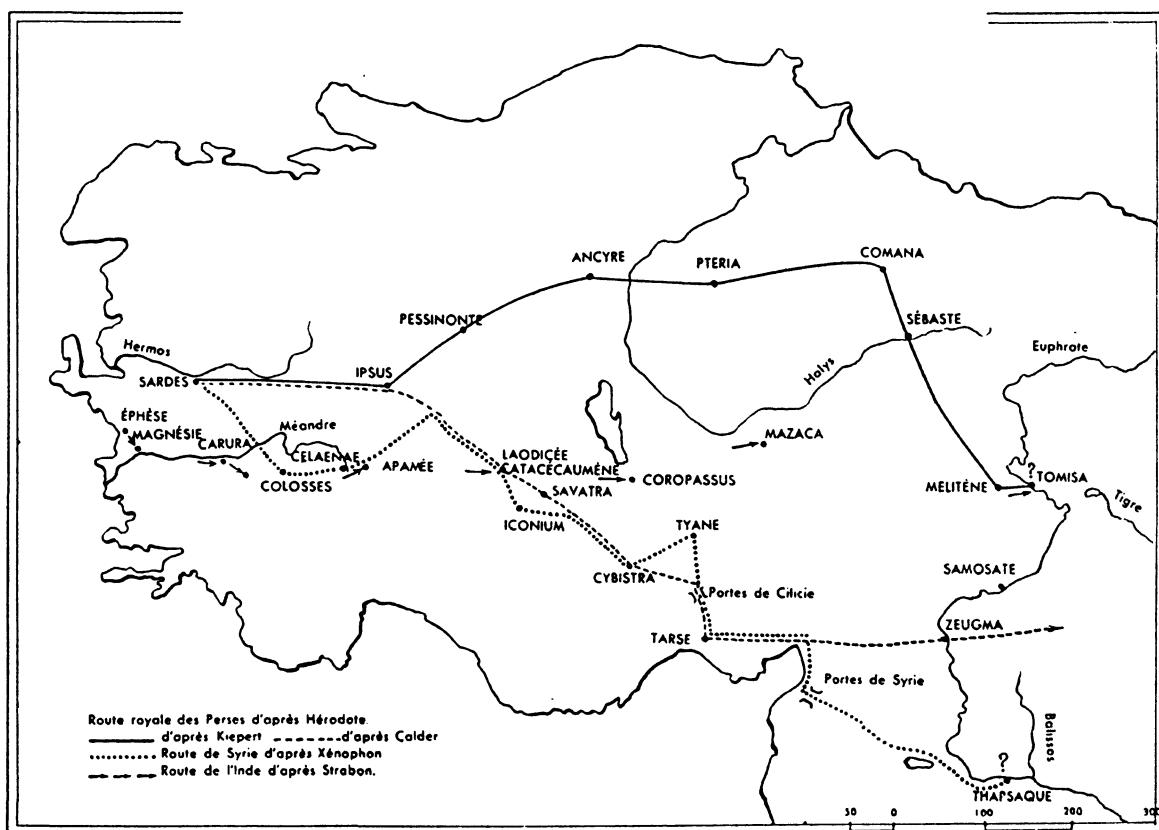


Fig. 2 Map: Dilleman (1962: 152, fig. 19).

