



Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis

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The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. 2. (1881), pp. 44-54.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN
AEOLIS.

PART I.—ON THE COURSE OF SOME ROADS IN THE PROVINCE
OF ASIA.

THE journey which Aelius Aristides made in the year 167 A.D. from Smyrna to Pergamus, and which he relates with much detail in the opening of the fifth book of his *Hieroi Logoi*, is the most valuable evidence left as to the relative situation of Smyrna, Larissa, Cyme, Myrina, and Gryneion: and a careful study of it is the best foundation of a knowledge of Southern Aeolis. The main facts are as follows (Arist. ed. Dind. i. p. 534). On the first day his baggage was sent on in front to Myrina to be ready when he arrived in the evening. When carriages had been got ready and he himself was prepared to start, noon had arrived. In the great heat he did not like to undergo the fatigue of travelling at this hour, and waited at his house in the suburbs of Smyrna till the heat passed. The comfort of his villa was seductive, and some matters of business detained him, so that he lost a great deal of time, and when he reached the khan before the Hermus, the sun was setting. He deliberated whether he should spend the night there, but the discomfort consequent on passing the night in a bad inn without his baggage made him resolve to go on. As he was crossing the Hermus, night had just set in, which shows that it was about one hour after sunset. A cool wind invigorated him, and he was glad on reaching Larissa, ἤδη βαθείας ἐσπέρας, that the baggage was still in front, and that the inn was no better than the previous one. A little after midnight he reached Cyme. Every place was shut up, and he encouraged his followers, who apparently were anxious to stop here, to go on. On the journey

the cold became more severe. About cock-crow he reached Myrina, and found his baggage in the street, as it had reached the town after every place was shut. After in vain trying to get admission to any inn, they at last were received into the house of a friend. As they entered it was still quite dark, but after a fire had been kindled the morning star had arisen, and the light of day began to appear. He resolved, therefore, not to go to sleep by day. His road then lay through Gryneion, where he stayed some time to sacrifice to Apollo, to Elaea, where he spent the night; but in these cases no indication is given of the time required for the journey.

How far can we trace the several stages of this journey? It lies almost exactly along the road which is still used from Smyrna to Pergamus. The path is indeed marked out by nature, and though it looks somewhat roundabout on a map, it is in reality the easiest that can be made. The Roman road from Smyrna to Pergamus was constructed by M'. Aquillius Glabrio, who was sent to Asia in B.C. 129 to regulate the province. He constructed a system of roads from Ephesus as the centre of the province; one led to Magnesia ad Maeandrum and Tralles, another to Smyrna and Pergamus. Some of the milestones on these roads have been discovered, giving the distance from Ephesus. The fifth, on the road to Tralles, was discovered last year in making some alterations in the station at Azizieh, and now stands on the station platform close to its original position.

ΜΑΝΙ^ΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙ^ΟΣ ΜΑΝΙ^{ΟΥ}

ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ

Ε

The Greek part of the inscription is interesting palaeographically, as showing the highly ornate form of letters used at so early a period. Another stone from the same road, found near Tralles, is published, *C. I. G.* No. 2920. The copy is both

faulty and imperfect, so that neither Boeckh, Waddington (*Fastes des Prov. Asiat.*), nor Rayet (*Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, i. p. 72) were able to restore it; but the complete stone shows at once the necessary corrections and additions—

MI. [AQVILLIVS MI. F]
 C[O S]
 X[X]VIII[I]
 MAN[I]OΣ AKTΛΛIOΣ
 MANIOT TΠATOC
 PΩMAION
 KΘ

Then follow the beginnings of five lines of a Latin inscription; this probably records a repairing of the road, as on a milestone in the Smyrna valley are recorded five successive repairs of the road to Sardis.

Another milestone on the road from Ephesus to Tralles is published by Lebas, No. 1652c., and more correctly in the Smyrna *Μουσείον*, 1876—8, p. 48. The stone has not been understood by Lebas. On one side is given the distance from Ephesus, on the other side the distance from Aidin. Lebas reads the former distance **M Λ** (*i.e.* M. XXX.) as XLI. and the latter distance **M B** (*i.e.* M. II.) as XLII., and thus introduces utter confusion into the inscription. The former is dated under Valerianus and Gallienus, the latter under Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius; but by a curious error the name of Constantius is given twice, in the first and in the third place. We learn from this inscription that the whole distance from Ephesus to Tralles was XXXII. miles. The distance by railway is XXXIV. English miles. The distance is greater by railway because the station for Ephesus is two miles further north than the ancient city gate, the Magnesian. The ancient road crossed from the Cayster valley to the Maeander by the same pass as the railway, but afterwards it took a different and shorter course through the city of Magnesia.

