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# ROMAN ROADS IN LYCAONIA

By M. H. BALLANCE

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE is an attempt to reconstruct the Roman road-system of Eastern Lycaonia from the Peutinger Table (the only ancient itinerary that refers to this region), from published and unpublished milestones and from impressions received on journeys there in 1956 and 1957. I am indebted especially to Sir William Calder for his help at all stages, including the use of his note-books, and also to Messrs. A. S. Hall and J. G. Macqueen, who travelled with me in 1957.

The area covered is in the main that between Laodiceia Combusta on the west and the foot of Hasan Dağ on the east. It is divided into two

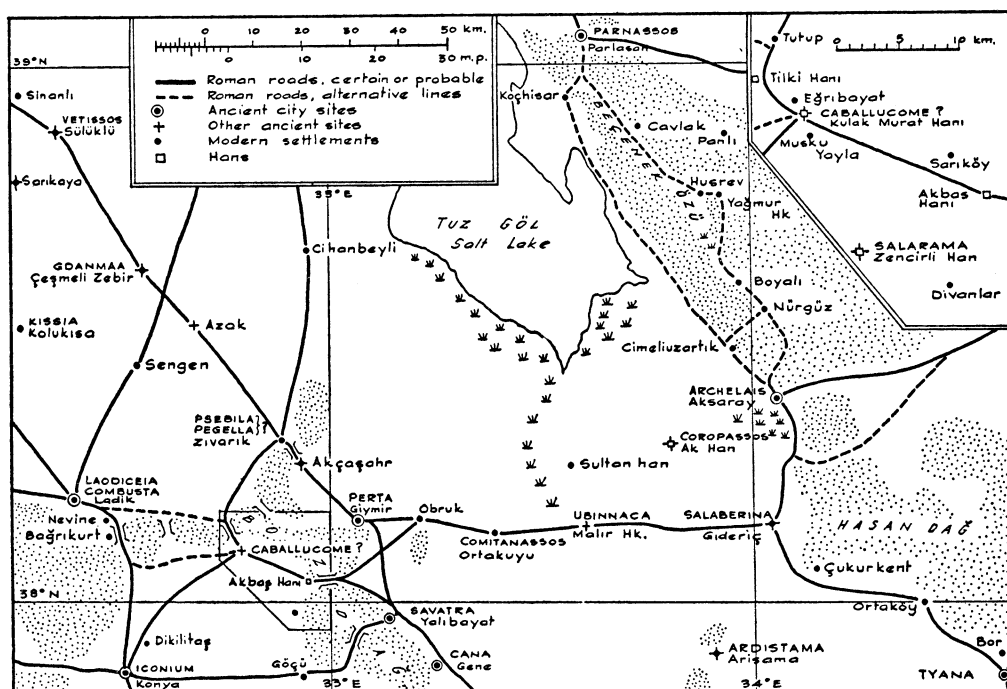


FIG. 1.

parts by the great sweep of Boz Dağ, a quarter circle of mountains rising some 500 m. above the surrounding country and separating the fertile and monotonously flat plain of Iconium from the undulating steppe to north and east (map, fig. 1). In Strabo's time the area outside Boz Dağ was a semi-arid waste grazed by vast flocks of sheep and even wild asses, and until the introduction of mechanised methods of farming in the last few years, sheep have always been the principal livelihood of the local population.<sup>1</sup> Water is scarce and many of the wells are over 50 m. deep.

Boz Dağ, although in the distance it appears to be a formidable barrier, can in fact be crossed with ease at several points, which may be

<sup>1</sup> Strabo 568.

mentioned here as they have a considerable bearing on the course of both ancient and modern roads. The modern road from Kadınhan to Konya, presumably following an ancient one from Laodiceia Combusta to Iconium, takes a line of moderate difficulty past the village of Bağrıkurt. The railway passes a few miles further east between Meydan and Pınarbaşı, but this cannot be an ancient line. The modern Ankara-Konya road runs over Tutup Beli, a very easy pass a little to the west of Eğribayat, and its ancient predecessor must have done the same. Milestone no. 40 at Sengen (below, p. 230 and note 13) shows an alternative route further to the west, via Laodiceia Combusta and the Bağrıkurt pass. Further to the east, Akbaş Beli carried the Selçuk road from Konya to Sultan Han and Aksaray and is still used extensively even by heavy lorries. It has a gentle, even slope and is relatively free of stones (see below, p. 231). Göçü Beli, on the direct line from Iconium to Savatra, is more difficult, but is occasionally used by wagons.

To the east of Boz Dağ the only natural obstacles are the Salt Lake and a long strip of marsh running south from its southern extremity. As one approaches Hasan Dağ the country becomes gradually more hilly but is in no sense difficult.