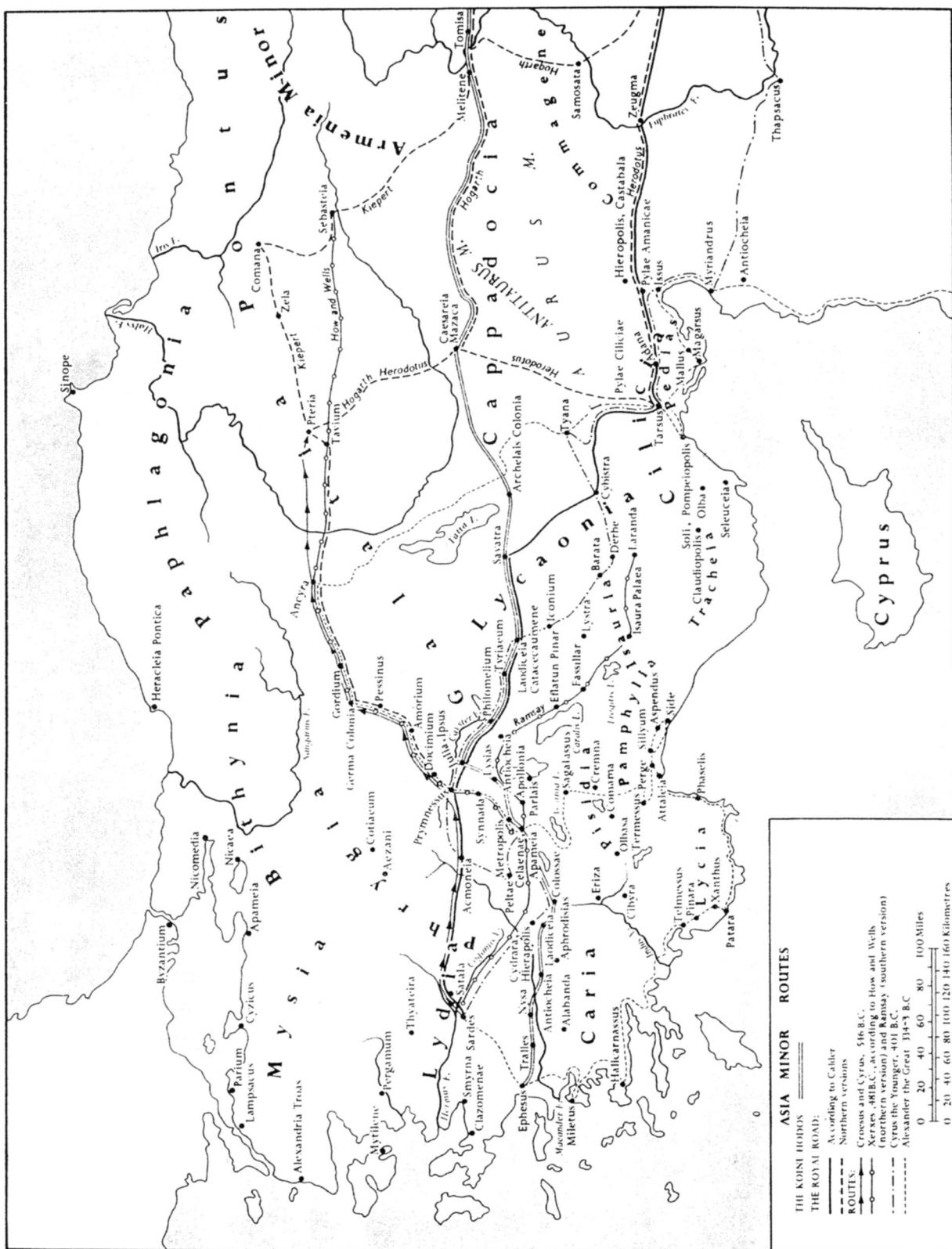


Fig. 3 Map: Levick (1967: facing p. 256).