In the end of December, 1880, the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Cambridge, and myself, saw another milestone close to Tralles, about half a mile to the west of the modern town. It was nearly dark when we examined it, and we could not read the whole inscription. We left Aidin the next morning early, and

I have not yet had the opportunity of examining the stone again. It was the thirty-first milestone, the two last lines being—

I M P XXII P P Cos \

M I Λ A

The whole road from Ephesus to Pergamus was repaired in the sixth consulship of Vespasian, A.D. 75. Two stones recording this event, but not apparently marking the distance, are published in the *Μουσείον* of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, 1875-6, pp. 1, 2. They were found a short distance south of Smyrna.

Observing these two kinds of milestones, we can by their help trace the course of the road from Smyrna to Pergamus. Near the probable site of Elaea the inscription on one of Vespasian's stones has been discovered and published in the *Μουσείον* 1875-6, p. 14. The distance in the published copy is ΠΗ, 88 miles. This is certainly too short. In line 10 of the published copy it is necessary to read ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ζ; in copying, the Ζ of the stone has been mistaken for E. Now according to the Peutinger Table (with a correction, of which I shall speak below), the total distance of Elaea from Ephesus is 98 miles, and a suspicion arises that the symbol for 90 on the stone has been misread. M. Fontrier, to whom the discovery and publication of the stone is due, showed me the copy which he had made in his note-book, and above the Π he had placed a mark of interrogation when making the copy, but had omitted it in the published form.

The road went on beyond Pergamus to Adramyttion and the Troad; and one of the original stones found on the road between Pergamus and the Atarneus is published in Curtius' *Beiträge*. In that edition some mistake has been made, for the distance is given as CXXXI., and ΠΛΑ in the uncial text, but in the cursive it is given doubtfully ρ(λα?). It is not obvious where the fault lies: the number looks a little more than one would expect. According to the Peutinger Table, Pergamus is 114 miles from Ephesus, and the place where the stone is said to have been found seems on the map not much more than seven miles beyond Pergamus.

These distances show that Lebas (*Voy. Archéol., Inscr. As.*

Min. No. 6) has made an error in saying that the road to Pergamus went to Phocaea, and thence along the coast northwards. The distance would in that case be very much greater than the assigned measurements. Moreover, no road would, owing to the character of the country, run along the coast north from Phocaea, as Lebas suggests. The road to Phocaea must have branched off the main road at some point in the Hermus valley. Strabo gives the distance as less than 200 stadia, 25 M.P., but this is too low an estimate; possibly the distance is not meant to be measured along the road.

The same route that has been described is given in the Peutinger Table, but it puts Temnos between Smyrna and Cyme. I shall try afterwards to show that this must be a mistake, and that Temnos could not have lain on the road. It seems, therefore, certain (as might almost in fact be assumed without proof) that Aristides, who had, as his account clearly shows, no wish to diverge from the direct route, travelled by the main Roman road from Smyrna to Pergamus. What inferences can be drawn from his journey with regard to the situation of the towns through which he passed?

It would help much if we knew the exact time¹ when the journey was made. It was in the summer (*θέρους ἄρῃ*) when the heat had lasted long enough to make Aristides weak and ill. A careful perusal of the history of his thirteen years' illness will, I think, show that the treatment prescribed in his dreams by the gods Asclepius, Serapis, &c., is generally singularly well adapted to his actual circumstances, and that in some cases it can be used as evidence of local peculiarities. Hence it is probable that the journey was made about the end of July or beginning of August, when the relief from the heat is still far off. Later than this, the very expectation of cooler weather about September 10 has an invigorating effect. Sunset on

¹ A few pages further on Aristides says that next year in the same month he went to Cyzicus in the hieromenia there; but I have no means in Smyrna of following up this clue to the exact season. Canter, in his introduction, argues that the festival was in honour of Zeus Olympius, and was celebrated in the great Temple of Cyzicus built

by Hadrian; this temple he considers to be the temple of Zeus. If this be so, the festival would probably, like the Olympia at Pisa, be celebrated in the height of summer. The speech which Aristides delivered at this festival is preserved, and may be found in Dindorf's Edition, vol. i.

August 1 takes place at 7 P.M., and sunrise at 5 A.M. Aristides was an invalid, and would not hurry too much; moreover, he had a considerable following with him (*ἀρχήματα ἐπορίζετο*). Hence I think it will be very near the truth if we say that he travelled in daylight 4 Roman miles per hour, and in the night $3\frac{1}{4}$. He can hardly have started from Smyrna earlier than 3.30 P.M., when the day is still at its hottest. We have then the following times and distances—¹

Distance on Peutingers Table.	Leaves Smyrna	3.30 P.M.	Distance from Smyrna	14 M.P.
	At the Khan	7 "	" "	" 18 "
	Crosses the Hermus	8 "	" "	" 24 "
	At Larissa	9.45 "	" "	" 33 "
33	Reaches Cyme	12.15 A.M.	" "	" 42 "
	Leaves Cyme	12.30 "		
42	Reaches Myrina	3.15 "	" "	" 42 "
	First light	4 "		