The Lycaonian Section of the Peutinger Table shows two long-distance roads and one shorter one. The most detailed of these (referred to below as the *North Lycaonian Road*) runs from Abrostola on the Sangarius to Perta on the eastern side of Boz Dağ and thence direct across the steppe to Salaberina, 20 m.p. from Archelais on a road to Tyana. A second road is shown as running from Amorion via Laodiceia Combusta to Savatra. Instead of the natural continuation of this road via Cybistra to the Cilician Gates the Table gives only a road connecting Savatra with Iconium. Owing to the incompleteness of this system it has long been assumed that the Table could be disregarded or conveniently amended,<sup>2</sup> and it is the purpose of this article to show not only that the Table is not necessarily wrong but that its evidence in many points corresponds closely to what can be seen on the ground to-day.

*The North Lycaonian Road.* The route from Abrostola to Salaberina is given on the Table as follows :—

*Abrostola xxiiii Tolosocorio vii Bagrum xx Vetisso xx Egdaua xx Pegella xx Congusso xv Petra xx Comitasso xii Ubinnaca xxix Salaberina.*

The first part of this road, from Abrostola to Perta, has been discussed at some length by Sir William Calder.<sup>3</sup> Without repeating his arguments in detail it will be sufficient to say here that he agrees with Anderson's location of Abrostola at Veledler, places Vetissos at Sülüklü on the evidence of a dedication by the *Demos* of Vetissos at Sarıkaya, and identifies the modern Çeşmeli Zebir, a site very rich in Christian inscriptions, with the

<sup>2</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (R.G.S. Suppl. Papers, vol. IV), 1890, pp. 357 ff. ; *Jahresh. d. Öst. Arch. Inst.*, VII, 1904, Beiblatt, cols. 80, 89, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 460 ff. ; *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. VII, pp. xxii ff.

bishopric Gdanmaa (the Egdava of the Table), which is mentioned in an inscription found there.

The position of Perta, at Giymir Yayla, is certain.<sup>4</sup> The last section of the road, from Perta to Salaberina, is the one that has been most neglected in the past. The site of Perta being known, it remains to find that of Salaberina before the intermediate stations can be filled in. The Table shows it 20 m.p. from Archelais on a road to Tyana, which must have corresponded more or less to the modern Aksaray-Bor road skirting the west and south flanks of Hasan Dağ. There are extensive marshes just to the south of Aksaray, which the modern road crosses on a causeway, probably a lineal descendant of that which carried the Selçuk road from Sultanhan. The ancient road probably kept to the edge of the hills as

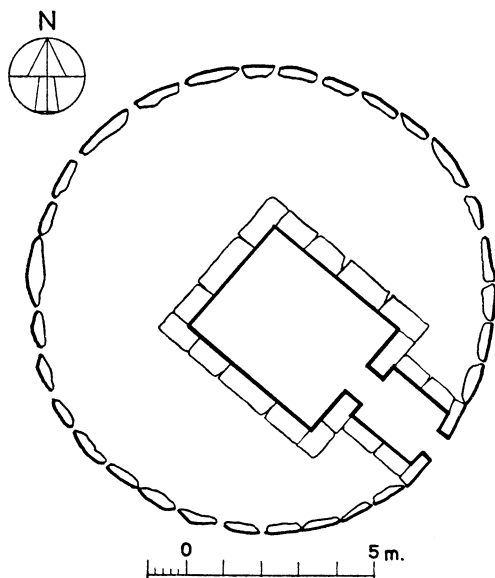


FIG. 2. Diagrammatic plan of the tumuli at Gideriç.

far as a point 10 km. SSE of Aksaray and then struck SSW, leaving the springs at the head of the marsh on its right and Kızıl Dağ, a small but conspicuous outlier of Hasan Dağ, on its left. From the foot of Kızıl Dağ a valley with the picturesque name of Cehennem Deresi leads up past the village of Taşpınar, where it is crossed by the modern road, to Gideriç, a total distance, measured on the map, of 20·3 m.p. Even allowing for some slight detours the distance on the ground need not have been much longer; following the modern track, which in places winds more than the lie of the land necessitates, the distance by the mileometer of a car was only 21 English miles, not greatly in excess of the 20 m.p. given by the Table as the distance between Archelais and Salaberina.

<sup>4</sup> Perta was first fixed by two inscriptions published by T. Callander and W. M. Ramsay, *Classical Review*, XXIII, 1909, pp. 7-9. Inscriptions discovered at Giymir since that date confirm its identity with Perta beyond all doubt.

It is proposed to locate Salaberina at Gideriç, which has extensive remains of ancient settlement. An isolated flat-topped hill (marked on the Turkish 1:200,000 map as *Kepez*), round the foot of which are scattered the few stone houses of the Turkish settlement, forms a natural acropolis; the whole top of the hill is strewn with pottery, mainly of Roman date. On the SW edge lie the remains of a building some 15 m. by 8–10 m., probably a church, although the details of the plan are not clear. The walls, 75 cm. thick, are built of large, accurately fitted stones up to 1·40 m. in length; the interstices in the centre of the walls are filled with rubble and strong grey mortar. The construction is very similar to that of the church at Çukurkent a few miles away.<sup>5</sup> The inhabitants of Gideriç

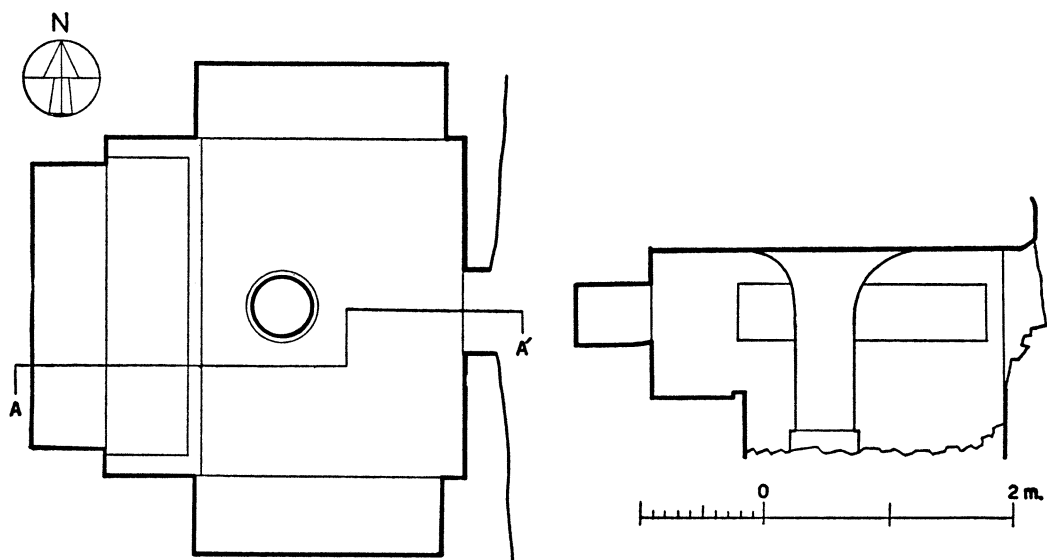


FIG. 3. Plan and section of rock-cut tomb at Gideriç.

claim to be able to distinguish the remains of six other churches in the area of the modern village, but failed to produce evidence in support of this statement. Of greater interest were at least fifteen tombs, scattered about the S and E slopes of the hill and extending in a line towards the SE, the direction that the road to Tyana must have taken.<sup>5a</sup> Several of them have recently been excavated and broken up, while the rest are still partly buried by the tumuli that originally covered them (the plan given in fig. 2 is diagrammatic only). As a rule, the main chamber is built of cream-coloured limestone in well-cut blocks and varies in size from about 3 by 3 m. to 6 by 5 m. On the entrance side is a vestibule consisting of one or more smaller chambers. The outer ring of unworked stones served as a retaining wall for the earth of the tumulus, which varied in diameter

<sup>5</sup> Sir W. M. Ramsay and Gertrude Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, London 1909, pp. 382 ff.

<sup>5a</sup> See Pl. XXXVa.

from about 10 to 20 m. There is no indication on the surface of how the chambers were roofed. The spoil-heaps of modern stone-robbers contain a quantity of late Hellenistic or early Roman pottery, and we were shown a glass tear-bottle said to be from one of the tombs.

Similar but less well built tombs of this type occur locally at Malır Hüyük (below, p. 228) and at Hüyükü, an Iron Age, Hellenistic and early Roman site a few miles E of Yalıbayat.

To the N of the hill are the remains of a domed building, perhaps a Turkish *türbe*, and a rock-cut tomb of unusually fine workmanship, with a central column, three *loculi* cut out of the walls and a rock-cut bench to accommodate a fourth body (plan and section fig. 3, and photograph Pl. XXXVc).

The evidence for the intermediate stations is also not unsatisfactory. In September 1956 the writer, while visiting Amurat, a village between Aksaray and Sultanhan, was told that the nearest place where inscriptions were to be found was Ortakuyu, a *yayla* of Eskil to the south-west of Sultanhan. Some weeks later this was confirmed by information received near Perta. A visit to Ortakuyu produced three inscriptions ; a Byzantine epitaph, a dedication to Asclepius and Hygieia and the following dedication :—



Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπηκόῳ

*defaced  
relief.*

Νεικίας Πασικρά-  
τους τοῦ Μανίου  
Κουαμιτανασε-  
ύς

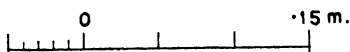


FIG. 4.

1. Ortakuyu, in private possession. Marble stele ; on front, defaced relief ; on left side, in relief, above, mounted figure facing to left, spear in left hand, double axe (?) in right ; below, figure in long robe advancing to left, with spear in left hand and circular object (patera?) in right. The upper figure no doubt represents the god, the lower the dedicator. Ht. 0·39 m., w. 0·215 m., th. 0·13 m., letters 0·012–0·03 m. (fig. 4).