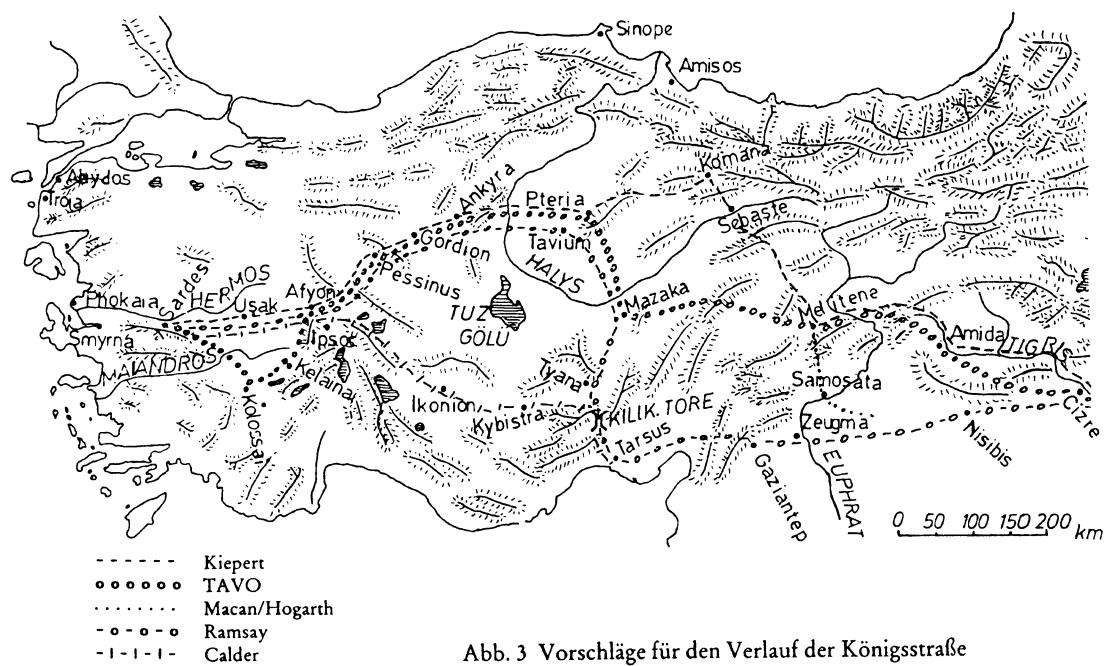


Abb. 3 Vorschläge für den Verlauf der Königsstraße

Fig. 4 Map: Müller (1994: 21, fig. 3).

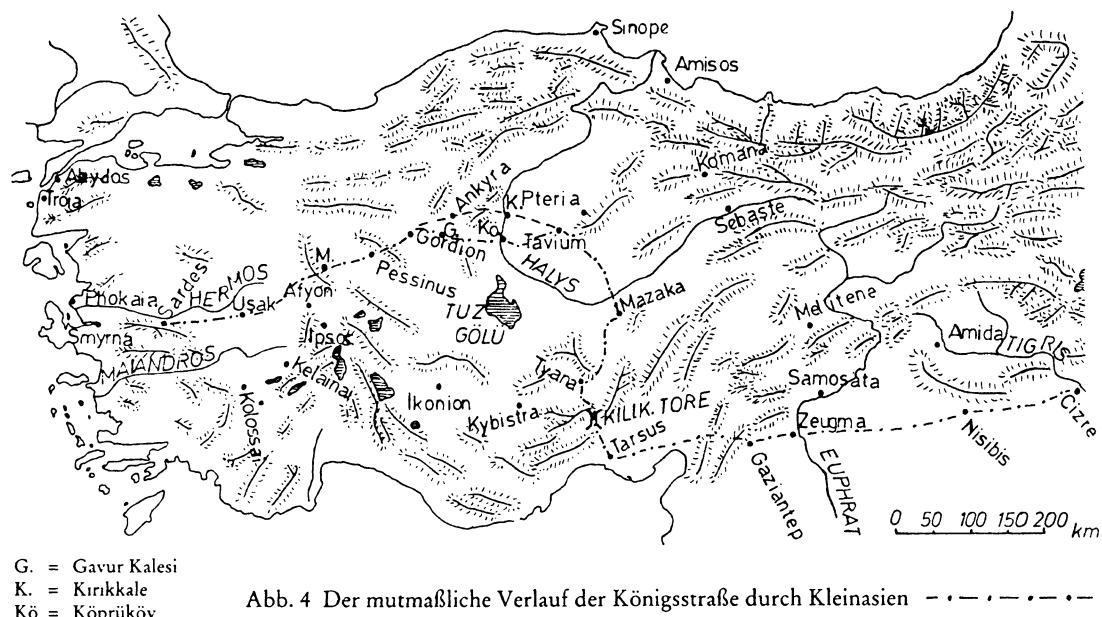
Abb. 4 Der mutmaßliche Verlauf der Königsstraße durch Kleinasien
Alternative über Ankyra-Kirikkale

Fig. 5 Map: Müller (1994: 23, fig. 4).