Read in this light, the journey is remarkably like what one would tell of a journey at the present day. The stopping-places, the khan and Larissa, are exactly the points where one would find it convenient now to rest the horses. Close to the low hill on which I shall try to show that Larissa was built, there is still a little hut where travellers generally stop. In the Hermus valley one great difference exists. The river is apt to shift its course, and one can hardly reconcile the times assigned if one supposes the river then had the course that it now has, except at the expense of making the road deviate from what seems the best and most natural route. Ten years or so ago the Hermus changed its course in a single night, and now the crossing is at a point about four miles west of its former position. The old course is that given in Kiepert's map, and is, I believe, much the same as it was in the time of Aristides. The present crossing is close to the railway, a mile before Ulujak,² and my belief is that the khan stood here, about four miles from the Hermus. It would then serve travellers going either to Temnos and the towns in that part of the

¹ It would be tedious to give the reasons which support each stage given; I have worked out the several steps from actual experience, and I believe that the account given cannot be far wrong. The coincidence of the results with the Peutingers distances was not

observed till the whole calculations had been made.

² There are, of course, many other crossings, but according to my conception of the course taken by the road, it would pass not far from this point.

Hermus valley, or to Cyme. The former would naturally follow Aquilius's road to this point, and then go off towards the north.

The present track to Pergamus does not go quite up to Cyme, but turns off to the north across the lower part of the plateau, a short distance before the sea. It does not touch the sea coast till near Gryneion, but keeps a little way inland. Aquilius naturally made the road lead through the important cities of Cyme and Myrina, and at the same time secured for it an easier and more level course. I think engineers would now select nearly the same course.

The distances which we must then assign are as follows :—

Smyrna				XLIV. miles from Ephesus. ¹
Larissa about XXIV. miles from Smyrna			LXVIII. "	" "
Cyme XXXIII.	"	"	"	LXXVII. "
Myrina XLII.	"	"	"	LXXXVI. "
Gryneion XLVII.?	"	"	"	XCI.?
Elaea LIV.	"	"	"	XCVIII. "
Pergamus LXX.	"	"	"	CXIV. "

Gryneion is not mentioned on the Peutinger Table, and Strabo's distances are quite different from those of the Table, so that his account cannot be used. I suppose it to lie nearly halfway between Myrina and Elaea.

Strabo (XIII. p. 622) gives two accounts of the distances between Cyme, Myrina, Gryneion, and Elaea. The first is,

Cyme	to	Myrina	40 stadia	5 M.P.
Myrina	"	Gryneion	40 "	5 "
Gryneion	"	Elaea	40 "	5 "
Elaea	"	Pergamos	120 "	15 "

The second he quotes from Artemidorus, who estimates the distances as much greater, but seems to take them along the coast line (*ἐγκομπίζοντι*). Only in one case does he state the full distance, viz. from Gryneion to Elaea 70 stadia. He does not mention the distance from Smyrna to Cyme, but that from Cyme to Elaea is certainly below the truth, while the Peutinger Table seems quite consistent with the map. Artemidorus, on the other hand, is decidedly above the true measurement. So far as my experience goes, the distances given by Strabo are

¹ On this distance see below.

generally a little short of the truth. This is the case with the XL. stadia that he places between Sardis and the tombs of the Lydian kings, and, I believe, with the XX. stadia between Smyrna and the Παλαιὰ Πόλις. He places CCCXX. between Ephesus and Smyrna, and as he mentions that the distance is measured across by Metropolis, which is quite out of the direct line and on the course of the road, it is evident that he ought to agree with the measurement of the road. The question arises whether that measurement can be determined.

A milestone is published by Lebas, *l.c.* No. 6 ; it was found at Bournabat. The distance is some number between forty and fifty. In discussing the inscription Lebas makes a curious error. He thinks that the road from Ephesus passed Bournabat before reaching Smyrna, and that the distance between the places is about two miles. The road came straight north, passed on the west side of Mt. Pagus, not on the east side like the modern road and railway ; the reason being that the ancient city lay more on the west side of Pagus than the modern. Bournabat is $4\frac{3}{4}$ English miles in a straight line from Smyrna, and does not even lie on the road from Smyrna to Pergamus. It must have had a separate road, and the milestone in question has no relation to those which certainly belong to the great road. It mentions only the sixth consulship of Claudius (A.D. 37) ; and perhaps we may conclude that the Roman road was first made in that year. A bad country road must of course always have existed. Now as Bournabat is about five Roman miles from Smyrna, the distance of Smyrna from Ephesus cannot be more than 44 miles. Strabo twice gives it as 40 miles, and the Peutinger Table gives it as 34. The distance by railway to the city of Ephesus (as distinguished from the railway station) is 50 English miles. The railway certainly traversed the same pass into the Cayster valley that was followed by the Roman road. That road passed through Metropolis according to both Strabo and the Peutinger Table ; and Metropolis has been proved conclusively by M. Fontrier (*Μουσείον*, 1876-8) to lie in this very pass, and not far from the railway. The railway makes a considerable circuit between Metropolis and Smyrna ; but it is not possible that the road could have been more than seven or eight miles shorter than the railway. This would make it about 44 Roman miles. We must then, as Lebas (*l.c.*)