There can be little doubt that the ethnic *Kouamitanaseus* corresponds to the *Comitanasso* of the Table. It is not usual for an individual to mention his place of origin in an inscription erected there, and it might well be argued that the mention of a Kouamitanaseus at Ortakuyu was sufficient reason for locating Comitanassos elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> In this case, however, two facts must be borne in mind. Firstly, there are at Ortakuyu remains of ancient settlement covering at least a quarter of a square kilometre and including a fortified enclosure with remains of a church inside it. At least one other building is certainly a church, and the description given by one of the inhabitants of a pavement that he had dug up left no doubt that it was of mosaic. The site is, so far as can be seen, entirely of Roman and Byzantine date, and it is extremely hard to see how, in such a barren area (the wells are about 55 m. deep and the soil will produce little beyond indifferent grazing for sheep), a settlement of such a size could have maintained itself unless it lay on the line of an important road.

Secondly, it is situated 28 km. (18.5 m.p.) from Perta on a line leading directly towards Gideriç. The dedicator of the inscription may have described himself as an inhabitant of Comitanassos merely in order to distinguish himself from the travellers who made offerings to the local god as they passed through. Ubinnaca, the remaining station on this section of the road, can be located with reasonable certainty at Malır Hüyük, situated 12.7 m.p. from Ortakuyu and 25 m.p. from Gideriç (Turkish 1:200,000 map). The mound lies in a hollow, close to two good springs of water which feed the marshes extending from here to the southern end of the salt lake. The road thus by-passed these marshes, while taking advantage of the abundant grazing that they provided. The Selçuk road, heading for Aksaray, crossed them by a causeway a little to the west of Sultanhan.

Pottery found at Malır Hüyük includes some as early as the Middle Bronze Age, but the Roman settlement, which is visible as a strew of stones and pottery around the base of the mound itself, appears to have been of much greater extent than its predecessors. To the south and east are twenty or more tombs of the same type as those at Gideriç (p. 227 and fig. 2) but smaller and built of rougher stone.

*The North Lycaonian Road, Conclusion.* While absolute certainty can be attained only by the discovery of milestones or other epigraphic evidence, which are as scarce on the eastern fringe of Lycaonia as they are common in the Boz Dağ area, sufficient evidence has, I think, been put forward to show that the Peutinger Table, so far from utterly unreliable, is in this area at least capable of interpretation at its face value. The equation of *Petra xx Comitanasso xii Ubinnaca xxix Salaberina* with *Giymir 18.5 Ortakuyu 12.7 Malır 25 Gideriç*<sup>7</sup> is as satisfactory as one has any right to expect.

<sup>6</sup> A number of apparent exceptions to this rule do however exist. They include *MAMA*. I, 170a; IV, 334; VI, 216 and an epitaph of two Βρουζηνοί, found by the present writer in 1955 at Kara Sandıklı, the site of Brouzos.

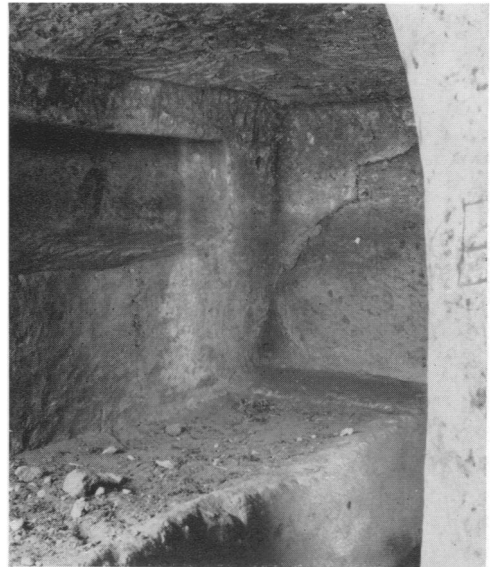
<sup>7</sup> These distances are measured on the map. From Giymir to Malır the ground is flat or slightly rolling and there was no need for the road to deviate from the direct line; between Malır and Gideriç it is more broken and this could account for the discrepancy between the xxix m.p. of the Table and the 25 m.p. of the map.



(a) Gideriç, remains of tumuli, with others in the middle distance.



(b) Pisidian Antioch, dedication to Iulia Agrippina.



(c) Gideriç, interior of rock-cut tomb.



*The South Lycaonian Road.* The second main Lycaonian road given by the Table is that from Amorion via Laodiceia Combusta to Savatra, which appears in the form *Amurio xx Laudiciaca Tacecaumeno xxiii Caballucome xxxii Sabatra*. The first part, from Amorion to Laodiceia, is obviously incomplete. The distance *xx m.p.* probably refers to an intermediate station at Aşağı Piribeyli (the ancient Pissia?). From there to Laodiceia Combusta the most convenient line for a road is via Yunak and Atlandı. From Laodiceia to Savatra the Table provides at any rate material for discussion (see below). From Savatra there was presumably a continuation via Cana and Cybistra to the Cilician Gates and a connection to Comitanassos on the northern road (see below, p. 232). Neither of these, however, is shown on the Table, nor are there any milestones definitely to be ascribed to them.

There are however a number of milestones in the northern part of the Konya Plain which may be discussed here with a view to ascertaining which of them belong to the Ancyra–Iconium road and which to the Laodiceia–Savatra stretch of the Peutinger road. For convenience these are tabulated on p. 230.

In the northern part of the Konya Plain, the principal Roman site is at Kulak Murat Hanı,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  km. SSE of the modern village of Eğribayat. A flat-topped mound 8 to 10 m. high is surrounded by an irregular strew of stones, with some pottery, about 400 m. across. The surface pottery is almost all Hellenistic and Roman and the site as a whole has exactly the characteristics of a prosperous road-station. It is probably safe to assume that it lay at the intersection of the South Lycaonian Road and of the Ancyra–Iconium road, which must have crossed Boz Dağ by Tutup Beli, some 4 km. NW of the site. The Selçuk road from Konya to Aksaray, locally known as the “Old Baghdad Road”, which passes Kulak Murat Hanı on its way from Konya to Akbaş Beli, perhaps took this roundabout line in order to avoid marshy ground in the centre of the plain.

The Peutinger road from Laodiceia to Savatra must have taken one of two routes. (a) It may have diverged from the Laodiceia–Iconium road at the southern end of the Bağrikurt Pass, near Çaltı, and run along the S side of Boz Dağ via Kulak Murat Hanı to Akbaş Beli. This is the longer route, totalling about 55 m.p., which exactly corresponds to the distance given by the Table. The fact that it follows, over the first part of its course, the same line as the Laodiceia–Iconium road, is also in its favour. (b) The alternative route, some 5 m.p. shorter, follows the N side of Boz Dağ as far as Tutup Beli, where it crosses the hills to join the other route at Kulak Murat Hanı.

Except for its failure to correspond to the distance given in the Table, the second route could almost certainly be identified as the ancient one. Not only is it the easier, involving no natural obstacles except the very gentle pass of Tutup Beli, but it passes through country which, to judge from the sites at Tatlıkuyu Hk. and Fetin Hk., had a fairly large population in the Roman period. No milestones have been recorded on either route between Laodiceia Combusta and Kulak Murat Hanı, except no. 29 on

TABLE OF MILESTONES

No.	Place	Emperor	Date	Governor	m.p.	Authority <sup>8</sup>	Remarks <sup>9</sup>
1.	Obruk	Nerva	96/7 ?	Pomponius Bassus		WMC 1908	NLR or SLR
2.	Sarıköy	"	96/7			MHB 1957	SLR
3.	"	"	96/7			MHB 1957	SLR
4.	Obruk	" ?				WMC 1908	NLR or SLR ; same stone as no. 32
5.	"	" ?	96/7 ?			WMC 1908	NLR or SLR
6.	Musku Yayla	Hadrian	120 ?	Larcus Macedo		WMC 1910	SLR or A-I
7.	Konya (N.E. of)	"			iii	" "	I-S or A-I
8.	Tutup	"	129		ηιρ'	AMR no. 8	A-I or SLR
9.	Obruk	"	"		vii	MAMA. VIII, no. 261	NLR or SLR ; flat panel
10.	Seydiler (E. of Konya)	"	" ?		ii	JHS. 1902, p. 119, no. 46	I-S ; flat panel
11.	Konya	Pius	141			ibid. p. 121, no. 48	A-I ?
12.	Konya (N. of)	"	142		iiii	ibid. p. 121, no. 49	A-I <sup>10</sup>
13.	Divanlar	Severus, etc.	198	Atticius Strabo		MHB 1957	SLR (or I-S ?) flat panel
14.	Kutudelik Hanı	" "	"	"		SERP. p. 172, no. 56	SLR
15.	Zıvarık			"	pe'	SERP. p. 173, no. 58	A-I or NLR ; see below, p. 232, n. 17
16.	Kulak Murat Hanı	Severus, etc.		"		AMR no. 6	SLR or A-I ; same stone as no. 31
17.	Obruk	" "		" ?		WMC 1908	NLR or SLR ; script suggests Atticius ; flat panel
18.	Tilki Hanı	" "	199			AMR no. 7	A-I or SLR
19.	Kulak Murat Hanı	" "			xvi	AMR no. 4	SLR or A-I ; flat panel suggests Severan date
20.	Enek					SERP. p. 160, no. 11	SLR or I-S ; see p. 231, n. 15
21.	Eğribayat	Severus, etc.	204 ?			WMC 1910	SLR or A-I
22.	Çimeliuzartık	Macrinus, etc.		Sulla Cerealis		MHB 1956 below, p.	A-A
23.	Enek	Philip, etc.	244-6			SERP. p. 160, no. 10	SLR or I-S
24.	Eğribayat	Valerian, etc.				WMC 1910	SLR or A-I ; perhaps not a milestone
25.	Zıvarık	Carus, etc.	282-3		iii ?	SERP. p. 174, no. 61	NLR or A-I
26.	Aksaray	Diocletian, etc.	293-305		iix	CIL. 14186	A-A ? distance from Archelais
27.	"	Constantine, etc.	317-324			CIL. 14187.	Same stone as last
28.	Zıvarık	" "				SERP. p. 174, no. 60	NLR or A-I
29.	Nevine (near)	Julian			θ'	MAMA. VII, no. 9	L-I (or SLR ?)
30.	Kulak Murat Hanı	Valens, etc.	375-8			AMR no. 5	SLR or A-I ; same stone as no. 36
31.	Kulak Murat Hanı	" "	"			AMR no. 6	SLR or A-I ; same stone as no. 16
32.	Obruk	" "	"		κδ'	WMC 1908	SLR or NLR ; same stone as no. 4
33.	"	" "	"		λρ ?	" "	SLR or NLR <sup>11</sup>
34.	"	" "	"			" "	SLR or NLR ; same stone as no. 38
35.	Kulak Murat Hanı (near)	" " ?	" ?			MHB 1957	SLR (or A-I ?) <sup>12</sup>
36.	Kulak Murat Hanı				xvii	AMR no. 5	SLR or A-I ; same stone as no. 30
37.	Dikilitaş					AMR no. 3	A-I
38.	Obruk		saec. II ? saec. IV ?			WMC 1908	NLR or SLR ; same stone as no. 34
39.	"				iiii	" "	" "
40.	Sengen				liv	MAMA. I, no. 372	— <sup>13</sup>

the Laodiceia-Iconium road, no. 18 at Tilki Hanı, near the S end of Tutup Beli, and no. 35, lying beside the direct track from Tutup Beli to Kulak Murat Hanı. No. 18 could belong to the Ancyra-Iconium road, but no. 35 appears to be *in situ* on the northern of the two routes described above.

The other milestones in the immediate area of Kulak Murat Hanı, (nos. 6, 16, 19, 21, 24, 30, 31, 36) are probably none of them *in situ*. Nos. 19 and 36 bear the numbers xvi and xvii respectively; if these distances were measured from Iconium as *caput viae* the stones must have been carried some eight or nine miles. If on the other hand they were measured from a fork at the S end of the Bağrikurt Pass they would be approximately correct. This may suggest that the route used was that to the S of Boz Dağ, but it is far from being decisive evidence.

The most likely site for Caballucome, the intermediate station given by the Table, is probably Kulak Murat Hanı, although it does not tally with the distances.<sup>14</sup>

Between Kulak Murat Hanı and Akbaş, a distance of 17 km., the course of the road is reasonably certain. A mile E of Kulak Murat Hanı, a cylindrical stone projecting from the ground beside the Selçuk road appears to be the stump of a milestone *in situ*. Two substantially complete milestones of Nerva (nos. 2 and 3) lie in a cemetery between Sarıköy and Akbaş. Other milestones that should probably be assigned to this section of the road are no. 14, in a han at the W foot of Akbaş, no. 13 at Divanlar 8 km. to the south, and nos. 20 and 23 at Enek, just below the site of Savatra; of these, nos. 13 and 14 are certainly, and no. 20 possibly,<sup>15</sup> to be ascribed to C. Atticius Strabo, governor of Galatia in A.D. 198. It is interesting to note the distribution of the known milestones of this

<sup>8</sup> The following bibliographical abbreviations are used in this table:—WMC, Sir William Calder's note-books (with date of journey); MHB, the writer's note-books (with date of journey); AMR, A. Margaret Ramsay, *Report to the Wilson Trustees for 1909*, privately printed 1910, pp. 10 ff.; MAMA., Sir William Calder and others, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vols. I, VII and (in course of publication) VIII, 1928–; JHS., *Journal of Hellenic Studies*; JRS., *Journal of Roman Studies*; SERP., W. M. Ramsay (editor) *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Aberdeen 1906; CIL., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. III, Supplement, pt. ii, 1902.

<sup>9</sup> The following abbreviations are used in this table to indicate roads to which milestones belong:—NLR, North Lycaonian Road; SLR, South Lycaonian Road; A-I, Ancyra-Iconium; I-S, Iconium-Savatra; A-A, Ancyra-Archelais; L-I, Laodiceia Combusta-Iconium.

<sup>10</sup> The inscription has *trib. pot. iiii*, (i.e. 142), perhaps a mistake for *iiii* (141).

<sup>11</sup> The traces shown in Sir William Calder's copy are consistent with αρ', λρ', -]λρ' or perhaps even -]αρ'. The only one of these that is readily explicable is λρ' (130), which may be a distance from Abrostola along the North Lycaonian Road (cf. no. 15).

<sup>12</sup> The inscription is very worn and the reading dubious. There can however be no doubt of its being a milestone.

<sup>13</sup> This apparently belongs to an alternative road from Ancyra to Iconium, via Laodiceia Combusta (see MAMA., loc. cit.).

<sup>14</sup> Ramsay's identification of Caballucome with the Byzantine Caballa (*Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 359) seems an unnecessary complication of the issue.

<sup>15</sup> The evidence for attribution to Atticius Strabo is slight. Sir William Calder's copy of 1908 shows that there is some resemblance in the form of the letters to that in other milestones of this governor.

governor. One, at Gençali by the shore of Hoyran Gölü, marks a repair of the road from Apameia to Antioch.<sup>16</sup> All the rest are to be attributed to the South Lycaonian Road (nos. 13, 14, 17, 19, 20) except no. 15 at Zıvarık, which appears to belong to the Ancyra–Iconium road,<sup>17</sup> and no. 17 at Obruk, which, although nearer to the line of the North Lycaonian Road, could easily have been carried from some point on the Southern Road between Akbaş and Savatra; some of the stones in Obruk Hanı have been carried at least as far (but see below).

As has been pointed out by Prof. Magie, Atticius Strabo's road-making activities probably formed part of the preparations for Severus' Parthian campaign of 198.<sup>18</sup> The regularisation in the same year of the road from Comana to Melitene must have been part of the same scheme, and it is not impossible that the overall aim of these repairs was to provide a through route from the W coast to the Euphrates, via Laodiceia ad Lycum, Apameia, Pisidian Antioch, Philomelion, Laodiceia Combusta, Comitanassos, Salaberina, Caesareia Mazaca and Comana. This conjecture assumes the existence of a road over the mountains from Antioch to Philomelion<sup>19</sup> (or from Antioch, via Neapolis, to Hadrianopolis; see *MAMA*. vol. VII, p. xviii) and a short connection from the South Lycaonian Road at Akbaş or Savatra across the plain to Comitanassos. The likelihood of a connection from Akbaş to the North Lycaonian Road either at Ortakuyu or, as is more likely, at some point in the region of Obruk is further borne out by the existence of a number of milestones at Obruk and in particular by the distribution of milestones of Valens, Gratian and Valentinian II (nos. 30–34). These occur at both Obruk and Kulak Murat Hanı but not elsewhere in the area at present under consideration.

*The Iconium–Savatra Road.* The third road with which this article is concerned is that shown on the Tabula as *Yconio xx Pyrgos xxiii Sabatra*. This route is described by H. S. Cronin (in *JHS*. XXII, 1902, pp. 374 f.). Extensive remains of the ancient road were then visible in the pass between Yalıbayat and Göçü. Cronin's estimate of 36 to 40 miles, corrected to 39 miles by Sir William Calder's trocheameter-reading (*AJA*. XXXVI, 1932, p. 464), fits the distance given in the Table exactly. Pyrgos should lie in the area between the modern villages of Tatlıcak and Göçü; but the present writer, in 1957, was unable to discover any site in this area.

*The Southern section of the Ancyra–Archelais Road.* Anderson in 1899

<sup>16</sup> Published by B. Pace in *Annuario d. R. Scuola Arch. d. Atene etc.*, III, 1916–20, p. 51, no. 39 and re-copied (with impression) by the writer in 1956. Line 6 reads *trib. pot. VI imp. XI cos. [II]* (A.D. 198). T. Callander (in *SERP.*, p. 173) mentions another milestone of Atticius Strabo on the same road but W of Apollonia, but neither he nor Ramsay (in *SERP.*, p. 234 and *JRS*. XVI, 1926, p. 105) gives either a text or a reference to one.

<sup>17</sup> On the distance from Ankara to Zıvarık, see *MAMA.*, I, p. 193, note 1. An alternative possibility is that the distance given on the stone was measured along the North Lycaonian Road from Abrostola. The distance, measured on the map, via Sülüklü and Geçmeli Zebir, is about 105 m.p.

<sup>18</sup> D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, vol. I. p. 677.

<sup>19</sup> See *MAMA*. VII, p. xix and no. 193, a milestone of Trajan that probably records the building of this road.

gave a reconstruction of the northern part of this road, from Ancyra as far as Parnassos.<sup>20</sup> Of the road beyond Parnassos he wrote, "Parnassos was the meeting-point of the roads from Archelais and from Caesareia. The line of the former road is perfectly clear, but we could not explore it. We may, however, mention for the benefit of some future traveller that an old site with many remains was reported to us at Yağmur Hüyük . . .".

From Parnassos a natural route runs SE to join a valley known as Beçenek Özü, which it follows, passing the villages named in Anderson's note (loc. cit., note 2) almost as far as Nürgüz. Here, having reached the head of the Beçenek, it turns S down another valley and descends into the plain at Çimeliveysakili about 20 km. NW of Archelais.

The Beçenek valley is narrow and has fairly steep sides ; in its upper reaches at least it is somewhat tortuous and decidedly marshy. It is however fertile and numerous architectural fragments at Yağmur Hk. and Husrev attest its prosperity in the Roman period. Yağmur Hüyük, which we visited in 1957, is a mound between 5 and 10 m. high but of no great extent, situated on a small, steep spur overlooking one of the largest of the valleys that join the Beçenek from the east. A good spring of water rises at the neck of the spur. The only remains of buildings are a substantial concrete foundation on the NW side of the top of the mound and some marble architectural fragments of surprisingly good quality scattered about the modern settlement. The surface pottery is mainly Iron Age, but includes good Roman material. Much of the Roman level has probably been removed by erosion.

The only alternative route runs SSW from Parnassos down to Koçhisar on the edge of the plain and thence SE along the line followed by the modern Ankara-Aksaray road in the narrow plain between the hills and the Salt Lake. From the point of view of the road-builder this was much the easier of the two. From Parnassos to Koçhisar, a distance of about 17 km., it follows a river-valley of no great difficulty. From Koçhisar to Aksaray there are no natural obstacles at all, but much of the country is barren and inhospitable. The total mileage from Parnassos to Archelais, measured on the Turkish 1:200,000 map, is 64 m.p. by the lake-shore route and 62 m.p. by the Beçenek route. Measured by car mileometer, the lake-shore route was 70 m.p., and the Beçenek route is probably even longer. This compares with a total of 62 in both Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries.<sup>21</sup> The intermediate stations of the Jerusalem Itinerary were as follows : *Parnasso-xvi-Iogola-xviii-Nitalis-xiii-Argustana-xv-Colonia* (Archelais). The Antonine Itinerary has *Parnasso-xvii-Ozzala-xviii-Nitazi-xxvii-Coloniam Arcilaida*. Possible sites for these stations exist on both routes. On the lake-shore route Argustana could be Çimeli Hüyük, Nitalis Çokyatan Hüyük and Iogola a site on the hillside E of the modern road near Karandere. On the Beçenek route Argustana could be at the modern Nürgüz and Nitalis at Husrev or Yağmur Hüyük. None of these identifications however

<sup>20</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, in *JHS*. XIX, 1899, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> The stations on the Peutinger Table are out of order and incomplete.

is sufficiently secure to prove which of the two routes was the one described in the Itineraries. The following milestone was recorded in 1957 at Çimeliuzartık, a little to S of the junction of the two routes at Çimeliveysfakili. It mentions the building of a new road by Macrinus and Diadumenian, and it is perhaps allowable to conjecture that this ran by the lake-shore and supplanted, at least for a time, an older road through the more difficult but better supplied Beçenek Özü. It does not however show which was the road given in the Itineraries, which may be of considerably later date.

2. Çimeliuzartık, column of coarse whitish marble; fragment *a* at a fountain in the village, broken above and below, ht. 1.00 m., diam. 0.46 m., letters 0.04–0.05 m.; fragment *b* in a cemetery-wall at lower end of the village, broken above and below, ht. 1.00 m., diam. 0.46 m., letters 0.04–0.05 m. (fig. 5).

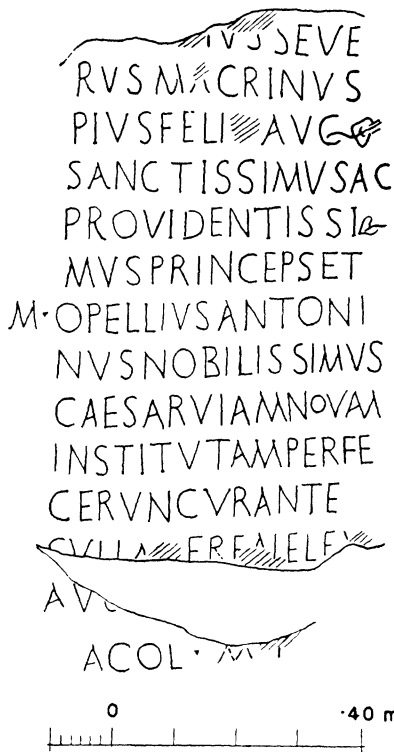


FIG. 5.

- (a) [Imp. Caes. Marcus]  
Opell]ius Seve-  
rus Macrinus  
pius feli[x] Aug. (*leaf*)  
(5) sanctissimus ac  
providentissi- (*leaf*)  
mus princeps et  
M. Opellius Antoni-  
nus nobilissimus  
(10) Caesar viam novam  
institutam perfe-  
cerun(t) curante  
Sulla [C]ereale le[g].  
(b) Aug. [pro praetore]  
(15) a Col(onia) m.p (*vac*)