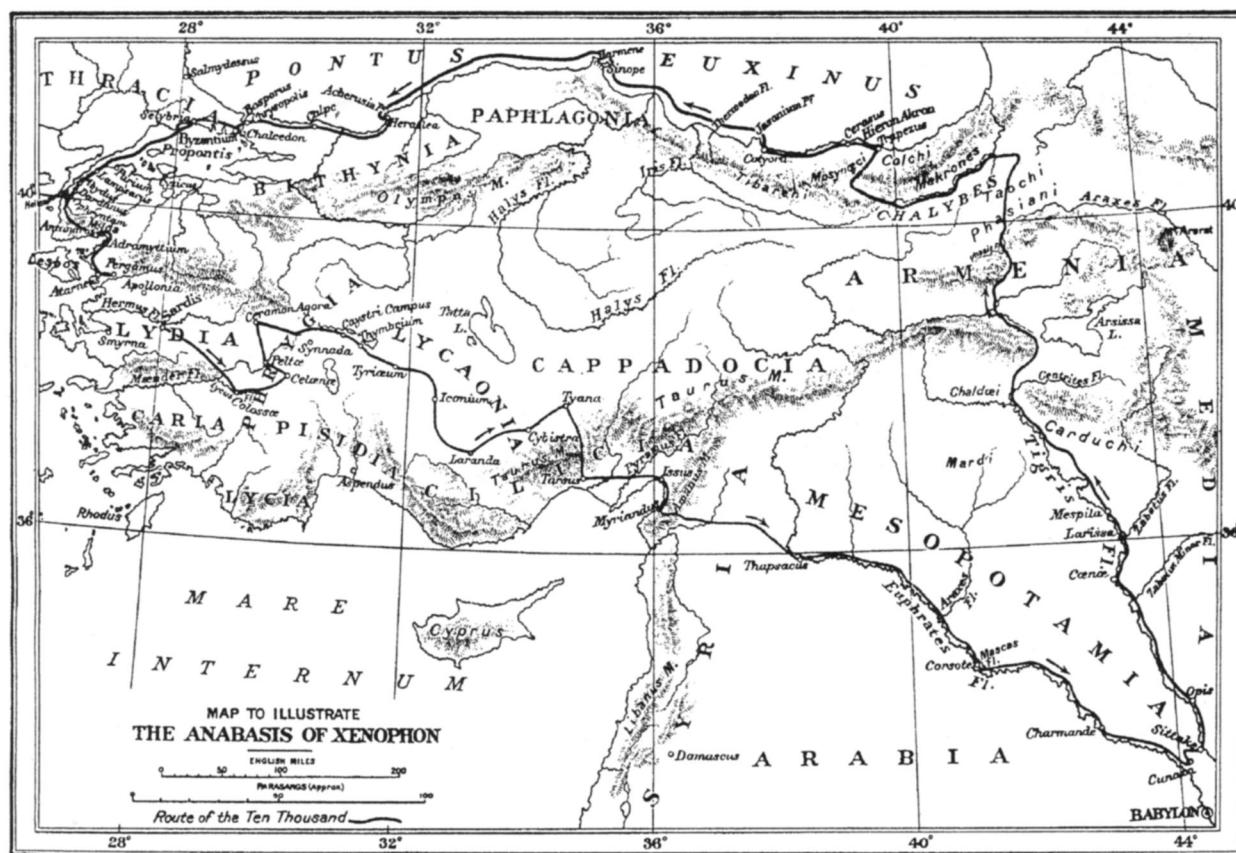


Fig. 6 Map: Loeb ed. (1918), *Xenophon Anab.*

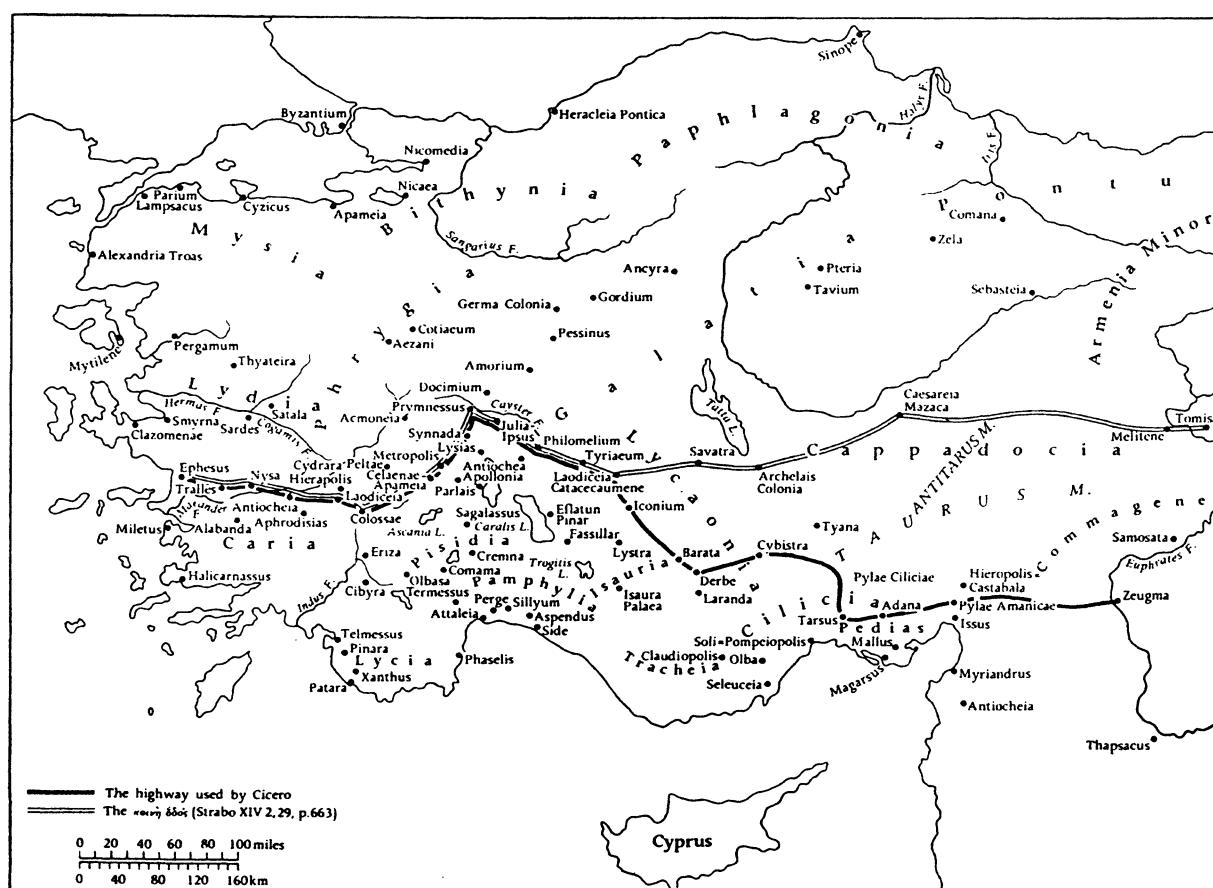


Fig. 7 Map: Syme (Roman Papers [Badian, E. ed.]: map p. xv).

LIST OF SITES AND LOCATIONS ON MAPS, FIGS. 8-10

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Ephesus | 19. Holmi |
| 2. Sardis | 20. Midourene |
| 3. Callatebus | 21. Philomelium |
| 4. Maeander crossing | 22. Tyriaeum |
| 5. Magnesia | 23. Laodiceia |
| 6. Tralles | 24. Phrygia/Cappadocia border |
| 7. Nysa | 25. Coropassus |
| 8. Antiochia | 26. Garsaria |
| 9. Cydrara/Carura | 27. Halys Gates and Guardpost |
| 10. Lydia/Phrygia border | 28. Mazaka/Caesarea |
| 11. Laodiceia | 29. Double Gates and
Cappadocia/Cilicia border |
| 12. Colossae | 30. Tomisa and Cilicia/Armenia border |
| 13. Anaua | 31. Guardpost in Armenia |
| 14. Celaenae/Apameia | 32. Armenia/Matiene border |
| 15. Peltae | 33. Iconium |
| 16. Ceramon Agora | 34. Dana |
| 17. Metropolis | 35. Tarsus |
| 18. Chelidonia | |

Key to Maps, Figs. 8-10

- Royal Road and Xerxes route (481/0 B.C.) to Sardis
- Cyrus (401 B.C.): divergences from Royal Road
- - - Common Road: divergence from Royal Road

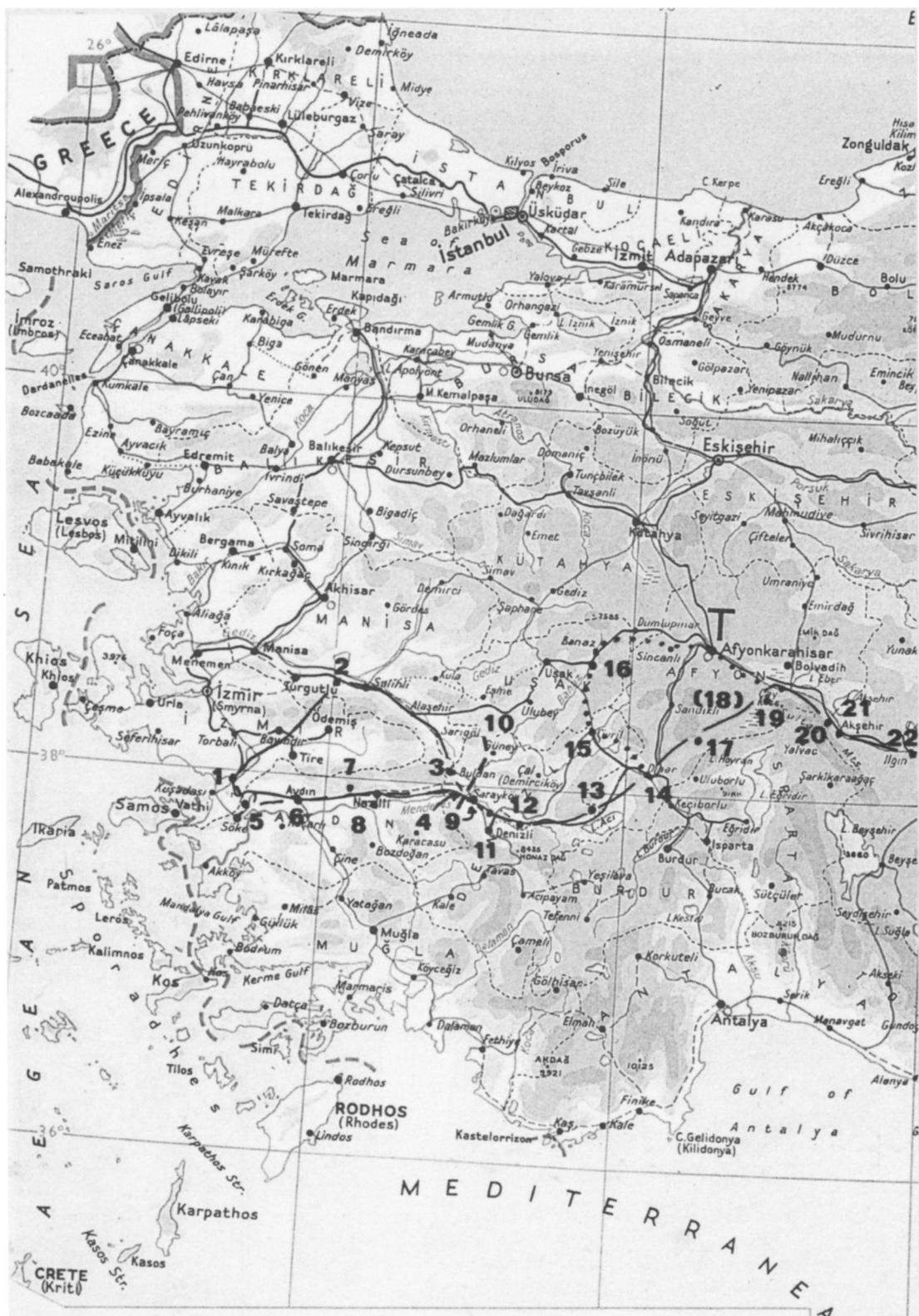


Fig. 8 Map: the Royal Road in Western Anatolia.

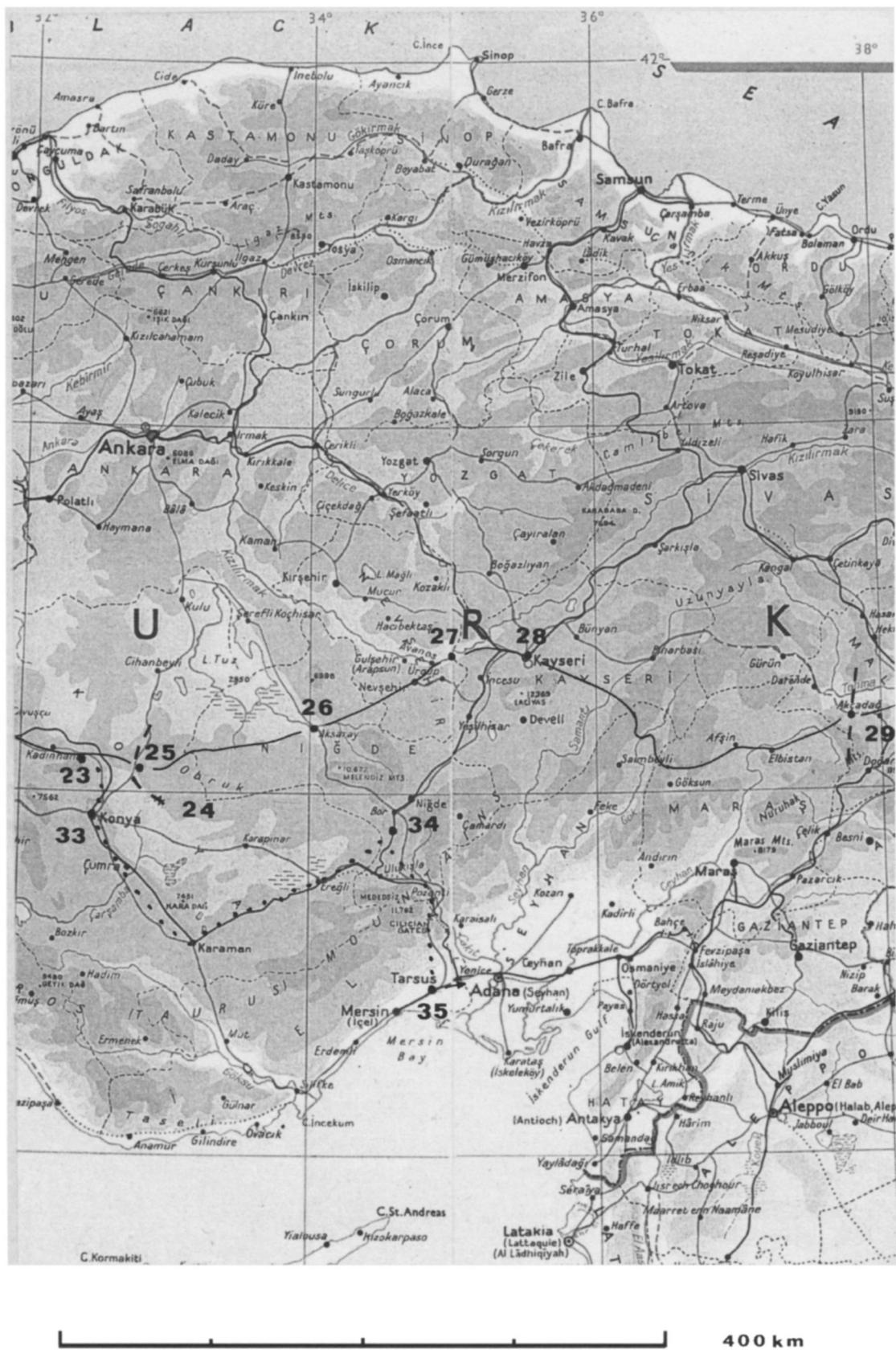


Fig. 9 Map: the Persian Royal Road in Central Anatolia.



Fig. 10 Map: the Persian Royal Road in Eastern Anatolia.



Fig. 11 Map: the Halys Gates (Turkish 1:200,000, Avanos sheet).

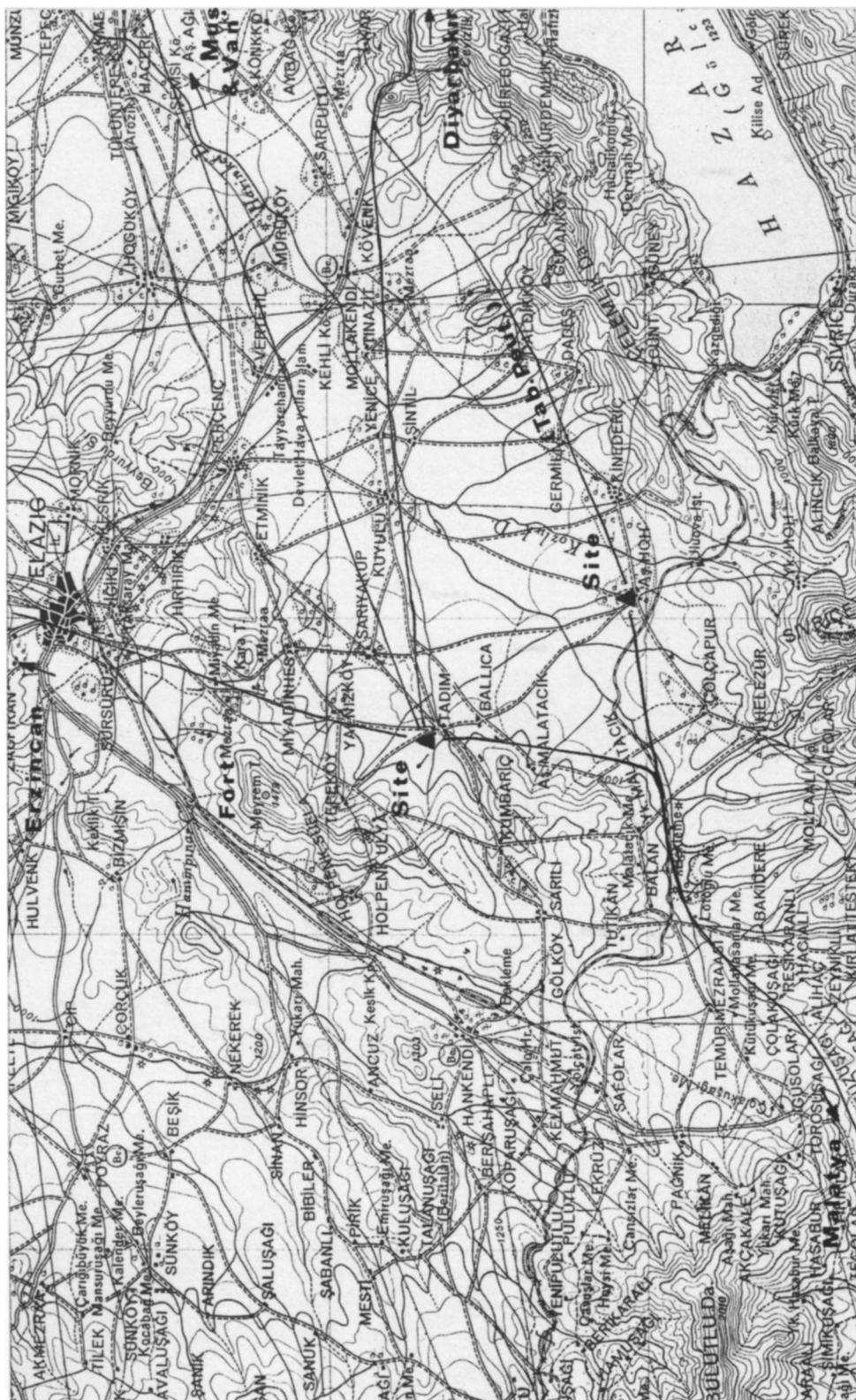


Fig. 12 Map: the region of Elazığ (Turkish 1:200,000, Elazığ sheet).