suggested, correct the Peutinger Table to XXXXIII. The reading on the milestone must therefore be restored as forty-nine.

The main road constructed by Aquillius must be carefully distinguished from the road between Smyrna and Sardis, on which three milestones in the Smyrna valley are known. On the sixth it is recorded that the road was made in the proconsulship of Lollianus Gentianus, which Lebas places before the time of Aurelius, and successively repaired in the reigns of Septimius Severus, Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine and Valentinian I. (Lebas, No. 8). The distances were measured from Smyrna. The second and eighth milestones are also published by Lebas, Nos. 7 and 9. The second records only the repairs under Constantine, the eighth only the original construction.

Lebas (No. 1724 f.) has published another milestone, said to have been found at Menemen in the Hermus valley. It is also published by M. Fontrier in the *Museion*, 1875-6, p. 31, with a difference of reading. I have examined the stone, and find that M. Fontrier's reading represents its present state. Under the Greek text are the symbols

Μ Η

The end of the Latin text, in very indistinct symbols, is

NOBILICAEISS
M VII

The writing throughout is very rude and irregular. Lebas reads,

NOBILI[SSI]MIS
A[S]MIP

M. Fontrier reads

nobi(lissimis) n(ostris) Caes(ar-
ibus), S(myrna) M. VII.

The Greek text gives in full ἀπὸ Σμύρνης. There is no trace on the stone to give the reading VIII. corresponding to the Greek Η; but the surface is worn, and now covered with a coating of white paint.

Menemen is 19¼ miles from Smyrna by the railway; hence the only explanation of the number on the stone seems to be that the road which it marked led from Temnos and the middle Hermus valley to the sea coast, and thence crossed to Smyrna by water. Till the railway was made goods from the district took this route, embarking at Menemen Scala. Eight miles is not far from the actual distance to the sea.

The stone is dated between 292 and 305 A.D., when Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius and Galerius were emperors. The road must of course be older, and probably crossed the main road near Ulujak, and about the spot where the Khan (*καταγώγιον πρὸ τοῦ Ἐρμού*) was placed conjecturally; it may have served travellers on both roads.

Another road whose course is of much interest is one that led from Ephesus to Sardis. This road crossed the mountains by the pass of Karabel, in which are the two figures known as the Sesostres. It is probable that the Roman road of the empire took another course, but this pass is still used, and was in use in the time of Herodotus. But it is certain that neither the road from Smyrna to Sardis, nor that from Ephesus to Phocaea could have gone through this pass, which is very far from the proper track. Hence if these figures of Sesostres are referred to by Herodotus (II. 106) in the well-known passage, the only resource I can see is to alter the reading by transposing the names Phocaea and Sardis. In that case it would be necessary to look for another figure in the mountainous country towards Phocaea. The Sesostres figure described by Herodotus is the one near the ground in the Karabel Pass; his words do not suit the other figure high up on the rock. Moreover the two figures are so close to one another that it is impossible any one could say they were on different roads, especially when they are in a single mountain pass. If some such correction of the text is not admitted, and if the two Karabel figures are considered to be the two described by Herodotus, it seems necessary to accuse the historian of a serious error in describing what he had actually seen.

P.S.—M. Fontrier has published, in the paper above quoted on Metropolis, a milestone found near the site of the city. It belongs to the road from Pergamus to Smyrna, but the distance recorded was illegible. The distance was measured ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου, and the stone belongs to the repair executed under Diocletian and the three other emperors. This discovery confirms the evidence of the Peutinger Table and of Strabo, that the road passed through Metropolis.

The difference of number on the two sides of the milestone from Menemen may be explained, as in the case of the thirtieth from Ephesus towards Tralles, by understanding the one side to be according to the text ἀπὸ Σμύρνης **M Θ**, and the other side to be the distance from Temnos. On the latter side, there is no statement of the point whence the measurement. If, according to the hypothesis proposed above, the road be understood as that from Temnos to the quay opposite Smyrna, the measurements would suit very well. The milestone near Tralles gives in similar style on one side

ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου **M Λ A**

and on the other side simply **M B**.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued).