

ROADS OF ARMENIA VIAE ARMENIAE



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INSTITUTUM STUDIORUM ORIENTALIUM

VIAE ARMENIAE

ITINERA ANTIQUA

ARMENIAE GENERALIS ET REGIONUM FINITIMARUM
SECUNDUM TABULA PEUTINGERIANA

INVESTIGATIO PER

RUBEN IACOBIAN
(TARUMIAN)



MMXXIII

EREVAN

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

ROADS OF ARMENIA

ANCIENT ROUTS

OF GENERAL ARMENIA AND THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES
ACCORDING TO THE TABULA PEUTINGERIANA

RESEARCH BY
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In the research, an attempt was made to locate the routes and stations related to the Armenian Highland on the Tabula Peutingeriana, using the Google Earth and other modern digital and network tools. The research included the stations related to the territories of General Armenia and the neighboring countries, which are closely connected with the Armenian homeland from a historical-geographic point of view. This research is the first attempt to restore the Tabula Peutingeriana, remaining close to the original data, without their arbitrary corrections. For the first time, in one work and in one system, around 375 place names of the Armenian cradle and adjacent regions were presented, and in a modern cartographic format, which can serve as a basis for further studies.

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INTRODUCTION

The identification of the place names mentioned in the Armenian part of the Tabula Peutingeriana (hereafter TP) is one of the important and still not fully resolved problems of Armenian historical geography. At different times, Armenian and European researchers, Konrad Miller, Joseph Marquart, Hakob Manandian, Suren Yeremian, Serge Mouraviev and others, have addressed it.

Apparently, the last major work in this direction was the "Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World" (2000), edited by Richard J. A. Talbert. But the attention of its creators was focused on the central sheets of the TP, and, unfortunately, in part of Armenia a lot was simply transferred from previous studies and data from Armenian sources was not used.

However, until today, most of the hundreds of place names in that area have not been reliably identified. The reason for this is first of all the scarcity of existing materials, but also the approaches to their use. It is often emphasized that the TP is not an ordinary map with geographical coordinates, like, for example, the Ptolemaic map, but just a guide. And it is really so. However, due to this fact, exaggerated inaccuracy is attributed to it, and researchers find it possible to interpret the data of this map arbitrarily. Meanwhile, it makes the work of reorganization meaningless. If you can attribute any bug to the source, then you can also get whatever you want from it.

Of course, TP contains many, and often obvious, errors, but it also has a certain internal consistency that must be taken into account. It is necessary to remember the main thing: such a huge work should have been created to solve practical problems³, and the inaccuracies contained in it could not exceed some reasonable limit. Otherwise, it would have been considered unsuitable, and it would hardly have been preserved and copied with such care that it would have reached our days. Therefore, it is not correct to think that this or that error of the map can be the result of the arbitrariness. Yes, if author or copyist saw certain omissions or contradictions in the materials he had, he could have tried to eliminate them, and he could have done it not in the best way, but

³ A. Podosinov ranks it among "practical-geographical" maps. See: **Подосинов А. В.**, Ориентация древних карт.

even then, he must have followed a certain logic, the discovery of which can help us restore the original.

This study was conducted primarily with the aim of changing attitudes towards TP. Undoubtedly, the assumptions made and the reconstructions made on their basis may not be justified as a result of further research, but if this work encourages other researchers to verify or refute the statements made, then it can already be considered a success. Moreover, the main goal of the work performed was precisely this: to create a unified framework to facilitate further research and clarification. Strange, however, it seems that a separate unified reconstruction of the TP roads still was not made: the authors of many studies and databases carry out a mixed restoration not of TP, but in general of all ancient roads and settlements. This is similar to approaches to film adaptations of classic literary works, where each director makes his own changes to the literary work, creating his own version, rather than trying to create a film that matches the original.

However, the shortcomings of restorations are only one side of the problem. The other is that this document, which is most important from the point of view of the historical geography of Armenia, even in the works of Armenian historians does not have a unified idea about the stations and routes located on the territory of the cradle of Armenians. H. Manandian analyzed the four routes more or less sequentially. Another work was presented by G. Martirosyan, but with an extremely arbitrary approach. Therefore, the implementation of work aimed at the unified reconstruction of the Armenian part of the TP is long overdue.

Unfortunately, due to lack of time and opportunity, not all available material was collected about individual settlements, but only that which was necessary to ensure localization. Among them, in some cases, the locations of modern databases are given - DARMC, Trismegistos, Pleiades, which are interconnected, and often their source is R. Talbert's Barrington Atlas (BATlas). The creation of a separate database and updating the database of each route and settlement is left for the future.

At the beginning of the work, there was a desire to locate all the TP stations that appeared on the Five Seas region, but retreating from the volume of work, it was decided to limit ourselves to only part of Armenia Major. However, it soon became clear that without reorganizing adjacent and geometrically and logically connected routes, it is impossible to understand the logic of the TP structure, without which it is impossible to come to the right conclusions. The thing is that there are really a lot of errors in the TP, and there is a lack of data, and any additional data plays a decisive role in determining the location of settlements, in a situation where sometimes even the location of complete routes remains uncertain. And under these conditions, the position of adjacent roads becomes a key that helps to understand the logic of a given route and determine the location of a given settlement using it.

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However, each new route added to the work entailed the need to analyze and reorganize another associated route. And thus, *Northern Mesopotamia* was fully involved in the matter. And indeed, these two territories appear in the TP as two islands, very slightly connected with the rest of the map and indeed requiring a separate and special approach to them. In fact, the analysis began with *Armenia Major*, although due to some features, it might be more correct to do the opposite: first reconstruct the adjacent routes, and then only the *Armenia Major* region.

Indeed, when parts of *Armenia Major* and *Northern Mesopotamia* were done at the draft level, it became clear that without including the territories of Cilicia and *Armenia Minor* the work would be incomplete, and it was decided to add them too, and study the territory of *General Armenia* (the territory of historic areal of Armenians) and neighboring countries. At first, the location of the capital *Tigranakert* was also part of this work, however, since the chapter connected with it turned out to be very large (due to a disproportionately large number of sources), it was decided to separate it as a separate study, or as a second volume.

As a result, the essay was composed of eight main sections: *Armenia Major*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Commagene*, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia Minor*, *Pontus*, *Cilicia*. At the same time, TP is a unified system, and the arrangement of its routes in one or another geographical section is quite conditional. Moreover, sometimes during the work, when restoring a given route, it was necessary to first restore the roads of the neighboring region, and then continue work on their basis. As a result, there may be some irregularities of sequence in the research, but this will not be a problem, because it has a digital version and any place name can be easily found.

However, before moving on, let's repeat one more time. the problem of this research is not the reconstruction of roads of *Armenia* in general: they certainly existed in no less quantity than today. But which of them are depicted on the TP? In research, these are often called "main roads", but this is not obvious. they might not be the "main" or busiest roads at all. There could be many reasons why those routes appeared on the PC and not the others. There could have been many other maps that have not reached us, including other roads. We can make assumptions about it, but the problem of this research is not that, but the restoration of one specific map, the paths of TP.

Now, before moving on to reconstruction, let's try to clearly define the principles of the study. To do this, let's look again at the structure of the TP.

The general topology of TP

Although the scales and contours of the continents are deformed on TP, in general, it corresponds *topologically* quite well to the real map (at the level of cartography of those centuries). In other words, it can be aligned with the real map without breaking it, but only by stretching and rotating several sections (although, of course, this often requires extremely complex transformations).

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It is usually considered that rivers and mountains⁴ are represented with great inaccuracy (especially as a result of severe stretching). Below is the information describing TP Hayk and the surrounding terrain, mountains and mountain ranges, on a real map.



Orography of TP on real terrain.

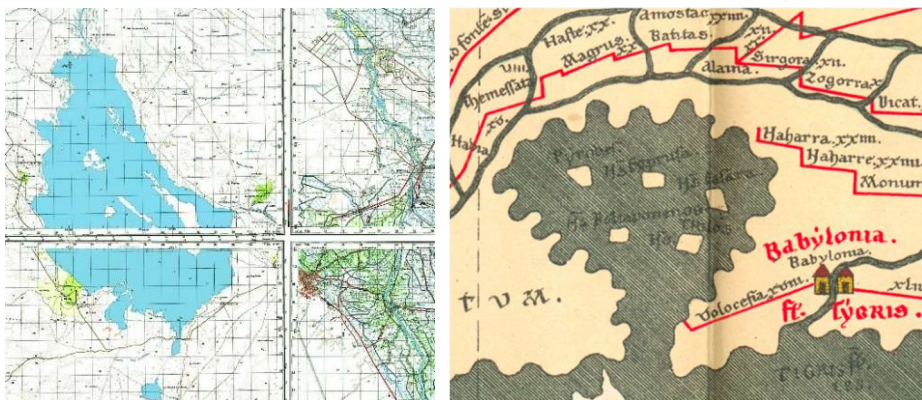
As we can see, the main mountain ranges are quite correctly represented. At the same time, the most important ones are presented. It can be noticed that the author of TP shows the mountain range in two cases: firstly, when any big river originates from it, and secondly, when it is decisive in determining the direction of roads. It is noteworthy that the line of Taurus, which is presented as an almost straight line on the TP, corresponds to a complex curve on the real map, which covers the central part of the *Armenian highlands*: that line is determined by the settlements and rivers represented in this area, which originate from there.

And from the analysis it becomes clear that the author of TP depicted the features of the place not for the sake of beauty, or expressing the real image of the place as a goal in itself, but only based on the need to locate the given station or route. Another example: South of the *Euphrates*, a body of water with five islands communicating with the ocean is marked as a bay. On the right side of this is *Babylon (Babylonia)*: and there is no doubt that this lagoon is depicted precisely to clarify the position of Babylon. There is an opinion that this is a part of the *Persian Gulf*, and the islands are the islands of that

⁴ Подосинов А. В., Восточная Европа в римской картографической традиции, р. 289, Brodersen K. Terra Cognita. p. 187.

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Gulf, *Bahrain*⁵ and others. Indeed, the name of one of these is mentioned as *Thilos*, which is identified with Bahrain. However, the other islands are not identified with certainty. On the other hand, it is not difficult to make sure that it is much more similar to the current *Lake Razazza*, the *Bahr-el-Milkh* of the Soviet map, which is really located not far from *Babylon*. By the way, according to the same map, there are actually exactly five large islands: a fact that confirms the extreme meticulousness of the author of TP, and the fact that TP errors are rather an exception than a pattern, and when reconstructing it, one should first of all start from the assumption that the map corresponds to reality.



Lake *Razazza* and its five large islands on the Soviet map and TP.

It is true that *Razazza* is a lake, not a gulf, but the possibility that even this may express some realities cannot be completely excluded. The thing is that the height of that lake is only 29 meters above the surface of the sea, and it can be imagined that due to some natural phenomena (the examination of which is beyond the scope of this research), this lake for some time could really communicate with the sea. By the way, this could also explain another feature of the TP, according to which Babylon is depicted on the seashore, while southern *Mesopotamia* is, in fact, absent.

Even the strangest data can reveal a grain of truth. Thus, a round lake with a round island is surprising: it seems that such a thing cannot happen. And there really isn't. But there is the object that became the prototype of that strange image. It is *Эль-Хаббания* (*Buhayrat al Habbaniyah*) lake, the eastern shore of which seems to be drawn with a circular line. There are also two of the three canals connecting that lake to the *Euphrates*: in the role of the third, could be was in the part where a dam is built now. Probably, the cartographer gathered information about the lake from an eyewitness who had seen the eastern shore of the lake and imagined that all shores were like that.

⁵ **Маккавеев Н. А.**, Регион Персидского залива в селевкидо-парфянское время, Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук, М. 2011.

Let's note that the researchers are of the opinion that this is the *Chaldean Lake* and its marshes (Lat. *paludes* is written below)⁶. This is when this lake communicates with the *Euphrates*, being south of it, but the lake that is called the *Chaldean* and the marshes that spread around it are located between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* and the *Persian Gulf*.



Al Habbaniyah lake on the Soviet map and PC.



The rivers are represented relatively inaccurately. A. Podosinov believes that the author of the TP was not able to solve the problem of the junction of rivers and roads. There are the cases when, the road should not cross the river, and there was no room left on the map to depict them far from each other. Or opposite examples, when (as we will see below) nothing could prevent the cartographer from depicting the river away from the road, and if he crossed it anyway, one should see a certain meaning in it.

The Euphrates, Tigris, Kur, Chorokh, Gail, Orontes are represented with tolerable accuracy. The course of Araks is a little more unsuccessful: its direction is correctly represented, to the east and parallel to the Taurus, but the sources are wrongly indicated (they seem to be confused with the sources of the Tigris), and most importantly, it does not flow into the Caspian Sea, but into the eastern ocean. Very often the sources and lower courses of rivers are confused, which is quite natural, until there was an opportunity to observe them at whole, or at least to cross them from one end to the other in during of one expedition. For example, the origins of *Khazir* are joined to *Uzaim*. The depicted headwaters of the Tigris actually correspond to a different river: according to H. Manandyan, it is the Araks, the direction of which is wrongly presented: however, I think it is psychologically impossible to confuse the direction of the river, and we are dealing with some other river: most likely it is one of the left tributaries of the *Araks* (note that the combination of the mountain range presented as the source of the *Tigris* and the source of that tributary of the *Araks* is also inseparable from it). At the same time, *Great Zab* and *Diyala* can be recognized. However, the ideas about other Iranian rivers are as if they are all connected to each other and from the Indian *Ganges*

⁶ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 790.

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to the Persian *Fahlian*, form one communicating network resembling canals. Let's also notice other oddities related to rivers, which, however, cannot be considered simple mistakes. Thus, the *Oxus (Amu Darya)* flows into the *Caspian Sea*, but it is known that in the past it could have had such a course: first of all, the traditions remember about it, and in addition there is a dry bed called *Uzboy*, which was probably the *Amu Darya*.

Evidently the author depicts this or that feature of the terrain, this or that object, be it a mountain or a river, to determine the position of a certain station or route, while to other stations this object may not apply at all: and even have a wrong attitude towards it. But if it is possible to depict lakes or mountains in any place where it is necessary, then in the case of rivers, which must start somewhere and end somewhere, this approach does not work. Therefore, the author of the map found an interesting trick: he united the parts of different rivers in the form of a single bed, so that the same line means different rivers in different places. Although this is strange from the point of view of modern cartography, it is a perfectly working solution from the point of view of the functional problems of the given map as a guide. Therefore, for correct decoding, one must be able to correctly guess for which station or route the given mountain or river was depicted. The issue of the presentation of territories should be specially examined. As we can see, there are also serious errors in addition to the correct location of well-known territories in TP. The important fact for us is that, unlike other sources known from ancient times, including the book of Ravennatis Anonymi *Cosmographia* (hereafter RA), *Armenia* is generally absent in TR, and a part of the area corresponding to it, moreover the vicinity of the capital *Artashat* itself (*Artaxata*), represented as "*Great Media*" (*Media Maior*). This is such a striking strangeness when comparing it with other medieval maps that S. Yeremyan, simply considered it a bug and corrected it. Among other bugs, we can also mention the placement of *Atropatene* southeast of the *Caspian Sea*. Although in other cases the locations are relatively correct. *Mesopotamia* and *Cilicia* are correctly represented. The deserts are rightly mentioned, particularly the Iranian *Deshte Kevir* and the arid areas of the north of *Malatya*.

The location of *Albania* next to *Mesopotamia* is remarkable. However, this is not a bug at all. In this case it is not *Aghvank*, but another *Albania*, whose name corresponds to the name *Khala (Hulwan, Chala, Χάλα)*. The location of the *Hiberia* country under the *Caspian Sea*, just below the *Taurus*, is also interesting. This too, perhaps, has nothing to do with *Virk* (Georgia), but appeared here confused with *Hyrkania (Vrkan)*⁷ and, perhaps, also under the influence of the previous *Albania*, because the cartographer probably knew that *Hiberia* was located in the neighborhood of *Albania*.

⁷ Гумба Г., Значение терминов «Грузия» и «Сакартвело» в средневековых источниках, р. 7.

Units of measurement

The indicated distances between the stations are the most valuable data of TP, by which it differs from the usual lists of settlements, such as the lists of RA or Stepanos Orbelyan. Moreover, unlike, for example, Antonine itinerary (IA), which also gives the distances, in TP they are presented in a simple form that is intuitively understood and, in most cases, quite clearly. Unfortunately, usually the researchers only mention the distances reported by TP if it is convenient from the point of view of their accepted assumptions, because they are allegedly not reliable. Undoubtedly, that at that time the distances could not be accurately measured, and depending on the characteristics of the given road (mountain - plain, hard ground - sand), the weather on the day of measurement, etc., the results could vary significantly. However, again based on the practical function of this map, we cannot consider it possible that the accuracy of the measurement exceeded some reasonable limit, perhaps about 20-25%. If the proposed location requires a more serious violation of the specified distance, it should be rejected, or reasons should be indicated, due to which the given distance in the TP could be incorrectly represented.

Most distances in TP are given in Roman miles (*mille passuum*, *milliarium*: a *thousand double steps*). However, this was not the only unit for measuring distances in the ancient world, and as we will see below, a number of different units were used in TP. Among them, some distances, which refer to the cultural areas adjacent to the Roman state, Semitic and Persian, are given in appropriate measurement units. It is clear that it could not be otherwise: all the roads of the entire known world were never measured within the framework of a single program, therefore, the data about them in TP had to be taken from the material already obtained in the given region, in the country, which most likely, they were accumulated over the centuries and based on different sources. Moreover, there may not have been any information for any pair of settlements on any route (there are many such cases in TP), and in other cases, they could have been filled in from another source, in which the measurements could have been made in other periods (even centuries ago) and other on the basis of units. Unfortunately, it is not always, only in the most obvious cases, that it is possible to guess which unit was used in which site (sometimes even different units are used in different sections of the same route), while the scientific approach cannot allow arbitrariness and dual approaches. Otherwise, any result obtained during the restoration of the given route can be justified by referring to the given quantity, allegedly measured by a special unit, which was revealed, so to speak, through "internal restoration". As a result, the researcher finds himself in a rather difficult situation: his proposed restoration may indeed be correct, but by scientific standards it may look completely unreliable. And elsewhere, an irresponsible approach on the part of the researcher can really be recorded. The guarantee of science can be the general logic and consistency of the proposed identifications (and in general, the availability of justification: unfortunately,

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often researchers do not even try to present their own identifications with multi-faceted justification). And in any case, the probability of the given measurement unit being used increases if there is a certain consistency in the use of that unit: when it can be seen that it was used with a certain regional uniformity. For example, if the entire route or at least a single part of it, or adjacent parts of several routes, are measured in the same unit (especially if the unit used in the given section matches the known units) this is convincing (though not necessarily correct); in the end, our task is not to determine the accuracy of the documents and measurement units entrusted to us, but to restore the routes. On the other hand, if the adjacent sites are measured with different (even close) units, it is suspicious (though not necessarily wrong). During the research presented below, it was revealed that the following measurement units were used in TP:

Roman mile. First of all, it is the already mentioned Roman mile, which is considered equal to 1482 m.

Phileterian Mile. In the territory of Great Hayk and adjacent regions, the use of a slightly larger unit of measurement, the Roman-Phileterian mile, which is generally considered equal to **1598 m**, is often observed⁸.

Talmudic mile. In the case of some routes, we see the opposite picture. Obviously, they were measured in a smaller unit, closer to 1 km. In the ancient world there really were such units. In particular, such miles are known from the Talmud, which by different estimates could be equal to **914 m**, **1090 m**, or **1170 m**⁹. Below, in relevant cases, this measure is accepted as 1 km and *conventionally* called a "Talmudic" mile.

Persian parasang. In some cases, a unit of measurement about four times larger is used in TP; probably the Persian *parasang* (*parsakh*), which was four times the Phileterian mile, **6392 m**¹⁰. The Egyptian or Ptolemaic *schoenus* also corresponded to this, which, perhaps, was also used by Isidore of Charax¹¹. However, there was also a 3-mile parasang, which was equal to **4794 m**¹².

Arabian mile. It is noticeable that there are paths whose sites are measured in an even larger mile; around **1900 m**. Is there such a unit of measurement? Yes, there was a big 1200-step mile called Arab, measuring **1917.6 m**¹³. It is true that it is known from

⁸ Մանանդյան Ջ. Ջ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, pp. 56, 434. Сепреев А. Г., Метрология: история, современность, перспективы. М. 2009, p. 36.

⁹ Figdor Ronnie, Biblical and Talmudic units of Measurement.

¹⁰ Մանանդյան Ջ. Ջ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, pp. 55, 433.

¹¹ Determining the size of schoenus of Isidore of Charax, is beyond the scope of this research, but if we take any large distance mentioned by Isidore of Charax, which is equally known today, for example, from Zeugma to Nikephorium (now Ar Raqqah), which is almost exactly 200 km, and according to Kharaksatsi, 31 schoenus, then the distance will be 6.45 km. Another case: From Zeugma, Dura-Europos is 430 km, and according to Isidore of Charax, it is 67 schoenus, then the square will be the same number again, about 6.42 km, which is almost exactly equal to the Persian parasang, 6.392 km.

¹² Մանանդյան Ջ. Ջ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 74.

¹³ Մանանդյան Ջ. Ջ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 49.

later times, but it cannot be ruled out that the Arabic unit could have been based on an older tradition.

Arabic parasang. It is usually considered that Arab parasang, **5752.8 m**, is equal to 3 Arab miles, **1917.6 m**. However, it should be taken into account that the Arabic measurement units were defined in different ways in different periods and regions, and particularly in the early period, 3500 cubits were counted in 1 mile. Bolshakov¹⁴ is of the opinion that the reason for this could be the larger size of the cubit, but this does not exclude the existence of another mile. In that case, the parasang would be **5033.7 m**, and the mile would be **1677.9 m**, which sometimes corresponds more correctly to the data.

Phonetic identification

It is obvious that the best and most convincing identification requires a phonetic identification of the place name as well, not only a geographical one. However, this is not always possible. Sometimes a place name born in the native language becomes unrecognizable when presented in Latin script. As noticed by K. Trever, when talking about Caucasian place names, it can hardly bring convincing results¹⁵. However, the value of phonetic identification does not change from this, and on the other hand, as we will see, sometimes it succeeds. It is necessary to take into account that unlike the usual linguistic laws of phonetic change, the phonetic change of place names is much more mixed and unpredictable. The thing is that the usual borrowing of words is carried out between nations living side by side for centuries, and during the centuries, willy-nilly, certain linguistic relations and customs of presentation of sounds of one or another degree of stability are created and established. Meanwhile, in the case of cartography, foreign-language and foreign-sounding words can be presented on the map by different writers and in various reproductions, often mediated by different people and languages. Therefore, a regular phonetic change did not always occur, and when it does, it is not always noticed. A given phonetic change can happen only once, and that demands to bring some parallels or other examples are simply meaningless. Only additional arguments of a different nature can argue the authenticity of the given sound change in total. True, it does not change the fact: the claims about this phonetic change still remain unbelievable.

Finally, speaking of phonetic similarity, we should remember that we can judge the pronunciation of a given place name only through its writing, while the writing can also be distorted. Although, of course, one should always remember that these

¹⁴ **Большаков О. Г.**, Метрологические заметки.

¹⁵ Due to the peculiarities of the Greek alphabet, the letters of which cannot convey the originality of the Caucasian languages - in this case Albanian with its guttural and hissing sounds, we can hardly identify their local sound in the Greek spelling of these names. Therefore, an attempt to understand Ptolemy's names using modern toponymy can hardly lead to convincing conclusions. **К. В. Тревер**, *Очерки по истории и культуре Кавказской Албании.*, p. 121. (Transl. R. T.)

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transformations, like phonetic ones, are also regular, and it is necessary to reveal these regularities. Otherwise, the claim of arbitrary change will have no scientific basis. But it should also be remembered that, as in the case of phonetic errors, sometimes non-obvious typos can occur here as well, which can only be confirmed by complex arguments, involving geographical and other facts as well.

Letterforms

The authenticity of the written data of TP largely depends on the scripts used in it. They are of the Gothic style, with the pronounced bars, broken lines and additional ornaments typical of the characters, which often form confusing combinations. Below is K. Miller's table showing typical TP letterforms.

a - <i>aaa</i> , a	í - <i>l</i> , i	t - <i>tT</i> , t t r
b - <i>bb</i> , b	l - <i>ll</i> , li	u - <i>u</i> , u
c - <i>cc</i> , c	m - <i>M</i> , m	v - <i>v</i> , v
d - <i>DD</i> , d d	n - <i>N</i> , n	w - <i>w</i>
e - <i>eee</i> , e	o - <i>o</i> , o	x - <i>X</i> , x y
f - <i>fff</i>	p - <i>pp</i> , p	y - <i>y</i> , y
g - <i>G</i> , g q	q - <i>q</i> , q	z - <i>Z</i> , z
h - <i>H</i> , h h	r - <i>R</i> , r	ä - <i>ä</i> , ä
í - <i>l</i> , i	s - <i>S</i> , s	ü - <i>ü</i> , ü

TP letterforms according to K. Miller.¹⁶

As we can see, the contours of uppercase and lowercase letters are not clearly distinguished in them. For example, the enlarged version of the lowercase letter is used as the uppercase letter A, the uppercase and lowercase T are almost indistinguishable. Small letters b, h and z, capital letters N and H, etc. are very similar¹⁷. All these similarities could cause additional confusion. Although it should be noted that finding such confusions possible means tacitly assuming that the same letterforms were also used in the original copies that have come down to us, while this is a perfectly permissible assumption, but not so obvious, since the scripts have gradually changed over the centuries. Gothic script was formed approximately in the 7th century, while if the original manuscript of the TP was prepared by a monk from *Kolmar* in 1265, then

¹⁶ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, p. LII.

¹⁷ In the research below, the names of TP stations are mostly capitalized, except when they are clearly lowercase, or at least there is an impression of it.

the distortions related to the letterforms can only be possible if during the previous two centuries (when the letterforms could to some extent preserve the typical Gothic forms) it was duplicated at least 1-2 times. However, it seems unlikely, because under the conditions of changed political realities, the old map could not have practical meaning and could have value only as antiquity. Of course, the writings still remain unchanged and some regularities would still work. Thus, the Latin E can always be confused with the Latin F, but not in every form of writing, the lowercase letters b, h and z can be confusingly similar.

Sometimes the distortion of place names can also be explained by Greek (for example, Ptolemaic) prototypes, taking into account that Roman geography is the heir of Greek¹⁸, but the Romans also created their own geographical traditions¹⁹ and we should not be carried away by this idea. After all, TP is written in Latin letter, and it must be transcribed from a Latin original. It is unlikely that the Romans merely copied ancient Greek maps for centuries, especially since thanks to their military campaigns they had accumulated much more extensive material than the Greeks did with their scientific campaigns.

Data from other sources

As for the use of other ancient and medieval sources, namely: RA data, it should be noted that their coincidence with TP data additionally confirms them, but the deviation does not necessarily mean that any of them is wrong, but can be explained by the difference in the principles of their compilation. In particular, since RA data are presented in the form of lists, it is not always possible to guess on what principle they are compiled. When their sequence mostly coincides with the settlements lined up along the TP paths, this principle can still be observed. But often the author of the Geography mentions that he gives the names of only a limited number of cities in the given region. However, on what principle he chooses those cities, it is not always possible to guess. Thus, below we will consider a case where it is obvious that the cities are listed in the order in which they are depicted on the TP, rather than following the directions of the respective roads. Also, A. Podosinov notices²⁰ that RA is characterized by the enumeration of parallel paths in one list. Therefore, when his list seems more comprehensive, it does not mean that the additional stations must necessarily be among the TP stations, as is sometimes thought.

However, since the connection between TP and RA Geography is obvious, distances of the same order are expected between stations located with the help of RA

¹⁸ Подосинов А. В., Восточная Европа в римской картографической традиции, р. 289, Brodersen К. Terra Cognita, p. 12.

¹⁹ Brodersen К. Terra Cognita, p. 13.

²⁰ Подосинов А. В., Восточная Европа в римской картографической традиции, р. 289, Brodersen К. Terra Cognita. p. 234.

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lists. The most common distances between TP stations are 10 - 30 miles, and the largest rarely exceed 50 miles (for example, the distance *Sebastopolis — Ad fontem felicem* is 60 miles, although there are a few cases of even greater distances in some places). Therefore, as a result of the proposed location, numbers of the same order are expected.

Other notes

The reconstructing was done with the help of the following tools and the principles outlined below.

The research was carried out in the environment of the Google Earth system. In the same system, the reconstructed routes were drawn and the final map was obtained in .kmz/.kml format.

The distances were converted from the original units into metric units and further work was carried out with the accuracy of 1 kilometer. In the case of larger units, parasangs, parsakhs, etc., the inaccuracy is greater; in the case of fences, about 3 km.

Maps of the Soviet General Staff were mainly used as map material. Other maps were also used, namely:

Russian map of Armenia, 1907, the 10-verst.

British maps of Eastern Turkey in Asia at the beginning of the century, etc.

Place names were given primarily according to Google Earth, and only in its absence, from other sources, preserving the source language. The reconstruction can be of several levels of accuracy: As a rule, place names are shown slanted.

- only routes are restored,
- stations are identified with famous historical place names,
- the locations of the stations are located,
- found stations are identified by name.

First, an attempt was made to understand the logic of the terrain and paths presented in the given section of the TP. It was assumed that in TP, as a map created for practical use, the shortest paths were preferred, while not excluding that sometimes due to some considerations (graphical or personal, even with certain commercial interests) some important paths may have been omitted and not included in the map.

The matching of distances was considered primary. It should be taken into account that today's highways are significantly shorter in relatively flat areas due to the straightening of curves, and the calculation was made along the lines of the oldest roads. And on the contrary, mountain passes with a large slope used to be crossed on pack animals with a larger slope, therefore with fewer turns, and the roads were shorter. However, the routes drawn in GoogleEarth may sometimes have impermissible slopes in some parts of the sites in the cut terrain. However, they can be corrected in principle without significant changes to the routes.

In completely flat areas, where the roads can be in any direction, an attempt was made to follow the existing roads, because they are often determined by features that are significant on the terrain, and are preserved over the centuries.

For each route, at the end of the section dedicated to it, a table has been prepared, in which the TP station, its proposed location, the distance indicated in the TP, also presented in kilometers, the lengths of the locations of the reorganized route and the deviation with respect to the TP data have been presented. The distances determined during the reconstruction are indicated in bold and italics, and the corresponding numbers indicated in the TP are in the first column next to the place name.

Location of settlements

According to the nature of the distribution of settlements, two types of terrain can be distinguished: 1-dimensional with a linear arrangement, as a rule, in canyons, and 2-dimensional surface arrangement (canyon arrangements should also be classified as this type, if the canyons have a grid character, and the distance between settlements is significantly greater than the cells of the grid), and two more according to density of settlements: evenly distributed (this is typical of fertile fields and valleys) and islanded (this is typical of semi-desert and highland zones, but distributions with settlements that are evenly distributed but not of equal size can be classified as this). These give four typical distribution types: *linear-even*, *linear-island*, *surface-even* and *surface-island*. An islanded distribution makes it easier to reconstruction routes, because it automatically narrows down the possible options, while an even, even more so, a surface-even does not prohibit or exclude any option (although in reality there is of course no perfect evenness of the distribution: the location always shows a separate accumulation centers).

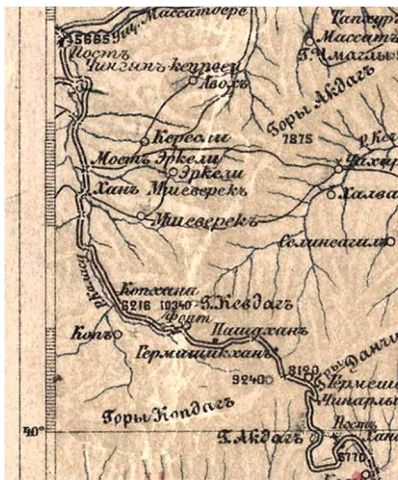
When identifying the TP stations, it was assumed that they were in the place of the current settlements and that they coincided with the largest ones, because if they were stations in the past, then there must have been large enough settlements, and the development of settlements, as a rule, depends on the location. features that change little over the centuries. However, the opposite is not excluded, if there have been serious political or climatic changes. Thus, if different parts of an important road appear in different and hostile states, the settlement on that road may lose its importance and disappear, or at least shrink. Or it could be that one of a number of settlements, which was initially not large, could grow and gradually absorb the neighboring settlements. In any case, no matter how tempting it is to connect the TP stations to today's large settlements, sometimes it becomes clear from the analysis of the route logic (and especially the distances) that they were outside of today's settlements, or at least on the outskirts, but not necessarily in the centers.

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Long sequences

The experience of TP reconstruction shows that, like any decoding, this too becomes single-valued only for long sequences of elements, while for short sequences multiple identifications are possible. Although researchers often find it possible to identify even separate settlements, being tempted only by some phonetic similarities of the names.

There is a circumstance that is sometimes observed during the reorganization of TP. It is not always necessary to search for the station marked on the TP in the corresponding settlement; it should be taken into account that travelers could often be interested not in the settlement itself, but in a convenient guest house, and the entrepreneurs of the settlements near the main roads (but not necessarily on the road itself) could create roadside guesthouses, inns in the name of their settlements, and on the map not the settlement itself, but the guest house bearing its name could appear on it. That fact is clearly visible on the Russian 10-verst map of Armenia. Here we see a repetition of place names, for example, besides *Мшеверекъ*, there is also *Ханъ Мшеверекъ*, there is *Копъ*, but also *Копъхана*. Therefore, in those cases where the location of the station being searched for, which does not coincide with the given settlement, arises from the characteristics of the terrain and roads, it is not excluded that the distances are indicated to any inn, and not to its so-called "mother" settlement. As we can see, *Копъхана* is more than 1 verst away from *Копъ*, and *Ханъ Мшеверекъ* is about 4 versts from *Мшеверекъ*.



Excerpt from the Russian 10-verst map.

Modern databases

They are created by a number of European universities and are closely linked by links. Unfortunately, only the final results are available, which sometimes do not correspond at all to the TP data, but rely on data from other sources, while in this case the problem

is the reconstruction of TP routs, the data from other sources do not necessarily refer to the settlements indicated in the TP: they may have only a coincidental resemblance.

Stations with "lodge" icons

Most stations do not have a specific icon, while others have "lodge" icons. Different opinions have been expressed about them. Marquart found it possible that they could mean capital cities, because *Tizbon*, for example, has such an icon. However, there are so many lodge stations that there could not be such many a capital.

For example, the icons of Ctesiphon and of the unnamed station the Circular Road can only mean that there were more luxurious guest houses in these than in others. Of course, since it is natural that the more luxurious guest houses would be in the capitals, it can be indirectly followed from this that the given settlement was a capital, but not necessarily.



"2D" and "3D" variants, of guest houses icon of TP.

H. Martirosyan's opinion that the first churches of the Roman Empire were "undoubtedly" designated by lodges²¹, is even more unreasonable: this would mean that the churches were fairly homogeneously distributed throughout the world and were even in India and China; and that in the 5th century, when even in Rome the resistance of the supporters of the old religion had not stopped. The meaning of the "cabin" icons is quite simple, and it becomes obvious if we pay attention to the fact that there are also a small number of more luxurious versions of them, the structure of which clearly shows features characteristic of guest houses: cells built around a central courtyard. It is clearly seen in the picture below that the small lodge icons represent "2D" frontal, versions of the large, spatial, "3D" images. In other words, the two houses of small icons represent the main facades of guest houses of "typical" structure, common for those centuries, and only to emphasize (perhaps for advertising purposes) the grandeur of some of them, they were represented in "3D".

²¹ **Мартirosян А.**, Армения по Карте Пейтингера (IV в.), ИФЖ, 2 – 2002, р. 144. Մարտիրոսյան Հ., Առաջին եկեղեցական հաստատությունները Հայաստանում ըստ Պևտինգերյան քարտեզի, «Էջմիածին», 1999, № 2, р. 65-70.

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Modern databases

A number of European universities have created databases of ancient settlements, the data of which are interconnected by links. Unfortunately, only the final results are available, which sometimes do not correspond to TP data at all. It can be seen that when compiling them, preference was given to other sources. That data has been mentioned and taken into account.

Degrees of accuracy of TP

TP, like any human-made document, can have (and has) many bugs and errors. However, during the reconstruction, it was assumed that different types of information have different probabilities of being wrong. Least likely (however unexpected it may seem) are topographical errors: that is, errors related to the layout of a given settlement or route in relation to rivers or mountains. In other words, that arrangement may be poorly presented due to the cartographer's lack of drawing skills and the technical capabilities of those centuries, and may be poorly understood, but not wrong: otherwise, there was no point in depicting the corresponding topographic feature. For example, if it was said that "after such and such a settlement we cross the river", then they definitely crossed, another question is which river it was. If it was said that "there are mountains between so-and-so settlements", then it is so, but it is still necessary to understand which mountains were perceived as separating those two settlements.

Errors related to distances are more likely: they can be the result of a measurement error, the use of an unusual unit of measurement, or a simple typo. And finally, mistakes in place names are more likely, which according to the custom of that time were sometimes translated, sometimes badly reproduced, being in a different language, and finally, again, typos.

An attempt was made to find phonetically similar settlements in the place determined by the previous conditions, realizing that they can have completely inexplicable distortions (which was noticed by K. Trever in the quote above), although preference was given to regular changes.

- RA and data of other sources was used only as an auxiliary material.
- The possibility of writing distortions was also taken into account.
- In the absence of phonetic similarity, an attempt was made to find facts of the semantic translation of place names.

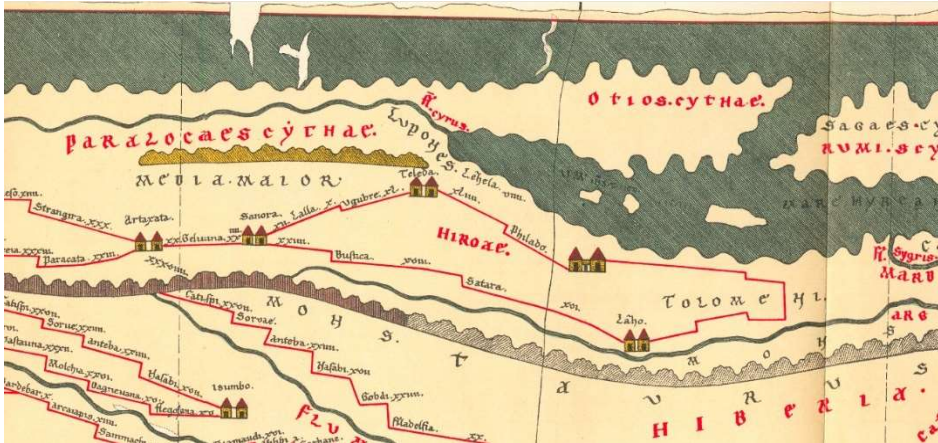
The place names given in languages of correspondent maps or other sources. E.g., toponyms from Google Earth given in English, from Russian 10-verst and Soviet Genshtab maps — in Russian.

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Artaxata — Geluina — Sanora — Circular route

All this research started from the analysis of this route (which was published as a separate article in the journal "Метаморфозы Истории")²², and that is the reason why the structure and presentation of this section is somewhat different from the others.

As can be seen from the image below, this route starts from *Artaxata-Artashat*, reaches *Sanora*, and then divides into two branches that connect a few stations away. Moreover, neither the names of those last stations, nor the distance between them, nor, after this, one can be sure about their number, are known.



"Circular rout" Tabula Peutingeriana

One of the first reconstructions of this route is Miller's. He drawn it through the territories of present-day Iran and Azerbaijan, through *Ordubad* (considering it *Sanora*), and reaching *Cyropolis*, which is located in the vicinity of present-day Resht, and took the return route to *Lankaran* (identifying *Lezela* with this) and then through Arax.

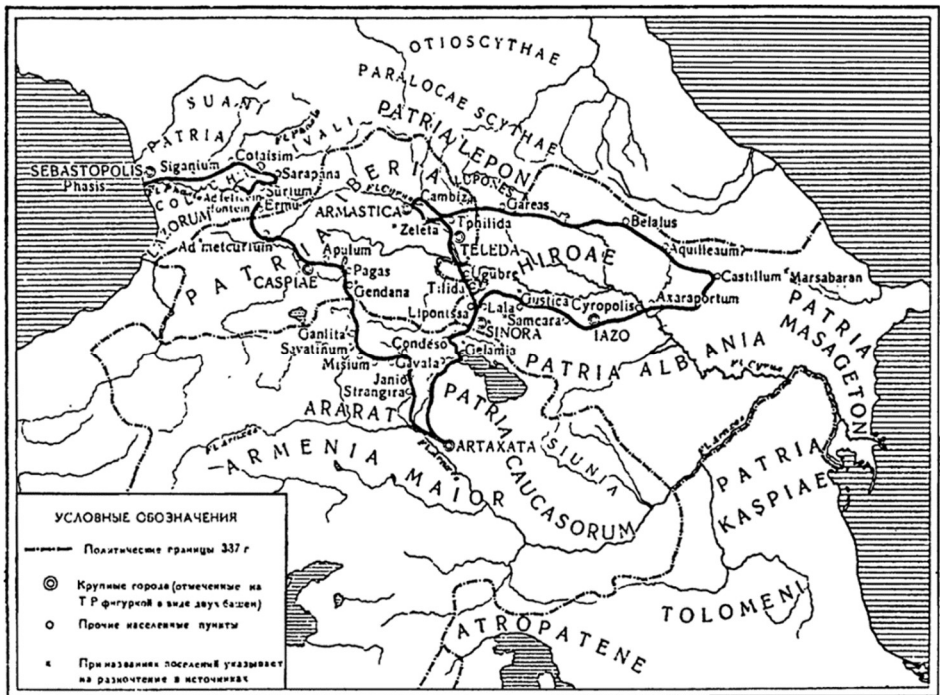
²² Акоюн Р. Х. (Тарумян), «Круговой маршрут» древних дорог Великой Армении по Певтингеровой карте / Метаморфозы Истории, Псков, 2020. сс. 39—79.

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C. Müller had placed Sanora in the place of present-day *Martuni*, and the whole route along the perimeter of Lake Sevan.

J. Marquart, based on the fact that RA's *Teladalfir* is TP's *Philado*, and therefore the earlier unnamed station of *Philado* must also correspond to *Armastica* of the other list, which has long been identified with the fortress of the *Virk (Kartli)* capital of *Armazi (Armazi-tsikhe)*, also taking into account the icon of that anonymous station, passed the route through present-day Dilijan, in which area he located *Sanora*, *Gazakh*, *Tiflis*, and then back through *Debed* gorge and *Vanadzor*. H. Manandyan tacitly agrees with Marquart²³.

S. Yeremyan drawn route through Dilijan and Ijevan (*Sanora*), then Tiflis, Evlakh (where he localized *Cipropolis*) and Ijevan again.



"Circular route" along S. Yeremyan.²⁴

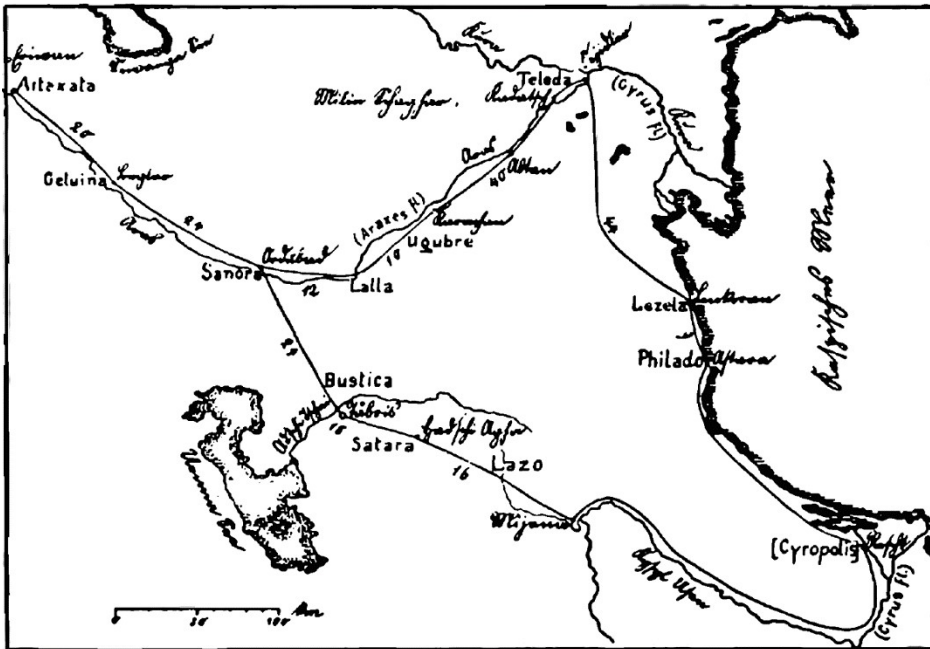
But the most unique approach was shown by S. Mouraviev, who addressed this part in a separate study. Accepting the Marquart identification of *Armastica* and the unnamed station, and *Philado* with *Tiflis*, in his further judgments he mainly relied on

²³ Манандян Я. А., Круговой путь Помпея в Закавказье, р. 78.

²⁴ Еремян С. Т., Торговые пути Закавказья в эпоху Сасанидов, р. 80.

RA data and came to the conclusion that all these settlements are located in the territory of present-day central Georgia. Moreover, he came to the conclusion that that part of TP is almost untrue and is the result of reconstruction based on incorrect data, which one of its compilers depicted in a mirror image²⁵.

As we can see, except for Miller and Muller, all other researchers take this path beyond Cur. Meanwhile, it contradicts both the distances and the terrain of TP. Artashat to Tiflis is more than 300 km even without taking into account the curvature of the roads, while according to TP, if *Tiflis* is *Philado*, that distance should have been 150 miles, so about 220 km. As for the terrain, according to TP, the entire circular route is not only south of *Kur*, but even south of the mountain range parallel to it. Therefore, these solutions are already unacceptable.



Route from Aratxata to Caspian Sea. Along K. Miller.²⁶

²⁵ "At the same time, however, it turns out that the author of the surviving copy of TP... replaced the orientation of the entire diagram with the mirror opposite (or drew it from right to left?)...", **Муравьев С. Н.**, *От Сурами до Цнори: дороги античной Восточной Грузии по Tabula Peutingeriana и Космографии Равеннского Анонима / ПОЛУТРОПОС. Сборник научных статей памяти Аркадия Анатольевича Молчанова (1947 – 2010) / По редакции Т. Н. Джаксон и А. В. Акопяна. – М., 2014, p. 77. (Transl. R. T.)*

²⁶ **Miller K.**, *Itineraria Romana*, col. 737, pic. 239.

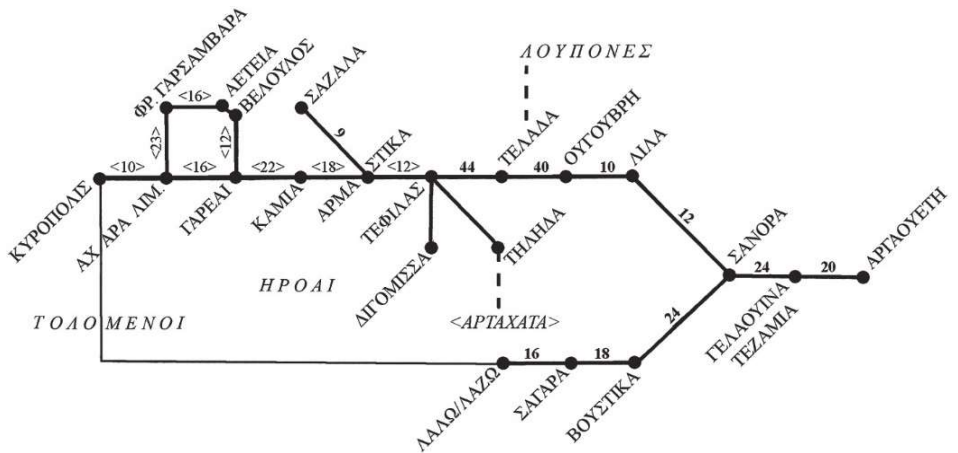
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Miller's version is unacceptable, first of all, because it does not match the distances. He places Sanora in Ordubad, while Artashat to Ordubad is about 118 miles (175 km) even without taking into account the curvature of the roads, while according to TP it should have been only 44 miles. Thus, Mueller's reconstruction is closer to the data. But this also contradicts the TP spaces; this time route is too small. The circumference of Sevan by the bypass is approximately 135 miles (200 km), that is, even less than the section of the ring road, the length of which is indicated, not including the length of the track with unnamed stations.



"Circular route" along C. Müller.²⁷

In two words, it makes sense to refer to Mouraviev's assumption, which, although vulnerable in many places, contains successful identifications.



"Circular route" by S. N. Mouraviev.

²⁷ Müller C., Tabulae in Claudii Ptolemaei geographiam. Parisiis 1901. Tab. 34.

Thus, although he claims²⁸ that it is *impossible to find toponyms Lazo, Satara, Bustica, Sanora, Vgubre, Teleda place names, staying at 44 miles away from Artashat*, we will see below that his identifications *Lazo — Lilo, Satara — Sagarejo, Bustica — Bakurtsikhe, Sanora — Tsnori, Teleda — Telavi, Geluina — Galavani* have alternatives. Meanwhile, the others, *Axara — Agara, Garreas — Gori* are quite valuable (although if we are guided only by phonetic similarities, detached from the location and the general logic of TP, *Garreas* can be not only *Gori*, but also *Goris*, and *Axara — Arax* with metathesis, etc.).

Before moving on, let us note that the researchers of this part of the TP were greatly influenced by the fact that the stations of that part are represented by two different (as it seemed to them) lists at RA. Here they are, represented by a combination of place names with some phonetic similarities. In the right and left columns are the two lists of RA, and the corresponding branches of TP in the middle columns of the table. As we can see, there are some parallels between the place names of the first list of RA and the upper branch of TP, as well as the place names of the second list of RA and the lower and middle branches of TP. However, are there similarities between the two RA lists? Only one indisputable match is evident. Both lists have the place name *Sanora*. However, this coincidence is completely understandable if we remember that in TP it is the point of connection of two branches. In fact, RA lists simply represent more extensive versions of those two intersecting branches. And really, as we can see, there are no matches other than *Sanora*. There are place names with some similarities, but nothing more. They are *Laia — Iazo* and *Tegamia — Geluina* couples (and then, if for the second pair we assume that in the original this toponym was written in capital Greek letters and the first letter Γ was read as T.).

However, how is this similarity expressed? In the first case, only the number of letters and the second letter are common, and also the fact that L can be similar to capital letter I if it is a lowercase letter. However, this is not enough to claim that we are dealing with the same name. Almost the same degree of similarity can be seen, for example, between the names *Γηηϑ* and *Κηηβ* (*Goght* and *Koghb*). In the case of the second pair, the similarity is greater, and taking into account that we are dealing with Armenian place names, behind both of them it is possible to notice some place name with a root *q̄t̄h* «gegh» (which was also noticed by previous researchers, for example, Marquart²⁹), especially if (as already said) we assume that their original from a Greek manuscript.

²⁸ "... on this route we will not encounter anything resembling the stations Lazo, Satara/Cacara, Bustica, Sanora, Vgubre and Telada/Teleda, and at none of these points will we approach ancient Artashat so that we are separated from it by only 44 miles (65 km).", **Муравьев С. Н.**, От Сурами до Цнори: дороги античной Восточной Грузии по Tabula Peutingeriana и Космографии Равеннского Анонима / ПОЛУТРОПОС. Сборник научных статей памяти Аркадия Анатольевича Молчанова (1947 – 2010) / По редакции Т. Н. Джаксон и А. В. Аюпяна. – М., 2014, p. 69. (Transl. R. T.)

²⁹ **Marquart J.**, tabl. 831.

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RA 1	TP Top rout	TP Midlle rout	TP Bottom rout	RA 2
Ciproplis				
Axara				
Portum				
Castillum				
Tarsambaram				
Aquilleam				
Belalus				
Garreas				
Camia				
Sazala	Lezela			
Armastica				
Teladalfir	Philado			
Telada	Teleda			
Ucubri	Vgubre			
Laia	Lalla		Lazo	lazo
Liponissa			Satara	Cacara
Tilida			Bustica	Bustica
Sanora		Sanora		Sanora
Tegamia		Geluina		Geluina
Gravete		Artaxata		Artaxata
		Strangira		Stranguria
				Ianio
		Condeso		Condeso
				Guala
		Misium		Misium
				Savatinum
		Gaulita		Gaulitia
				Tendava
		Pagas		Pagas
		Apulum		Apolum
		Caspiae		Caspiae
		Ad mercurium		
				Ernu
		Ad fontem felicem		Fontelice
				Surtum
				Sarapama
		Sebastopolis		

However, even this similarity is not enough for final claims: after all, they may have a same root, but actually names of different places. And indeed, there are many consistent place names in this region, for example: *Goght*, *Golaysor*, *Geghard*, *Geghamabak* and others. And even more distant are *Gravete* and *Artaxata*³⁰, which they try to identify in fact only because *Gravete* is the last name on the list, and probably it seems logical that it should have ended with the capital³¹. But the option is overlooked, according to which the last two stations of the second list of RA coincide with the stations of TP, while the last two stations of the first list of RA are on a different line.

So, it is clear that, aside from obvious typos (*Ucubri/Vgubre*, *Telada/Teleda*, etc.) the two sources represent two different paths that intersect in Sanora, which naturally belongs to both paths at the same time and logically that it appears in both lists of RA. At the same time, one station mentioned in TP is missing from the RA list, that is, *Ad mercurium*, and a number of stations are missing from TP, mainly from *Artaxata*, in the *Sebastopolis* sector, as well as the equivalent of *Armastica*.

However, if the absence of some stations from *Artaxata*, *Sebastopolis* is not decisive for further judgments, the issue of *Armastica* is serious. It was already mentioned that following Marquart, many believed that the anonymous station was *Armastica*. In fact, its logical basis is the assumption that the names of the regional railway stations coincide with the names of the RA that come after *Teladalfir/Philado*. Of course, this is an extremely probable option, but it is not a fact. It stems from the judgments that the missing name in one of the two lists must have coincided with the other, as well as the icon of the nameless station, different from the others, which, according to Marquardt, suggests that we are dealing with some capital city. However, for the first argument, it can be objected that the two lists are not very identical, and if the similarity of the four consecutive toponyms below *Armastica* really could not be accidental, the identity of the *Sazala* and *Lezela* toponyms after the omitted toponym is no longer so convincing. And on the other hand (even if we accept that the shape of the icon means the capital), Armazi is not the only capital in that region³². There are two more candidates: *Partav*, the capital of *Aghvank*, and *Gandzak*. And if we add to that the fact that they are located on the right bank of *Kur*, that is, below *Kur* on the map, it will become clear that this is

³⁰ Marquart J., tabl. 830.

³¹ Mouraviev moves in a different way and tries to see a random similarity not only between the two Sanoras, and considering that one of them is Tsnori and the other is Samgori, but also considering that Artaxata has nothing to do with the Armenian capital, but explains the Georgian toponym Arachveti in Greek capitals as ΑΡΑΓΟΥΕΘΗ in the prototype realized by ΑΡΑΓ > ΑΡΤΑ transition (Γ — Α change and then Γ — Τ confusion, and finally by confusion of the words ΑΡΤΑΟΥΕΘΗ and ΑΡΤΑΞΑΤΑ). In other words, he simply does not try to connect his restored route with Artashat, and thus with TP. In other words, it actually only offers the identification of RA place names, leaving aside TP.

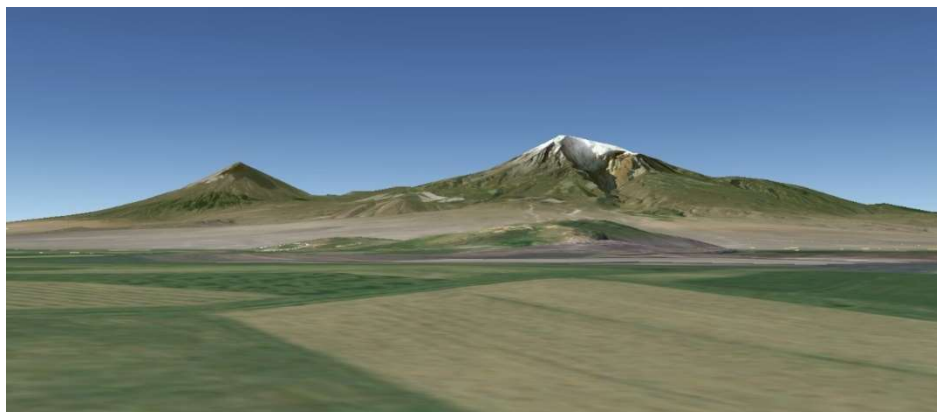
³² Not to mention that such a feature, such as such a slight difference in the icon, can hardly be distinctive in general; after all, for example, the capital of Armenia (Artaxata) is depicted with an ordinary sign.

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an acceptable option. And it follows that the stations in the upper part of the RA list were not located on the TP circuit track, but were on another track, which is not depicted on the TP, but which branched from its upper branch to the top (north). So, it is necessary to find the route separation point.

Artaxata

This is Artashat, the capital of Armenia. On the TP it is marked with the usual "guest house" icon, which may mean that at the time of the redaction of the TP that has come down to us (presumably the Vth century) there was no luxury guesthouse in *Artashat* (or that the guesthouses of *Artashat* did not take the extra steps in the direction to being special represented on Roman maps). The location of *Artashat* is not in doubt thanks to the reliable reports of sources, as well as the results of archaeological excavations. In addition, this city is one of the unique ancient cities, from which even its ancient image has reached us on a coin (probably minted by Tigran IV and his sister Erato)³³.



Revers and avers of Tigran IV coin with landscape of Artaxata (Artashat) and Ararat Mountain in background.

³³ Roma Numizmatica, URL: <https://goo.su/tqIGA>

At image given above the are the *Great* and *Small Ararats*, obtained from the Google Earth system: below, the averse and reverse of the coin and the *Ararats*, the compressed version of the above image (in order to match the ratio of stylized outline of the mountain, depicted on the coin). The exact correspondence of the scene depicted on the coin to the real landscape is remarkable. Including the correct proportional representation of the heights of the *Great* and *Small Ararats* on the coin (even the angle of the right slope of the peak of Great Ararat is taken into account). And below it, you can clearly see the image of the hill on which the city of Artashat was located: the similarity is so great that one can even find the point from which the city was painted.

Geluina

As it was said, Marquart considered that this corresponds to RA and *Tegamia* and, identifying *Geghama*, located it near *Lake Geghama (Lake Sevan)*. In fact, Yeremyan also accepted this, placing it near the village of *Gomadzor*. Meanwhile, Mouraviev proposed to see the Georgian *გალავანი (Galavani)* under that name, although between *Artashat* and *Galavani* is not 20 miles (32 km), as reported by TP, but even in a straight line, about 225 km. But this identification seemed so successful to him that for its sake he even proposed to abandon the connection with *Artaxata*, considering it the result of a confusion with *Gravete*.

However, following TP data leads to better results. Let's start with Artashat, as Muller successfully did. As it was already said, there are not many ways to move from Artashat: the south-eastern route, as has been said, is rejected because of its identification with the route *Artaxata — Ecbatanus Partiorum*. For the same reason (this time, so that in the initial, significant part of the route it does not be identified with the route *Artaxata — Strangira*), perhaps the route through the Avan gorge can also be rejected. So, there are two options. *Azat gorge* and *Urtsadzor*. In case of moving along this route, it was possible to go out either to *Vayots Dzor* or to the *Sevan* basin. This last option would be especially logical, because it would pass by the Orbelyans' inn of the 18th century. However, on the second track, we do not see any toponym that could be compared to *Geluina*. Meanwhile, on the left side of the *Azat gorge*, there is a settlement called *Mets Gilanlar*. It is clear that the last -lar is the later Turkish plural suffix and the root is *Gilan*, which is as close as possible to the TP form. And that settlement is exactly 20 miles (about 32 km) away from *Artashat* in a straight line. It is true that the distance along the bends of the *Azat gorge* increases dramatically, but the current *Artashat — Kaghtsrashen* road (although this is a rather unattractive, dull road) runs on a shorter line, making about 39 km. Apart from that, it is not ruled out that in addition to *Great Gilanlar*, there was simply *Gilanlar*, which was closer. Anyway, this settlement is already quite a likely candidate for the first station.

Sanora

It is marked 24 miles (38 km) from the previous one. H. Martirosyan identifies this station with Bzhni, seeing the connection in the form of name *Bzhni* with Armenian root բուժ "healing", and seeing the same meaning in the word *Sanora*, as Latin *sano*, *sanare*³⁴. It is about 44 miles from *Artashat* to *Bjni*, which corresponds to the data of TP, but the intermediate station in this case cannot be *Gilanlar*, and there is no other suitable place name in these parts. In addition, *Bjni* is located in the *Hrazdan gorge* and is not a crossroads.

In our case, the only way to move from *Gilan* has to cross the *Geghama* mountains quite high, with a pass of about 3100 m, which is significantly higher than the pass of *Vayots Dzor* (about 2400 m). However, there can be no doubt that such a path really existed, the best proof of which is the existence of a rather fundamental bridge of Garni. hardly such a serious structure was created only for a few small villages. And even nowadays, the *Geghama* mountains cut many mountain paths, some of which are even depicted on the maps of the General Staff of the USSR. In a straight line (and thanks to the fairly flat surface of the *Geghama* mountains, the road is little different from a straight one) from *Gilan* to the nearest shore of Lake Sevan, in *Martuni* region, where *Sanora* should be located in this case, is about 42 km. With curves, it will be maybe 3-4 km more, about 46 km, that is 29 miles. This, of course, is significantly greater than the stated one, although it is within the range of the above-mentioned tolerable deviations.

However, there is no place name in this area that would remind of *Sanora*. In general, due to the spread of the foreign population in *Gegharkunik* marz, only a few settlements have preserved their historical names. However, ethnography comes to the rescue here. According to popular conversation, a young bride named *Tsovinar* lived in these parts (by etymology this name is composed of Armenian ծով — *tsov* "sea" and նար — *nar* — is an analog of Greek *Nereid*). She negligently opened the well tap and a lake was formed — this means *Lake Sevan*. Currently, one of the villages around *Martuni* has been renamed *Tsovinar* after that historical character, but it cannot be ruled out that *Tsovinar* could also be called a historical settlement, perhaps in the place of *Martuni* itself, and that name could also be reproduced in Latin as *Sanora*. In particular, we see the expression of the initial *ts* with Latin *s* in TP also in the presentation of the place name *Tsumb* as *Isumbo*³⁵. By the way, Manandyan explains it with the T/I confusion of the first letter in the supposed **Tsumbo* form of writing, while it can be assumed that *Tsumb* was originally presented in the form of *Isumbo* with a vowel prothesis *i*, and thus, Armenian *ծ* in TP corresponds Latin *s*. At least, based on the distance, we can hope that *Sanora* was really at the place of *Martuni*, and on the road

³⁴ **Мартirosян А.**, Армения по Карте Пейтингера, p. 145.

³⁵ **Մանանդյան Գ. Զ.**, Երկեր, Ե. 1984, Գ. Ե, p. 20.

leading to *Vayots Dzor* and passing by the *Orbelyans* Inn. From here, the road was divided into northwest and east.

Lalla and Vgubre

According to TP, there is a Lalla station 12 miles (19 km) away, but there is nothing in the vicinity that reminds of that place name. Identifying it with *Lal* known from other sources and Ptolemy's *Λάλα*, Yeremyan identifies it with the city of Khaghkhagh, locating it on the banks of the *Lopnaz (Aghstev)* river, not far from *Kur*³⁶. However, most probably these are different settlements. First of all, it is not possible because of the distance. according to TP, *Artaxata* to Lalla is 56 miles (about 89 km), while *Artashat* to *Khaghkhagh* is 160 km even in a straight line; in the case of deviations of this order, the reconstruction loses its meaning. And on the other hand, another 10 miles from this point (about 16 km) there is a settlement that probably corresponds to that *Vgubre (Ucubri* in RA) station. This is the town of *Gavar*, located about 31 km northwest of *Martuni*. It is not difficult to notice that the word *Gavar* is very similar to *Vgubre* without the initial V: *Gubre* — *Gavar*. As for the difference between *b/v* consonants, it is quite regular and is also expressed in the other place names of in case of TP. And the initial V could be a Roman numeral indicating the distance between the previous station (in role the digit "5") and was attached to the next word as a result of confusion. It is true that in that case the distance between the previous station would no longer correspond to the TP data, but the received phonetic identifications seem so convincing that this inaccuracy prevails, which, in the end, may have many explanations. It may be caused, for example, by the presence of settlements not included in TP, but included in the list of RA. Or, another explanation: the author of the TP used at least two damaged originals, one of which already preserved an X written very close to *Gubre*, which he likened to the initial V, but missing the distance numeral, and the other with a remnant of the numeral, which he interpreted (and this time, departed correctly) as X, but *Gubre* was absent, and the TP author of those two pieces created a unified version. Below we will see similar cases, and also vice versa, when the initials of the place name were perceived as distance digits.

In this episode we have one more inaccuracy. as said, Armenia is not mentioned in the TP, while it is usually mentioned in the maps of those eras. It is also mentioned in RA, which, as we can see, is directly related to TP. Yeremyan simply considers it a mistake, and the *Media Maior* written in the region of *Artaxata* corrects it to *Armenia Maior*³⁷. And within the framework of the observed episode, it is also possible to make some assumptions about the particular reason for which that bug crept in. As we have seen, this part of the original could be damaged, and that damage could include the beginning of the ARMENIA MAIOR writing there, destroying the first two letters and

³⁶ Еремян С. Т., Торговые пути Закавказья в эпоху Сасанидов, р. 84.

³⁷ Еремян С. Т., Торговые пути Закавказья в эпоху Сасанидов, р. 81.

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damaging the N. As a result, the part MENIA would remain, which is meaningless, but due to the similarity of the letters N and D (see the table of letter forms), if the copyist is far from geography, but knowing the geographical name MEDIA could "restore" the familiar geographical name here. This assumption is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the *Media Maior* is written skewed to the right in relation to the almost proportional section of the route *Condeso — Teleda*, suggesting that some part is missing on the right side of the writing. In fact, a slight change has drastically changed the meaning. The existence of this bug is an additional explanation for other bugs in the place names of the entire section, which can thus be considered unreliable. Indeed, in addition to the fact that the two toponyms are missing in the TP, the existing ones are also different from the writing in the RA list: In TP — *Lalla*, in RA — *Laia*, in TP — *Vgubre*, in RA — *Ucubri*. Yeremyan connected the *Liponissa* toponym of this section with the Armenian *Lpink* toponym and saw an additional argument for locating it on the banks of the Kur. Meanwhile, as we can see, the reading of this whole passage is not reliable.

In addition, if that part of the map was perceived as Great Armenia, it is clear that at least the western part of the Circular Route definitely should be searched for in Армения, and not in *Vrkan (Hyrcania)*, *Virk (Kartli)* or *Aghvank (Caucasian Albania)*.

If we return to TP *Lalla*, since the previous and subsequent stations are located by keeping the specified distances, it can be located with sufficient accuracy also based on distance alone, placing it about 18 km from *Martuni* and about 15 km from *Gavar*. on the shore of Lake Sevan, approximately in the direction of the current *Gegharkunik* village. As for the name, it can be assumed that it is related to flowers, from the Iranian word *lala* "poppy" (or maybe it also meant "rose"). The point is that according to Stepanos Orbelyan's directory of villages, there were a number of place names with similar «flower» meanings in this region: *Vardenik*, *Nerkin Vardenik*, *Tsaghka*. However, in Orbelyan's list there is another place name, *Ghekhk*, in which one can see the result of phonetic change of *Lalla*. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact locations of those place names. As for *Liponissa* and *Tilida* in RA, if we accept the assumption of their location on a parallel line, then taking into account that in that place, parallel to the shore of the lake, a ridge with a relative height of about 200 m and a width of about 5 km rises: it can be assumed that those two stations were behind that chain, approximately in the place of the present-day *Gegharkunik* and *Dzoragiugh* villages.

Liponissa and Tilida

These two toponyms exist only in RA, and the information is insufficient for a more or less reliable localization.

Teleda

After *Vgubre*, the next TP station, *Teleda* (according to RA, *Telada*) is 40 miles away (about 64 km). The city of Դիլիջան (*Dilijan*), whose name is similar to *Teleda*, is located exactly at that distance from present-day *Gavar*. The beginnings of the words are almost

identical. It is also not difficult to explain the representation of the affricate [j] through its first component, [d]. Finally, the last [n] could be considered as an article and not expressed in Latin. It is possible to assume the opposite: that the toponym did not originally have that last [n], and it was added later, when under the influence of the word *quū — jan* "soul" the article [n] began to be perceived as part of the word base. In any case, matching by distance and being close by sound, this toponym remains within the logic of TP.

Philado

TP's *Philado* station (in the RA list corresponds to *Teladalfir*; there is also the spelling *Theladalfir*) is located 64 miles (about 102 km) from the previous one.

S. Yeremyan, and following him also S. Muravyov considers this to be the result of the distortion of the word *Tiflis*, suggesting a rather long and complicated path of that distortion. However, the fact that this toponym completely includes the previous *Telada* toponym is ignored. And this may mean that this place name is not distorted at all, and the form of TP, *Philado*, is somewhat distorted. Perhaps the place names *Telada* and *Teladalfir* can be in semantic opposition. "upper/inner" "old/new" or some other similar order. Including tribal ones, as, for example, there are *Արաղւ — Arzn* (Armenian town) and *Արաղւ-Ռում* *Arzn-Rum* > *Arzurum / Erzurum* (Roman i.e. Greek *Arzn*).

From *Dilijan* you can go in two directions. to Ijevan and to *Vanadzor*. But we already know that this road should also reach *Armazi*, and the shortest way is through Ijevan. The history of the Ijevan toponym also speaks in favor of it. Based on the above conditions that we have no right to arbitrarily ignore the location of the TP, according to which *Philado* is expressly depicted far from the mouth of the Cyrus (Curi) and to the southeast, we must accept that it was located in the present to the southeast of Kazakh and had no connection with *Tiflis*, but was located precisely in the place of present-day *Aşağı Quşçu*, 100 km away from Dilijan. Indeed, according to TP, *Teleda*, identified with Dilijan, is south of the mountain range parallel to *Kur* river (which certainly represents the mountains of *Artsakh*), and *Philado* is already outside the line of those mountains.

The anonymous station with lodge

If, as assumed, the first unnamed station marked with cabins is *Partav*, then the distance between it and the previous stations will be about 150 km, or 100 miles. This is quite a long distance compared to the others, although there are even longer distances in TP. Thus, between the stations of *Berdanna* and *Ecbatavis Partiorum* is 120 miles (written as *cxx*). There are even bigger numbers. In any case, the distance from *Philado* to the *Anonymous station* is not indicated, and therefore the obtained 100 miles does not contradict the TP data in any way. However, it cannot be ruled out that the anonymous station is *Gandzak*. In that case, the distance would be only about 70 km (47 miles). At the same time, it should be noted that *Gandzak* is mentioned only from the Vth century, and although the RA is also from that century. The sample of the TP that has reached

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us is definitely a later work, although it is considered that the TP was not updated after the Vth century. But, of course, it cannot be completely excluded.

Tegamia and Gravete

Now let's go back to Sanora and try to locate *Tegamia* and *Gravete* stations of RA's first list. As it was said above, it is usually considered that these two toponyms are distorted versions of *Geluina* and *Artaxata* stations from the other RA list, which took from another source. However, it overlooks the possibility that the last two stations of the second list of RA coincide with the stations of TP, while the last two stations of the first list of RA are on a different line.

After the location of *Geluina*, its identification with *Tegamia* is no longer urgent, although this cannot eliminate the obvious similarity with *Geghama*. It is also effective to compare this place name with the place name reported by Arabic and Persian sources as *Kil-kuy*, *Kili-kun* and other similar forms, which Marquart presents simply as *Gelakuni*³⁸. According to Manandyan's location, this station should be located on the border of Gegharkunik and *Vayots Dzor* provinces. And on that border, in the highest part of the *Vayots Dzor* mountain pass, there is the famous *Orbelyan inn*. And although it is a structure of a much later period, its existence confirms that there could also be a settlement in its place or nearby, which, being at the border of Gegharkunik, could be called Gegharkunik or *Geghama*. Such a location for *Tegamia* makes it possible to correct it to **Gegamia* and supports the hypothesis hinted at above that the two RA lists represent two different routes that simply intersect at Sanora. In fact, it means that from Sanora to *Artaxata*, apart from the road passing through *Geluina*, there was another road that passed through the *Vayots Dzor* mountain pass.

It remains to be seen where *Gravete* is. Within the framework of this research there is no more need to try to identify *Gravete* and *Artaxata*. Moreover, it is possible that after the *Vayots Dzor* mountain pass, the road did not go to *Artashat* at all, but to *Tsghuk* (Տղնկ), moving through the *Vorotan gorge*, *Goris*, and then the *Arax* and *Kur* rivers. Moreover, it is tempting to see the corresponding place names in the same list of *Garreas*, *Axara* and **Cyropolis* place names. However, for this we have to accept that this list does not represent consecutive stations of one route, but its beginning is the continuation of the end, and that is in reverse order. In addition, at the beginning we have the place name *Armastica*, which is most likely identified with *Armazi* of *Virk*, so it seems even more likely that these settlements are also located in *Virk*.

In that case, it becomes more likely that *Gravete* was a separate settlement between **Gegamia* and *Artaxata*. Judging by the characteristics of the terrain, after *Gegamia* the road should have moved almost exactly to the west, and then went down to *Urtsadzor* (Ուրծաձոր), near the village of *Vedi* (Վեդի). And a question arises: Is the similarity with the second part of *Gravete*, *-vete*, a coincidence? There is an opinion that

³⁸ Մանանդյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Ե. 1984, Գ. Ե, p. 193.

the name *Vedi* originated from Persian word "gorge, valley". In that case, it could be connected with the name *Urtsadzor*. "valley of something". But the Persian word originates from Arabic. يداو «bed, channel», therefore it hardly was existed before the VIIth century. However, there is also a problem of PIE. $u\check{a}dh-$, $u\check{a}dh-$ "to pass" root, from which in different languages came words with the meaning of "hole, shallow", from which the meaning of "valley" can also be derived, as "a place to pass".

As for the first part, we can assume a connection with the Armenian word "crow". different place names are known with this word. *Agravavank*, *Agravakar*, etc. This one could also be "*Agravadzor*". But, this last one can certainly be considered only a hint of a hypothesis.

It is also necessary to mention Martirosyan's version: he finds that *Gravete* is the *Jrvezh* (Ջրվեժ) village. Phonetically, it is quite an interesting proposal, but in that case, we have to abandon the localization of *Tegamia* /**Gegamia* in the *Vayots dzor* mountain pass, and return to the identification of *Tegamia* and *Geluina*, which seems less convincing, although it cannot be completely rejected. But it is more important that in that case, an illogically extended route is obtained: from the beginning sharply to the west, and then again to the east to reach *Artashat*.

Bustica

And now let's try to locate the stations of the other branch of the Circular Route. *Bustica* is the first after *Sanora* and 24 miles (about 38 km) are given between them. At this distance is the current city of *Vardenis*. In ancient times, *Vasakashen* settlement was located in this place³⁹. *Alishan* assumes that the settlement got its name from *Vasak Gabur*, that is, in the 10th century, but considering the prevalence of the name *Vasak* in *Syuni* family since ancient times, it can be assumed that the name of the village can come at least from the Vth century. It is not difficult to notice the similarity of the word *Bustica* with the first part of the *Vasakashen* place name: *Vasaka*-shen. The initial transition $b > v$ can be considered regular: we already saw it during the *Vgubre* — *Gavar* comparison. And the possibility of graphic confusing $a > u$ and $a > ti$ is presented below.

Bustica
↓
Bustica

Satara

The distance of this station from the previous one is 18 miles (about 29 km). In order to join the other branch of the circuit road (in *Partav*), it is necessary to move towards the *Tartar Gorge*. There is no settlement at the distance indicated by this road, but 13 km from *Vardenis* is *Sodk*, whose name is similar to the first part of the name *Satara*. As for

³⁹ Ղեկոնդ Ալիշան, Սիսական. Յակոբեան Ա., Պատմա-աշխարհագրական եւ վիճագրագիտական հետազոտութիւններ (Արցախ եւ Ուտիք), Կիւննա—Եր., 2009, p. 250.

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the -ara ending, it cannot be ruled out that the given toponym could have been known in another version, in which instead of the plural -q, there would be the plural -ear, **Sodear*⁴⁰, which could be expressed in Latin with that ending. This suggests that despite the distance discrepancy, which could have been a simple error, *Sodk* cannot be overlooked in locating *Satara*, especially since the entire province was named after *Sodk*. After all, this settlement could have changed its position over the centuries, especially since, as Stepanos Orbelyan notes, *Sodk* was known for harsh winds. It also suggests that it should have had a mountainous position as high as possible. If we assume that it was located roughly on the site of the current *Workers' settlement* (*Բանվորական ավան*), then the distance would be about 20 km (about 13 miles), which is closer to what is required, but still, there seems to be a typo.

At the same time, another interesting circumstance. While studying the path of the *Dvin — Partav* old road H. Manandyan comes to the conclusion that a part of it also passes along the current *Martuni — Vardenis — Sodk*⁴¹ route. And surprisingly, it turns out that this part is actually shorter than it is presented in Arabic sources⁴². It can be explained by some natural features of that part, under the influence of which the measurements gave a smaller result, or by the existence of some general example, which was followed by the guides of later times. Manandyan's assumption that Arab stations could be located not in Armenian villages but in specially built inns, which in fact could be located significantly far from those villages⁴³, is also interesting: it was mentioned in the introduction using examples of guest houses from the Russian map.

Lazo

Finally, the location of the previous *Satara* station on the site of *Workers' settlement* is also confirmed by the location of this station, which should be 16 miles (about 25 km) away from it. 24 km beyond the bends of the *Sodk* mountain pass from the *Workers' settlement*, the road reaches the *Lev* river and 3 km upstream from that point is the village of *Lev*, whose name was probably expressed in the form of *Lazo* in TP. It is true that *Lev* village is located a little far from the road, but it is not excluded that a settlement of the same name, or a tavern of the same name of that settlement (see

⁴⁰ Ղազարյան Ա., Հայոց լեզվի համառոտ պատմություն, p. 234—235.

⁴¹ Մանանդյան Հ. Հ., Երկեր, T. 5, p. 208.

⁴² Manandyan accepts this Arabic farsakh as equal to 5752.8 meters. However, in this case, the obtained distances are significantly more than the real ones. At the same time, knowing that the entire length of the *Dvin — Partav* route according to al-Istakhri is 82 farsakhs and measuring (using Google Earth) its real length in kilometers (370 km), we get that the used farsakh should have been approximately 4512 m. On a number of Internet sites, another value of the Arabic farsakh is given (the source of which, unfortunately, could not be found), according to which 4 farsakhs are equal to 1 barid — 19.31 km, from which 1 farsakh will be 4827.5 m, which is thus closer to reality (especially if you consider take the inaccuracy of measuring with Google Earth due to "correcting" small bends in the road).

⁴³ Մանանդյան Հ. Հ., Երկեր, T. 5, p. 208.

also below) could have existed at that point on the main road in the past: approximately on the site of the present *Knaravan* (Քնարավան). In addition, a number of TP stations are named after river crossings. However, it seems that, except for the first letter, the name Lev is not very similar to the name *Lazo*. But it is not excluded that the name *Lazo* is corrupted. It is known that *z* and *b* are extremely similar in TP typefaces (see sample characters above). By making the mentioned correction and remembering that *v* can be expressed by **b** in the place names of this region of TP (remember the pairs *Vgubre* - *Gavar* and *Bustica* - *Vasaka*) we will get **Lavo*, which is already almost identical to Lev. The *o* at the end of the word probably represents the genitive case of the Armenian toponym: *Levoy* (Լեւոյ). H. Martirosyan identifies this station with *Odzun*⁴⁴, because sees *Jaco* of RA as a variant of this name, which he connects with lat. *jacio* with the meaning "serpent" (Arm. *Odz* (Օձ, mean "serpent" too). However, to be *Odzun*, *Lazo* should at least be on the upper arm of the Circular Route of TP. And besides, RA doesn't seem to have the form of *Jaco*, but only *lazo*. Finally, Lat. The meaning of the Latin word *jacio* is "to throw", and only the derivative *jaculus* means "snake", and in a metaphorical sense, as "quickly throwing".

Osmot

This concludes the known stations of the *Circular Route*. One can only guess how the part of the route represented by the unnamed stations was passed. However, the terrain can help in the reconstruction of the track. If we start from the assumption that the number of anonymous stations in TP is not conditional, but it is really five, as shown and the first anonymous station was *Partav*, then there would be only 120 km to *Lev* and the average distance would be about 7 miles (20 km), and since the road could pass only through the *Tartar* gorge, the stations could probably be the confluence of the *Lev* and *Tartar* rivers, present-day *Dadivank*, *Getavan*, *Haterk*, *Mataghis*. In this version, it actually coincides with the old *Dvin* — *Partav* road.

And if the first unnamed station was *Gandzak*, then the length of that section would be about 180 km and the average distance between the stations would be about 20 miles (about 30 km). And they may have existed in present-day *Goranboy*, *Partav*, *Mataghis*, *Haterk*, *Dadivank*. However, although the stations are more evenly distributed with this version, it is less likely due to the later rise of *Gandzak*.

It is interesting, however, that according to al-Istakhri's data, there were the following stations from *Partav* to *Sodk*: *Kalkatus*, which Marquart and Manandyan identify with *Kaghanakatyuk* (which is also located in the vicinity of present-day *Mataghis*), *Metris* station, which Manandyan, correcting the first letter of this place name known in Arabic script, identifies with *Haterk*. Thus, since these last stations are the same in both versions, they can most probably be considered anonymous stations.

⁴⁴ **Мартirosян А.**, Армения по Карте Пейтингера, р. 145.

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Besides these, there is another important problem. As we know, the above-mentioned *Lazo* station at RA is presented in the form of *Iazo*, and with it begins the list of stations on the road passing through the Armenian capital. Moreover, it is located near the town called *Osmot*. In turn, that *Osmot* is one of the final settlements in another list, the third from the end, after which the cities of *Saracos* and *Bethessa* are listed. That list is quite large and consists of 56 names, moreover, most of the settlements are not known from other sources. Only a couple can be identified with serious reservations with those reported by Ptolemy or TP. If they were successively located on a single track and their average distance was at least 20 miles (about 30 km), the distance between the ends of that track could be about 1,650 km, and the route, which ended at the Circular Route, could have been extended to the east — to Afghanistan. However, this is of course unlikely, because RA lists often violate the sequence of settlements⁴⁵, and often list the settlements of neighboring roads in one list. And indeed, the fact that TP has almost no roads in region of the Caspian Sea, while at least two major roads should have passed in that area: one along the southern coast of the *Caspian Sea*, along the current *Lenkaran — Resht — Gorgan* line, and the second one along the *Ardebil — Zanjan — Tehran — Damghan* line. The eastern part of TP route *Ecbatanis Partiorum* (modern *Hamadan*) — the *Nagae* (*Damghan*) (east of Tehran) can be seen as a part of the that second route, while their main parts are completely absent in the TP. So, with a high probability, the stations of these lines are on the lists of RA. Unfortunately, based only on the preserved traces of place names, it is hardly possible to locate them and restore those paths. However, the special position of *Osmot* in that list, near the city of *Iazo* ("*luxta vero Osmot est civitas quae dicitur / Iazo*"), which has been successfully identified with *Lev*, provides a unique opportunity to locate the settlements of at least the westernmost terminus of one of these routes.

If that *Osmot* is one of the cities on the road approaching the *Circular Route* from the west and is not far from *Iazo*, then it must be concluded that the closest settlements of the two roads are those two, and in the section of the last two cities ending the list, the road should have left *Iazo* from. As we saw, the *Lazo* (*Iazo*) section of the Circular Route could pass through *Lev* and then through the *Tartar* gorge, therefore, if any other road approached *Lazo* from the west, it would have to pass through the same *Tartar* gorge. In that case, at least some of the stations east of *Lazo* should have coincided with stations on the RA list that preceded *Osmot*. It does not contradict the TP data, because those TP stations are anonymous. But it means that at least one other track joined the Circular Route somewhere. It could be in *Partav*, or not reaching it.

As for the last two cities of RA's list, *Saracos* and *Bethessa*, they should have been further from *Lazo* (*Iazo*). And the only option that satisfies this condition is that they should have been found in the part of the *Tartar* sources. About 22 miles (33 km) above

⁴⁵ Бородин О. Р., «Космография» Равеннского Анонима, р. 58.

the confluence of the *Tartar* and *Lev* rivers, towards the upper reaches of the *Tartar*, is the *Tsar* settlement, the historical center of *Tsar* principedom. Taking into account that, as we have noticed, in TP Armenian [ts] is represented by *s* in Latin, it can be assumed that the first part of the name *Saracos* represents the toponym *Tsar* itself. If this supposition is correct, then the next city of *Bethessa* must have been located higher up the *Tartar*. Another 5 miles (about 8 km) from *Tsar* is the current place called *Jermajur* (Arm. “warm water”) which is famous for its *hot springs* and *geysers*. It is located at an altitude of about 2200 m above the sea level, and there was hardly any more or less important settlement in the higher zone, therefore, if the judgments are correct, then *Bethessa* could have been only in this place. The composition of the *Bethessa* toponym is remarkable, in which one can notice PIE root **bhē-* “hot”: compare with English *bath*. It is true that in Armenian [ē] should have replaced [i], but within the framework of the accuracy of the RA lists, such a typo is quite possible. Let's also note that this may correspond to *Vayunik* mentioned by Movses Daskhurantsi⁴⁶, where the royal bath was located. With some probability, it can be assumed that component *Vai-* of the name *Vayunik* reproduces the *Beth-* initial of *Bethessa*.

Unfortunately, there are no toponyms in *Tartar* gorge or the surrounding areas that remind us of *Osmot* or its predecessors; for example: *Cimmir*, *Castrin*, *Samarra*. Perhaps *Osmot* could be in today *Dadivank's* place. In that case, *Cimmir* could be in *Haterk* or *Mataghis* (*Warnkatagh*, *Hakob Kamari?*), and *Castrin* already in the region of *Partav*. The locations and identifications of the stations on this route are given in the table below.

In this and the following tables, identifications with phonetic or semantic parallels with the place names attested in modern maps are indicated in **bold**, semantic or toponymic parallels with bibliographic materials are underlined, and the revised distances are indicated in **bold italics**. The missing distances in TP are indicated by ∅. In the last column, the deviation of the given distances between the adjacent stations of TP and measured by Google Earth is presented, in percentages. In cases where the value in the table differs from the value given in the corresponding place of text, the final value is the value in the table.

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Artaxata	Artashat				
Geluina	Mets Gilanlar	20	32	35	9.38
Sanora	Martuni, * Tsovinar	24	38	45	18.42
<u>Lalla</u>	Gegharkunik, <u>Դեհոս</u>	12	19	20	5.26
Vgubre	Gavar	10	16	13	-18.75
Teleda	Dilijan	40	64	64	0.00
Philado	Aşağı Quşçu	64	102	100	-1.96
		<i>170</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>277</i>	<i>Average 3.75</i>

⁴⁶ Մ. Դասխուրանցի, գիրք 3, ԻԳ.

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Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Sanora	Martuni, *Tsovinar				
Bustica	Vasakashen, Vardenis	24	38	38	0.00
Satara	Sotk, *Sotear	18	29	20	-31.03
Lazo	Lev, Knaravan	16	26	27	3.85
		58	92	85	Average -7.61

According to RA data reconstructed route

Although the problem of this research is the reconstruction of TP, not RA routes, following Muravyov, let's try to see what we can learn from what RA reported. It has already been mentioned that usually the RA lists are made up of sections of stations of different routes, taken by unknown principles, which makes it difficult to locate them and even more so to reorganize the routes based on them. However, due to the name *Armastica*, which is identified with great certainty, and some observations of Mouraviev, it is possible to reconstruct one other route else. Although, as we will see, only some of Muravyov's identifications make this possible, while others remain highly speculative, as they do not fit into any expressed sequence.

Lezela and Szala

Now let's look at the path leading to *Armastica*. First, let's try to find where the fork in the road leading to *Armastica* could be. It can be seen from the TP drawing that it should have not reached *Philado*. It seems likely that the crossroads must have been near present-day *Ghazakh*. This is especially likely because the *Lezela* station, which was probably the first station on the route to *Armastica*, is marked between *Teleda* and *Philado*, above the red route, and was located near the present-day village of *Poylu qasabasi*, which it also passes through today is the road in the direction of *Armazi*.

After *Lezela* station, its distance is indicated as 9 miles. But from which point is it mentioned? It can be assumed that this station must have been on the red line before *Philado*, and 9 miles is the distance from the Circular Route itself, at the point where the road leading to *Armazi* joined it, and it was written in such an inconvenient position simply because of lack of space.

As for *Sazala*, Muravyov's identification with *Dzalisi* seems quite convincing.

Camia

In any case, the location of *Sazala* clearly marks the path leading to the *Western Kartli*, which started near *Khaghkhagh* (*խաղխաղ*). It becomes more certain, when *Camia* station is located. Muravyov quite convincingly identifies this name with the present-day village of *Okami* (*Օկամի*), which is located about 8 miles (12 km) from the previous station. Although he tries to explain the absence of the initial o in a rather complicated way, by confusing it with the name of the nearby *Caspi* settlement, because it seems


surprising to him that the absence of that important settlement in the list of RA. However, perhaps the explanation can be simpler: a simple typo, or a similar perception of that word by foreigners.

As for the absence of the *Caspi* toponym in the RA list, it has already been said: it should be realized (and RA emphasizes this) that not all settlements are included in the list, and we don't even know on what principle they were selected. In particular, the *Armazi — Dzalisi — Okami* and *Armazi — Caspi* roads are located in different valleys separated by a small mountain range, which communicate with several gorges. By the way, *Okami* and *Caspian* are also connected by such a small gorge. It is clear that RA listed the stations of one of those lines and did not mention the others. Maybe he considered them more important, in particular, taking into account the factor of the impassibility of roads in territory near Kur during river flooding (which, by the way, is also noticed by Muravyov). Let's note that even today, the one passing through Okami has a higher status among those two roads connecting the capital with the western regions.

Garreas

It is enough to look at the map and it will be clear that the next important settlement after *Okami* is the current *Gori* (გორი). Therefore, it is not difficult to notice that the name *Garreas* conveys the name of that settlement. *Gori* is located in the last and widest part of the above-mentioned mountain range, where the above-mentioned two paths actually join.

Axara and Portum

But the next station is not so obvious. Today, there are no settlements of special importance in the vicinity of Gori on the road connecting with the *West Kartli*. However, one of them, *Agara* (აგარა), resembles *Axara* from RA list, which differs only in the second letter. Muravyov explains such a mistake by the fact that the Latin script was copied from the ancient Greek original, in which the Georgian [g] was expressed by X, as voiceless [kh], and was mistakenly kept unchanged when it was converted into Latin. Could a Georgian voiced consonant have been expressed with a Greek voiceless consonant? Muravyov believes that today it is difficult to say whether the Georgian sound was voiced or voiceless. However, this is a dubious claim. Georgian აგარა is a loan from Armenian *agarak* (աղարակ), which in turn is a mediated loan from Greek ἄγρος, so it is unlikely to have been voiceless in Georgian at some stage. If we are really dealing with distortion, it is easier to assume graphical distortion. Roughly like this, the opening of the upper and lower rings of the Latin letter, turning into a cross: . And although this also seems unlikely, it is more likely than the previous one.

In addition, Marquart suggests that this toponym should be considered as a single toponym with the next *Portum* toponym: *Axara Portum* "Port of Axara". Both Muravyov

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and Yeremyan admit it. However, Yeremyan takes into account that the Kur is navigable up to the current *Evlakh*, and he locates this settlement with a compound name on those sides. But as we can see, the logic of RA's path leads in the opposite direction, in the western direction. And there was hardly a port here on Kur.

However, the Latin word *Portus* (accusative: *Portum*) in addition to the meaning of "harbor" also has the meanings of "shelter", "river mouth", "storage", and could have a completely independent use from the previous *Axara*, and with the such meaning of the name, the settlement could be to be anywhere. This *Portus* is marked in a conventional location on the chart.

Anyway, if we follow the logic that at least some of the stations on the RA list are located towards *West Kartli* and then on the route leading to *Colchis*, this remains the most logical option.

Cipropolis

It has long been considered that *Cipropolis* should be corrected to **Cyropolis*, which seems to be a mistake, arising from the external similarity⁴⁷ of the manuscript *ip* and the letter *y*, which could have been considered quite a plausible assumption if it would have helped to reliably locate this station. And this was done in order to identify it with the *Cyropolis* mentioned by Ptolemy in *Media* (not far from a river, which in ancient times also bore the name of *Cyrus*, and is now identified with the river *Shah-rud*), and which is located near the present-day *Resht* (see picture above at the beginning of the section)⁴⁸. However, as said, Miller's location does not take into account the other TP data at all.

Yeremyan and Muravyov find that this station has nothing to do with the *Cyropolis* of *Resht*, but the Kuri of the *Cyrus River*. According to the logic of the track reconstructed by Yeremyan, that station should have been in the lower reaches of the *Kur*, where it is still navigable. that is, not far from the previous *Axara Portum*. The logic of Muravyov's restoration moves it from east to west, the middle course of the *Kur*, identifying it with *Surami* (*სურამი*), although he finds such a tempting identification *Surami - Kur* implausible, with which one can fully agree, since it is difficult to find a suitable intermediary language in the region. under the influence of which the initial *k* would turn into *s*.

However, one can notice a more probable version. It is that **Cyropolis* as "Kuravan" could coincide with the station *Ad mercuium* of TP, which Manandyan corrects to **Ad Metcurium*, seeing in it the Georgian name of *Kuri Mtkvari*, as "near

⁴⁷ Подосинов А. В., Восточная Европа в римской картографической традиции, р. 227.

⁴⁸ Miller K., Itineraria Romana, sec. 91, col. 654, pic. 215.

*Mtkvari*⁴⁹. In this case, there is no need to have two different settlements with the same river name on the same river, and besides, the absence of that settlement near the RA becomes legal. It's just that it was included in a different list, unlike *Sanora*, which was included in two different lists. The editors of RA identified it with the station of *Ermu*, but it is most likely another place-name which still exists in the form of *Sairme*. Manandyan also considers *Ermu* to be different from *Ad Metcurium*⁵⁰. Let's notice that we see such a couple in another place. *Ad fl Tigrim* station of TP corresponds to *Tygrinopolis* station near RA.

Thus, it forms the *Lezela — Armastica — Sazala — Camia — Garreas — Axara — Cipropolis* route, which could also branch off from *Axara* to *Fontfelice*. It seems that the rest of the settlements on the list should form a parallel, northern path. However, the identifications of some of them cannot be considered convincing yet, and the position of the others is such that they are not a parallel path, but rather a kind of square in the central *Kartli* valley. It would have been expected that the enumeration of the settlements of the parallel route would begin after *Camia*, when that valley opens, then a return would be made to the main route and its final settlements would be enumerated. On the contrary, the settlements of the supposed parallel line are listed after *Garreas*, when the valley is already wide enough, and the toponyms that can be identified at least to some extent do not appear in the sequence. Although on the other hand, as noted above, it is not necessary that the list of RAs completely represents the paths; it can represent settlements simply by region.

Castillum, Tarsambaram, Aquilleam, Belalus

Let's talk a few words about these four place names (to these we can also add the above-mentioned *Portum*, if it is considered a different station from *Axara*), about whose location we already know almost nothing, because their identification is extremely doubtful. The first two toponyms, like the previous pair, are usually considered one single name: *Castillum Tarsambaram* "Castle Tarsambaram". Indeed, since the first word means a fortress in Latin, it is logical to assume that the next is its name, which was mistakenly separated. But no matter how much there is room for such an assumption, the problem can be solved only if the second one is identified. Unfortunately, a convincing identification has not yet been found. Yeremyan proposed to correct it as *Marsabaran*, as "marzpan of ostan (provincial governor)", the residence of Persian marzpanes: this is how the capital of Albania *Kapaghak* (Կապաղակ) was called in Armenian sources, considering it a variant of its name. Such a solution is quite

⁴⁹ At the same time, of course, we should not forget that Manandyan's tricky proofreading may not correspond to reality: moreover, it is very likely that there was an object of worship of Mercury, the god of trade, on one of the trade routes.

⁵⁰ Մանանդյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 165.

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fictitious in itself, and it does not fit in the framework of the proposed version at all, because it should have been located in the central area of *Kartli*.

Muravyov suggests correcting it as *Garsambaram* (which can easily be done if we assume the existence of its Greek original) seeing it as a compound word, from the Georgian roots *რცხილა* *rc'xila* "hornbeam" (**k'rc'xam!* — from the Kartvelian form) and *ბარი* (*bari* "plain"), and since according to the most common etymology of the name of the city of Tskhinvali, it originates from the attested form of the ancient Georgian *ქრცხილვდლი* *k'rc'xilvali*, he identified it with Tskhinvali, as "Palace Tskhinvali". Here, as in the case of *Axara*, (but in the opposite direction) it is doubtful that a Latin or Greek voiced [g] could have conveyed the Georgian voiceless [kh].

However, *Tskhinvali* can be seen as **ციხესვალე* (*tsikhesvali*) "valley of the castle". In that case, *Castillum* can be seen as Latin *Tskhinvali*. As for *Tarsambaram*, the name of the northern district of *Tskhinvali* is *Tamaresheni*, and it seems that the first part of *Tarsambaram* is a corruption of the name Tamar itself, while the second part seems to be the word *ამბარი* (*ambari*) "barn" as **თამარისამბარი* (*Tamarisambari*) "barn of Tamar", preserved in the form of *Tamaresheni* "village of Tamar". It is traditionally believed that this Tamar was the famous Georgian queen, so it must be a place name of the late period, although nothing prevents this place name from referring to a person who lived earlier.

In this case, *Castillum* and *Tarsambaram*, although they must have been settlements next to each other, but still different.

Yeremyan does not localized the *Aquileam* station at all. And Muravyov, since *Aquila* means "eagle" in Latin, equates this station with the "eagle" village of *არტევი* (*Artsevi*). If this is really an ancient place name, it can be considered acceptable.

Muravyov equates *Belalus* with the village *ბერულა* (*Berula*), based on phonetic similarity, from the *Beruli* word *ბერული* "elderly, lonely". Perhaps there is no place name closer in sound in this region, but *Berula* is not at all suitable in terms of position, from the point of view of forming some additional route with the previous ones.

Artaxata — Sebastopolis

Artaxata XXX Strangira XIII Condeso Ø Misium XIII Gaulita XL Pagas VII Apulum V Caspiae XLV Ad Mercurium XXXV Ad Fontem Felicem LX Sebastopolis

This route was carefully analyzed by O. Manandyan, most of whose localizations are very convincing.

Strangira

Manandyan equates this station with Ashtarak, noting (perhaps rightly) that we are dealing with the same word in a distorted state. The distance from Arataxata is 30 miles (about 48 km), and the distance from Artashat to Ashtarak is about 50 km: more than acceptable precision.

Condeso

14 miles (22 km) from the previous one. Following Kipert, Manandyan identifies it with *Kondakhsaz* village (now *Rya Taza*). However, it is 44 km from *Ashtarak* to *Rya Taza*. Manandyan explains the difference by the fact that RA has *Ianio* (Manandyan writes *Janio*) before this, which Manandyan compares to the village name of *Եանլլի* (*Chanki*) mentioned by Alishan (assuming graphical distortions of the letters) and restoring its form **Tan(c)io*, and whose omission is probably and became the reason for that inaccuracy. However, Alishan describes that village near the village of *Քիլլիլճա* (*Kyullyucha*, Russian: *Gyuluja* on the map, now *Vardenis*), but if the given distance corresponds at least from *Janio* to *Condeso*, or *Strangira*, then it must have been right in the middle of the two, approximately at the site of present-day *Hartavan*; while *Chanki* was about 9 km away from that point. Although, of course, this reduces the inaccuracy. And simply, this is a plausible assumption. after all, if we accept that *Ianio* was really on that road, then its absence is already a bug, which could have brought other bugs with it.

Misium

Between the next stations of this route, it also gives the RA stations that are also not in the TP. We know that RA lists do not always represent consecutive stations on the same route. However, in this case, it seems to be so. Probably, the reason is that in this area of the original, which served as a source for him, there were few routes in general, and the existing stations belonged to those few routes. Although there may have been separate small branches. We saw the "traces" of some of them while reconstructing the "Circular route", and we will see them further below. But one cannot agree with Manandyan that, allegedly, having a more complete guide at hand (which RA probably used), the author of TP omitted some stations due to lack of space. As it was said, TP had a practical meaning, and not a piece of decorative art: the author could not afford arbitrariness. The reason was probably the damages of the specimen in his hand, due to which he could not fill the gaps. Thus, until this station *Misium* gives RA

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Gavala/Ganala, and after this *Savatium*. Unfortunately, neither this *Misium*, nor, even more so, those additional RA stations, are phonetically identified. At the same time, since, as we will see, Manandyan manages to locate the next station quite convincingly, and the main direction of the given section becomes clear, and this one can also be located based on the specified distance from the next one. It should be 14 miles (22 km), which roughly corresponds to the current village of *Aygabatz*.

Gaulita

Manandyan restores the original form of this place name as **Ganlita* (*n/u* due to a graphical confusion) and identifies it with the village of *Ghanlich*a (present-day *Marmashen*). Here, in fact, as in the case of the previous identification of *Chanki* — **Tan(c)io*, Manandyan assumes the representation of the affricate [tʃ] through its first component: a phenomenon that was also noticed when reorganizing the "Circular Route" when identifying *Dilijan* with *Teleda*.

However, we must also note that I, by consonantal use, that is, as J, could directly convey Armenian [tʃ]: let's remember *Isumbo*, where Manandyan again supposes the declension of T, while [t] could have been transferred by *Isumbo*'s s directly, and *i* would have been just an prothesis vowel.

It is interesting that since there is only one large settlement between *Aygabatsi* and *Marmashen*, that is *Kumari*, then only it can be *Savatium* of RA.

Pagas, Apulum and Caspiae

Referring⁵¹ to W. Tomaschek and Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft encyclopedia⁵² Manandyan identifies these with *Poga*, *Abul* and *Hospia*, respectively. This is really convincing, although the deviation from the actual distances here is significant: but such a coincidence, the phonetic similarity of the names of three consecutive settlements, is unlikely. There is only one inconvenience. The point is that *Poga* and *Abul*, corresponding to the first two stations, are off the road to *Sebastopolis*, and to pass through them requires at least a day's detour, while *Hospia* seems to be entered directly by the present *Ninotsminda*. This was probably due to the presence of swamps in this area: they still exist today and are marked on Soviet maps, and in ancient times they were probably more extensive. Manandyan notes the fact, that the distance of *Pagas* from the previous *Gaulita* is about 25 km less than from *Poga*, and explains that in the book of RA there is another station between *Gaulita* and *Pagas*, *Tendava*, whose distance is probably would fill the gap. According to *Manandyan*, that *Tendava* should be located 25 km north of *Ghanlich*a. It can be noticed that the above-mentioned *Ninotsminda* is located at the right distance from *Ghanlich*a (66 km,

⁵¹ Մանանդյան Յ., Հայաստանի գլխավոր ճանապարհները ըստ Պեդոնիզեդեյան թարսեզի, Յերեվան, 1936, p. 118.

⁵² Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1899., col. 1654).

calculated in Phileterian miles). And, probably, *Tendava* is exactly *Ninotsminda*, to which the distance of the source of RA and TP author was mentioned.

Ad Mercurium

Manandyan tricky corrects the name of this station to *Ad Metcurium*, noting that it most likely refers to the Georgian name of *Mtkvari* of the *Kur River*. It is also clearly seen from the mentioned distance from the previous station: 45 miles (72 km): at that distance is the *Kur River* crossing near *Akhaltskha*, near the present-day *Minadze* village. It is only necessary to note that in examining the "Circular route" and some of the stations in the RA list associated with it, *Cipropolis* was said to be right in correcting this to **Cyropolis* (as "City of Cur") and identifying it with this *Ad Metcurium*. See above.

A question may arise, where is that city, and how could it disappear? In connection with this, let's remember that while talking about *Khospia*, Manandyan cleverly notices that its icon with a house on the TP indicates that it was a large settlement in the past, but it lost its importance later, after the formation of the "New City" of *Akhalkalak*. It seems that the same thing happened here, and the city-fortress named **Cyropolis*, which was near the river crossing, later lost its importance and turned into a small village, when Akhaltsikhe's "New Castle" was built not far away (probably to control the *Poshofchay* river crossing) and the new city formed around it. In other words, essentially **Cyropolis* — *Ad Metcurium* is *Akhaltskha* of today.

It was also written about RA's *Ermu* station, which can be identified with the current *Sairme*. There is a mountain peak and a spring with this name, the water of which is bottled today. It gained industrial importance from the end of the 18th century. That settlement is not yet marked on the Russian map, but the mountain peak of the same name in front of it is marked, which suggests that this is an ancient name and a settlement with that name could have existed before. As for the initial *s*, the etymology of that name (even if it is folk etymology) derives it from Georgian. from the word *ირემი* [*iremi*] "deer". Manandyan notices that without this station (as was the case with *Tendava*), the distance to the next station will not be 72 km, as required by TP, but around 110 km. We should add that it is about 68 km from the *Akhaltskha* river crossing to *Sairme*. that is, the assumption that the specified distance is shown only up to *Ermu* gets an additional argument and it is confirmed again that *Ermu* is really *Sairme*. Of course, it should be noted that we are talking about the current road, and on the Russian map it goes through the neighboring valley. Although this does not exclude the existence of this road in ancient times.

Ad Fontem Felicem

This place name is etymologically interpreted as "at happy spring". After the phonetic identification of *Ermu* with *Sairme*, there is no other way from *Ad Mercurium* to the Rion River: the paths restructured by Miller and Manandyan converge here. Although it is not clear what source we are talking about. Others locate this station in *Borjom* based

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on that condition. However, it is clear that *Borjom* is definitely not the only one in the region. The same *Sairme* is also famous for its healing water. One can even assume that *Sairme* is *Ad Fontem Felicem* (especially since that settlement is not yet on the Russian map). However, at first it could have been in older times, and it may have lost its significance during the compilation of the Russian map, but then it would rise again. Also, *Ermu* phonetically matches *Sairme*, while *Ad Fontem Felicem* could have come from another source, of which there are many in these parts. In particular, after leaving the left bank of *Rioni* through *Baghdati*, about 5 km from the road, not far from Inashauri village, a sulfur spring and a small *Tabakuro* pond are indicated on the Russian map: a site that could most likely be the prototype of *Ad Fontem Felicem*.

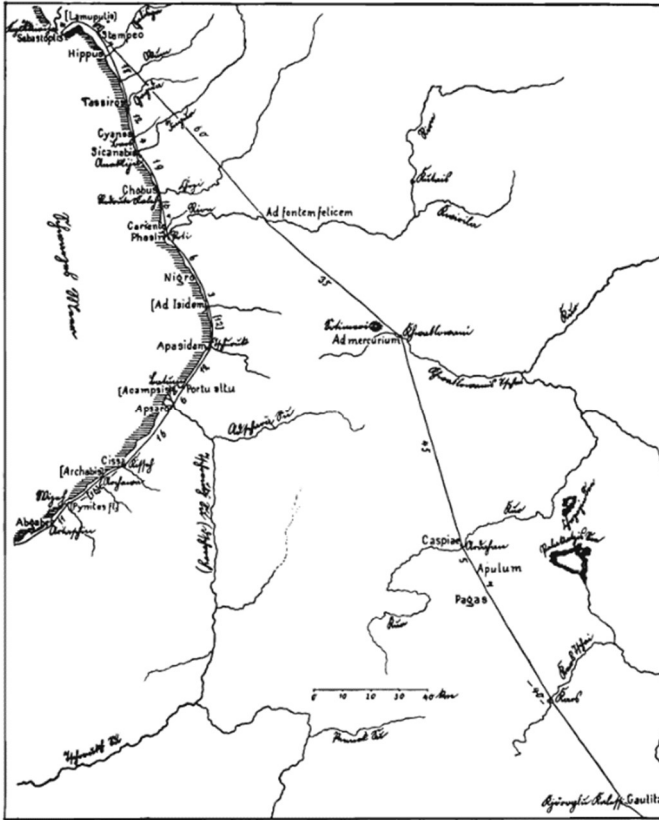
Sebastopolis

It is usually considered that Sebastopolis is the Dioscuria, modern Sukhum⁵³. However, referring to Kipert, Manandyan expresses his opinion that in TP the word refers to another Sebastopolis — the current Poti: according to Kipert, it was also called Sebastopolis⁵⁴ from the time of Trajan, and Manandian notes that the 40 miles (64 km) mentioned in the TP from *Ad Fontem Felicem* to Sebastopolis corresponds to the actual distance to Poti itself (in fact, it is significantly less).

One might add that Sebastopolis being Sukhum contradicts the logic of offering a short cut from being a practical guide to TP; it is absurd to take a passenger traveling along the Black Sea coast to Artashat to Sukhum, that is, to divert him from the main road, extending it by about 250 km (at least for 1 week). Especially if we remember that even before reaching Poti, one could move from Hopa along the Artvin — Artahan — Kars — Bagaran — Artashat route. However, before reaching Poti, it could still be justified by the fact that this was an important junction and, as we saw, the central Kartly route opened from Akhaltskha, while after reaching Sukhum, it turns out that the passenger had to cross the entire Colchis without entering any station. Of course, one could assume that there were some other routes that converged around Sukhum, but such an assumption would be pure speculation: the TP has no hint of the existence of such a route, and the terrain (Sukhum is already squeezed between the sea and the Greater Caucasus) makes the existence of such routes highly improbable. Moreover, the route from present-day Ochamchire to Sukhum, about 50 km, must have taken the same route in both directions, due to the fact that it was squeezed between the sea and the Greater Caucasus, while the TP does not imply the existence of such a section (otherwise, Sebastopol and preceding stations would be depicted on the dead-end branch). That circumstance can be seen already in Miller's reconstruction.

⁵³ **Simonyi Károly**, *A Cultural History of Physics*, p. 93.

⁵⁴ **Yarshater E.**, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (2), p. 764. **Smith William**, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Phasis. **Miller K.**, *Itineraria Romana*, col. 653.



The reconstruction of the eastern part of the Black Sea according to K. Miller⁵⁵.

However, Manandyan's tricky solution contradicts the fact that among the mentioned stations on the western side of *Sebastopolis* there is also the *Phasin* station, which is most likely the *Phasis* identified with *Poti*. In addition, the other mentioned stations are identical by name to the places mentioned by Arrian in his "Periplus of the Euxine Pontus", and his Σεβαστόπολις undoubtedly coincides with *Sukhum* in the description of the place (see below, the reconstruction of the *Trapezunte — Sebastopolis* route).

Thus, the available data contradict each other and a one-size-fits-all solution is impossible. In fact, we have two options: either *Sebastopolis* is really *Sukhum*, but in this case the route has an illogical shape and exceeds the length indicated in the TP by about 70 miles, or the author of the TP has confused two different *Sebastopolis* and *Ad Fontem Felicem*. After the *Felicem* station, the route should have ended not at Sebastopol, but at Phasin. In the first version, the distance between *Ad Fontem Felicem* and *Sebastopolis* should be corrected: it can be assumed that instead of the digit L (50) in the distance

⁵⁵ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic 213.

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Lx, there should have been C (100): In the case of TP fonts, such a confusion is quite likely. Although the illogical form of the route does not change. The second option implies a misrepresentation of the route (in which case the *Phasin* — *Sebastopolis* section should have been depicted as a dead-end branch. Such a blunder seems unlikely and suggests a severely damaged state of the original, when the copyist, knowing that *Ad Fontem Felicem* connected with *Sebastopolis*, but not knowing that it was another name for Phasis, he connected it with the only *Sebastopolis* he knew, *Dioskuria-Sukhum*.

As we can see, the probability of the authenticity of both versions is approximately equal, but considering the logical form of the route as more important, this second element is accepted below. However, as said, all the same, the 40 miles mentioned in the TP is significantly less than the actual distances. Especially, taking into account that due to the marshes of *Colchis*, the road cannot be taken by short paths (although, it is not excluded that in ancient times the terrain and the paths could be somewhat different from today's situation)⁵⁶. In particular, judging by the current roads, the route had to deviate significantly to the south, to bypass *Paleostom* Lake. However, in that case it would be logical that it would connect not with *Sebastopolis* (*Phasin*) but before it, near *Nigro* station. At the same time, the reconstruction of the *Trapezunte* - *Sebastopolis* route shows that the road could not bypass the lake. Notably, *Phasin* does not have a red line stair on the route: Is this not the trace of some uncertainty, which the cartographer could not clarify?

Artaxata — *Sebastopolis* (Phileterian mile)

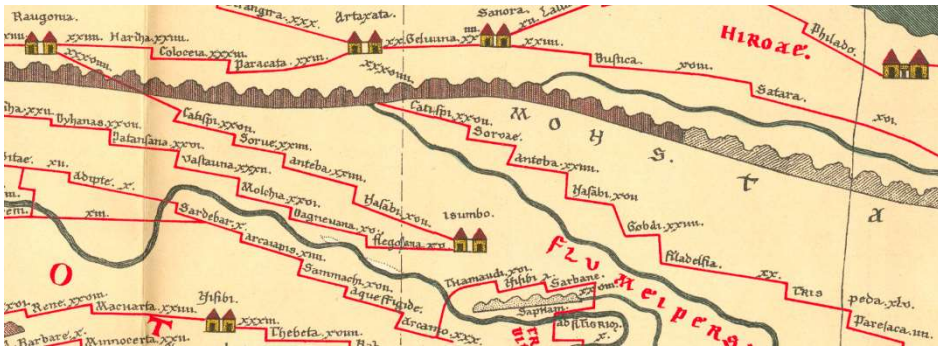
Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Artaxata	Artashat				
Strangira	Ashtarak	30	48	50	4.17
Condeso	Кондахсаз (44)	14	22	30	36.36
Misium	Aygabats	∅	—	—	—
Gaulita	Канлиджа	14	22	23	4.55
Pagas	Рока (94)	40	64	66	3.13
Apulum	Abuli	7	11	16	45.45
Caspiae	Khospio	5	8	11	37.50
Ad <i>Mercurium</i>	Minadze, Mtkvari	45	72	67	-6.94
Ad <i>Fontem Felicem</i>	Inashauri (110)	35	56	67	19.64
Sebastopolis (<i>Phasin</i>)	Poti	40	64	83	29.69
		230	367	413	Average 12.53

⁵⁶ Носелидзе Дж. В., Шаутидзе О. Д., Момцемлидзе Ш. А., Антропогенное воздействие на естественный русловой процесс р. Риони у г. Поты.

Artaxata — Ecbatanis Partiorum

*Artaxata XXXVIII 'Catispi' XXVII 'Sorvae' Ø 'Anteba' XXVIII 'Nasabi' XXVII Gobdi XXVIII Filadefia
XX Tris peda XLV Paresaca IIII Arabum VII Eneca IIII Rhasvm IIII Ad Tomenta IIII Naucanio VI
Nicea Nialia I Ecbatanis Partiorum*

The main problem of this route is the almost complete identity of the *Artaxata — Gobdi* section (Artaxata XXXVIII Catispi XXVII Sorvae Ø Anteba XXVIII Nasabi XXVII Gobdi) with the *Raugonia — Isumbo* section (Raugonia XXXVIII Catispi XXVII Sorue XXVIII Anteba XXVIII Nasabi XXVII Isumbo): the intermediate stations of one of the two sections are actually copied from the stations of the parallel route. There is no doubt that this is the result of a bug. But what is the nature of the bug? What is the real path and what is its "duplicate"?



Raugonia — Isumbo and Artaxata — Gobdi sections of TP.

It is usually considered to be the result of inattention. H. Manandyan considers the *Artaxata — Gobdi* section to be the real one and suggests reconstructing the *Raugonia — Isumbo* section with the help of the corresponding RA list, where three other stations are listed between these two stations⁵⁷:

- Ragaunia*
- Didima*
- Indua*
- Acachia*
- Isumbo*
- Doguavana*
- Maia*
- Bastavena*

⁵⁷ Մանանյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, T. 5, p. 149.

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Such a conclusion is based only on the existence of the relevant section of the RA list: it is assumed that if there really were other stations between *Raugonia* and *Isumbo*, then the real, "original" version is the other one.

The *Didima* following Bagavan in the RA list for the *Raugonia* — *Isumbo* section according to Manandyan matches with the *Didam* settlement (Manandyan wright *Didem*), which was located on the banks of the *Araçani*, near the present *Taşlıçay* settlement. Next, he does not identify the place name *Indua*. As for the third toponym listed in RA's list, *Acachia*, Manandyan unexpectedly presents it in the form of *Archia*, then comparing it with *Archene* mentioned by Pliny and following Marquart, who connects this last toponym with the Armenian province name Hark, finds that RA and this toponym is the form of presentation of the name *Hark*. Of course, *Archene* is quite similar to *Hark*⁵⁸, but RA has the name *Acachia*, so it was necessary to presuppose confusion related to the confusion of letters c and r, which is really possible to imagine.

However, the RA list should be used with caution due to the uncertainty of the relationship between it and the TP stations. It is known (and it was discussed above) that the lists of RA often do not correspond to the consecutive stations of any real road, but only list the settlements of the given region, which sometimes can really belong to the same route. And they may not belong. And indeed, in the case under consideration, we have a different sequence in another place near RA.

Artaxata

Zotozeta

Ragauna

Arsania

Isumbo

Which one to choose? Let's note that some contradiction in the source that the cartographer could not overcome could also have played a role. The evidence of this can be considered the difference in the name of one of the stations. *Sorue* and *Sorvae*, as well as in the second case, the lack of distance between it and the next station. From the nature of the difference between the two names, it is clear that it is not the result of simple inattention on the part of the transcriber: for example, a regular phonetic

⁵⁸ Hovhannes Karagyozyan also refers to this place name in his Cuneiform place names, expressing the opinion that *Archene* not only really corresponds to *Hark*, but also to the cuneiform place name *Arche* (KURArḫe), and that therefore the province name *Hark* does not originate from the word "father", but from this very word: from the cuneiform name, otherwise its genitive would be *Harants* and not *Harkai*, as is attested. However, this logic is not convincing and the form of the verb does not prove anything. The attested genitive is derived from the toponym *Hark* rather than from the word *hark* "fathers". The fact that *Khorenatsi* specifically gives the etymology of the word *Hark* means that it was not obvious in his time. This etymology may be correct or seem to be "folk", but even if it is correct, but it was not realized, it is clear that its case form would also be wrong.

transition is evident, from which it follows that the compiler of TP used two different sources, maybe even from different times. This, of course, does not remove the fact of the bug, but it shows that it had deeper origins. And that means that those parts of the two paths are not interchangeable. In other words, it is not obvious that the "original" is the right *Artaxata - Gobdi* section, and the other is the "mirror" of this one. We will refer to this also when examining the route *Raugonia — Triganocarten*.

In other words, perhaps by an amazing coincidence, there were completely different settlements with very similar names in those two parts, which became the cause of confusion. And the stations related to the same part of RA perhaps represent another version of the map. In particular, *Didima's* identification of Manandyan with *Didam* is probably correct, but it is difficult to say if it has anything to do with any editorial version of TP.

On the other hand, H. Martirosyan expresses the opinion that the map maker took that part out of the free part of the map out of convenience⁵⁹. Then why not simply connect *Isumbo* with the neighboring track between *Nasabi* and *Gobdi* without that duplication? And if that section was not common, then what stations were there between *Artaxata* and *Isumbo* or were there not? As we can see, this ingenious proposal of Martirosyan does not solve the problem, but complicates it even more. Which is clearly demonstrated as a result of its reconstruction, when it turns out that the road connecting *Artashat* to *Tigranakert*, one of the most important roads in the country, is not only a detour, instead of being the shortest, but instead of going on a flat road, it cuts through the *Vaspurakan* mountain range.

Thus, it becomes clear from the variants of the above-mentioned toponym identifications that we cannot draw a single-valued conclusion about the information belonging to the two duplicate paths in question. For that, it is necessary to include other arguments: both logical and psychological. In other words, in further judgments and reconstructions, we cannot uniformly accept the authenticity of one of the verses and the fact that the other is a copy. We are dealing with a distorted section, and as long as we do not guess the logic of this distortion, the authenticity of certain sections of the tracks and the inaccuracy of other sections may be revealed as a result of further reconstruction. For example, as we will see, the correspondence of *Anteba* to *Энтабъ* is much more convincing than to *Artaz*, as suggested by Manandyan: in second case we need an additional assumption is needed, about damage of map (Occam's razor applies). And if we take the interstation distances, it is obvious that they correspond to the *Artaxata — Gobdi* section.

⁵⁹ **Мартirosян А.**, Пути Арташат — Тигранакерт и Арташат — Мцхета, на карте Пейтингера. ИФЖ, 2 – 3, 1999, с. 360.

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Let's try to locate the stations. We will try to locate the stations below. The names of "duplicate" stations are marked with single quotation marks. Although, as mentioned, they may have a distant resemblance to other toponyms.

But first, let's try to analyze the terrain data of this section of the TP, which can be an additional factor for the general location of the route. The last station of this route is *Ecbatan*, the famous capital and religious center of *Media*: in ancient times - *Hangmatana*, today's - Hamadan. The most convenient way to move from *Artashat* to *Hamadan* would be along the *Araks River*. However, as it was mentioned in the preface, the problem is not the reconstruction of the roads of the old world in general, but the roads of the TP itself, but they could have been preferred based on many other reasons. In this case, first of all, the simple fact that the route cuts the main mountain range of this part of the TP, leaving *Tavrus* and *Araks* in the north, stands out.

The main part of the route is depicted along the left bank of some river (*Flvmeipersi* "Persian river"). As we know, different parts of the rivers of TP can mean different rivers. In the lower part, the line of the river is most likely depicted by *Diyala*. And in the upper part, i.e., near *Artashat*, since it could not depict *Arax*, and there are no other outstanding rivers, it remains that it depicted separate parts or tributaries of *Karasu* and *Kotur*.



In which part could the mountain range cut the road (*Armenian range—Mount Ararat*)? It is known that the most convenient, flat and low mountain pass is the *Kharababazar* mountain pass, but when moving from *Artashat*, it is in the opposite direction, and if you go through it, the road will be significantly longer. Besides, in that case, this route would initially coincide with the *Artaxata — Satala* route, while there is no such section in TP. So, the only option remains: the *Lesser Ararat* Mountain pass, on the south-eastern side of the mountain. This is quite a barren and difficult to pass area and it is strange that this is exactly what is mentioned in the TP, but it seems that this is the only one left through elimination method. Indirectly, this perhaps confirms the absence of a red line on the route, as well as the rather large length of that section, 39 miles (at least 62 km), which is more than two days' passage.

At the same time, let's note that knowing the beginning part of the route allows us to roughly estimate the value of miles used in this section. It will be shown below that *Tris peda* station is *Tabriz*. From *Artashat* to *Tabriz* on this road is about 360 km, which corresponds to 175 miles, therefore we are dealing with a mile of 1917 meters. Therefore, the aforementioned section should have been about 74 km.

'Catispi'

S. Yeremyan proposed to identify the name *Catispi* with the place name *Vordspu* known from the manuscripts⁶⁰. The two names are indeed similar in terms of three consecutive

⁶⁰ Մանանդյան Ջ. Ջ., Երկեր, T. 5, p. 171. (Transl. R. T.)

consonants, but objections there are too. First, there must have been confusion due to the similarity of the Latin letters *C* and *O*. Those letters can really be confused, but in this case the second letters must be confused as well, and the confusion of letters *a* and *r* is already much more difficult (in the Gothic font of the map, they have the following appearance: a  and r ). The settlement of *Vortspu* is mentioned by Sebeos in 640 and 650. in connection with the Arab invasions, in the region of *Berkri* and *Kogovit*. According to Sebeos, the Arabs had crossed "...a road closed to the *Berkri* valley with *Vordspu* and with *Gogovit*..." entering *Airarat*. Therefore, the historical *Vordspu* should have been located approximately in the place of today's *Çaldıran*. Manandyan locates it a little to the north, near present-day *Tapariz*, based on the logic of the chroniclers' data, "...that *Vordspu* was located in the region of the junction of the roads leading to *Kogovit* from *Berkri* valley and from *Khoj*"⁶¹.

However, this region is almost equally distant from both the first and second versions of the controversial section, as it contradicts the most reliable localizations. In one case, quite convincingly from *Anteba-Энтабъ*, in the other case, from a road, of *Ecbatanis Partiorum*, i.e., the current *Hamadan*, which would inevitably pass in the area of *Lake Urmia*, and cannot go to *Hamadan* through the *Tapariz* mountain pass.

It remains to localize according to the logic mentioned above and based on the length of that section. In that case, *Catispi* should have been approximately on the site of present-day *Keshmesh Tappeh*.

At the same time, this kind of location makes it possible not to give up the identification with *Vordspu*. It is only necessary to assume that the Arabs did not move through the *Tapariz* mountain pass, but rather through the somewhat lower *Khangeduk* mountain pass. In other words, they crossed the *Vasपुरakan* mountains and ended up in the *Avajik (Karasu)* valley, from where it is more natural for them to move through the *Lesser Ararat* Mountain pass.

Note that according to Sebeos' report, the Arabs entered on the 20th of the month of *Dvin* Tre, "...it was the morning of the month of Tre, the morning of Friday" (Սեբեոս, Պատմության, ԽԲ). It is known that in 428 The 1st of Navasard coincided with August 11, and the 20th of Tre, the fourth month, should have coincided with November 29. Considering the mobility of the Armenian calendar until 640 AD. the calendar would have to be shifted back by 53 days, and the 20th of Tre would coincide with the 5th of October. About 3 more days would be needed to get from the mountain pass (whatever it was) to *Dvin*. The difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars was 3 days in those years. Therefore, in any case, they had to cross the mountain passes at the beginning of October, while according to the data of the Soviet map, the *Tapariz* mountain pass is open only from the 6th to the 9th months, that is, until September. Of course, at that year, the mountain pass might not be closed on that day, but it would be

⁶¹ Մանանդյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 173. (Transl. R. T.)

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cold for sure. Therefore, the Arabs would most likely prefer the *Khangeduk* pass, which is a little lower. At least there is no information about its closure on the map. And at end of all, route through *Khangeduk* and *Lesser Ararat* pass shorter at list of 10 km.

'Sorvae'

This station is marked 27 miles from the previous one. This is the only one of the four duplicated stations whose name differs slightly from the "original" version; the corresponding station of the other route is marked as *Sorue* and, in addition, the length of the next station is missing in the case of the considered route. However, this is the only one of these duplicates, which seems to be phonetically identifiable with the current toponym. And as we will see below, the "exit" sample, *Sorue*, is also phonetically identified: there it corresponds to *Зуро*, the place name— historical *Dzirav* (Չիրավ).

In general, there are a number of toponyms in the region that can be compared with the name of this station. for example: *Zarvan* (historical *Zarevand*), *Zorava* (Russian: *Зурава* on the map), as well as *Zurabad*, *Тай-Заварь* (*Паузвар* on the Soviet map), etc. The first ones are quite far from the previous station and cannot be identified with this one. However, the last one, *Тай-Заварь*, is located 56 km from the possible location of the previous station, *Keshmesh Tapph*. That is the name of the quite large field where today there is also a small settlement of the same name. However, the central settlement is *Siah Cheshmeh* (*Qareh Eynī*, *Qara-Einī*), where many roads cross, and which in ancient times could be called *Zavar*, just like the field. This name differs from the name of the TP station only by the consonant's r/v metathesis, which can be considered a fairly close similarity. Moreover, after *Тай-Заварь*, already in the valley of the *Akchai* River, on the Russian map, south of the village of *Zurabad*, the settlement of *Zurava* is indicated, the name of which corresponds to the station of TP also in the sequence of consonants. And perhaps the name *Zurabad* is appropriate, if we take into account that the determining part of that name is the first. It is true, in that case, it should be assumed that the distance of this site is wrongly indicated, but it is quite possible in this corrupted part. If we prefer the second one between the distance of the station and the similarity of the name, then it can be accepted that *Sorvae* is exactly *Zurava*. Especially since the length of the next part of the route is not indicated. Although, it should be noted that there is a route connecting the two points through the mountains, which is about 10 km shorter, but the passage through the high mountain passes is hardly preferable to the relatively flat route.

The road here leads up the course of the *Karasu*, through the *Avajik* (the upper reaches of the Karasu), then down the *Kyzylchai*, and then into the valley of the *Akchai* (perhaps these rivers are collectively depicted as the *Flvmeipersi* river, the "Persian river", which runs parallel It is true that it is depicted north of the river, while here the road regularly crosses from one bank of the said rivers to the other, but this seems to be in limitation of the graphical possibilities of TP.

'Anteba'

This is probably *Antera* of the RA list, although it is listed in *India*. As it was said, the distance between this and the previous station is not reported by TP. It might be assumed that it could be taken from the appropriate station on the "original" route, where 24 miles is indicated, but an analysis of the route under consideration shows that this is not the case; the actual distance is greater, and the current Khoy (Arm. Խոյ) corresponds to this station. See also *Gobdi* location below. As for the etymology of this name, perhaps it represents the name *Aintap*, which itself has no accepted etymology, but probably consists of Assyrian: *ayn* "spring" and Armenian *tap* "bottom, foot", as «foot of spring». And indeed, both the famous city of *Aintap* (Arm. Այնթափ, Այնթափ) and *Энтабъ* (which is also called *Tutak*, *Dutakh*, *Tutak*) and this one was located in the plains with many springs. We can also see the Semitic toponym in the name of *Kara-Eyni* (*Кара-Айне*) "black spring" settlement, located about 80 km north of *Khoi*. It would be tempting to consider this to be that toponym, if it did not correspond (also phonetically) to *Sorvae*. On the other hand, just as a "source" there could be such a place name at every turn.

Manandyan equates the name *Anteba* with the name of *Artaz* province, assuming that there was a center of the same name in that province. In order to identify the names *Anteba* and *Artaz*, it is assumed that the letters *b* and *z* were confused. This is a completely plausible assumption. The confusion between the letters *n* and *r* is more controversial. And indeed, if Manandyan also gives an example of confusion for the first couple, then he does not say anything about this case, while as can be seen from the table of letter forms compiled by Miller, *n* in TP has such drawings: **н** **Н**, and *r* like this: **р** **Р**. And it is quite difficult to confuse them.

In addition, according to Khorenatsi, the name *Artaz* was given after the homeland of the Alans, therefore, from the beginning it was a country name and it is unlikely that there was a settlement with the same name.

'Nasabi'

The component *ab-* of this toponym can be interpret as Pars. "water" and assume that it was near some *river* or *spring*. After the field of *Khoy*, a semi-desert area begins, almost uninhabited, covered with drying beds and salt marshes. However, 45 km (24 large miles) to the west, an oasis spreads along the *Shor* River, on the northwestern edge of which today there is an inn (also marked on the Soviet map). It is likely that it was also in ancient times and perhaps it is this that was mentioned on the TP as *Nasabi*.

Manandyan sees under this name Armenian place name *Nuarsak*: "Both in name and location, *Nasabi* station corresponds to ... *Nuarsak* village."⁶² He explains the

⁶² Մանանյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 185.

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spelling of the name as the influence of the more familiar for the copyist name *Nisibi* (Armenian: *Mtsbin Uḡpḡū*).

It is difficult to agree with this. The difference between those two names is too big. In addition, historical *Nuarsak* was located in *Her* province⁶³, while if we consider *Khoi* (Arm. *Her*) as one of the TP stations (whether it is *Gobdi*, as believed by Manandyan, or *Anteba*, as accepted here) the neighboring station would not fit in that province because it was a small province covering the *Khoy* fertile plain, about 24 km (15 mi) wide, whereas the TP states that distance to be at least 17 mi.

However, Manandyan's guess does not fully contradict the location adopted here. On the one hand, in ancient times, the administrative territories related to *Khoy* could be more extensive and include this area. In addition, the last *ak-* of the name *Nuarsak* (as "spring") can be seen as corresponding to Persian component *ab-*. In that case, only *Nuars* and *Nas* components should be compared, which are already similar enough to be confused.

Gobdi

As said, this was to be 17 miles from the previous one. And here at a distance of 1917 big miles is the city of *Marand*, which is probably the sought-after *Gobdi* (probably *Gobdie* in the RA list).

Gobdi is usually identified with *Khoy*. Only H. Martirosyan who considers that this is distorted name of *Jugha*, leaving the nature of the distortion unexplained⁶⁴. Marquart connects *Gobdi* with *Khoi*, assuming the origin of the name from the ancient form **Chōδ*, which is not at all convincing: maybe the origin of *d* is explained, but *b* remains unexplained. Miller, on the contrary, assumes the form **Gobai* for this, i.e., it is found that *a* was thought to be *d*. But all the same, *b* remains unexplained. And the most important thing is that in the 5th century the name *Khoy* should have been pronounced *Her*, which completely invalidates this identification⁶⁵.

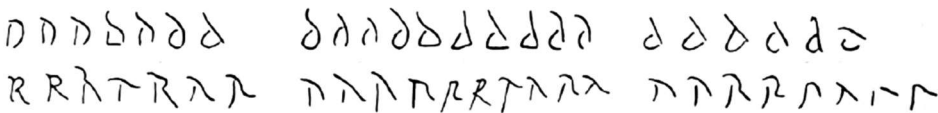
⁶³ Usually identified with the village of *Nissak*, a few miles west of *Khoi*.

⁶⁴ **Мартirosян А.**, Армения по Карте Пейтингера, p. 143.

⁶⁵ It is usually considered that the name *Khoi* means "salt" (there is a salt mine near the city), but the word meaning "salt" has some similarity only in the Kurdish language, *xwe*. But if we take into account that the Armenian name of city — *Her* (Հեր) also had the version *Խեր*: Greek. *Χέρ* (see Hübshman H., *Ancient Armenian Place Names*, Vienna, 1907, p. 209) it can be considered probable that the current name of the city is the result of a distortion of the old name and has nothing to do with Kurdish. *xwe*. Probably the name of the city comes from the PIE root **qer-*, **qor-*, **qr-* "to burn" and is related to some kind of Zoroastrian fire ritual. H. Acharyan notices that Armenian root *khar-* (խար-) originates from the **qr-* form (for example, *khar-uik* խար-ուիկ), the form **qor-* was given Armenian root *khor-* (խոր) (for example, *khor-ov* խոր-ով), and the form **qer-* was not preserved in Armenian. As we can see, it can be stored in the form of this toponym. In that case, *τ* of the Greek name form is a determinative that has not been included in Armenian name (but maybe there was in some variants), and by which derived words were formed from this root in different

It should be noted that this name, neither in Greek nor in Latin, has no meaning, but it reminds of a personal name from the ancient history of Iran, connected with the killing of the magician *Gautama* by the Persian king Darius I. It is believed that the latter had become the king of Iran, leading the rebellion of the *Medes* against the power of *Cyrus*, the Persian in the country, and became the king of Iran. However, seven months later, Darius carried out a counter-coup, killing Gautama with a group of conspirators and reestablishing the wealth of the Persians. One of them was his son-in-law *Gobrias* — old Pers. 𐎠𐎱𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 *Gaubaruva* "meat eater", Greekized: *Γοβρύας*.

It seems possible that Darius renamed the city of *Marand* after his relative, one of the conspirators, **Γοβρύ* (the Greekized form) as a sign of gratitude and to emphasize the defeat of the *Medes*⁶⁶. Although after the Achaemenians, the name could gradually give way to the historical name, it was preserved until the Hellenistic times as the second name of the city, and due to the confusion of the letters *D* and *R* in one of the sources of the TP, the form attested in the TP could be obtained. Although such transformation is difficult, it is also possible: especially in speed writing. Below are samples of the shorthand forms of the letters *D* and *R*, which prove the possibility of such confusion. Although the phonetic transition cannot be ruled out too.



Forms of letters D and R: until 79 years, 15—61 years and 131—167 years from manuscripts⁶⁷.

It is interesting that according to the *Behistun* inscription, Gautama was killed in the *Sikayuvatish* fortress in the region of Media, called *Nisaya*. This name *Nisaya* reminds of the name of the *Nicea Nialia* station on this TP route: as we can see, confusion was quite possible here as well. Perhaps, on the occasion of that same event, this country was renamed "Nisaya the Victorious", and that name passed to its center, the fortress of *Sikayuwatish*, now known as *Takab*.

Filadefia

Marked 24 miles from the previous one. *Filadefia* (Greek: "brotherly love") Miller connects with Persian king Arshak II Philadelphus (Arsacus II Philadelphus), but Getzel

languages, for example, English. hear-th "hearth". Thus, the name of this city could also mean "fireplace", perhaps a ceremonial one, which had both Kher ԽԵՐ (ՉԵՐ) and Khor (ԽՈՐ) forms: as a result of the distortion of this last one, perhaps, the current form of Khoy was formed, with the usual ր > j transition in dialects (cf. ԽՆՆՈՐ > ԽՐՆՆՈՅ՝ of Hamshen dialect., ԽՆՆՈՐ > ԽՐՆՆՈՅ՝ Hachn).

⁶⁶ Perhaps, initially, could have been Madavand, the "land of the Median", and later, being included in the Armenian state, it could have received the current form, Maravand > Marvand > Marand, through the usual d > r transition characteristic of Armenian and further shortening.

⁶⁷ Thompson E. M., *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Oxford, 1912, p. 335.

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notes that there does not seem to be a Persian king Arshak nicknamed "brotherly loving", but he remembers the coins of Artavan I with that nickname⁶⁸. Martirosyan believes that we are talking about *Marand*, which also had the name *Bakurakert*, because Trdat I built (or rebuilt) it in honor of his brother, King Bakur of *Marastan (Media)*, and this circumstance was reflected in the city name *Filadefia*, and according to Khorenatsi, *Bakurakert* was in *Marand*. This is a possible assumption, but it should be clarified that from what Khorenatsi reported ("*He got sick in Marand, in Bakurakert town...*" «Եղեւ հիւանդանալ նմա ի Մարանդի, ի Բակուրակերտ անախ...»), it does not necessarily follow that Bakurakert was the city of Marand, but that it was near the city of Marand. However, there is no suitable town within 24 miles. A somewhat convenient settlement in its position is the present *Soufian*, but this is 21 miles away; and not a big one, but a Phileterian one. And besides, it is located beyond the mountains surrounding the *Marand* plain, although in all cases it is closer to *Marand* itself than to the largest city of the region, Tabriz. It is located on the border of the historical *Marand* and *Gabitian* provinces and, perhaps, in ancient times it could be perceived as the settlement of *Marand* itself. So, it raises the probability of Martirosyan's assumption and it can be considered probable that the city of *Bakurakert* was on the site of this *Soufian* settlement.

Tris peda

The location of this station is very important, because it seems possible to identify it phonetically. *Tris peda* literally means "three feet" in Latin. What three feet are we talking about? Manandyan, who accepts the proposal to identify *Gobdi* with *Khoi*, notes that 44 miles (65 km) from *Gobdi* (as given by TP) is the settlement of *Diza Tasvij*. And here Manandyan finds it possible that *Tris peda* (according to RA also *Tarspeda*) is the result of the distortion of the name *Tasvij* (also on the maps *Tasuj*, *Tasvich*, *Tersoucht*, etc.). He also suggests the ancient form of that name **Tarsunj*, in which the suffix *-unj* according to Hübschmann has the meaning "floor, root, foot", and the *-peda* of *Tarspeda* may be its translation.

According to Martirosyan, who identifies this station with the present-day *Soufian* settlement, the three roads leaving *Soufian* are considered "feet".

However, it seems that the *-peda* of *Tarspeda* has a simpler explanation. It should be remembered that we are talking about a city in the Persian cultural zone, therefore *-peda* can simply be the Persian toponymic suffix *-abad* (or the same Armenian: *-apat -ապատ*) "city", with which there are dozens of toponyms around. In fact, we are talking about some city of *Tris* or *Tars*. And it is not difficult to notice that it is about *Tabriz*. In other words, it entered the TP in the form of "*Tavriz city*", which was probably once widespread. It is interesting that this formula has been preserved until today. One of

⁶⁸ Getzel M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*, p. 50.

the districts of Isfahan city is called *Tabriz-abad*⁶⁹. Probably, RA has preserved the first vowel of the name *Tabriz*, and TP - the second. And in general, it would be strange if this most important city was not among the TP stations.

Paresaca

This station is marked 45 miles (72 km) from the previous one. To move from *Tebriz* to *Hamadan*, one has to bypass the huge massif of *Sahand* mountain. This can be done in two ways. from the west and the east. And almost without a doubt, TP's path was the western one. Firstly, the vegetation of the river valleys is relatively more abundant on this road, and besides, judging from the TP, this road passed near the *Zagros* mountains. Therefore, *Paresaca* must be on the western road. At that point is the small village of *Khanegah*, which does not look much like a settlement that is a way station. Especially since the distances of the TP after this settlement are already indicated by parasanges, which the researchers saw as evidence that this station was the border of *Armenia* and *Persia*, that is, it was also an important border and, probably, customs point. Manandyan reconstructs this name as **Parsq* — "Persian" Arm. *Պարսք*. Therefore, it would be more natural to see the previous *Gogan* (52 km) or the next *Ajabshir* (89 km) in that role. However, the deviations are too large. 27% and 24%. Although the last percentage is smaller and can still be considered permissible, it is still large. However, since the subsequent stations are better located in the second case, we can locate *Paresaca* in *Ajabshir*.

Arabum

This station matches the current *Bonab* quite well. When guided by the distances in this section, it should be taken into account that these are given in 4 times larger units, *parasangs*, and have just been converted into *miles*. It means that in this case the deviation from the actual distance as a result of rounding can reach at least 4 miles or more than 6 km. Fortunately, those round numbers were mostly very close to the real distances.

As for the names, it is not difficult to notice that they are obviously similar, and it is hardly a coincidence. However, in the absence of other information, the etymology will not be certain. It is clear that the *-ab* of *Bonab* is Persian. represents the meaning of "water". This is a very common toponym-forming element in this (and some other) region. And *bon-* probably means "building, city", its examples are given by H. Karagyozyan: *Agutobon, Yuliobon, Kasibo, Kenabon*⁷⁰, i.e., "city of water, lake town". Actually, the same as *Urmia*, only not Assyrian, but Persian. However, *Urmia* is located

⁶⁹ «*Tebriz-abad, oggi Abbas-abad, una delle Quattro città, che formano Sphahàn*» *Tabriz-abad*, now *Abbas-abad*, one of the four districts that make up *Isfahan*. See *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino*, Volume 2, p. 956.

⁷⁰ Կարագեղեղեան Յ., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհը սեպագիր աղբիւրներում. Սեպագիր տեղանուններ, Յ. 1, Գիրք1, Ե., 1998, p. 81.

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on the western shore of the lake, while after the identification of *Tris peda* with *Tabriz*, it became clear that route passes through the eastern shore and it should be identified with the settlement on this shore, where a toponym with the meaning of "lake" can be found. In that case, options are possible: perhaps *Arabum's -bum* is a phonetically changed *-bon*, and *ar-* is a distorted Lat. *ur-* is the root "liquid". And maybe the *ab* of *Arabum* is the Persian *-ab*, and *-ar*, maybe the same Syrian root, and *-um* is from the ending of the Lat. accusative. The last one seems more probable. In any case, the parallel is obvious.

Eneca

This station is marked 7 parasangs (28 mi, 45 km) from the previous one, which exactly corresponds to *Miandoab* (literally "between two rivers"). *Gandzak* (Arm. *Գանձակ*, "treasury"), the capital of *Atrapatakan*, is usually localized here, for example, St. Yeremyan, I. Dyakonov⁷¹ and others. The fact that this can really be the place of the capital is also indirectly confirmed by the fact that it is the mesopotamia of *Zerrine (Jaghatu)* and *Semine* rivers. this is the largest and most fertile of the surrounding "oasis". Based on this, Martirosyan suggests to correct this name to *Entheca*: Lat. "safe deposit box, monetary savings", i.e., also "treasury". This is an interesting suggestion, although it is not clear why two whole letters should have disappeared. Is it due to simple inattention of the transcriber or due to the close sounding of the two words? However, it is so similar in meaning that it seems that it is not a coincidence.

Rhasvm

At the RA, *Rapsum*. It is located at a distance of 4 parasangs (16 miles, 26 km) from the previous one and coincides with the present *Keshavarz*. H. Martirosyan believes that this is *Hrat* (*Φράσπα*, *Phraaspa*, *Phraata*), the second capital of *Atrapatakan*, *Atropatene*, *Adur Gushnasp*. There is indeed some phonetic similarity. However, *Hrat* is usually identified with *Takht-i-Suleiman* ancient site in the area of the city of *Takab*. And the latter, as will be seen below, is more likely to be identified with *Nicea Nialia*.

This word *Rapsum* resembles Lat. word *rhapsōdia*, borrowed from Gr. From *ῥαψωδία* "weaver, sing sewer", which in turn comes from *ῥάπτω* "to sew". And the name of the village *Keshavarz* means "quiver maker", which can be easily understood as "quiver sewer". In other words, the name attested in TP may be a somewhat distorted form of the Latin translation of the ancient (and also current) name of the village. "sewer", but also as a special case, "quiver sewer".

Ad Tomenta

Marked at a distance of 4 parasangs (16 miles, 26 km) from the previous one. It coincides with *Shahin Dej* settlement. Place names composed of river names are usually formed in TP with the prefix *Ad*. In this case, we can refer to the *Zerrine (Jaghatu)* river,

⁷¹ Дьяконов И. М., История Мидии от древнейших времен до конца IV века до н.э., р. 202.

because the road reaches the aforementioned river at the entrances of this station, viewed from the southern side.

Naucanio

Another 4 parasangs (16 miles, 26 km) from the previous one is indicated. Perhaps it remains to determine the location according only to the mentioned distance and the fact of being on the *Hamadan* Road. It coincides with the settlement of *Sanjod*.

Nicea Nialia

This settlement is mentioned only in TP⁷². It is located at a distance of 6 parasangs (24 miles, 38 km) from the previous one. The very small settlement of *Chaharghaleh* is located in the mentioned place, and judging by the location, its status was hardly higher in ancient times. That this is the penultimate settlement on this route, and judging from the break in the red line of the route after that station and the distance to the next station of 50 parasang (200 miles, 320 km), it is clear that this is an approximate, rounded value, and it just means that the next stations were not of interest (there could not be intermediate stations on 320 km).

At the same time, the name of this settlement (related to the concept of "victory"), and the fact that not far from *Chaharghaleh* is the large settlement of *Takab*, and not far from the main road to the east also the aforementioned *Adur Gushnasp* sanctuary, suggests that perhaps the distance in this section is given a little inaccurately (and as it is indicated by parasangs, the inaccuracy can reach about 6 km, as said above), and this station should be located in *Takab* itself.

Ecbatanis Partiorum

Lat: *partiorum* can mean "distribute". Perhaps this name alludes to the fact that, being the capital of *Media*, this was also the important commercial junction, a distributor of roads. In addition to this observed path, according to TP, there were four other paths leading to it: from the north, east, and west. One can only speculate why this and the previous station, and therefore also the connection with *Artashat*, were presented so unimportantly on TP: maybe the reason was the lack of information, maybe other. But, as it was already said, our problem is the reconstruction of the paths mentioned in the TP, not all the paths that existed at that time.

⁷² Getzel M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*, p. 48.

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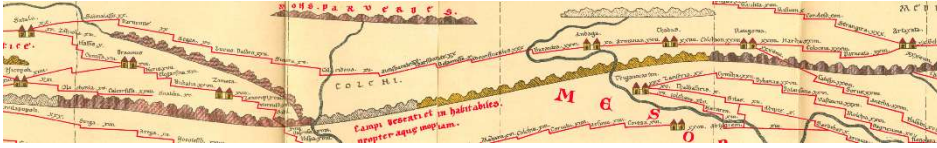
Artaxata — Ecbatanis Partiorum*

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Artaxata	Artashat				
'Catispi'	Keshmesh Tappeh	39	75	74	-1.33
'Sorvae'	Siah Cheshmeh	27	52	56	7.69
'Anteba'	Khoy	∅	∅	47	—
'Nasabi'	inn on road	24	46	45	-2.17
Gobdi	Marand, * Gobri	17	33	35	6.06
<u>Filadefia</u>	Sofian	24	46	34	-26.09
Tris peda	Tabriz *abad	20	38	34	-10.53
Paresaca	Ajabshir, * Պարսք	45	86	89	3.49
Arabum	Bonab	16	26	24	-7.69
<u>Eneca</u>	Miandoab	28	45	45	0.00
<u>Rhasvm</u>	<u>Keshavarz</u>	16	26	27	3.85
<u>Ad Tomenta</u>	Shahin Dej	16	26	26	0.00
<u>Naucanio</u>	<u>Sanjod</u>	16	26	28	7.69
Nicea Nialia	Takab, Nisaia	24	38	47	23.68
Ecbatanis Partiorum	Hamedan	200	320	237	-25.94
		578	1010	801	Average -16.73

* In the table, parasangs are converted to miles with the ratio 1 parasang = 4 miles

Artaxata — Satala

Artaxata XXIII Paracata XXXIII Coloccia XXVIII Hariza XXVIII Raugonia XXVIII Colchion XXVIII Chadas XVII Armanas XII Andaga XXVI Barantea XXX Ad confluentes X Datamissa XX Tharsidarate XV Autisparate XII Calcidava XV Sinara XXII Lucus Basaro XV Aegea XX Darucinte XX Salmalasso XX Satala



Artaxata — Satala section of TP.

This part is one of the most problematic. Fortunately, two outlying stations have been identified: *Satala* is *Sadak* (Arm. *Uwunwղ* [*Satagh*]), but that's where the convincing results end and the difficulties begin. Also, unlike the previous routes considered, where the terrain left almost no room for options and the TP data was somewhat understandable, this one not only has a lot of options, but on the other hand, the TP data can vary be interpreted.

Even a general estimate of the average distances reveals that the total length reported by the PC of 406 miles (650 km) for that route differs greatly from the straight-line distance between the two end stations of about 430 km in Roman miles. True, the real mountain road is longer, but still, not this much. And the problem is hardly related to bugs: a bug in one or two sites would not affect such a long section. It seems that some other, smaller mile was used in this section. This suspicion begins to be strengthened already when examining the first sections.

And the worst thing is that none of the 19 intermediate stations have a unconditionally convincing phonetic identification of the name. There are some similarities, nothing more. Manandyan notices the similarity between the name *Andaga* and the place name *Endek* on the Russian map. Several other stations (including this one) are similar to the place names known from the historiography, but their location is extremely controversial.

Perhaps the aforementioned uncertainties were the reason why Miller found it possible to take a version of the reconstruction that refused the shortest path and has preferred a long detour along the shore of *Van* Lake, and Kipert made it to *Sarıkamış*⁷³. After all, it is a problem to fit the 650 km-odd route in the space of 430 km.

As already said, the map could not be useful if such unjustified extensions of the road were proposed. Therefore, we have to consider it probable that another measurement unit was really used in this part of the TP. As such, it is common with TP. We saw in the previous section that Persian parasangs were used for miles after

⁷³ According to Manandyan: Մանանյան Յ. Յ., Երկեր, T. 5, p. 11.

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Paresaca. There is another similar case in the section *Samosata — Comana Capadocia*, in which one site is given in miles and most in parasangs.⁷⁴

Here, too, it is clearly the same, although, judging by the sizes of the distances, the different locations are measured in miles, but they are different. Some of them, the larger miles, are probably the Roman or Phileterian miles, and the smaller ones are probably the kilometer miles, tentatively called "Talmudic" in the preface. Although even with the assumption of using these small miles, not all problems are solved, and it seems that there are still bugs in TP.

The most worrying thing about Manandyan's (or at least Miller's) reconstruction is that he took the route south of *Armenian Range* (which undoubtedly represents one of the parts of *Taurus*). An objection may be raised that *Taurus* and *Armenian Range* are different systems. However, we already know that when depicting rivers, the TP cartographer often combined parts of different systems based on the condition of solving the problems of individual sections of the route. It seems that we have a similar picture in the case of mountains, and the line of *Taurus* when viewed from the south represents the real *Taurus*, and when viewed from the north, from left to right, it represents Inner *Taurus*, then *Armenian Range*, and then *Gilan* mountains.

By the way, Manandan accepted the identicalness of PT *Taurus* and *Armenian Range*. Thus, when examining the location of the *Catispi* station in the *Artaxata - Ecbatanis Partiorum* section, he paid special attention to the mutual position of *Taurus* and the route mentioned in the PT⁷⁵, because it gave an opportunity to justify his assumption that the route would pass through *Kogovit* and *Vodtspu* settlement. However, when examining this path, he finds it possible to completely forget the fact that the analyzed site is completely depicted north of *Taurus* (here, the *Armenian Range*).

Meanwhile, as it was mentioned when describing the principles of the reconstruction, when depicting the features of the place, it is unlikely that there were such errors in the PT, and other solutions should be found.

Raugonia

It is clear that the neglect of the PC terrain was not done just like that. At the heart of it is Marquart's rather impressive identification *Raugonia — Bagavan* (Arm. *Բագավան*). Following Marquart, Manandyan admits that the name *Raugonia* is the result of a mistake, caused by the similarity of the Latin letters R and B. And taking into account RA's *Ragauna* version, it is clear that we can correct **Bagauna*, that is, *Bagavan*, whose place is known: near the St. Hovhannes monastery.

⁷⁴ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, sec. 107, col. 761.

⁷⁵ Մանանյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, T. 5, p. 169.

In addition, thanks to this, Manandyan managed to offer a number of other important identifications, and the most important of them are: *Hariza* — *Aruch* (Arm. *Արուճ*), *Chadas* — *Ханзыр*, *Khastur* (Arm. *Խաստուր*), *Armanas* — *Aramana* (Arm. *Արամանա*). Not counting the aforementioned *Andaga*. However, it is clear that if the judgments went wrong from the very beginning, thus all these identifications are seeming.

Identifying *Ragaunia* with *Bagavan* leads to the fact that, based on the characteristics of the terrain (the only road passed along the coast of *Murat* (Arm. *Արազանի*), before going south, the roads leading to Satala and *Triganocarten* should have been in parallel at least in one place, that is, they should have coincided. In other words, the location dictates that then the nodal station should have been not *Ragaunia*, but *Colchion*.

Also, according to TP, the road clearly crosses the *Taurus* at this site leading to *Colchion*. if the entire route had already passed south of the *Armenian Range*, which mountain range could the cartographer see as *Taurus*? In principle, it could be the *Aladagh* (Arm. *Tsaghkants*) mountains, but these although are not lower than the *Armenian Range* in terms of height but are more spread out and thus not so outstanding. Not counting that the huge *Ararat* massif is perceived as part of the *Armenian Range*.

It can also be added that in TP *Taurus* is seen as a mountain range that is parallel to *Araxes*, and although the source of the latter is depicted much further east than the considered region, the parallelism of the river and the mountain range remains one of the distinguishing features of *Taurus*, which the surrounding from the mountains, the *Armenian Range* is the most satisfying.

Finally, and indeed, one of the principles adopted in the preamble was that the roads should be smoother. Why should the traveler prefer the route through the mountain pass to the horizontal one along the river valley, if it did not even shorten his path, but rather lengthened the path?

However, if we refuse the option of crossing of *Taurus*, it turns out, we also lose the seemingly successful identification of identifying *Raugonia* with *Bhagavan*. Yes. However, it turns out, another option opens up. It is not difficult to notice that if we continue to move through the *Araks Gorge* after the *Ararat Valley*, we soon reach another settlement with a similar name, *Bagaran*, which is identified with *Пакранъ* on the Russian map on the right bank of the *Akhuryan River*, or today's *Kilittaşı* village. As we can see, this place name is also very similar to *Raugonia*. Of course, in the case of *Bhagawan*, the second part of RA's version, *Ragauna*, is better explained. However, when Marquart wrote about the confusion of the initials B and R, he started from their graphic similarity, while in this case, another option is revealed, related to the confusion of two neighboring place names, *Bagavan* and *Bagaran*: there is a certain possibility that as a result of this, in the foreign language author, *Bagaran* became **Ragavan*,

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which has reached us in the form of *Ragauna*. Although, the factor of graphical similarity could also have contributed.

With this identification, not only the problem of leaving the route north of Tavros is solved, but also some features of the branching section from *Raugonia* to *Triganocarten* become understandable. First of all, in this case, the road should really cross the *Tavrus (Armenian Range)*, as described in TP, and besides, the illogicality of identifying it with the route of *Triganocarten* from *Ragaunia* to *Colchion* is eliminated.

But of course, everything is not so smooth. First of all, in this case, there remains the loss of *Hariza — Aruch, Chadas — Khanzyr, Khastur, Armanas — Aramanai* identifications, which seemed quite successful.

Paracata, Coloceia and Hariza

Following Valdemar Belk⁷⁶, Manandyan quite convincingly identifies the *Paracata* station with the *Parakhot* settlement mentioned by Khorenatsi, locating it at 5 km from the village of *Taşburun* to the southeast at the site of the ruins of *Bulagh-bash* (Turk. "head of spring"): as mentioned by Khorenatsi "...*he built there in a niche of piedmont... one is at East side, near of well of spring, that comes out from under of the foot of the mountain*" (...շինէ անդ առ խորշիւք լեռնոստինն... զմին յարեւելս կոյս, մօտ յակունսս աղբերցն, որ առ ստորոտով լերինն ելանեն). And the next — *Coloceia* he identifies with *Dzoghkert* (Arm. *Չողկերտ*) mentioned by Yeghishe and *Tsolakert* (Arm. *Յոլակերտ*) reported by Khorenatsi, and following Alishan, he first locates it near the village of *Surmalu* in the place of *Karakale*, and then, studying the pass ability of the mountain passes and locating the *Hariza* station in the village of *Арыджъ*, he changes his opinion in his next study, and locate in the *Igdir* region.

According to Khorenatsi, these two settlements were on the eastern and western sides of *Ararat*, and between them it was a half day's journey between them (or one and a half, depending on how to understand Khorenatsi's phrase "*like a big day one regular day pedestrian overpassed a road*": «...իրր մեծօր հասարակ անւոր միոյ հետեւակազնացի առն ճանապարհի»).

However, as it was said, these distances do not correspond to the TP data. According to TP *Artaxata* to *Raugonia* is 104 miles, which corresponds to 156 km in Roman miles, while in practice *Artashat* to *Bagaran* is about 70 miles (105 km) (by the way, Marquart's suggested *Bagavan* is 75 miles, so the same there was a problem with that identification as well). Moreover, if the first and last two sites differ from the required ones, but with a tolerable deviation, then the *Paracata — Coloceia* and *Coloceia — Hariza* sites, depending on the location of *Coloceia*, are significantly deviated from the required ones: especially the first one, because almost all the discrepancy falls on this, and instead of the required 50 km, we get only 26 km (about

⁷⁶ W. Belck, Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens, II, p. 83—92.

46% deviation). Let's note that Manandyan's original location of *Coloceia*, at the site of *Caracale*, was specifically based on that condition. From *Bulagh-bashi* to *Caracale* was almost as far as it should be: 31 Roman miles (although Manandyan tacitly ignores this difference of 2 miles).

One can, of course, assume that the identifications of Belk and Manandyan are wrong and try to look for other options: for example, to assume that *Paracata* is not *Parakhot*, but *Parakar* (Պարաքար), and *Hariza* is not *Aruch* of *Masyatsotn*, but *Aruch* (Արուհ) of *Aragatsotn*, but *Coloceia* remains unidentified, and part of the road in that case identifies with route of *Artaxata* — *Strangira* and it turns out to be illogically roundabout, which contradicts the data of TP. So, Belk's proposal remains the most likely.

We can (if it is no longer assumed that the route passed through the *Armenian Range* Pass) locate *Coloceia* in the place proposed by Alishan, in *Karakale*, or, as suggested by Manandyan, in *Hoşhaber*, somewhat alleviating the problem of the length of the *Paracata* — *Coloceia* site, but we must remember that the length of the next section *Coloceia* — *Hariza*, is also shortened. It should also be remembered that in ancient times, as well as today, due to the peculiarities of the location, the settlement located in the place of *Igdir* should have been the center of gravity of the region. after all, regardless of the route mentioned in TP, there must have been the most convenient road connecting the *Ararat* valley with *Kogovit* and, in particular, *Daroink* (Ղարոյնկ, now — *Doğubayazıt*) and passing through the *Kharababazar* mountain pass, and that settlement, being at the junction of several roads, would have been quite prominent: settlement, so that the main routes did not bypass it. Also, according to Khorenatsi, *Parakhot* and *Tsolakert* were built "in a niche": perhaps, Khorenatsi meant the deepening of the *Ararat valley* in the direction of the *Armenian Range* in "niche": the smaller of them is the current *Bulagh-bashi*, and the larger is *Igdir*. Although in that same second niche there is another settlement that may be of interest as a target for the location of *Coloceia*. Judging by the Russian map of 1907, this also had a somewhat central position in the *Igdir* recess and the path of one of the mountain passes also passed through it, and it occupies an average position between the aforementioned *Hoşhaber* and *Caracale*. It refers to the village of *Küllük* (Куллыкъ on the Russian map), the name of which has a certain similarity with the name of *Coloceia*: *küllük* means "ashtray" in Turkish, and *küllü* means "ashtray": maybe there is a spring with sour water nearby or the soils here are ash (this location is suggested by R. Kippert).

Thus, from the analysis of this part of the route, it becomes clear that the distances can be solved only under the conditions of a small "Talmudic" mile. Let's note that its use is also observed after *Bagaran*. Finally, one more question remains: that the real *Bagaran* is about 7 miles away from the main road. On the one hand, by extending the road, it is possible to mitigate the discrepancy of the distances to some extent, but it is not clear why the traveler should be offered to extend the road to *Satagh* by about 20

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miles. It seems more probable that here *Bagaran* was represented by the guest house of the same name, which was located on the site of present-day *Bagaran* or *Halıkişlak*. On the other hand, the city of *Yervandashat*, after being destroyed by Shapuh, was probably restored to some extent, and perhaps it started to be perceived as a single city together with the neighboring *Bagaran*.



Fragment of the of 1907 Russian map.

So, if the judgments about it are correct, we can locate *Paracata*, as it was before, in *Bulakbaşı* or its vicinity: it is more likely that the road passed as shown on the Russian map, i.e. without entering the mountain gorge (probably it was like this and it has been for a long time, because until the 20st century, serious road works were hardly carried out here, while today the system of irrigation canals implemented in those areas fundamentally distorted the network of old roads). Perhaps it makes sense to locate it in present-day *Hasanhan*, whose name suggests that there was a guest house there.

However, in the case of the "Talmudic" mile, *Coloceia* will appear neither in *Küllük* nor in *Caracale*, as tempting as it is from the point of view of phonetic identification of the name, but in *Igdır*. Moreover, it is even a few kilometers above the current city: so, it would really be "*in a niche of piedmont*" and would be in a more suitable place from the point of view of protecting the mountain pass (perhaps on one of the nearby hills) and it would also be correct from the point of view of distance. Later, the city could be moved to the plain to be at the right crossroads.



Paracata, Colocoia and Hariza on real terrain.

As for the name, perhaps the current name can be seen as the result of translation and then distortion of the old name. In the diary of *González de Clavijo*, a member of the embassy of *King Henry III of Castile* to the state of *Tamerlane* in 1403-1406, the castle named *Egida* is mentioned⁷⁷, which according to the description coincides with the present-day *Iğdir*. The name *Egida* is probably derived from Greek. *αἰγίς* > lat. *aegis* from the word "shield, protection" and could replace the native word meaning "fortress". In my review devoted to the etymology of the word *Cilicia*⁷⁸, I tried to show that the word *kala*, "castle", which is considered to be an Arabic loanword, as well as the word *քաղաք* "town, city" can be related to the Armenian verb *կալել* (*kalel*, "to hold"), and therefore be native Armenian. Perhaps the name *Tsolakert* could also have the same *kal* root as its basis, among many other place names with that structure in the Armenian territory, meaning "town of castle", and only later be reinterpreted, connecting with the personal name *Tsolak*. In that case, *Iğdir* can be *Tsolakert* itself.

As for *Hariza*, Manandyan connects the name of this station with the place names *Harich*, *Aruch* and identifies it with the settlement *Аруджъ* on the Russian 10-verst map, in the southern foothills of *Ararat*. This seems a plausible enough solution, but within the framework of the proposed version, *Hariza* is logically located on the banks of the *Araxes*, near the ruins of the fortress of *Caracale*, whose main function was probably the protection of the bridge leading to *Bagaran*, and where, following *Alishan*, Manandyan originally located *Tsolakert*. However, when *Hariza* appears on the shores

⁷⁷ Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, p. 81.

⁷⁸ Հակոբյան (Թարուսյան) Ռ., «Կիլիկիա» երկրանվան ստուգաբանության փորձ. Տե՛ս <http://academhistory.am/images/HRAPARAKUMNER/Tsragir.pdf>

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of *Arax*, its more natural phonetic identification with the *Araz* version of the name *Arax* becomes noticeable: *Araz* > *Hariza*. Today, the *Araz* version of river name seems sounds foreign — Arabic, while perhaps the opposite is true. *Arax* is a foreign, Greek-influenced version (cf: *Արտաշատ*, *Artashat* > *Ἀρτάξατα* > *Artaxata*), while the form *Araz* is quite consistent with a number of other place names of the region: *Aza*, *Hrazdan*, *Azat*, etc.⁷⁹. Perhaps, the *Araz* form was previously subjected to the *z* > *f* transition. This is a rarely observed transition (perhaps Iranian influence), but still present. for example: *յոյզ* > *հուշոն* (*huyz* > *husht*)⁸⁰.

Colchion

The traveler would have to travel 24 km along the *Arax* coast to the *Colchion* station. This is another one of the many toponyms presented in TP based on *Colc(h)*, which perhaps, as said, meant "town", "manor". According to the logic of the proposed reconstruction, this station should have been located on the site of the present village of *İncesu*. Noteworthy is the name of the village *Kula* on the mountain, 3 km south of this, which perhaps preserves the trace of the old place name. On the road itself (as in many other cases) there could be the guest house of the same name.

Chadas

Being 24 miles away from the previous one, this station, in fact, has no alternative but to be located in the place of present-day *Kağızman* (Arm. *Կաղզվան*). *Kahzvan* is located in a rather large field and is a large settlement: indeed, the station with the tower icon could be located here. As for the name, it has such a phonetic picture that it is possible to see the distorted word *Chadas* in its *Kakhz-* component. *Khad* (*խաղ*) is a rarely used Armenian word of unknown origin, which means "sword". Considering that almost the entire Western Armenian territory has been one of the hotbeds of metalworking since ancient times, there are many place names related to it here, and this one seems to be from the same series. Probably, the word *khad* entered this toponym in the plural genitive, *Khadats* "swords", which also implies the second part: it could be the township component: **Khadats' town*. In fact, only the first component entered the TP.

However, the toponym had a further development. First, the two components were combined and merged, and under the influence of foreign languages, for example, late Latin (where *ch* was pronounced [κ], which could have a retroactive effect on Armenian pronunciation as well) and then Turkish (which does not have [x] and [ts] sounds) the place name came to its present state. *Khadtsavan* > *Khadtsvan* > *Kaghzvan* > *Kağızman*.

⁷⁹ Հակոբյան (Թարումյան) Ռ., «Ասիա» բառի ստուգաբանությունը.

⁸⁰ Հովհաննիսյան, Լ. Շ., Ղարաբաղի բարբառում իրանական մի քանի փոխառությունների մասին, p. 69.

Armanas

Manandyan equates this place name with the *Aramana* (Arm. Արամանա) place name mentioned by Ghazar Parpetsi, which was located in the western end of *Bagrevand* province, near the borders of *Basen* and *Tuaratsatap*. If the route is taken through *Bagavan*, this station appears at the western edge of *Armenian Range* (Arm. Հայկական Պար, *Haykakan Par*) in the area of present-day Tahir, near the border of *Bagrevand* province. However, in the case of the described route, it can only be on the bank of *Arax*, which does not give the opportunity to directly identify it with *Aramana* of Parpetsi. Two options are possible:

- the identification is incorrect,
- *Aramana* village was in another place.

In favor of the first version, it can be remembered that the inscriptions of Sargon II and Salmanasar III mention the land of *Armarili/Aramale*, one of the possible locations of which is in this region. Therefore, it is expected that there may be a number of place names with the same root in the territory of that country.

In favor of the second version, it can be assumed that Parpetsi spoke about *Bagrevand* in an expanding sense, including the small *Gabhegyank* and *Havnunik* provinces. Or maybe they were part of it before, and *Bagrevand* extended to *Arax*, and Parpetsi meant the old borders of the provinces, so *Aramana* could also be on the coast of *Arax*, bordering *Bassen*.

It seems that the second version is more likely, because the form of the two place names is extremely similar. However, the location faces complications due to the peculiarities of the terrain. Settlements in this area have a linear-island distribution and there are only two settlements in the probable location of *Aramana*, i.e., 17 miles from *Kaghzvan*. the present-day *Denizgölü* and *Kuloğlu* villages, on both banks of the *Arax*, almost opposite each other. And since *Bagrevand* is on the right bank of *Araks*, *Kuloğlu* remains the only candidate for *Aramanay*. However, the distance of this from *Kaghzvan* is at most 19 km, and it seems that the distances here were measured in a unit close to the Talmudic mile.

Andaga

This place name is very similar to the name of *Endek* (N 39°58'03" E 42°12'55") village near the river of the same name, not far from *Alashkert* — *Khorasan* Road. However, it is not excluded that there could be villages with this name in other places as well. That conclusion can be reached by etymological analysis of the name: most likely the root is *and-* (անդ-, "threshold, house"). According to that, the names *Andaga* and *Endek* are probably expressed as the place name **Andak*, the meaning of which should have been "lodge, hut", perhaps also "inn": it is clear that there could be many settlements with that name, just as we have many *Agaraks* and *Arichs*. As a justification for this assumption, we can mention the *Антак* settlement, which is named on the Soviet map,

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about 13 km south-southwest from the current *Lice* settlement (N 38°21'11" E 40°43'55"), and whose name probably has the same origin.

And the observed *Andaga* should have been located 12 miles from the previous one, *Armanas*. If you count in small miles, it is 15 km. We have the only option: *Çayarası* village, located 18 km from the previous *Kuloğlu*; again, a deviation of 3 km (about 19% deviation). Although the place is very convenient. Near the confluence of the right tributary of the *Arax Zarabkhane*, in a fertile valley, where there could be such an important settlement that was marked by lodges. And the name of the river (there is also a mountain of the same name in the north) suggests that there could have been an inn here, which gave its name to the river and the mountain.

Barantea

This next station should be 33 km from the previous one. And again, the only candidate is the village of *Karakurt*, which is located 30 km from the previous *Çayarası*, and again, a deviation of 3 km (9%). According to Manandyan's very plausible assumption, there is an error in the name *Barantea*, and it should have been *Banantea*, by which this toponym would coincide with the name *Vanand* (although in that case it must be assumed that, as in the case of *Chadas*, this was a compound name in which it entered in the adjective form).

However, *Vanand* province is located much further north from where Manandyan is trying to locate *Barantea*, that is, south of *Khorasan*, near the village of *Чиджарекъ*: these settlements are located in the middle of *Havnunik*, while there should have been a whole province between it and *Vanand* — *Abeghyank*. And he has to additionally prove that *Vanand's* borders were much further south in ancient times. But all the same, even if we imagine that *Abeghyank* province had a different position, or was part of *Vanand*, it is unlikely that the latter extended south of *Arax* as well.

And within the framework of the proposed approach, *Barantea* is located on the left bank of *Arax*, and it is enough that *Vanand*, along with *Havnunik* and *Arsharunik*, also came out to the coast of *Arax*, and the picture would correspond to TP.

However, it turns out that the river passing by *Barantea* is the *Arax*, while the *Arax* River is specifically marked on the TP. We are forced to note that this is a mistake, and the upper reaches of *Arax* are depicted separately from the main river. And it is still nothing, but it is united with the *Tigris*. Although topologically, there is no big mistake, if we imagine that according to the cartographer, the upper reaches of the *Araxes* passed within the framework of the line depicting the *Taurus* Mountain range. And: in ancient times, they did not have a good idea where the sources of big rivers were. Thus, according to Biblical ideas: "*And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is*

Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates." (Genesis: 2: 10—14). And as it was said in the preface, the river could not be depicted in a separate section: it had to be poured somewhere, and the nearest was the bed of the *Tigris*. According to Manandyan, that river is *Arax*, the direction of which is shown incorrectly⁸¹. However, the road runs parallel to the *Arax*, and crosses it on the TP, so the *Mantash*, the left tributary of the *Arax*, is partially depicted with this riverbed. True, in that case it turns out that the village of *Karakurt* is located on the eastern bank of that tributary, while in reality it is the opposite. However, it cannot be ruled out that the guesthouse of the same name used to be located on the eastern coast. Unfortunately, today this site has appeared at the bottom of the reservoir and it is difficult to find out what happened on that bank.

Ad confluentes

The city of *Cōnfluentēs* is known, near the confluence of the *Moselle* and the *Rhine* (now *Koblenz*). In other words, this station must have been in some confluence. This would be 30 miles from the previous station. However, an interesting circumstance is noticed here. *Barantea* to *Satala* is listed as 199 miles, and if we measure the actual distance from *Karakurt* to *Sadak*, it is approximately 300 km. Thus, in this part of the route, it seems that the mile is already changing, forming the correct Roman (not Phileterian) mile size. It can be assumed that this expresses the border by which the *Great Armenia* was divided between Rome and Iran. It passed through the watershed of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, that is, approximately a little to the west of *Ad confluentes*. However, the measurements with the Roman mile start one station earlier, and on the route *Raugonia* - *Triganocarten*, where there is also a transition from the "Talmudic" mile to the Roman one, the transition point is not connected in any way to that division, so probably the reason for this transition is different. So, if we are already guided by Roman miles, then *Ad confluentes* station should be located 45 km away from the previous one. At the indicated distance is the modern town of *Horasan*, which is located on the confluence of the river: it is the river confluence of *Sanamer* (Rus. *Санамер*) and *Arax*.

Datamissa

This station should be 10 miles (15 km) from the previous one. However, there is no large settlement at that distance. In general, this part of the route passes through wide fields and we are dealing with a *surface-even* distribution of settlements. It is not even clear which parallel road was meant by the drafter of the TP. The current main road runs along the left bank of *Arax*, and at the required distance on that road is an insignificant settlement called *Karaçuha* "black cloth".

⁸¹ Մանանյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 118.

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As for the name *Datamissa*, it does not give the impression of a local name. However, there is no convincing etymology either in Greek or Latin. Somewhat reminiscent of Lat. *datum* "gift, offering", there are no settlements in this area with a similar meaning (for example, with the component *-verdi*).

The place name *Daranissa* in Ptolemy's list is very similar to this one, but the neighboring place names in the list do not at all suggest where this one could be located. With the same success, this could also be connected to the next station.

It is very similar to m. the a. 385 — 362 after the name of *Datamēs* (Gr. *Δατάμης*), the ruler of *Cappadocia*, as if it was named after him, but it seems unlikely that there was not only a city named after him in the province of *Airarat*, but that the name of that city reached up to E century AD. In any case, such an episode is not described in the biography compiled by Cornelius Nepos. Although during the reign of Achaemenian Artashes III, rebellions broke out in different regions of the empire, the suppression of which was assigned to *Datames*, and it is not excluded that such a rebellion broke out in *Armenia* as well, and after it was suppressed, the overthrown fortress of the rebels was named after him. Although it is obvious that this is rather an accidental resemblance, or it refers to another person of the same name.

Tharsidarate

It should be at 20 miles (30 km) of the previous one. The name can be etymologically explained as Greek. *θαροσ-* "reliable" and *σίδηρος* "iron". We know that iron processing was one of the most common occupations in this region, and the Greeks called the inhabitants of this area *Χάλυβες*, *khalibs*, from the word *χάλυψ* "steel": in fact, "steelworkers". Based on this, it can be assumed that *Tharsidarate* was probably also an iron-making center with a reputation for reliable products. According to this, this is again a descriptive name, and it is not necessarily the real name of the settlement in question. Of course, if there was a *Sağlamdemir* in the mentioned place today, there would be no doubt that this is the wanted *Tharsidarate*. However, there is no such place name in this area, and it remains to assume that one of the largest settlements in the region was known by that name.

There is a settlement within the required distance: it is the town of *Pasinler* (Arm. *Քասուկ, [Basen]*) It is interesting that according to Alishan, in ancient times it was also called *Daroynk*. Is the similarity between the components of *Tharsidarate* and the beginning of the *Daroynq Dar-* a coincidence? And is there a connection with Ptolemy's *Daranissa*?

Autisparate

This station is marked 15 miles (22 km) from the previous one. After *Pasinler*, the next largest settlement is *Erzurum*. However, the distance between these two centers is 35 km. So, it can be assumed that this station situated a little before reaching *Erzurum*. However, as a result of analyzing the distances of the remaining stations, it turns out

that in the second section of the route (where the use of the Roman mile is revealed), this is the only section whose length does not correspond to reality. Therefore, this deviation can be viewed as a bug or measurement inaccuracy. Indirectly, its possibility is confirmed by the fact that the previous station on the TP is not endowed with a special grade of the red line of the road: it feels like this station was missed and was a late addition, and perhaps the compiler was distracted by placing the forgotten station and missed one of the x's. The error is mitigated if we take into account that the guesthouses could be somewhat far from the actual settlements. But there is no doubt that there is a bug.

Miller locates it near Erzurum in the ruins of *Anjerkhaghak* (Arm. *Անջրքաղաք*, that is, "Waterless City"), the location of which is difficult to ascertain today. Manandyan leaves it uncertain. The etymology of this word is addressed by H. Martirosyan⁸² and Y. Haroutionian⁸³. Lat. *parate* is an adverb meaning "ready", derived from the adjective *parātus* "prepared, fixed". Martirosyan etymologically defines the whole word as "fixed on the shore", attributing the meaning "out" to *aut* or *autis*, although, in particular, Dvoretzky's dictionary does not have the second word at all, and gives the meaning "or" for *aut*. Haroutionyan draws attention to the meaning of the word "prepare", assuming that it refers to preparing for a difficult path. And he assigns the meaning "on the other hand" to the first component, probably confusing it with the word *autem*. As a result, it comes to the conclusion that it refers to the crossing of the *Karasu* river, so that place could be called so only in the direction of going from *Satagh* to *Artashat*, and in the opposite direction, it would be called *Parate* or *Tisparate*. However, it is obvious that the name of the settlement was hardly determined by non-symmetric, one-sided factors.

Undoubtedly, the etymology of the name is very important for the location of this station, because it is obvious that this belongs to the number of alternative, descriptive names of TP, therefore phonetic identification is impossible. Undoubtedly, the second component of this name is Lat. *parātē* "fortified, prepared, ready for battle". However, the first component cannot be explained in Latin, because, as we have seen, *autis* does not exist in Latin. It could be assumed as *aut is parate*, but although this phrase is formally possible in Latin, it will be translated roughly as "or it is ready", which is completely meaningless. But there is a similar word in Greek. *αὔτις* and means "again". As a result, the whole word already makes sense: "re-made, re-fortified", otherwise "reconstructed, re-fortified". As we know, after the division of *Armenia*, the city of *Erzurum*, which remained in the *Byzantine* part, was re-fortified by Emperor Theodos II in 421 and named *Theodosiopolis* after him. Therefore, with great probability, this very fact is hinted at in the name of this station. A question may arise, why then the station

⁸² **Мартirosян А.**, Мировые пути через Армению и переднюю Азию по карте Пейтингера, р. 44.

⁸³ **Յարութիւնեան Յ.**, Պեւտիկեւեան քարտեզի Արտաշատ-Սատաղ ճանապարհի չափաբանուած վեց կայարանների տեղանուն եւ տեղադրման խնդիրը.

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was not mentioned exactly as *Theodosiopolis*. Perhaps the reason is that the name did not become popular, while the information about the reconstruction of that city was more common among merchants and other travelers, and it is logical that in TP, a guide of practical importance, it should have been mentioned in its practical, real name. This station is also identified with *Erzurum* in the Pleiades.

Calcidava

This station is marked 12 miles (18 km) from the previous one. Besides, before reaching it, the road crosses a river. According to Manandyan, it is the Euphrates (here, its upper course, *Karasu*), and he is probably right. According to this distance, *Calcidava* is located in the village of *Aziziye* and immediately after that village (as depicted on the PC), the road crosses *Karasu*. And although in the next stage the road goes parallel to it, but at this very place the cartographer needed to emphasize the river in order to describe the position of the given station.

Manandyan offered a phonetically quite convincing identification of this station with the historical *Khaghto harich* (Arm. *խաղտո հալիճ, Գաղթաղտիճ*) settlement (especially if we remember the RA version *Chalchidara*), which corresponds to the village of *Нижний Кягдаричь* on the Russian map, the river of the same name and the *Euphrates* (*Karasu*). another, between the mouths of the *Serime* (Rus. *Сериме*) tributary. However, considering distances excludes that option, proving once again that topographic features are more important during of locating historical settlements.

As for the amazing similarity of names, the reason is clear: the idea behind that etymology is the connection with *Chaldia* country (Arm. *խախտիկ, [Khaktik]*, Greek. *Χαλδία*). This means that there may be many toponyms of the same origin in the given region.

Sinara

22 miles (33 km) are indicated between this and the previous stations. According to the distance, it is located in *Çayköy*, a "river village".

Harutyunyan gives the etymology of the name as Greek. *συν-ορέω*, i.e., "bordering"⁸⁴, in the sense that it was close to the Armenian border. However, *Sinara* was quite far from the border. after this there were a few more stations. I think it is more logical to etymology this name as Greek. *συναίρω* "to connect, connect", which is natural for the station.

In the Pleiades (according to the BAtlas), this station is identified with the village of *Aşkale* (N 39°55'19" E 40°41'03"), which contradicts the given distance.

⁸⁴ Յարութիւնեան Յ., Պեւտինգերեան քարտեզի Արտաշատ-Սատաղ ճանապարհի չափաբանուած վեց կայարանների տեղանուն եւ տեղադրման խնդիրը.

Lucus Basaro

We should look for this at a distance of 22 miles (about 33 km) from the previous one. However, before that, it is necessary to understand which way the route went after *Aşkale*: north-west or south-west? Manandyan accepted the second version, because he saw the place name *Bagarich*, *Bagayarich* (Arm. *Բագարիճ*, *Բագայարիճ*) in source of *Basaro*, as a result of a typographical error due to the similarity of the letters *g* and *s*, restoring the form **Bagara*, or according to a remark of Marquart (according to which *Bagaiarych* is the one mentioned by Strabo as *Βασγοιδάριζα*), as a result of shortening of *g* in the form **Basgara*. However, *g* and *s* are similar only in capital letters: for that we have to assume an original with an intermediate capital letter. Marquart's proposal would be more likely, but in all cases, the solution must be dictated by the topography, and in this case, the direction of the route. And this, in turn, depends on how the mountain range branching from the main line of *Taurus* will be identified. That's why it makes sense to look at the route from its last point, *Satala*.

The mountain range is depicted from the northwest to the southeast, but in reality, there is no mountain range with such orientation. *Satala* (*Sadak*) is located exactly opposite, in a valley between two mountain ranges, from the northeast to the southwest: the northern, lower *Babuk* and the southern, difficult-to-pass *Pulur*, through which flow the tributaries originating from the sources of the *Kelkit* River and *Chorokh*. Moreover, *Satagh* is located in the basin of the *Kelkit* River, near the tributary of *Дайусы*. And although the direction of this mountain range does not correspond to the TP data, it is obvious that the depicted mountain range is exactly this *Pulur*. And the road bypasses it from the north.

Therefore, after *Aşkale*, the mentioned 33 km should be counted by the north-west road. That point is now located on the slope of Mount *Aktash* (N 40°00'39" E 40°32'30"), and today there is no significant settlement in that area. However, on the Russian map, the settlement of *Чинарлыхань* is indicated in that place. It is not difficult to notice that if the second component of this name, *khanъ*, means "inn", then the first one means "of sycamore" (Арм. սուսի [*sosi*]), that is, essentially, "sycamore inn".

As is known, *Lucus* in Latin means "forest" and especially "ritual forest", and Manandyan believes that "*Lucus Basaro* can be understood as a forest area named *Basaro*"⁸⁵. H. Martirosyan also thinks that it is a special name. However, most likely, the reality is different and simpler, because *Basaro* probably comes from Greek. words *βάσσα* "wooded gorge, valley" or *βασσᾶρέω* "celebrate the festival of Bacchus", i.e., it also means "ritual grove". If it is the first, then we actually have a double name, consisting of Latin and Greek words with the same meaning, or, if the second version is correct, then *Lucus Basaro* means "the forest of the celebration of Bacchus". Thus, the word referred (probably also in the first case) to some kind of ceremonial forest. It is

⁸⁵ Մանանյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Կ. 5, p. 126.

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known that there were religious groves in Armenia, and often with sycamore trees. In fact, we are dealing with the same concept, which is hardly a coincidence, and we can record that the place name *Lucus Basaro* was preserved in translation until recent times.

Another place name is interesting. About 3 km from this *Чинарлыхань* there is now a village named *Bozburun*. In Turkish, this means "gray nose, cape" and has no semantic connection with the considered toponym. However, the phonetic similarity is noticeable. Of course, it may be accidental, but recently in Turkey sometimes the old names of settlements are suddenly restored, probably based on the vague memories of local residents.

Aegea

This should be sought again 15 miles (22 km) from the previous one. In this section, the almost uninhabited mountain pass zone continues (where guest houses are especially in demand). And at the indicated distance is the settlement of *Çalidere Hanlari*, which, as the name suggests, is actually a system of *roadside inns*. On the Russian map, this system is marked as *Хань* (Pers. "inn") in the form of many settlements with the "inn" component. Including *Хань Мшеверекъ*, which is located exactly at the distance where *Aegea* should have been (see the part of the map given in the preface). Not far away, the village of *Everek* (probably Arm. ԱԵՐԱԿ [Averak] means "ruin") is also mentioned, from which it becomes clear what is the structure of this place name and that this *Мшеверекъ* is also connected with some old settlement in the same place.

The new name of that settlement, *Çalidere*, is noteworthy, which can be etymologically translated as *çali* "dense vegetation, scrub" and *dere* "stream", i.e., "stream of dense vegetation". It is clear that the main vegetation along the stream banks is reeds. And according to the researchers, behind the name *Aegea* you can see the name *Elegia* or *Elegeia*, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, or the *Elegeia* of Dion Cassius (we should also remember that this place name is written as *Egea* by RA. It seems that these assumptions are not far-fetched from probability, and such a name, arising from the abundance of reeds, e.g., *Yeghegea* (Arm. Եղեղեա, means "reed"), might indeed have induced the cartographer to liken it to the personal names better known to him *Αἰγεύς*, *Aegeus*, or to the name of the Macedonian capital of *Aegea*. The present Turkish name is doubtless it has no direct connection with (otherwise it would be expected, for example, *Ghamshlu*, or another similar name, and in that case, everything would be obvious and transparent), but, perhaps, the same nature could independently lead to the creation of such a name.

Darucinte

In general, as it became clear from the previous section, this part of the route also passes through the area of *linear-island* character of the distribution of settlements. There are almost no options. And really, the only candidate to be the next *Darucinte*

station is *Baberd* (Arm. *Բաբերդ*) located at the crossroads, whose distance from the previous one is 28 km, instead of the required 30.

Unfortunately, there is no phonetic similarity here either. Perhaps (only with great care), the second component of the name *Darucinte*, *-cinte*, can be seen as variant of Lat. *cinctum* "to protect, to surround", which can be connected with the second component of the name *Baberd*, *-berd* (Arm. "castle") as "surrounded by a wall". If this assumption is correct, then the first component of *Darucinte*, *Daru*, can be seen as a variant of the first part of *Baberd*, resulting from a phonetic or graphological distortion, but also as phonetically similar and equivalent to Lat. *dūro* "hard, firm". Especially in the case of the *Bytburd* (Arm. *Բայտբուրդ*⁸⁶) version of the city's name. The transition *r* > *y* could be phonetic in nature, and the first letter could easily be confused. In that case, the original version could have been **Bardberd* in the sense of "difficult, impregnable fortress", from which, by deafening, **Bartberd* then *Byteberd* > *Byteburd* > *Byburd*, and Latinized as **Dūrocīncte*.

Manandyan, based on Pliny's *Dexene* spelling of the *Derjan* province name, proposes to connect it with *Darucinte* in the intermediate form restoring **Daxinte*. However, from *Satagh*, *Derjan* is even about 75 km in a straight line, and it can reach 90 km through the mountains, instead of the required 60. But in all cases, as we have seen, this site was located in *Sper* and not in *Derjan*.

Salmalasso

20 miles (30 km) from the previous station is indicated. This area, as mentioned, passes between two mountain ranges, the valley of *Pulur* (*Պլլըր*) *Pulur*, now *Gökçedere* village (N 40°07'53" E 39°44'50"). And the more or less significant river that crosses the road is the *Lori* (N 40°09'10" E 39°54'01") river. And there is a medium-sized village on the river, *Demirözü*, which is a good candidate to be considered a *Salmalasso* station. This village is located at a distance of 31 km from *Baberd*, so it is quite a good match. In general, as we can see in these last sections, the distances of the localities are obtained with complementary accuracy. This, on the one hand, confirms the accuracy of the route recovery, and on the other hand shows the amazing accuracy of the TP.

As for the name, *Demirözü* can be etymologically translated as "true iron", and the word *Salmalasso* can be seen as Greek. *σάλος* "hesitation, shaking" and Greek. *μᾶλάσσω*, lat. *malaxo* "to soften, to soften, to process". Perhaps, if we look at the Turkish name as an allusion to the existence of iron-making in that settlement, and the Greek word, as an allusion to "working by beating" the iron itself, we can see some *distant* connection between those two names.

⁸⁶ Հակոբյան Թ. Խ., Մելիք-Բախշյան Ստ. Տ., Բարսեղյան Յ. Խ., Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, Ե., 1986 – 2001.

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Satala

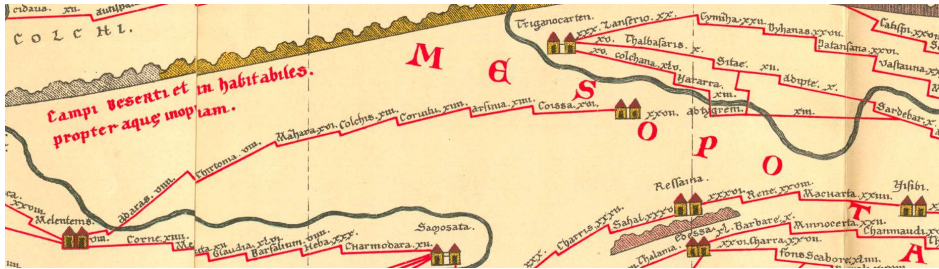
Satala is definitely the modern *Sadak*, and the historical *Satagh* (Arm. *Սատաղ*). This is confirmed not only by the similarity of the name, but also by archaeological data. In addition to the *Artashat* Road, it was also located on the north-south road, which connected *Trapezunte* (now *Trabzon*) with *Antiochia*, being in fact an important road junction. And it is natural that it should have developed road service, due to which it was marked with a "Iodge" icon on the TP.

Artaxata — *Satala* (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Artaxata	Artashat				
Paracata	<u>Bulakbaşı</u> , Փառախոս	23	23	23	0.00
Coloceia	<u>Iğdır</u> , Ցոլակերտ	33	33	33	0.00
Hariza	Кара-кала, * Սրազ	24	24	24	0.00
Raugonia	Halıkışlak, Բազարան	24	24	24	0.00
Colchion	İncesu, Kula	24	24	24	0.00
Chadas	Kağızman	24	24	25	4.17
Armanas	Kuloğlu	17	17	17	0.00
Andaga	Зарабхана (river)	12	12	16	33.33
Barantea	Karakurt, Վանանդ	26	26	25	-3.85
Ad confluentes	Horasan	30	45	45	0.00
Datamissa	Karaçuha	10	15	15	0.00
Tharsidarate	Pasinler, Դարղիք	20	30	30	0.00
Autisparate	Erzurum	15	22	29	31.82
Calcidava	Aziziye	12	18	21	16.67
Sinara	Çayköy	15	22	24	9.09
Lucus Basaro	Чинарлыханъ	22	33	35	6.06
Aegea	Çalidere Hanları	15	22	20	-9.09
Darucinte	Bayburt	20	30	28	-6.67
Salmalasso	Demirözü	20	30	31	3.33
Satala	Sadak	20	30	32	6.67
		406	504	521	<i>Average 3.37</i>

Melentenis — Ad Tigrem

Melentenis VIII Ad Aras VIII Thirtonia VIII Mazara XVI Colchis XIII Corvilo XIII Arsinia XIII Coissa XVI Innōminis XXVII Ad Tigrem



Melentenis — Ad Tigrem section of TP.

The *Melentenis - Ad Tigrem* route is 125 miles (200 km) long. However, the red line from the unnamed station to *Ad Tigrem* is missing. The unnamed station is usually thought (eg by Miller) to be *Amida* (*Diyarbakir*). In that case, it is 98 miles (157 km) to *Amida*, while in reality even in a straight line it is 170 km to *Amida*, and by road more than 220 km. The difference is huge. Several options are possible:

- in this section, not the Roman mile, but another mile was used,
- we are dealing with a typo,
- the unnamed station is not *Amida*.

As we will see, all three versions have been affected to one degree or another. Miller found two reasons, identifying *Mazara* with the *Mezireh* settlement (*Elazig*) not far southwest of *Kharberd*, and *Arsinia* with *Ergani* (Arm. *Արկլիս* [*Arknî*]). These seemed to him to be so strong that he decided to, in his words, "stretch the path a little"⁸⁷. In practice, that stretch was 20 to 30 percent. By the way, Miller did so without detailing what could be the reason for such a deviation: bugs or use of any other mile?

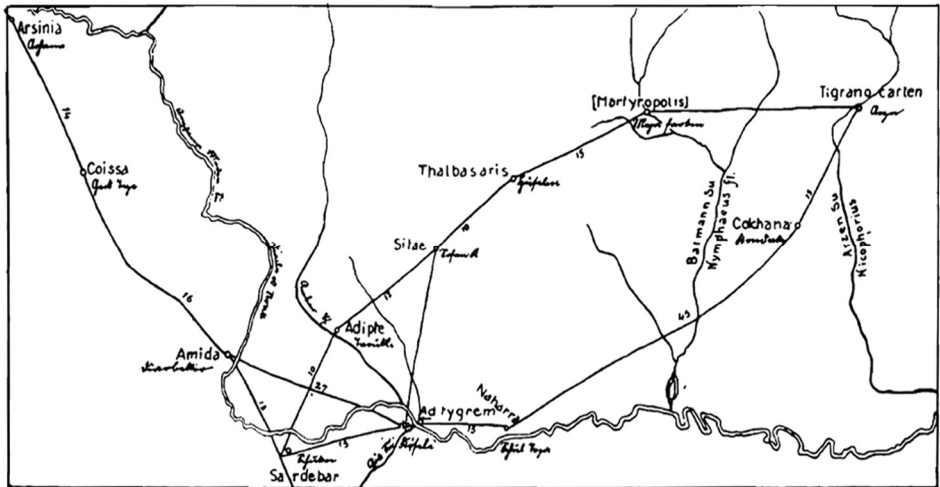
The option of another mile is somewhat probable, since, as will be shown, apart from two sites, the length of the rest has almost equal deviation along almost the entire route. On the other hand, bugs are ruled out for most of the route for the same reason, while Miller thinks an entire station is missing. It will be shown below that, apart from those two locations, there are almost no serious deviations during this route.

The last version remains: *Amida* is not being of the anonymous station. By the way, according to TP, when moving from *Malatya*, we first enter the unnamed station (it is not obvious that it was on the *Tigris*: it depicted close to river, but is not necessarily that

⁸⁷ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 738, Melentenis.

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it is on the river), then *Ad Tigrem*, which, judging by the name, is definitely on the *Tigris*⁸⁸, and only after then we crossing the bend of the *Tigris*.



Reconstruction of the part adjacent to *Amida* according to K. Miller⁸⁹.

And with Miller, the reverse image is obtained: immediately after *Amida*, the road crosses the bend of the *Tigris* by a 27-mile section, which should be before reaching the *Tigris*, and *Ad Tigrem* already appears on the eastern side of the bend. By actually assigning the unnamed station to be *Amida*, that is, to be on the *Tigris*, Miller was forced to fundamentally redact the TP. In other words, instead of solving the problem, he preferred to change the problem, adapting it to his ideas.

So, we can consider it highly likely that Miller's proposal to identify *Amida* with an anonymous station does not derive from TP's information, and the opinion of H. Kiepert, mentioned by Miller, about identifying *Amida* with *Ad Tigrem*⁹⁰ is preferable, which will be discussed below: we will look at it later. And indeed, if we accept that the length of the *Melentenis - Ad Tigrem* route of 125 miles was measured in 200 km in Phileterian miles, it comes close enough to the actual 224 km and the difference (12%) can be explained with measurement inaccuracy. In addition, we see the biggest deviations (18-23 percent) at the descent sites, where, probably, they walked faster, the steps were

⁸⁸ From the author's research on the location of Tigranakert, the capital city, it can be seen that it corresponds to this settlement and the fact that it is of same root with the name of Tigris became the cause of confusion and made the problem of its location difficult. See. Аюбян Р. Х., Локализация Тигранакерта и Тигранакертское сражение 6 октября 69 г. до н. э. (части 1 и 2) / *Метаморфозы Истории*, Псков, 2016. Հակոբյան (Թարուսեան) Ռ. Խ., Տիգրանակերտ մայրաքաղաքի եւ Ամիդ քաղաքի նույնության մասին / *Регион и мир*, 2023, № 4.

⁸⁹ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 239.

⁹⁰ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, sec. 107, col. 738.

bigger, and it seemed that the road was shorter. Moreover, the main part of the deviation falls on the last site, and it should be noted that this site does not have a red line on the route: perhaps namely as a sign of the no reliability of the length.

Melentenis

It is undoubtedly this is *Malatia*. The current city center is about 6.5 km southeast of the old city of Melid (located on a hill called *Arslantepe*).

Ad Aras

From *Malatya* to the station of *Ad Aras*, which seems to be on the *Euphrates*, 8 miles (13 km) is stated, which corresponds to reality⁹¹. Is unexpected the name, which can be translated from Latin as "near the altars", or "at the hills, rocks". It seems that there are no hills in this area. Maybe there was a place of worship here? On the other hand, since the preposition *ad* "near", the name roughly *Ad Euphratem* was expected here. However, it is known that *Melid* is located near *Tohma (Melas)*, one of the right tributaries of the *Euphrates*, with which the road passes near the confluence of the river. Probably, that river was once called *Aras*, and it is about being "close" to that river confluence. The comparison of the names *Melas* and *Aras*, both of which can mean "black" (c.f.: Greek. *μελαν* "black" and Arm. *արևու* [*arus*] "black incense") speaks in favor of this assumption. And perhaps all the options can be reconciled: on some hill, for example, the same *Arslan-tepe*, there was an altar, rituals were carried out (the concept of "black incense" hints at this) and it got the name "black", or "black incense", and from it the name passed on to the river. By the way, it can be assumed that the first part of the Turk. *Arslantepe* "Lion Hill" name is maybe also a result of the reinterpretation of that *Aras*.

This assumption is contradicted by the fact that *Arslan-Tepe* is not so close to the *Melas* River: there is more than 12 km between them. But perhaps it can remain as a working hypothesis. Especially since it does not affect the "black" meaning of the names *Melas* and *Aras*. The mouth of the *Melas* River, the delta, was in a flat area and mixed with the *Euphrates* through many small rivers. The possible location of the guest house is quite large. However, the name of one of the small streams approaching that river confluence is *Khan*, which allows us to assume that the guest house, "khan" was right next to that stream.

Martirosyan writes *Ad Ares* instead of *Ad Aras*, translates it as "on the terrain", "in the region" and continues his judgments based on that translation⁹².

⁹¹ Currently, the Karakaya Reservoir has been created here, which is about 3.5 km wide in this area, and has hidden a significant part of the area that have interest from the point of view of this problem.

⁹² **Мартirosян А.**, Мировые пути через Армению и переднюю Азию по карте Пейтингера, р. 60.

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Thirtonia

The next station is *Thirtonia*, 9 miles (about 14 km) from the previous one. Since the form *Thertonia* corresponds to this in RA, it seems that this is related to Greek. *θηρᾶτός* "hunt": perhaps its surroundings were known as a hunting ground. According to the distance, it should have been located approximately near present-day Alangören. At the same time, it is noteworthy that not far away is the village called *Kuşsarayı* "bird's palace", which raises surmise that the meaning of "hunt" could have been preserved in this way: "the place where the game, the bird, dwells." That village is little further than the required 9 miles, but the hunting grounds must have been larger than the area of one village, so *Thirtonia* could have been located a little further from modern *Kuşsarayı* village.

Mazara

From the point of view of the features of the terrain, it would be logical if one of the stations coincided with the point where the *Euphrates* enters a narrow gorge from a relatively flat terrain, and the road begins to climb the mountains. According to the TP, this station should have been located 8 miles (13 km) from the previous one, and that point really falls not far from the above-mentioned point of the site. And it is there that the location of *Mazara* station can be assumed: approximately near the village of *Habibuşağı*. It seems that this is the *Masara* mentioned by Ptolemy, which is mentioned near the *Euphrates*. Unfortunately, no trace of this place name has remained.

Miller identified it with the *Mezireh* settlement near *Kharberd*, which is now included in the city. However, it should be remembered that the phonetic similarity of that word is mainly due to the similarity of consonants, but there are widely spread place names in the region, based on different words that sound alike. Thus, on the Arabic word *mazra'a* "field", which has the same composition of consonants (and even vowels). In addition, there is also the word *mazar*, "grave". Therefore, taking into account that the considered region is in the neighborhood of the Semitic linguistic domain, there could have been or appeared later many assonant toponyms in the region. Of course, if the location of that station was derived from the mentioned distances, it would already become an additional weighty argument, but, as we saw, Miller did not follow those distances, but on the contrary, he preferred phonetic similarity, meanwhile that place name could belong to many settlements.

Colchis

This station is marked 16 miles (26 km) from the previous one. If the previous one was before climbing the mountains, then this one is already in the mountains. At approximately the required distance, the settlement of *Kullük* is marked today. This is a completely insignificant toponym, but it is possible that it preserves the trace of an old

name. Let's remember that when locating the *Colocea* station above, we considered the village of the same name as one of its most probable places.

Corvilu

The *Corvilu* station (RA *Gorbilon*) was to be located 13 miles (21 km) from the previous one. The present village of *Kürkköy* is located not far from the mentioned distance. Perhaps, the correspondence of these two place names can be considered probable. The name *Corvilu* probably consists of *Cor* and *vilu* components. Second, it must be Lat. *villa* "village house", and the second part *-köy* of the modern toponym means "village". And the first part is identical in sounding both place names. The *Corv* component (the last consonant of the first root merged with the identical first sound of the second root) probably conveys the Lat. *Corvus* "crow", which is one of the common toponymic concepts. In other words, the native place name should have had the form *Agravatun* (Arm. "crow house") or *Agravagyuh* (Arm. "crow village"). And assonant Turk. *Kürk* means "fur, fur coat" (in this case it is the opposite: the first letter of the second root is doubled), and the place name gets the meaning of "fur village", i.e., "fur handlers' village". This allows us to consider that we are dealing with the reinterpretation of the old name.

Arsinia

As it was said, Miller equates this place name with *Ergani* (Arm. *Արկնի* [*Arkni*]) and it is one of his strong reasons. Meanwhile, from the point of view of distance, there is no possibility of this. This station is 14 miles (22 km) from the previous one. There is no noticeable settlement in the mentioned place. But that point is located at an important intersection where the roads coming from *Malatya*, *Dyarbekir*, and *Elazig* intersect, and it is natural that there should be a station there. It corresponds to the eastern end of *Hazar* Lake and is more than 50 km away from *Ergani*. As stated, Miller considers that an entire station is missing from this route and claims that *Amida* is the unnamed station. But despite he ignores the deviation of distances in the initial part of the route, he manages to provide a tolerable deviation with that station from the south of 30 miles (48 km) to 54 km. However, we have seen that there is no serious deviation of the distances, and *Amida* (*Dyarbekir*) is not an anonymous station, so Miller's restoration is not justified.

As for the similarity with the name *Ergani*, it should be noted that there are quite a lot of place names with a similar phonetic image in the territory of Hayk. besides *Arkni*, there are also: *Artsn*, *Arzan*, *Aratsani*, *Artske*, *Artsap*, etc. Probably, a significant part of them originates from the root **ar(e)ǵ-* "to shine": both native Armenian (those with *ts* in correspond of *ǵ*) and names transferred from other languages. Luster is one of the most characteristic properties of metals, and the Armenian Highlands have long been a region of metal mining. This can be seen in the same case of the *Maden* name. Since

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ancient times, it has been known as a copper mining center, and its name is also associated with the word *metal* itself, as well as Slavic. *мѣдъ* "copper" etc.

Coissa

This station was to be located 14 miles (22 km) from the previous one. *Maden* settlement is located approximately at this distance. Turk: *maden* (borrowed from Arabic) means "metal". Perhaps the name *Coissa* can be connected to Lat. with the word *coquo* "to forge, cast" (perfect: *coxī*), that is, like Turkish name is related to metalworking, therefore Turkish name may simply be Lat. the equivalent of the name. According to the dictionary of place names, the town was founded only three centuries ago, but it cannot be ruled out that there was a settlement of the same name in its place (this town is one of the centers of metallurgy, see the previous point). The DARMC locates in the area of present-day *Kalkan* village, in fact ignoring the distances of the TP.

Innōminis

As already mentioned, Miller identifies this station with *Amida*. It should be noted that this could be significantly related to its "lodge" icon: it was perceived as a large city. However, as it was said in the preface, the "lodge" icon symbolizes not the city, but the guest house, the size of which, in turn, can be related to many factors, not all of which may be obvious, and first of all, the activity of the given road.

Within the framework of this reconstruction, its location reaches near the city of *Ergani*, which is also a large settlement. Note that if we place the correct distance from the previous station, which is 16 miles (26 km), the station will be on the southern edge of the current city, and the location will be almost perfect. But in that case, there will be an unacceptably large deviation until the next station. We can be sure that the indicated 27 miles to the next station should have been 37. However, since acceptable deviations are obtained even without correction, it was preferred to locate this station a little south of *Ergani*, in the village of *Kömürtaş*.

Ad Tygrem

And *Amida's* being a large city in *Ad Tygrem* was not marked by depicting huts, but by another trick: depicting several bridges⁹³ (the location of this station will also be referred to below, when examining the *Innōminis* — *Ad Tygrem* route). But the distance from the previous station is significantly deviated (although it is tolerable within the accepted principles). Although maybe (as it was said) it can be expected for this section, due to the absence of a red line on the route: it can be assumed that something

⁹³ And even being much bigger. Let's note that this trick is still used in cartography today. small settlements are represented by symbols such as dots, circles, stars, and large cities are represented by symbols reproducing the real plan, with important streets, canals, bridges etc.

unconvincing was already found in this section by the cartographer. DARMC also accepts this location.

Melentenis — Ad Tigris (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Melentenis	Malatya				
<u>Ad Aras</u>	<u>Melas</u> , Adangören	8	13	14	7.69
<u>Thirtonia</u>	Alangören, <u>Kussarayı</u>	9	14	15	7.14
Masara	Habibuşağı	8	13	14	7.69
Colchis	Küllük	16	26	28	7.69
Corvilu	Kürkköy	13	21	22	4.76
Arsinia	Gezin, Արածախ	14	22	26	18.18
<u>Coissa</u>	<u>Maden</u>	14	22	23	4.55
Innōminis	Kömürtaş	16	26	29	11.54
Ad Tygrem	Diyarbakir	27	43	53	23.26
		125	200	224	Average 12.00

Raugonia — Triganocarten

Raugonia XXXVIII Catispi XXVII Sorue XXVIII Anteba XXVIII Nasabi XXVII Isumbo XV Flegoana XV Dagneuana XXVI Molchia XXXII Vastauna XXVI Patansana XXVII Dizanas XXII Cymiza XX Zanserio XXX Triganocarten

This TP route passed through the central provinces of the Armenia Major, and it seems that it should have been more connected to other TP stations, so it was easier to localize. On the other hand, this *Triganocarten* name undoubtedly represents *Tigranakert*, the city named after Tigran the Great, and it seems that this will also help the reconstruction. Unfortunately, this is not the case, and like the previous route, this one can be considered almost isolated from the many routes leading to *Mesopotamia* and *Asia Minor*. Not counting the controversial location of *Tigranakert*. Even the opposite. It seems that the reorganization of the TP may become the key to its correct location. However, since King Tigran built several cities bearing his name, we cannot be sure that this *Triganocarten* is the capital *Tigranakert*, and not one of the other cities of the same name. Going forward, I should say that this is confirmed by the analysis and, in addition, the other *Tigranakerts* are also revealed.

Note that, as we already know, the connection with *Artaxata* is uncertain due to an obvious error, as a result of which the *Catispi — Nasabi* section was mistakenly copied from the adjacent path (or perhaps vice versa). Although, as it was said, we cannot rule out that as a result of some amazing coincidence, those two sections were extremely similar both in terms of place names and distances, which led to confusion. After all, they are not completely identical, and we should try to take them into account, and reject them only in case of contradictions. We will see below that it is really so.

South of *Triganocarten*, the red line of the track leading to the positively identified *Singara* station is broken, and the distance indicated after the previous *Arcamo* station on that line is unclear: is this the distance to *Singara*, to the junction where the road to *Thamaudi* leaves to the east, or to *Thamaudi* itself (which has no recognized identification by the scientific community; the BATlas also leaves it unlocated)? Finally, the connection from *Triganocarten* westward to *Melentenis* (which is reliably identified with *Malathia*) is also, as we have seen, broken: that line does not connect with *Ad Tigrem* "near *Tigris*" station. This red line is also interrupted, and although it was possible to reconstruct that route, the existing uncertainty is a fact. Thus, this whole section appears as an "island" not reliably connected with other parts of TP, and in many cases, it can be reconstructed only if the logic of "internal" connections is understood.

By the way, let's note that even if this fact did not exist, the adjacent Mesopotamian routes are also significantly poorly located, and in order to rely on them, the latter still need to be determined, which was attempted within the framework of this research.

These and other such inconsistencies force us to choose a different strategy for restoring these parts of the TP: to try to localize those stations whose position is more

or less understandable, with the hope that eventually they will not only appear in one system, but also that other, unclear places will be clarified and errors will be revealed and explained, if any.

And it makes sense to start from the only point in which the "island" we are considering is attached to other paths, turning into a special "peninsula". It is: From *Thamaudi* — *Arcamo* intersection. And this in turn requires locating *Thamaudi* first and then (to confirm its location) the entire *Thamaudi* — *Thelser* route. This was done during the research, and as a result the previous reconstructions were checked, which is presented in the second part of the research. And here we will continue the restoration of the *Raugonia* — *Triganocarten* route, which starts from the "duplicate" route.

The place names of this part of the "duplicate" track are given here without quotation marks. And again: it does not mean that this one is genuine and the other is a copy. Both of these are distorted, and both are unreliable, but in some parts, they may correspond to reality. The configuration of this section thus resembles the identification of RA stations: only the names are known (as a rule, garbled), and the distances are doubtful, which is almost equivalent to their absence. Although locating at least the first two sites (*Raugonia* to *Sorue*) gives the impression that they are quite correctly represented by the Roman mile. However, given that *Artaxata* — *Raugonia* — *Barantea* used the "Talmudic" mile, it seems more likely that the coincidence of this small section is purely coincidental, and that in fact the same mile was used from *Artaxata* to *Isumbo*, it is just that the data for the *Raugonia* to *Isumbo* section gives us arrived in poor condition.

And after *Anteba* (which is undoubtedly *Энтабъ* on the Russian map), the reorganization of the considered route faces complete uncertainty. How did the road go after *Энтабъ* to *Northern Mesopotamia*? It could have taken a relatively short route along the *Aratzani* coast, through *Manazkert* to *Mush*, then cutting through the *Sasno Mountains* to the sides of present-day *Silvan*: this is how H. Manandyan imagined the route, because he accepted the location of *Tigranakert* in *Silvan*. However, it is more natural to go along the shore of *Lake Vana* and then through *Bitlis*, which at once leads to the eastern parts of *Mesopotamia*, where one of the cities named after Tigran the Great was located in the ruins of *Arzan*. However, it should be noted that even the option of locating *Tigranakert* in *Silvan* does not exclude the road passing through *Bitlis*. In general, the road through *Mush* and then *Kulp* passes through extremely uncomfortable mountain passes, and it is unlikely that it could have been the main route between central *Armenia* and *Armenian Mesopotamia* and was presented on TP.

Finally, the road could pass along the eastern shore of *Lake Van*, along the route of *Archesh*, *Van*, *Datvan*, and then again through *Bitlis*. In particular, Miller acted in this way in one of his versions, although he brought the route here not from the north, via *Tutak*, but from the northeast, from *Artaxata*, moving from there to the south. H. Martirosyan acted in approximately the same way. This option is supported by the

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obvious similarity of the names of one of the stations, *Vastauna*, and *Vostan* fortress (besides the desire to draw the route through *Van*). However, the rest of the stations (including *Van*) cannot be identified in any way within the framework of this assumption. And if the route went through *Энтабь* (*Tutak*), then it is more than 220 km from there to *Vostan*, while TP gives only about 140 km (88 miles) for that distance, which excludes *Vostan* and *Vastauna* identification. more than 60% deviation is unacceptable. In the extreme case, we should have additional arguments against that deviation, preferably in the form of phonetic identifications, but there are none.

As it was said when examining the route *Artaxata — Ecbatanis Partiorum*, H. Manandyan proposed to solve the path duplication error with the help of RA lists. And indeed, when they are arranged side by side, patterns begin to be revealed that were not noticed before. However, in this case, they do not confirm Manandyan's conclusions. Below are the two RA lists for this section, as well as the corresponding section of the TP with possible locations, which will be discussed separately below. For example, it can be noticed that probably *Zotozeta* and *Coloceia* are variants of the same place name. perhaps, it is a result of phonetic changes in late Latin and confusing the letters *l* and *i* with *t*.

RA (Media)	RA (Parthia)	TP	Localization
	Artaxata	Artaxata	Արտաշատ
		Paracata	Булакбаşı, Փառախոտ
	Zotozeta	Coloceia	Լճժր, Ցոլակերտ
		Hariza	Кара-кала, *Արազ
Ragaunia	Ragauna	Raugonia	Halikislak, Բազարան
Didima			Bayıraltı, Дидам
		Catispi	
		Sorue	Murat, Зиро, Զիրազ
Indua			
Acachia			
	<i>Indua</i>	Anteba	Tutak, Энтабь
	<i>Acachia</i> Arsania		*Արածանի
		Nasabi	
Isumbo	Isumbo	Isumbo	Փոմբ
		Flegoana	
Dognavana		Dagneuana	
Maia			
		Molchia	Malazgirt, Մալազկերտ
Bastavena		Vastauna	Adjicevaz, Արծկե

As for the section under consideration, it seems that the list of TP is more complete, which is sometimes supplemented by the two lists of RA: one attributed to *Media*, the other to *Parthia*. Among them, three toponyms are included in TP and in any of the lists of RA: both *Ragaunia/Ragauna/Raugonia* and *Isumbo* are on all lists. The last two are marked with "lodges" and probably represented large settlements. *Catispi*, *Sorue*, *Anteba*, *Nasabi*, *Molchia* stations of TP are not in any list of RA in the considered section, and *Didima*, *Indua*, *Acachia*, *Arsania*, *Maia* stations of RA are not in the list of TP.

At the same time, an impression is created that the *Indua* and *Acachia* stations of the RA Median list may correspond to *Anteba* of the TP and *Arsania* of the Parthian list of the RA. The names *Indua* and *Anteba* are almost identical: most likely, they come from records of different times, where the u of the first one sounded [v] and then turned into [b]. The reason for the confusion could be the fact that before that there is talk about *India Serica*, "Silk India". And *Acachia*, as we mentioned, Manandyan wrote in the form of *Arachia*, simulating *Archene* mentioned by Pliny and trying to connect it with Armenian Hark. In this case, it is more likely that it is a distortion of the toponym *Arsania*: and in it, the first c was indeed confused with r, and n was confused with h (although Manandyan's version cannot be completely excluded).

As for *Catispi*, it may not have been from this line at all, since it was already somewhat reliably located on the route *Artaxata — Ecbatanis Partiorum*. Although, based on the peculiarities of the location, there should have been a station in that part.

Finally, if the *Didima* of the RA list is identified with the present *Bayıraltı* (*Didam* of the Soviet map), it turns out that it is close enough to *Murat*, where *Sorue* is localized: there is only 6 km between them. It can be assumed that different guest houses have mentioned by different guidelines in this section. Therefore, Manandyan's opinion that RA's *Acachia*, *Indua*, *Didima* stations are taken from "an older and more refined copy of the same Roman map", so they should be placed instead of TP's *Catispi*, *Sorue*, *Anteba* stations, is not confirmed. Only the first of these is most likely misplaced on this route, while the other two survive to this day, while the first two of the RA's three station names are garbled.

If we consider the most reliable distances from *Isumbo* to *Triganocarten*, they add up to 213 miles. If we count in Roman miles, it will be 316 km. If, following Manandyan, we accept that *Isumbo* is the historical *Tsumb* (probably present-day *Patnos*), then that 316 km is an extremely large number, because from *Patnos* to the southern sides of *Taurus*, where *Triganocarten* should be located (probably, in the ruins of *Arzan*) is only about 220 km. Even the unevenness of the terrain cannot add about 100 km to it. It seems that we can admit the "Talmudic" mile. However, this does not save either, because the distances between separate, relatively convincingly identified stations are closer to TP data in the case of restoration by the Roman mile.

Thus, if we accept that *Molchia* is *Manazkert*, and *Triganocarten* is *Tigranakert* of *Arzan*, then the road between them is about 230 km, which corresponds to 157 miles

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of TP. Therefore, the correct Roman mile was used in this section. But from *Isumbo* (*Patnos*) to *Molchia* is about 30 km in a straight line, and by road (extended to a reasonable extent) no more than 40 km, which corresponds to 56 miles of TP. This means that either there is an error in this section (either in the localization or in the original), or a unit of measurement that is even smaller than the "Talmudic" mile was used here, which is unlikely.

As for the localization error that, for example, *Isumbo* is not *Patnos*, (even leaving aside the fact that it is implausible that *Isumbo* with its icon of "lodges" was not *Patnos*, the only notable settlement in the vicinity), if we start the calculation from *Anteba*, which is almost certainly *Энтабъ* (*Tutak*), then even then *Tutak* to *Molchia* is about 50 km in a straight line, and by road (also reasonably extended) no more than 65 km, which correspond to the 56 miles of TP to *Isumbo*, and for the other two sections (*Anteba* — *Nasabi* — *Isumbo*) remain barely 9—10 km, which is too little. Thus, the existence of the error can be considered almost proven and it can be noted that the corrupted part was not limited to the "duplicate" part, but spread to *Molchia*. It's just that in this section, unlike the previous one, the cartographer was able to restore the real picture to some extent.

But, for example, he could not solve the problem of the intermediate *Flegoana* and *Dagneuana* stations. There are many interesting identifications for these, but they do not line up on a single line, so they do not seem convincing. However, their mutual position gives rise to an assumption, which can perhaps reveal the nature of the error and provide a solution. Probably, in the original TP that has reached us, after *Anteba*, probably at *Nasabi*, the road split into two branches to bypass the *Dzhemalverdi* (Rus. *Джемальверди*) mountain — *Karakaya* (Rus *Каракая*) on the Russian map, and the separate branches joined at *Molchia*. In that case, the indicated distances between the stations will already be within the framework of the "Talmudic" mile, although it is difficult to understand which of them corresponds to which. There are 3 somewhat reliable distances that can be associated with that segment: After *Molchia*, 26 miles (it is not clear to which station), and after *Dagneuana* and *Flegoana*, 15 miles each. Of these, *Dagneuana* can be identified with the village of *Догнукъ* marked on the Russian map about 16 km north of *Manazkert*.

According to Marquart and Manandyan, the first letter of *Flegoana* should be changed to E (see below), *Elegoana*, connecting with the concept of "reed". A Soviet map with that name shows a river and two villages: inner and upper *Kamyshly* *Камышлы* (and *Kamyshlyu* *Камышлю* on the Russian map). And on the Russian map there is also *Гамышвань*, about 8 km southeast of *Patnos*. The last of these is extremely similar to the name of the TP station, but is located on the opposite side of *Manazkert*. *Kamyshlyu* is more suitable in terms of location, although it is more expected that this station would be directly on the road. But, taking into account the presence of many place names with the toponym "reed" in these parts, it is likely that there was another

"reed villige" in ancient times, for example, right near the mouth of the *Kamyshly Камышлю* river: at least as a guest house.

In that case, it would be right in the middle of *Manazkert* and *Patnos*, about 15 km from both. Therefore, those two 15 km distances can be them. There is also 26 miles from *Molchia (Melazgirt)*, including *Dagneuana*, but it is 16 km to *Dognuk*, where it makes sense to locate. Maybe that number should refer to the area after *Dagneuana*, and we don't have the distance between those two. If that hypothesis is correct, then the distance from *Dagneuana* to *Nasabi* would be 26 miles.

As for RA and *Arsania* station, based on the name, it should have been on the bank of *Aratzani*, and today, when that river is called *Murat*, that place name (if it has been preserved until today) should also bear the same name. Doubt falls on today's *Muratkolu* "Murat tributary" settlement.

Catispi

As it became clear that *Raugonia* is not *Bagavan*, but *Bagaran*, the route to *Triganocarten* starting from *Bagaran* to the coast of *Araxes* must coincide with the first half of the route to *Colchion*. But there is no such section on that track. It can be considered that in that case such a restoration contradicts the TP data and or vice versa, it can be considered a TP error, but the cartographer could simply not have given this significance, due to the relatively small size of that section, and because the previous section was located on the edge of *Bagaran*: it could be perceived as part of *Bagaran*. This is the first station of the "duplicate" section, and a station with this name (or a name resembling it) might not have existed at all. However, judging by the location, there was a station there, albeit with a different name. That station, according to the clear testimony of TP, was located south of the mountain range of *Tavros* (that is, *Armenian Range* here), on the road passing near *Balik Lake*. It could roughly correspond to the first village on the track, *Yukaritoklu*. It is expected that the guest house is at the foot of the mountain pass. And besides, as said lawfully or by accident, the said distance, expressed in Roman miles, approximates to this indicated value.

Sorue

It has already been said that the name of this station has an obvious phonetic similarity with the place name *Ziro* on Russian maps, which is perhaps the historical *Dzirav* (now *Murat*). It is located at a logically possible distance from the previous one, and most likely this is the *Sorue* station itself. This is one of those place names that make you believe the version that the place names of these two almost identical roads were really similar. Let's remember that on the *Artaxata — Ecbatanis Partiorum* route, the *Sorvae* station corresponds to this, the likely prototype of which was the place name *Zurava*.

It may seem that the reconstruction of the route will be helped by Ghevond's report, which, speaking of the Arab invasions, describes the route of the movement of Ismael's army from *Dvin*: " *And the commander of the army with his 4000 fine riders,*

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move along the king's avenue, and reached the village of Bagavan in the province of Bagrevand" (ՂԵՆՈՆԴ, ԼԴ). Here " king's avenue " (Arm. *սրդդսսսսսս սրդդսսսս*) is probably the *Artashat-Tigranakert* highway, and the road being restored here also connected those two cities. However, it does not mean at all that these two ways coincided in all points. In this case, most likely, the Arab army moved through the *Kharababazar* mountain pass. that was the reason that the road passed through *Bhagavan*. Meanwhile, it was already shown above that the path of TP could not pass through *Bhagavan*. Therefore, this path of TP did not coincide with the "royal avenue". Although it could have coincided in the next sections.

Anteba

This station, as stated, phonetically matches *Энтабъ*, now *Tutak*, too well to be accidental. And the name (as mentioned when discussing the other *Anteba*) probably represents the name *Ayntap* (Arm. *Այնթափ*), consisting of the words: Assyrian *ayn* "spring" and Armenian *թափ* [tap] "bottom, foot". And this one is also located in a watery plain, on the bank of *Murat River* (Arm. *Արածափ* [*Aratsani*]).

Nasabi

The *Nasabi* of this route can be identified with a number of "water" toponyms (if we accept the possibility that the ab-component of the name is the Persian root "water"). For example, after *Tutak*, among the current place names, *Oğlaksuyu* "goatling water" stands out over the settlements. But in this case, the distance from Dagneuana (*Догнукъ*) would be about 37 km, while it was hoped that the mentioned distance of 26 miles ("Talmudic") refers to this very point. However, there is another "water" toponym: *Burnubulak* - "nose spring". And if we consider the *Nas-* of the name *Nasabi* as the Latin *nāsus* "nose", then we will have the meaning of the current Turkish place name. And surprisingly, the distances will also coincide. 26 miles from *Dognuk*, 17 miles from *Patnos*, and 24 miles from *Tutak*. Thus, we can record that in this "duplicate" version we manage to find two of the 4 stations with phonetic similarity: *Sorue* (*Յորո*) and *Anteba* (*Энтабъ*) and this one with semantic identity. There is no phonetic or semantic equivalent to *Catispi* in this section. Let's remember that *Catispi* (perhaps historical *Vordspu*), *Sorvae* (*Յրաճա*) and *Nasabi* (perhaps historical *Nuarsak*) are located on the other "replica". In other words, the assumption that, perhaps by a surprising coincidence, there really were very consistent toponyms on those two parts (and sometimes also very similar distances) can be considered confirmed.

Isumbo

H. Martirosyan writes the name as *Saumbo* and compares it with the name *Shamb* and places it in *Darashamb*. At the same time, he notes that it is given in the form of *Isumbo* by Manandyan, but it remains unclear whether he restores an original form or considers that the form given by Manandyan is wrong. As we know, Manandyan equates this station with historical *Tsumb*. "As soon as the Armenians and Georgians arrived

together, they marched to the province of Apahuniq: towards to army, to Mamlan army, to a fortified place in the highlands, on the border of the village of Tsumb, and many days in that place were camped"⁹⁴. It has been said that Manandyan explains this by a T/I confusion of the first letter in the supposed *Tsumb form of the script, while (as mentioned in the section on Sanora) it can be assumed that Tsumb was originally rendered as Isumbo, with a prefix, and thus ts corresponds to s in TP. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of phonetic localization with the current settlements.

As it was said, this station is most probably located in *Badnots* (now *Patnos*), which, by the way, is located in *Apahunik* province, and most probably this is Tsumb itself. This is a local road junction and could be represented by "lodges". It is interesting that on Isumbo the path breaks and changes direction from east to west. One can, of course, explain this break with the lack of space on the drawing, and consider that the cartographer did not add topographical meaning to it, but it is a fact that the restored route near *Patnos* really changes direction.

As for the distance, it is known with some reliability only from one side, from the south (since it is a "duplicate" track from the other side), and with some reservations,

Flegoana

As mentioned, Manandyan, following Marquart, suggests correcting the first letter to *E*. In addition, in the illegible part of the map due to wear, Marquart suggests adding *s*, reading *Elegosana*, assuming that there was actually *Yeghegnashen* or *Yeghegnatsin*, and Manandyan adds *c*, reading *Elegocana*, because he sees a similarity with the historical *Yeghekakan*, which Asoghik mentions in *Hark* province. In fact, that part is so worn that all the letters after *Flego* are questionable:



However, Marquart's proposal is quite convincing. The root "reed" is quite popular in place names of this area. It was mentioned above that it is more logical to locate it near the mouth of the *Камышлю* river. It is true that this place is located in *Apahunik*, not in *Hark*, although Manandyan, referring to the information of various historians and researchers, comes to the conclusion that *Hark* province in ancient times included a larger area, in particular, it may have included *Apahunik* as well⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ Ասողիկ, Պատմութիւն տիեզերական, Գ, ԽԱ.

⁹⁵ Մանանդյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Ե. 1984, Գ. Ե, p. 145.

Dagneuana

Behind the phonetic image of this, a toponym with a -van component is clearly visible. Above, it was identified with the Russian map *Dognuk*, and in ancient times it may have also had the -van component. Today, its location is difficult to determine precisely due to the inaccuracy of the Russian map, but it roughly corresponds to the present-day village of *Konakkuran*.

Manandyan compares *Dagneuana* to *Donevank*, known from the bibliography, and Marquart to *Datvan*⁹⁶. The location of the first one is not known, and the second one does not correspond in any way to the mentioned distances. Yeremyan places it west of *Manazkert* in his "*Kingdom of Armenia Major in IV century*" map. And in the map "*Armenian State in the Time of Tigran the Great*" places the settlement of *Dagonavan* in the same place. And perhaps, in this region there were several settlements with close-sounding names, which in the Turkish-speaking environment could be reinterpreted as *doğan* "hawk". *Doğansu*, *Doğangün*, etc. However, the *Догнукъ* form of the Russian map, especially the Armenian suffix, gives the impression that this is an ancient toponym and has not changed in the Turkish-speaking environment.

Molchia

Marked at 26 miles from the previous one. However, as already mentioned, this is perhaps the continuation of the corrupted section, and this is the distance not from *Molchia* to *Dagneuana*, but from the latter to *Nasabi*. So, we can't use that distance for location, although we can use distance to the *Vastauna* station next to *Molchia*, which is 32 miles. However, according to the phonetic correspondence and taking into account possible scribal errors, it is possible to identify it with the city of *Melazgirt* (Arm. *Մալազկերտ* [*Manazkert*]). Probably, in the source of the map that has reached us, there was *z* instead of *h*, and *c* was confused with *e*. In other words, the original **Molezia* pattern is restored. And if we remember that there is also a version of this name with *l*, which we see at Alishan — *Melazk* (Arm. *ՄԷԼԱԳԼ*), and that the current name of this settlement is *Malazgirt*, then the similarity becomes even more obvious. The problem remains only the question of the time of spelling with *l*. On the one hand, this identification can be an argument for the dating of such a spelling, but it can complement the set of other problems related to the dating of TP. For example, the problem of the inclusion of the city of *Pompeii* (in the form of *Pompeis*), which brings the sources of this map to the first century, because after the destruction of the city as a result of the eruption of *Vesuvius*, that city was completely forgotten, and was discovered only in the 17th century. However, within the framework of this reconstruction, this identification and location are quite logical: this settlement had too important regional significance to be bypassed.

⁹⁶ Մանանդյան Գ. Գ., Երկեր, Ե. 1984, Գ. Ե, p. 146.

Vastauna

According to the TP, it was 32 miles from the previous one. It was mentioned above that the most convenient is the road passing through *Bitlis*, and identification of *Vastauna* with the current *Adilcevaz* settlement — historical *Artske* (Arm. Արծղէ) was suggested.

The distance from *Malazgirt* to *Adilcevaz* exactly corresponds to the mentioned, calculated in Roman miles. that is, we can record that distances after this station are represented in Roman miles. The similarity of the first part of the name *Vastauna* and the last part of *Adilcevaz* is remarkable. There is a certain probability that it is not accidental and the new name is the result of a reinterpretation or translation of another name of the city (or perhaps the name of one of the suburbs of *Artske*). There is an opinion that the current name is of Arabic origin and was originally *Dar al-Jawaz*, which means "house of the walnut" (Arabic: "دار" [dar] "house"). If this is true, then there is a possibility that the second component of *Vastauna*, *-taun*, also represents the Armenian word house, and the whole name is etymologically translated as "vine house". And what kind of "vine" is we talking about, against which we see the concept of "nut" in the Arabic version? It seems that it is the Armenian word *vaz* "grape vine". This assumption is supported by the line *DḡaldinaniGIŠ* [...] mentioned in one of the cuneiform inscriptions found in *Adilcevaz* (heavily damaged), in which the *GIŠ* "tree" determinant was usually used in the sense of "garden, vineyard"⁹⁷. Perhaps, a vineyard was planted near the city of *Artske*, the *Khaldi* garden, after which the suburb that later gave its name to the entire city was named. And later on, walnuts may have brought greater fame to the city than grapes, and *-vaz* was rethought as *-cevaz*.

Another circumstance is interesting. As it was said, it is a very serious proposition to imagine this route along the eastern coast of *Van*, because the name *Vastauna* is very similar to the Armenian word *vostan* "land, throne, royal house". and a fortress called *Vostan* was at the southernmost point of *Lake Van*. At the same time, the presented analysis excludes that option. However, it seems that this hypothesis still has useful potential. Today, *Vostan* is called *Gevaş* and it is not difficult to notice the similarity of that name and the second part of the name *Adilcevaz*, which gives another and, perhaps, more convincing version of the interpretation. Indeed, if we assume that they are identical in meaning, then it is possible that this component is just a translation of the concept of "ostan", and the first part of *Adilcevaz* represents the defining feature of that word. There is no such word in modern Turkish, but it could have been borrowed from Arabic in the Middle Ages. Indeed, in Arabic there is the word "جَوْسَق" [jawsaq] "district, palace, village house"⁹⁸. As for the original, determining component, it could be the Turkish word *ada* "island", which referred to the island of *Artske*, in front of the

⁹⁷ Меликишвили Г. А., Урартские клинообразные надписи, Вестник древней истории, 1953 г., № 4, стр. 239 — 241.

⁹⁸ Rajki Andrés, Arabic Dictionary [with etymologies], uuwtL` <https://goo.su/OEI2tcl>

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city, where in the Middle Ages there was *St. Stepanos* walled monastery (now, due to the increase in the level of the lake, it is under water). In other words, *Adilcevaz* could originally mean "island of palace".

In Turkish, the final *aq* could be shortened, as for the initial *j*, Turkish is not characterized by words starting with *j*, and it could turn into *g*, but be preserved at inword position, *jawsaq* > *gavs* > *gavas* > *gevas*. Whereas in the case of *Adilcevaz*: *ada al-jawsaq* > *adaljavs* > *adaljavas* > *adiljevas*. Note that the first *a* of *jawsaq* is preserved in many mentioned versions of the place name. Contamination with the Turkish word *ilçe* "city, region" could also contribute to the phonetic change. And the forms *Alajavs*, *Dataljauz* also represent the older state, when *-aws* had not yet turned into *-avas*.

Thus, the name *Vastauna* could indeed represent the place name *Vostan*, but not the *Vostan* corresponding to *Gevaş*.

Patansana

At RA — *Patransana*. This should be at 26 Roman miles (39 km) from the previous one. There is no suitable settlement at that distance. settlements in the area have a linear-island distribution. The only possible location is *Ahlat* settlement, historical *Khlat*, about 29 km from *Adilcevaz*. However, there are no phonetic identification edges of the name. Manandyan equates it with the *Patrans avan* settlement of Armenian sources, which was supposed to be located near *Mush*, on the north-eastern side, and then, probably due to military operations, it was moved to the sides of *Moks*, so its location in the old centuries is actually unknown, and it cannot be ruled out, that *Khlat* town was also called *Patrans avan*: especially since this is also east of *Mush*.




B. Harutyunyan identifies with *Khasgegh*. According to his assumption, since estates exempted from taxes were called *khas*, the village could have been called *Azatarich* beforehand. Later, partially translated (the free component became *Patric*) into Latin, it became *Patricarisana*, then shortened to *Patrarisana*, and then, as a result of the assimilation of the letters *r* and *i* to *n*, *Patansana*. On the other hand, the same *Azatorych*, according to B. Harutyunyan, it was first translated, becoming *Khaskyoy*, and then Armenianized, becoming *Khasgegh*.

Dyzanas

This station was supposed to be 27 miles (40 km) from the previous one. There is no equivalent settlement at that distance, but 34 km away is the village of *Tatvan*, the historical *Datvan*. Perhaps there is some phonetic similarity: initial and final sounds overlap, and middle letters may be the result of confusion: it is possible that the *t* of the original was perceived as a vertical particle of *z*, and the original form of the name was **Dytuan* (with the ending *-as*). Note that the recovered form suggests that the name of this important port may have come from the meaning "to watch": maybe there was a watchtower here, from which the name of the settlement was born, as **Ditavan*.

B. Harutyunyan agreeing with S. Yeremyan, he suggests to correct *Dyzanas* to *Pizanas*, identifying it with the village of *Psank* (*Posank*, Arm. Փոսակք: the root is *փնու* "pit") or the village of *Chukhur-Norshen* (the first component of the second also has the meaning of "pit" in Turkish). However, B. Harutyunyan is limits himself by locating these and previous stations, while, as mentioned in the introduction, all kinds of identifications are possible in the case of considering short sequences or even more so individual stations.

Cymiza

At 22 miles from the previous one, it says about 33 km. In 25 km from *Tatvan* the city of *Bitlis* is located. Perhaps, pen-phonetic identification is also possible. The last part of both names is identical. It is not difficult to imagine the confusion of *B*  and *C*  realized in Gothic letterforms. it would be enough to delete or poorly implement the middle part of *B* and it would turn into *C*. As for the problem of the letters *t* and *l*, Manandyan ingeniously solved it, although with a slightly different application. He assumed that *Cymiza* was a distorted form of the name *Kildiz* (this village was located on his proposed route, near *Mush*). According to Manandyan, the *m* of *Cymiza* could have been formed from writing with Greek capital letters Λ and Δ in some original, as a result of their appearing side by side, $\Lambda\Delta$. However, if it is considered possible, then the opposite arrangement of those two letters, $\Delta\Lambda$, could have brought the same result (the creation of the letter *M*) and the original $*BY\Delta\Lambda I\Sigma$ could have first turned into $*BYMI\Sigma$ and then, in Latin writing, received the form *Cymiza* (note that the city name also had the version written with *d*). By the way, this version is more reasonable, because within the framework of the TP typeface, *M* letters is sometimes implemented in a structure:  the two left (rather than right) particles are yoked from below, creating a closed shape resembling the letter Δ .

B. Harutyunyan observes approximately the same thing⁹⁹, however, considers *B* to be confused not with *C*, but with *K*. However, this is impossible, because the letter *K* is not used in general in TP (see Miller's table in the preface), and it is not clear why that intermediate letter should have been used at any stage of the composition of TP.

H. Martirosyan writes the name of the station as *Cymiha* without explanation and equates it with *Qlymar*. Miller also places *Cymiza* near *Bitlis*, although not noticing the identity of the name. In general, the locations of the last stations of this route within the framework of the proposed reorganization coincide with Miller's locations, which also smoothly passed the BATlas.

⁹⁹ Հարությունյան Բ. Զ., Մեծ Հայքի վարչա-քաղաքական բաժանման համակարգն ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Ե., 2001, p. 193.

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Zanserio

This should be within 20 miles (30 km) of the previous one. The name reminds of the name of the neighboring province, *Salnoy Dzor*. However, this time too there is no suitable settlement at that distance, which could have been a station in the past. We are forced to locate by distance. However, the measurements show that the actual distances in this section are more than 25 percent higher than those specified in the TP. It remains to find a point where, on the one hand, the deviations are minimal, and on the other hand, where there is a suitable terrain in this narrow canyon. There is such a place at about 38 km. In addition, about 5 km away, approximately on the site of the present-day village of *Yarımca*, the Russian map shows the village of *Завиерзурь*, whose name is a good candidate to be the prototype of *Zanserio*.

B. Harutyunyan does not accept H. Manandyan's proposal of to correct *Zanserio* to *Zoniqart* and identify it with *Dzyunkert*¹⁰⁰, and only states that it should be approximately near the village of *Baykan*, 30 km (20 mi) from *Bitlis*, which is very close to the proposed location. The location in this section is also justified by the fact that the next station, *Triganocarten*, that is, *Tigranakert*, was most likely on the site of the ruins of *Arzan* (see below).

Although the distance to *Triganocarten* station is indicated in the table below, it will be discussed in the following paragraphs. But, as has been said, except for the first site of this section (from *Molchia* to *Vastauna*), the lengths of all others are obtained with very large deviations. It is tempting to assume that other miles were used at these sites. But considering that the entire section is measured in Roman miles with a slight deviation, it would be more logical to attribute it to the inaccuracy of the measurement.

Molchia — Triganocarten (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Molchia	Malazgirt				
<u>Vastauna</u>	<u>Adilcevaz</u>	32	47	47	0.00
Patansana	Ahlat	26	39	29	-25.64
Dizanas	Tatvan	27	40	34	-15.00
Cymiza	Bitlis	22	33	25	-24.24
Zanserio	Завиерзурь	20	30	38	26.67
<u>Triganocarten</u>	Bozhüyük	30	44	58	31.82
		157	233	231	Average -0.86

¹⁰⁰ Մանանդյան Գ. Գ., հ. Ե., p. 137.

[Sardebar] — Triganocarten

[Sardebar] XIII Ad Tygrem XIII Nararra XLV Colchana XV Triganocarten

With these and the following small routes, ends the reconstruction of TP routes of the *Armenia Major* and *Armenian Mesopotamia*. Both of these start and end at the same points, although this one is not attached to *Sardebar* directly, but in the middle of it and the neighboring *Arcaiapis* station. It significantly affects the accuracy of the reconstruction of that site, although it may have little effect on the entire route. That is why the name is taken here in square brackets. About that below, in the section about *Sardebar* on the *Innōminis — Ad Tygrem* route. Finally, a small route with one intermediate station also connects the midpoint of *Sitae — Adipte* site with *Ad Tygrem*. No other information about that route is known, and it can only be tentatively drawn.

Triganocarten

It is usually assumed that this is the capital built by King Tigran the Great, whose location remains uncertain. As it was already said, if it was clearly located and if it was clarified whether it is the capital *Tigranakert* or not, it would be much easier to restore the roads surrounding TP.

However, in the framework of this research, as a result of the location of dozens of TP stations and the reconstruction of the routes, the logic of conventional signs, scale and structure of TP has become significantly clear, and at this moment it can be asserted that although there is no doubt that the name *Tigranakert* is transmitted by the spelling *Triganocarten*, but this is hardly the capital *Tigranakert*¹⁰¹. And already for the simple reason that it is depicted on the left bank of the river. Knowing the principle of depiction of rivers in TP, when different parts of the same line can mean different rivers, in this case it should be understood that if near *Ad Tygrem* and in the inner stream that line depicts the *Tigris*, then near *Triganocarten* it can picture another river.

As we can see, *Triganocarten* is approached by one route from the depths of *Great Armenia*, *Artaxata*, and two routes from *Northern Mesopotamia*. The track from *Artaxata* has been reconstructed as far as the station of *Zanserio*, 30 miles (48 km) away, and if it is now possible to restore the tracks approaching from the south, it will be possible to locate the *Triganocarten* at their junction. The road from *Zanserio*, reaches to *Arzan* and *Nprkert*, and it becomes clear that *Triganocarten* corresponds to one of them. And the *Ad Tygrem — Triganocarten* and *Sardebar — Triganocarten* routes should say the last word. There is a noticeable feature about them, the significant difference in their length: if the length of the one is 73 miles, then the second one is only 47. And that is when *Ad Tygrem* and *Sardebar*, from which they start, are almost close to each other (only 13 miles are mentioned between them; even if we add to it

¹⁰¹ Հակոբյան (Թարունեան) Ռ. Խ., Տիգրանակերտ մայրաքաղաքի եւ Ամիդ քաղաքի նույնության մասին / Регион и мир, 2023, № 4.

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the difference between *Sardebar* and the junction of the route, which can be estimated to be about 5 km). It seems that either we are dealing with a bug or the northern route takes a bypass route. The first approach was adopted by H. Martirosyan, without arguing his choice, stated that the distance between *Nararra* and *Colchana* is not 45 miles, but 14, probably thinking that instead of *L, I* should be read, although *L* is too easy to read, and we have no reason to assume a fundamental error. As a result, he did not precisely locate *Triganocarten*, tending to see it perhaps in the *Silvan*, and perhaps even further west.

Contrary to that, if we proceed from the authenticity of those numbers, it will turn out that *Triganocarten* will appear much further east than *Silvan* and even *Batman*. Therefore, with great probability, it will be located where some researchers located the capital *Tigranakert*, at the place of the ruins of *Arzan*, and the river turns out to be *Kharzan*, as it was found by Miller. Although as a result of completely different reconstructions: as in other cases, he subjected TP data to arbitrary interventions. As we will see, the reconstruction of the southern routes also confirms this version.

Nararra

This station is listed at 13 miles (21 km) from *Ad Tygrem (Amida)*. If we accept that the main road was hardly changed, then *Nararra* should have been located approximately on the site of the present village of *Bağpınar*. As for the name, it seems to be related to the name of the river *Anbar (Ambar)*. Marquart noticed it once¹⁰². This is especially likely, since in the list of RA this station is represented as *Nabarra*, and Ammianus mentions it as *Abarna* (Аммиан, XVIII, 9, 2). It is true that today the settlement of the same name is located in the river mouth area, but it could have been moved, or it could have been another settlement with the same name.

B. Harutyunyan sees the first component of the name *Nprkert* under this Latin inscription: *npr*¹⁰³. Such phonetic similarity could certainly be considered successful if the distances were also preserved, but B. Harutyunyan does this without checking distances and locating other neighboring stations. At the same time, taking into account this reality, he expresses the opinion that the *Ad Tygrem* river crossing should be moved to the east. Meanwhile, a simple transfer is not possible, because it is connected with the transfer of other stations, and TP, as we have already seen, has a fairly consistent structure and rarely leaves room for arbitrary edits. And in this case *Nprkert* cannot possibly be *Nararra*, because from *Nararra* to *Ad Tygrem*, i.e., to the river *Tigris*, is 13 miles, while from *Nprkert* (i.e., *Silvan*) to the nearest point of the *Tigris* is about 22 miles. almost twice as much, including the confluence of *Batman* and the *Tigris* (25 miles in a straight line). Of course, if other issues were solved by it, that difference could be

¹⁰² Հարությունյան Բ. Յ., Մեծ Հայքի վարչա-քաղաքական բաժանման համակարգն ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Ե., 2001, p. 189.

¹⁰³ Նույն տեղում.

considered a bug. However, this is not the case, and this location brings other difficulties. In particular, according to TP, it is 60 miles from *Nararra* to *Triganocarten*. If we count from *Silvan*, it will bring *Tigranakert* to the east of *Siirt*: it is hardly possible to substantiate such a location with the data of the sources. Not counting the fact that for this we still have to declare the distances of the *Sardebar - Triganocarten* route of the TP as incorrect.

Colchana

It is marked 46 miles (74 km) from the previous one. The direction is assumed to be the same as the current road. In that case, *Colchana* would appear in the area of the Batman Reservoir dam, roughly near the present-day village of *Çatakköprü*. For the name, one can pay attention to the name of the village *Кялекъ* Rus. [күлек] (maybe Arm. **Քաղաք* [qaghaq] “city”?) on the Russian map, which was probably in the place of that village. Perhaps, this village name corresponds to the first part of *Colchana*, and the second is the Iranian word *-khana* “inn”.

So, next, already, *Triganocarten* station should have been on the other side of the river. The river crossing could be near the aforementioned *Çatakköprü*. A medieval bridge has been preserved here, and probably this is where the river crossing was, and although this does not exclude the possibility of river crossing in other parts, the foundation of the preserved bridge suggests that it is not very likely. B. Harutyunyan identifying *Nabarra* with *Nprkert* (*Mia Farkin*, Rus. *Фаркинъ*, modern *Silvan*) and seeing a similarity between these and the names of *Qlymar* in Armenian sources (*Թղմար*) and based on the fact that “in Latin manuscripts there are a significant number of confusions $c > o$ or $o > c$, $n > r$ ”¹⁰⁴, it is possible to proofread this place name as *Colomara*. Note that this could be a really interesting identification, but since *Colchana* is located between *Triganocarten* and *Nararra*, it does not matter whether *Nararra* is identified with *Nprkert* or *Ambar*. On the other hand, it should be noted that it is difficult to justify the mentioned transition with the confusion of letters. First of all, we are dealing not with the Latin manuscript in general, but specifically with the Gothic typeface, and especially with the typeface of the TP. Undoubtedly, the mentioned confusions are possible, but in that case, we will have **Colohara*, while it is also necessary to explain the transition $h > m$. The letterforms of the TP leave room for the $b/h/z$ (**ᚷ ᚹ ᚺ**) or f/s (**ᚠ ᚡ**) confusion, but the h/m (i.e., **ᚷ** with **ᚠ** or **ᚡ**) confusion is difficult to imagine. So, the problem arises as to where it is located. Perhaps it is most logical to identify it with the village of *Куламасу* on the Russian map on the left bank of the *Харзанъ* River. Approximately there locate the settlement of *Shukaraba*¹⁰⁵ other sources too¹⁰⁶, which

¹⁰⁴ Հարությունյան Բ. Յ., Մեծ Հայքի վարչա-քաղաքական բաժանման համակարգն ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Ե., 2001, p. 190.

¹⁰⁵ S. Yeremyan identifies Shukaraba with Arzan.

¹⁰⁶ Pleiades, Database, <http://pleiades.stoa.org/>

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they are identified with *Qlymar*. But from Silvan (where B. Harutyunyan locates the previous station, *Nararra*) it is barely 30 miles, not 45. S. In his map, Yeremyan locates *Kghimar* right near the village of *Çatakköprü*, which makes it tempting to really identify *Colchana* with it. However, it is not clear on what basis Yeremyan made that location. (The name *Qlymar* probably comes from *Hnl*: **ḳalH₂mo-* "reed" (perhaps it was also borrowed from Akk: *kalmarhu* "special tree"¹⁰⁷).

He does not accept Marquardt's opinion that the name of the river Ambar in Aramaic could be *Nahar ḥarrā*, from which the form *Nararra* could have arisen. He notices that the consonant base of the form *Nabarra* is identical to the first component of the name *Nprkert*, and identifies the two place names. Of course, the similarity is extremely impressive. However, the TP reports not only names, but also distances. In this case, if *Nabarra* is *Nprkert* and *Cymiza* is *Bitlis*, then there should be 110 miles between them, but in reality, there is only about 85 miles between *Nprkert* and *Bitlis* (if the route goes through *Arzan*). Of course, this can be attributed to the inaccuracy of the map. But the problem is that we get a better fit if we locate *Nabarra* near the *Ambar River*; for the same 110 miles, in this case we will have a distance of about 115 miles. the difference is about 4%. Moreover, in order to justify the name of the station, perhaps there is no need to refer to the *Nahar ḥarrā* version of the river name, because the consonant base of the name *Ambar* already corresponds to the first component of *Nprkert*. Especially since, as said, today that name is also spelled in form of *Anbar*. In addition, against B. Harutyunyan's assumption, one can make such a remark. The places names of the TP and the RA in any form preserved the Armenian component *-cert* «built» (Arm. *-լէրս*), e.g.: *Triganocarten*, *Minnocerta*, *Macharta*, and in this case it was expected to see approximately **Nabarcarta*, but not *Nabarra*.

[*Sardebar*] — *Triganocarten* (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
[<i>Sardebar</i>]	Üçtepe, <u>Աւրիս</u>				
Ad <i>Tygre</i> m	Diyarbakir	13	21	29	38.10*
Nararra	Ambar	13	21	21	0.00
Colchana	Кялекъ	46	74	72	-2.70
<u><i>Triganocarten</i></u>	Bozhüyük	15	24	26	8.33
		87	140	148	Average 5.71

* The section is also included in *Innōminis* — *Ad Tygre*m route.

¹⁰⁷ The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Sardebar — Triganocarten

Sardebar X Adipte XII Sitae X Thalbasaris XV Triganocarten

It is possible that the Phileterian mile was used in this section. The road probably ran along the left bank of the *Tigris*, as depicted on the Russian map

Adipte

Located 10 miles (16 km) from *Sardebar*. Judging by the features of the site, the ford was directly in front of *Sardebar*, now *Karkh*, and the road skirted the great arc of the *Tigris*, extending considerably the road to *Adipte*, which, judging from the distance, must have been modern *Bismil*, at least in terms of its regional role. On the other hand, the composition of the name suggests that it could be read as *Ad Ipte*, "near Ipte", in which case that *Ipte* could be the modern *Pamuk River*. However, there is no possibility of either phonetic or semantic identification. Turk: *pamuk* means "cotton", and the word *ipte* does not exist in Latin or Greek (phonetically the closest Latin: *adipāta* means "fat pie"). And if we try to find similarities in the local material, that is, in Armenian or Iranian, then we can assume some name formed by the toponym *-pat*. Maybe some **Adipat*.

Sitae

Sitae is listed 12 miles (19 km) from the previous one. In the RA it is listed as *Sipte*, which raises the suspicion that this may be somehow related to the *ipte* component of the preceding one. Although it may be an accidental similarity, because if in the case of the previous one it was expected that it was the name of a river somewhere, then this settlement was already near another river. Maybe this really has to do with the *-pat* component: in that case it is not difficult to imagine two toponyms with the same composition not too far from each other. Right at that distance is the relatively large village of *Yukarisalat*, i.e., "Upper Salat". The first and last consonants of the second component of this name match the consonants of the searched name: maybe it's not accidental and can be restored the **Silte* form. Turk: *salat* means "prayer" and may be the result of the reinterpretation of an obscure name in a foreign language.

Based on manuscript data, it is often identified with *Hasankeyf* (37°42'41.74"N 41°24'39.87"E)¹⁰⁸. However, this is completely impossible within the logic of both distances and routes of TP.

Thalbasaris

Thalbasaris is marked another 10 miles (16 km) away. About that distance from *Yukarisalat* (21 km) is the present city of *Batman*. *Эльхань* of the Russian map corresponds to this, whose *khan* component is probably the Iranian word for "inn". And to the east of *Batman* is the *Beşiri* province, with the center of the same name, which

¹⁰⁸ Marquart J., Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen

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is known among Armenians as *Բշերիկ* [*Bsherik*]. It is not difficult to notice that the name of this settlement corresponds to the second part of *Thalbasaris*. Probably this name originates from the Sem. root *b-s-r* "news, tidings". And the first part of the name is obvious is a toponym-forming Sem. *tel-* "hill". However, it is about 37 km from the previous station to the current *Beşiri* settlement. Moreover, as we have seen, even the city of *Batman* is far from what is required. However, on the Russian map, to the west of *Эльхань*, almost on the bank of the *Batman River* and approximately in the place of the current *İkiztepe*, there is another, larger settlement *Алмадинь*, which no longer exists in the new maps. That settlement is sometimes identified with *Бешури* settlement¹⁰⁹, and if this is not the result of a mistake, then this is a much more suitable location for this station than *Batman* itself. This possibility is indirectly confirmed by the fact that on the same map another settlement named *Бешури* is indicated on the right bank of the *Tigris*. Finally, the whole field had the same name, on which the present-day *Batman* is also located, as its largest settlement, while the present-day *Beşiri* is outside that field. It is not excluded that there were several settlements of the same name in the same field, while the TP marked (judging by the distances) the one on the site of which was later the town of *Алмадинь*, and now it is *Batman*¹¹⁰.

B. Harutyunyan also connects *Thalbasaris* with *Bsherik* field. Although he identifies it with the village of *Basorik*, which according to him, was southeast of *Arzan*, while the logic of the map leads to the southwest:

Sardebar — Triganocarten (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Sardebar	Üçtepe, <u>Վարխ</u>				
Adipte	Bismil	10	16	16	0.00
Sitae	Yukarisalat	12	19	20	5.26
Thalbasaris	Beşiri	10	16	21	31.25
<u>Triganocarten</u>	Bozhüyük	15	24	26	8.33
		47	75	83	<i>Average 10.67</i>

¹⁰⁹ **Шараф-Хан ибн Шамсаддин Бидлиси**, Шараф-Наме, comment. 306.

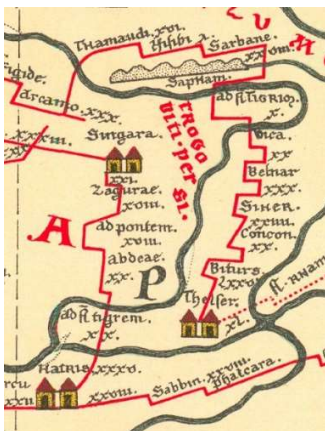
¹¹⁰ Յարութիւնեան Բ. Զ., Տիգրանակերտ մայրաքաղաքի տեղադրութեան հարցի շուրջ // Հայկազեան հայագիտական հանդես, հ. ԺԴ, Պեյրուզ, 1994, ք. 31—32.

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The restoration of Mesopotamian roads is one of the most interesting, because, unlike the Armenia Major, here we have a significant amount of source evidence. They are the ancient Akkadian sources, Greco-Roman and Arabic sources. However, namely this becomes a serious problem. From this purely narrative material, different authors make conclusions, often as a result of superficial judgments, which, after being repeated many times, acquire the value of a "source" for other researchers. Moreover, it is very difficult to find the first expresser of the given idea. Meanwhile, the data of TP, although also inaccurate, but at least in the unified system, are ignored. As in the previous chapter, here too, the data of the TP were taken as the basis.

Thamaudi — Thelser

Thamaudi XVI Nisibi X Sarbane XXVIII Sapham Ø Ad fl Tigrim X Vica XX Belnar XXX Siher XXVIII Concon XX Biturs LXXV Thelser



Thamaudi — Thelser and Singara — Hatris sections.

As we can see, this section passes mainly along the left bank of the *Tigris*. The mountain range depicted on the same bank, from which a river originates, is remarkable. The *Piris* mountains, along with the many mountain ranges parallel to them (N 36°57'40" E 43°50'51") are the most prominent in that area, which the *Great Zab* bypasses while making a huge confluence in the *Sapna* valley (N 36°48'37" E 44°13'47"), and where the

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sources of some of the right tributaries of the *Khazir River* and the *Great Zab* are located. Moreover, it is more likely that the cartographer meant the *Khazir*, because the route does cross that river. And after that the route crosses the *Tigris*, which is hardly done formally, or accidentally, because the place was enough to depict the river and the road far from each other, so it is done deliberately to emphasize the fact of reaching the river. Now let's consider the stations one by one.

Thamaudi

If the mountains mentioned are really the Piris mountains, then *Thamaudi* must be on the road that bypasses them from the north. And exactly on the western side of those mountains is the town of *Amadia*. Due to the similarity of both the location and the name, *Thamaudi* can most likely be identified with *Amedi*. As for the initial letter, there is (see below) another coherent toponym in the region, *Chanmaudi*, which can be identified with the present *Amuda*, the first part of which seems to correspond to the Iranian word *xan* "house, inn". And the second component can be the Semitic word '*m-d* "pillar, standing, netsuk", which is used to form several toponyms. It may be related to some pillar-shaped rock nearby, or the fundamental role of that settlement. So, it is possible to restore the initial form of this station **Chan maudj*, "Maudi village inn", the first letter of which was confused with *T* due to the similarity of letter shapes.

Nisibi

This is another *Nisibi*, not the *Nusaybin* (*Nisibis*, Greek. *Νίσιβις*) or *Mtsbin* of Armenian sources. There are "mirrors" of identical settlements in TP and RA lists, but this is not that case: first, as we will see, this track is successfully reconstructed exactly according to the TP data, and moreover, strangely enough, as mentioned above, next to the other *Nisibi* there is also a consistent *Chanmaudi* station, with the names of both have also received consistent forms. *Amedi* and *Amuda*. What is the reason is not important: maybe it's a coincidence, maybe the settlers called it that. However, if *Amedi/Amuda* exists, nothing prevents binary *Nisibi* to exist as well. Marked 16 miles (25 km) from *Thamaudi*. About that distance (27 km) on *Great Zab* is now *Sheladiz* settlement.

Sarbane

This station was located 10 miles (16 km) from the previous one. Today, *Safrah* settlement is located at the indicated distance from *Sheladiz*. It is marked as a ruin *Caepa* on Soviet maps, but now it is a residential area. There is a noticeable similarity in the name with the change of consonants.

Sapham

At about 50 kilometers, out of the required 28 miles (45 km), is the settlement of *Akre*, which, as depicted in the TP, is on the opposite side of the ridge. A little further, there is also the small settlement of *Saban Umar*. It is difficult to say whether the similarity of these names is accidental, but according to the location, *Akre* is more suitable.

Ad fl Tigrim

This settlement is of special interest, the reason for which will be seen when reorganizing the next route. The name is very simple: "At the Tigris River". This is a descriptive name, and nothing prevents the corresponding settlement from having any other name: for example, at RA it is represented as *Tygrinopolis*. From *Akre* begins the almost flat endless area of *Northern Mesopotamia*, on which island-shaped mountains and hills not exceeding 1000 m rise only in separate places. Bypassing some of these, the only short and almost direct road from *Akre* to the *Tigris* passes, the length of which is not indicated. However, the uniqueness of the prevailing road and the uniformity of the destination leave no room for doubt that the station "Near the Tigris River" is the current city of *Mosul*. The old city was located on the right bank, so to get there you really had to cross the river, although on the map this is probably just a kind of conventional sign, which should have emphasized that the city is really on the river and that it is big, if it has at least two bridges.

Vica

This station should be 10 miles (16 km) from the previous one. But in which direction? At least two roads lead from *Mosul* to the southeast. It is more likely that it should have been the road leading to one of the largest cities, *Arbela*, now *Erbil*. *Tahrawa* settlement is located approximately at the indicated distance (18 km). There is no settlement with a name reminiscent of *Vica*. In general, this Latin word can be associated with various meanings. For example, *vicus* simply means "dwelling" (there is also a separate station in this form in TP: there is also *vicat*: see below), and if that is the original meaning, it hardly helps with localization. But it can also be connected with the concept of "victory" (the goddess of victory was called *Vīca Pota*, "Victorious Mistress"), and in this way it raises the doubt that it can somehow be connected with one of the most famous battles in these parts: with the victory of the Macedonian army in the battle of *Gaugamela*, or *Arbela*. If we remember that the exact place of the battle is not so certain (Plutarch writes that "*the great battle against Darius took place not near Arbela, as many write, but at Gaugamela*"), then this settlement (although also not precisely located), which is about 25 km south of today's *Tel-Gomel*, which is considered ancient *Gaugamela*, can be seen as another possible place of the great battle.

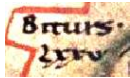
Belnar

The next station should be another 20 miles (32 km) away. We do not find such a place name at the specified distance either. However, it is noticeable that the word *Belnar* is extremely reminiscent of the modified version of the name *Arbil*. If we assume that the given name is a complex word, it is not difficult to imagine that its components can be used in a different order. This assumption indirectly confirms the representation of that name in the RA list in the form of *Bellum*. By the way, this word, which means "war" in Latin, serves as a kind of bridge between the previous words *Vica* "victory" and *Arbil*. it

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can be assumed that in that way, the second part of that toponym was perceived as "war" by folk etymology. However, this may mean that the second part could also have an independent application, or be leading. To some extent, this is also confirmed by the current Kurdish name of the city, *Hewlêr*, in which the last *-êr* probably corresponds to *Arbela's ar*, that is, it is the result of a change, which is possible according to G. Khan¹¹¹. And since *ar* is a typical Khurian toponym, he considers that this name is non-Semitic, but it still dates back to BC. the a. In the 2nd millennium, it was perceived as *arba-il* "forty god" by folk etymology, being represented by cuneiform characters "forty"¹¹² and "god". Based on the above and the fact that the region has been multicultural for a long time, another etymology can be proposed. "*Bel's (god's) place*", in which case "place" and "Bel" could easily change their positions.

However, the question of distance discrepancy remains open. It is 80 km in a straight line between *Mosul* and *Arbela*. Even if we assume that they moved by the shortest route at that time, that distance would have to correspond to 50 miles. Instead of this, TP has 30 miles. 20 miles out of 50 miles could not be wrong in measuring (or estimating) distance; As a result of the restructuring of other parts of TP, we have already seen the high accuracy of its data. Therefore, we are dealing with a typo. It could be both *Ad fl Tigrim — Vica* and *Vica — Belnar*, or both at the same time. The latter seems unlikely. If we attribute the error to the first section, where we have only one X, then the cartographer should have omitted two Xs, which is also unlikely, because such an omission would completely change the appearance of the writing, and it would be difficult not to notice it. And in the case of the second part, where we have XX, it can be assumed that XL was written in the original, and the copyist made the second X look like L, which can be imagined, because in TP such stylish letters are used, in which case it is possible.



Here are samples of those letters: The letter L resembles the thick part of X, and any defect in the parchment is enough, any line that will pass through the middle of L, and it will look like X.

By the way, with this version, *Vica* will appear 16-18 km from *Mosul*, 62-64 km from *Arbela*, and if the famous battle really took place here, for example, 4-5 km from this, in the direction of *Arbela*, then how and Plutarch wrote, it will be closer to *Gaugamela* (about 25 km) than to *Arbela* (about 60 km), but still on the road to *Arbela*: this could be the reason for the confusion.

Siher

This station is marked 30 miles (48 km) from the previous one. Just at that distance is the village of *Altun Kupri* (Turk. "Golden bridge"), near the *Little Zab* River crossing. And

¹¹¹ Geoffrey Khan (1999). A grammar of neo-Aramaic: the dialect of the Jews of Arbel, p. 2.

¹¹² G. Khan has written "four": probably a typo, as according to the dictionary *arbā*, or *erbā* means "forty", cf. Ignace J. Gelb, Benno Landsberger, A. Leo Oppenheim, Erica Reiner, The Assyrian Dictionary.

although there are no traces left reminding the place name *Siher*, it can be located here with great probability.

Concon

It is located 24 miles (38 km) from the previous one. This area is quite deserted and the city of *Kirkuk* is located about 42 km away. The names are also similar: both names are disyllabic with the first sound matching. They are identified by the proximity of the expected position and name.

Biturs

Marked 20 miles (32 km) from *Concon*. Judging from the terminus position of *Thelser*, near the *Tigris*, the road from *Kirkuk* should have led to the river. However, there are no place names reminiscent of *Biturs* in the vicinity. *Alalil Fatil* settlement is located approximately at the required distance (33 km).

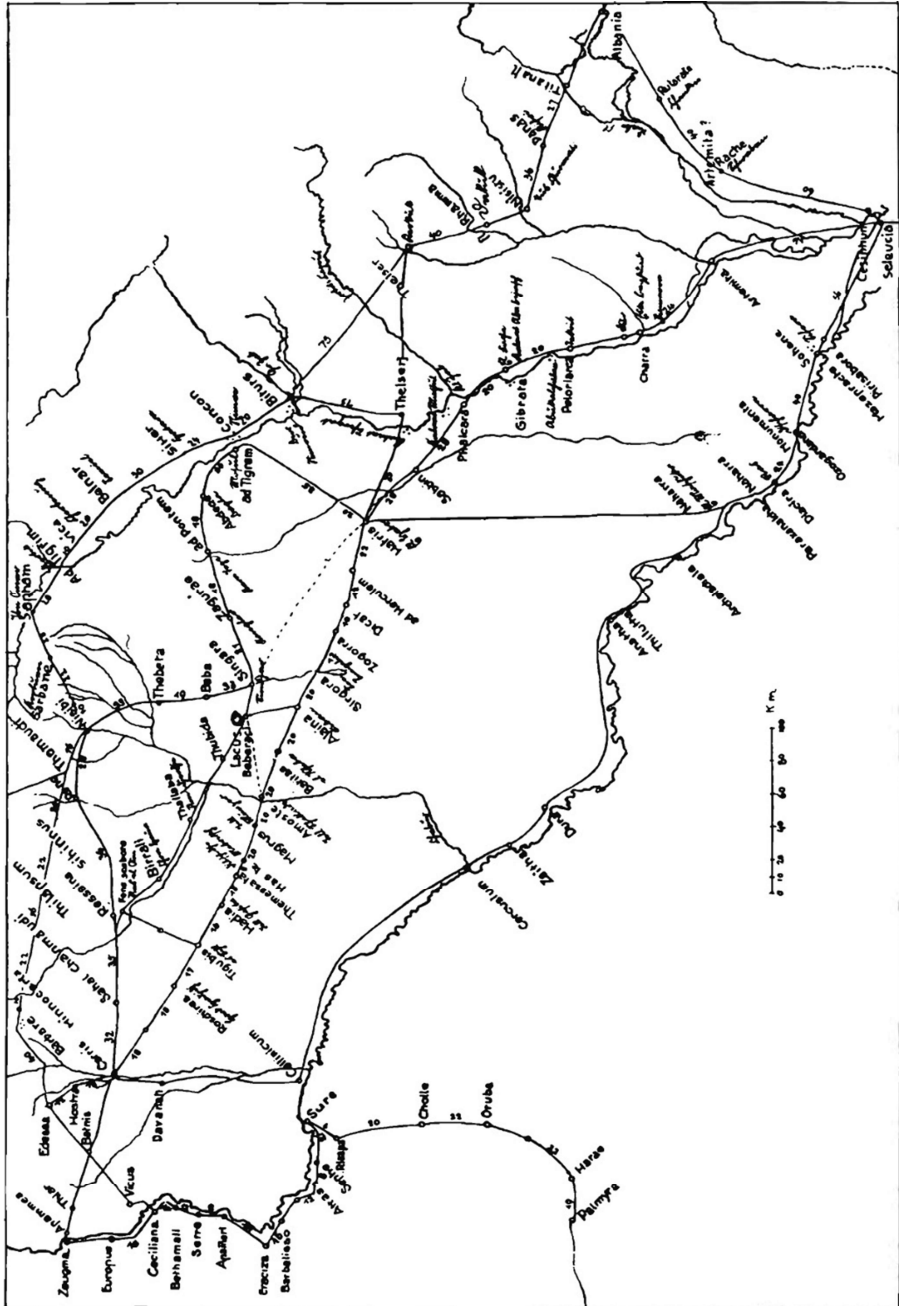
Thelser

The last station on the route was 75 miles (120 km) from the previous one, and probably on the banks of the *Tigris*. "Probably" because unlike *Ad fl Tigrim*'s route, the red line does not cross the river. At approximately that distance (128 km, if you move along the current roads and enter the settlement of *Saqiyah* near *Tigris*, in front of which, on the opposite bank of the river, is the city of *Tikrit*, and exactly 120 km if you do not enter *Saqiyah*), the city of *Samarra* is located. Again, there is no identity of the name, although the fact that the station marked with "lodges", that is, the most important station, is located with this important city, makes the identification probable. The locations and identifications of the stations on this route are given in the table below.

Thamaudi — Thelser (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Thamaudi	Amadi				
Nisibi	Sheladiz	16	26	27	3.85
Sarbane	Savra	10	16	16	0.00
Sapham	Akre, Shaban	28	45	54	20.00
Ad fl Tigrim	Mosul	∅	∅	86	—
Vica	Tahrawa	10	16	16	0.00
Belnar	Arbil 20	40	64	64	0.00
Siher	Altun Kupri	30	48	50	4.17
Concon	Kirkuk	24	38	41	7.89
Biturs	Alalil Fatil	20	32	34	6.25
Thelser	Samarra	75	120	128	6.67
		253	404	430	Average 6.44

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Reconstruction of the part adjacent to Mesopotamia according to Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 241.

Singara — Hatris

Singara XXI Zagurae XVIII Ad pontem XVIII Abdeae XX Ad fl Tigrem XX XXXV Hatris

This short passage is perhaps the most well reconstructable: ending stations are long ago and clearly identified, which greatly facilitates the location of intermediate stations. This line is also extremely important for us, although all its stations are outside the territory of *Armenia*. Thanks to the reorganization of this section, on the one hand, the reliability of the TP data is once again confirmed, and on the other hand, some light is shed on the lower part of the road leading to *Triganocarten* (*Tigranakert*), which, as said, is the only point through which the "island" roads leading to *Triganocarten* are connected to the external network of TP.

Singara

This is certainly the today's *Sinjar*, which is almost beyond doubt today.

Zagurae

In the Pleiades, this is identified with *Ain Sinu* and *Zogorra*, although the latter is indicated on a completely different route (more on this below). It should be noted that although the red line of the route after *Singara* is southward, since it connects with *Ad fl Tigrem* ("At the Tigris River" is another station of almost the same name), it is clear that that after *Sinjar* the road should move to the east. According to TP, the *Zagurae* station was located 21 miles (34 km) from *Sinjar*.

According to Google Earth, there are two settlements with similar names in the mentioned area. *Ibrat Ash Shaghira* and *Ibrat as Saghira*. Placed side by side, the names with such similar but also different writing give cause for doubt. And indeed, on the Soviet map, instead of these, we see the names *Ibrat-el-Kebira* and *Ibrat-el-Sagira*. It's not hard to spot the Google Earth bug. In Arabic, *Sagira* means "small" and *Kebira* means "big". In other words, it refers to the *Big* and *Small Ibrat*. However, this *Saghira*, that is, "small", is extremely similar to the name *Zagurae*, and probably this component was the basis of the name of this station. Perhaps, it may seem strange that not the main name *Ibrat* (or at least that name too) entered the TP, but only its "distinguishing" component. It must be assumed that this settlement was known mainly by that "nickname". However, on the required 34 km, there is not "small" but "big" *Ibrat*. Maybe the bug is present not only in Google Earth but also in TP. However, it is also possible that the error is in the Soviet map. First of all, the fact that the settlement called "small" is bigger than the "small" one speaks about the latter. And finally, those two Arabic words are very similar to each other and a European could easily confuse them. In any case, if *Zagurae* is located in a "large" settlement, the distances will perfectly correspond to those indicated in TP.

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Ad pontem

Ad pontem means "At the bridge" in Latin. This was located 18 miles (29 km) from the previous one. In the Pleiades this is identified with *Tel Afar*. 46 km (about 28 miles) from Ibrat as *Saghira* is *Klsik Kupri*, and on the Soviet map the village of *Ключюк кепрю*, whose name means "Little Bridge" in Turkish. Actually, we are dealing with the translation of the name and there is no doubt that this is really *Ad pontem*. Especially since the location of this settlement, on the crossroads, was a really suitable place for a road station. As for the distances, a typo is not excluded: especially since this path matches the real map very well. In fact, this section is 10 miles longer than it should be. In the next section, as we will see, the actual distance is about 10 miles less. It can be assumed that the cartographer wrote one of the signs of *X* in the next line. This assumption stems from the general structure of the given section, although psychologically it is not so clear how such a bug could have crept in.

Abdeae

This is to be found another 18 miles (29 km) from *Ad pontem*. In this area, at a distance of 13 km, the ruins of *Телль-Духойе* are marked on the Soviet map. The phonetic similarity of the second part of this name with the second part of *Abdeae* is noticeable. Considering that the prefixes *Tel-* "hill" and *Abu-* "father of" are typical for place names in this region (for example, *Abu-Kudur*, *Abu-Meris*, etc.), it can be assumed that in ancient times the place name *Телль-Духойе* could be to be known also by the *Abu-* prefix, i.e., to have approximately the form **Abu-Deae*, from which the searched place name could have been obtained as a result of distortion. Only the distance is inconvenient: this time it is too small. However, both the similarity of the name and the location of the adjacent stations leave no room for doubt. As for the distance discrepancy, it's probably a mistake. That 13 km corresponds to about 8 miles, which should have been reported in form *VIII*. In fact, there is an extra prime *X* present. See in the previous point.

Ad fl Tigrem

Ad fl Tigrem should be sought at a distance of 20 miles (32 km) from the previous station. And now it turns out that it is exactly at that distance... *Mosul*. In fact, it turns out that the two similar-sounding stations, this *Ad fl Tigrem* and the previous track *Ad fl Tigrim*, represent the same city. This is certainly unexpected and expected at the same time. It is to be expected, because the identity of the names suggests this and prompts to examine this issue. It is unexpected because, on the one hand, it seems that this should have been verified long ago, and on the other hand, with a drawing in front of you that clearly shows two different stations, it is difficult to imagine that the length of the huge stretch of river between them is actually is equal to zero and its separate ends must be combined.

Below is that part of K. With Miller's reorganization. It is clear that he correctly depicted the *Singara—Hatrīs* section, but on the other bank he matched it with Concon, probably not imagining that the unknown length of the *Sapham—Ad fl Tigrim* section could be so great as to displace the entire chain downwards. And certainly, the magic of the picture also played a role. although it is known that individual pieces of TP can have very different scales, it was difficult to imagine that to such an extent. It could be said that Dussault came quite close to solving the problem, according to which *Ad fl Tigrim* was the *Eski Mosul*¹¹³ "Old Mosul", which is located about 30 km north of the present city. But it is difficult to consider it as the correct solution, because, after all, he did not imagine the routes as a whole, because in both cases he brought the route along the same right bank, perhaps not considering that, in particular, the *Nisibis* of the two routes are different settlements. In fact, it must be admitted that only this *Ad fl Tigrem* corresponds to *Mosul*, while the *Ad fl Tigrim* of the previous passage corresponds to *Nineveh*, on the other side of the river. However, in fact, this does not change the problem, because in both cases, paths crossing the river are depicted: therefore, its two parts were practically the same city, which is now called *Mosul*.

Let's note that the fact that these two stations represent different shores of the same city was not noticed even by modern researchers. For example: A. Comfort writes: "*The Peutinger Table shows two routes to the Tigris of which the more northern one passes via Nisibis and the southern via Singara. ... Both routes crossed the river Tigris at stations called on the Peutinger Table only 'Ad Fl. Tigri(e)m'*"¹¹⁴.

Hatrīs

Finally, the last station in this series. It is definitely identified with the city of *Hatra* (*Hatra*), the present-day city of *Al-Hadr*, located on the *Tartar River* bed. However, there is a slight problem with the distance. On the TP from *Ad fl Tigrem* in the direction of *Hatrīs* it says 20 miles (32 km) while *Al-Hadr* is about 60 miles from *Mosul*. Miller notices this and notes that there are two stations missing, each 20 miles apart.

At the same time, next to the name *Hatrīs* it says 35 miles (56 km). Two more routes depart from *Hatrīs*: to *Ad Herculem* and to *Sabbīn*, and distances are also indicated in those two directions. Therefore, what is mentioned next to the name *Hatrīs* can only refer to the direction to *Ad fl Tigrim*. And that means that the distance between *Hatrīs* and *Ad fl Tigrim* is mentioned twice. It seems that they both are marked as distance to the river, on both sides. From the example of the previous path, it became clear that the red line crossing the river is probably sometimes a conventional sign to emphasize that it refers to a large city on the river. On the other hand, those 20 miles could not refer to intra-city distance. There is another option: because, as we know, in TP often different parts of the same river mean different real rivers. In this case, the

¹¹³ Dussaud René, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927, p. 497.

¹¹⁴ Comfort A., *Fortresses of the Tur Abdin and the confrontation between Rome and Persia*, p. 189.

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cartographer probably had in mind *Wadi-El-Qasab* (N 36°01'34" E 43°04'00"), which crosses the track exactly at the required place. It is difficult to say why that river bed in particular, when there are bigger beds in that area. Although it is possible that there was another station between the two cities (especially since we are talking about quite large distances), which for some reason was not written down. Be that as it may, the actual distance between *Hatris* and *Ad fl Tigrim* is the sum of these two distances.

Miller, perhaps influenced by the TP picture of *Hatris* and *Thelser* side by side, thought that the 35 miles referred to *Thelser*: just the red line connecting the two stations was not drawn¹¹⁵. Meanwhile, in reality, there are about 140 miles between these stations.

Singara — Hatris (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Singara	Sinjar				
Zaguræ	Ibrat ash Shaghirah	21	34	33	-2.94
Ad <u>pontem</u>	Klsik <u>Kupri</u> 18	28	45	45	0.00
Abdeæ	Телль-Дихойе 18	8	13	13	0.00
Ad fl Tigrem	Mosul	20	32	32	0.00
Hatris	Al Hadhr 20+35	55	88	94	6.82
		132	212	217	<i>Average 2.36</i>

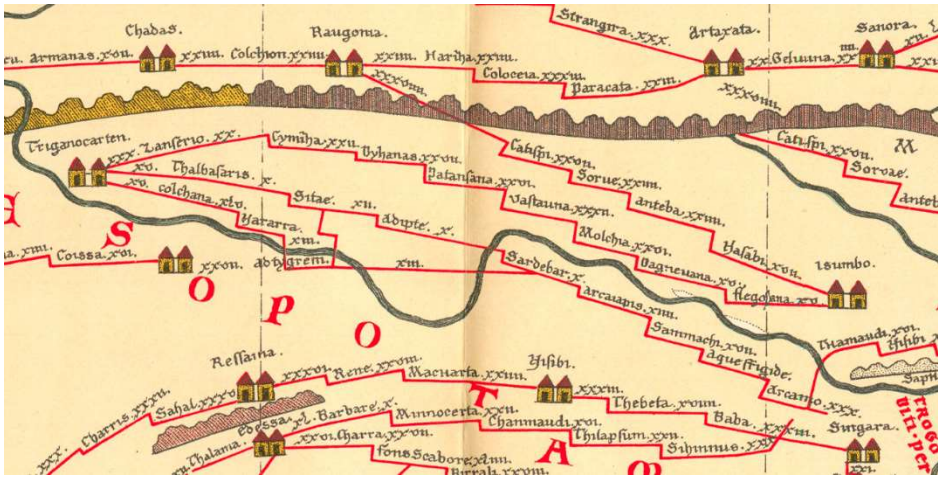
¹¹⁵ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 780.

Innōminis — Ad Tygrem

Innōminis XXX Arcamo ØAque frigide XVII Sammachi XIII Arcaiapis X Sardebar XIII Ad Tygrem

Now let's turn to this important point, that is, the *Thamaudi* - *Arcamo* intersection, which is referred to here as *Innōminis*.

As can be seen from the section of the TP below, the road runs along the right bank of the *Tigris*, at the *Sardebar* section it splits into two branches that cross the river, then the western one cuts the river's coil crossing the previous bank and then splits into two branches, both of which they cross the river again. These strange intersections and passes are hardly accidental, because there is enough space on the sheet to avoid such complications. It should be concluded that it corresponds to some real situation.



Triganocarten and neighboring routes.

According to TP, there are only two ways out of *Singara*: considered above the southern road to *Hatris*, and the western road to *Nisibi*, while the line from *Arcamo* to *Singara* is interrupted, so that it cannot be asserted that this connection is supposed, and the 30 miles mentioned is exactly from *Arcamo* to *Singara* is the distance. In reality, that connection definitely existed: the terrain is such, there could not absent a connecting road in the steppe. However, as stated in the introduction, we are now reconstructing the TP, not all the roads on the site, and a break in the red line in this case may just mean that there is a connection, but it is not immediate¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁶ Note also that in the given picture, at the same junction, the red line from *Sihinnus* intersects with the line from *Singara* to *Baba*, while this is a mistake in this copy, because in the preserved original of TP, the red line only joins the line from *Singara* to *Baba*, but does not pass it. In other words, the impression should not be created that this line could have a connection with the line coming from *Thamaudi*.

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Therefore, as it was said, almost the only point in which the tracks related to *Armenia Major* are connected to the rest of the TP is the *Thamaudi — Arcamo* T-shaped crossroad. And the main question: what does the mentioned 30 miles refer to? There are actually three options:

- from Arcamo to Thamaudi
- from Arcamo to Singara
- from Arcamo to crossroad.

To make a choice between these three, it is first necessary to find where the mentioned intersection could be located. This, in turn, depends on which way you can get out of *Thamaudi (Amedi)* on the north-south *Arcamo — Sardebar* road. There are two ways: with the present day *Zakhu* (N 37°08'41.97" E 42°41'24.44"), and with the present day *Duhok* (N 36°51'55" E 42°59'27"), which has a southern position compared to the previous one.

If it was the southern route, it would have joined the north-south route at about present-day *Tall Huqnah* (N 36°33'38" E 42°33'27", passing through *Zummar*, N 36°46'50" E 42°38'00": the reservoir on this way today). From that point to Sinjar in a straight line is about 68 km, which is about 43 miles, that is, more than the 30 mentioned. And the real road is longer, it passes through *Ad pontem (Klsik Kupri)*, which is already known to us, and is about 93 km (about 58 miles). Naturally, this distance is even greater on the northern road passing through *Zakho*. So, if *Arcamo* was even close to the intersection, the 30 miles indicated could not be the distance to *Singara (Sinjar)*. Unless of course there is a bug, which is to be assumed, but for now there is no basis.

For the same reason, it cannot be the distance to *Thamaudi (Amedi)*. And besides that, the fact that the number of miles is clearly written perpendicular to the road leading to *Thamaudi*, towards the intersection speaks against that version.

So, it is clear that based on the TP data, the mentioned 30 miles indicate the distance to the intersection. And in general, it is characteristic of TP. also in other cases, particularly in the case of the road from *Sihinnus* mentioned above, the distances are indicated up to the point of connection of the roads. In the case just considered, it was a little uncertain, because the writing had passed that point of connection. But now it is clear that the reason for this was simply the lack of space.

It remains to be seen from which crossroad *Arcamo* was located 30 miles north of. It is unlikely to be the intersection of the road passing through *Duhok*, because there are almost no settlements 48 km north of that intersection, and a little further up, one of the roads leading to *Zakho* generally comes.

But the road from *Zakho* also has two branches. this one joins near present-day *Khanik* (N 37°04'29" E 42°22'21"), and the other further north near present-day Cizre. And in general, anywhere between those two, the road could join the north-south track, if only there was a river crossing there. And preferably a bridge. However, if we accept

that due to the characteristics of the terrain, both the roads and the cities growing at their intersections rarely change significantly over the centuries, we can assume that these two roads came during the creation of TP. And perhaps the crossroad depicted in TP is the most northern, because, as noted above, the distances on the considered road are not sufficient to reach the upper reaches of the Tigris, and the further north *Arcamo* was, the closer those distances would be to reality. In addition, since the road leading to the source of the *Tigris* was cut off by the *Masius (Tur-Abdin)* mountains, the more southerly that path approached, the more logical it would be to move along the road that bypasses those mountains from the south, *Nisibis*. If there was a road through the mountains, then it was shorter, and therefore it started from a more northern point, from which it was not worth bypassing the entire *Massius* massive.

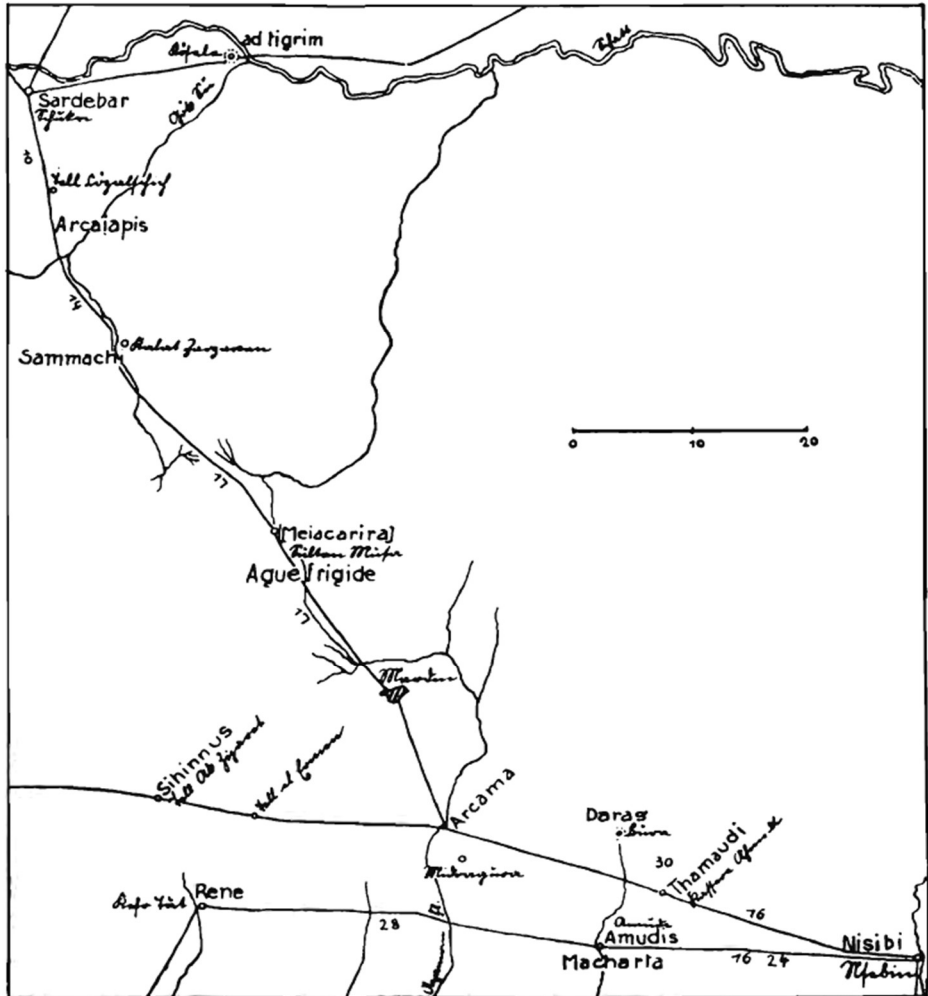
Now that we know that *Arcamo* was located 30 miles (48 km) north of that crossroads, that is, *Cizre*, let's try to locate it. For that, let's first try to outline that north-south route. As it was already said, if that route does not go through the plain *Nisibis*, then the mountain roads remain. Moreover, it does not matter whether the initial intersection is in *Cizre* or further south. There are three main options for this.

- Crossing the *Corduene* mountains to *Siirt*,
- Between the *Corduene* and *Masius (Tur-Abdin)* mountains, on the left bank of the *Tigris*, to *Siirt*, or *Batman*,
- Crossing the *Masius* mountains to *Batman* or *Diyarbakır*.

Note that due to the extreme steepness of the right bank of the *Tigris*, there is no road on that side. According to the first two versions, it turns out that the road coming from *Thamaudi* remains on the left bank of the *Tigris*, while it must pass on the right bank to *Sardebar*. They could only make sense if the right-hand side of the road started further *down*; that is, if *Cizre* were *Sardebar*. Excluding the unknown *Arcamo — Aque frigide* section, the length of that right-hand section of the track is at least 114 km. That is the distance from *Cizre* to the Sinjar-Mosul highway, that is, to *Ad pontem (Klsik Kupri)*. In other words, for that version to be true, the road from *Thamaudi* should have joined the north-south road on the sides of *Mosul*, which completely contradicts the data of TP. Therefore, the last, third option remains.

Thus, regardless of where *Arcamo* is specifically located, at least part of the *Arcamo — Sardebar* track must be traced to the *Massius Mountains*.

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Reconstruction of the part adjacent to *Nisibi* according to K. Miller¹¹⁷.

Miller, as is clear from the drawing, in his reconstruction not only ignored the fact that there is no red line connection between *Thamaudi* and *Nisibi*, but also combined the two *Nisibis*¹¹⁸. Miller can be understood. The shortest road from *Sinjar* to *Diyarbakir* is

¹¹⁷ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 240.

¹¹⁸ It is indeed an interesting fact that *Nisibi* (*Nisibin*) settlement is located east of *Amuda* settlement, and east of *Thamaudi* (*Amedi*) settlement, according to TP there also was a settlement called *Nisibi*, but this is a question of another research. And in this case, the fact of the existence of the *Amuda/Amedi* pair also makes the existence of the second *Nisibi* plausible.

through the plain, *Nisibin*, there is no road above *Nisibin*, the *Massius* mountains begin, and it is difficult to imagine that there could have been a road over the *Massius* massif, and the existence of a second *Nisibi* seems to be a solution to that problem, if we accept, they're being the same station. And if we didn't have the phonetic identifications of *Thamaudi*, *Sarbane*, *Belnar*, perhaps Miller's proposal could be accepted, but now it is clear that it is not possible to do so. The identification of *Thamaudi* also reveals the logic of the existence of the route over *Masius*, because it starts not from *Sinjar*, but from *Cizre*, from where the mountain road itself is the shortest, not the one bypassing the *Massius* massif with *Nisibin*.

However, since there are no phonetic identifications for these stations, the line is very uncertain. The only guide becomes *Aque frigide*, "Water cold", whose approximate location is given by Ammianus.

Arcamo

And if the intersection is in *Cizre*, then *Arcamo* is located at a distance of 48 km, on the site of the present village of *Karalar*. However, the distance to the next *Aque frigide* station is unknown, so it makes sense to try to locate *Sardebar* first: at least it is known to have been located on the right bank of the *Tigris*.

Sardebar

After the current *Midyat*, the road splits to *Batman* and *Diyarbakır*. In the first case, *Sardebar* can only be modern *Hasankeyf*. However, according to TP, to reach *Sardebar*, another route departs from this road from the west, which also crosses the left bank of the *Tigris* and reaches the large city of *Ad Tygrem* in only 13 miles. We have already understood that it is a big city with the example of *Mosul*: more than one bridge (there were two) testified to that. In this case, we even see three bridges. Meanwhile, the right bank of the *Tigris* west of *Hasankeyf* is so rocky that no road can pass from that side. And 13 miles to the west there is no town at all: neither big nor small. Moreover, the terrain is so fragmented that there could not be a city there at all. There is a town a little further, 32 km to the northwest, *Batman*. However, *Batman* is not on the *Tigris*.

The other branch remains, to *Diyarbakır*. But in *Şenköy*, this is also divided: one branch, the northern one, takes a relatively short route to *Diyarbakır*, and the southern one reaches the same place by first passing through *Mardin*.

The second branch seems improbable, because *Mardin* could be reached shorter and faster on the plain, *Nisibin*, bypassing the *Massius* massif. After crossing the first road, the village of *Savur* descends to the *Tigris* bank in the field, where the road can be joined from the left. But let's remember again that, on the one hand, we are trying to restore the TP itself, not all the roads, and it is not excluded that in this case the shorter plain road to *Mardin* is simply not marked, and on the other hand, the road after *Şenköy* divides and only the largest one reaches *Mardin*, while the other leads straight west to

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Sultanköyü, which is important because (according to Ammianus' description) this is where the *Aque frigide* was on the *Amid — Mardin* road.

Unfortunately, at that point, on the right bank of the *Tigris*, there are no names reminiscent of the place name *Sardebar*. However, there is the village of *Üçtepe* (formerly known as *Karkh*), not far from which there is a river crossing, and where the famous monuments of Ashurnasirpal II and Salmanasar III were erected. This confirms that an important road could pass through this place since ancient times. True, this *Üçtepe* is located 27 km from *Diyarbakır*. This exceeds the distance of 13 miles (21 km) that TP places *Sardebar* from *Ad Tygrem*. However, although the difference is significant (about 29%), considering the fact that *Karkh* is a prominent point, it is tolerable and can be explained by the inaccuracy of the map. Interestingly, when describing the location of the ancient site of *Karkh*¹¹⁹, Taylor writes that it is 14 miles from *Diyarbakır*. Of course, we are talking about British miles (1,609 m), but they differ little from the Roman Phileterian mile (1,598 m) used in this chapter. Moreover, on Taylor's map, this distance is about 20 miles. Perhaps the features of the terrain create the impression that the distance is less. For example, maybe the measurements were made between the left banks of the river bends, not counting the width of the river bed, while *Diyarbakır* and *Karkh* are on the right bank of the river.

Another circumstance should be taken into account. As we can see, the road from *Ad Tygrem* to *Sardebar* does not join the last one directly, but between it and the next *Arcaiapis*. It is possible that the junction may have been so situated that a part of that 10-mile track joined the road from *Ad Tygrem*. Thus, it can be argued with great probability that *Sardebar* is the same *Karkh*, the present *Üçtepe*.

If *Sardebar* was on the *Mardin* road, that distance would be about 100 km. And if the place of *Sardebar* is found correctly, then *Ad Tygrem* is really *Diyarbakır*. While reorganizing the previous route, it became clear that *Amida* is not the station marked with «lodges», but *Ad Tygrem*. And when reorganizing this route, it is confirmed again.

In the BAAtlas, it is moved from the *Tigris* bank, and placed between *Sammachi* and *Aque frigide*, and identified with the *Zerzevan* fortress (*Zerzevan Kalesi*, 37°36'31"N 40°29'56"E). And *Arcaiapis* is identified with *Charcha*. *Zerzevan* was a prominent fortress, however, it was located on the *Mardin* road and could not be on the TP route. In addition to *Sardebar*, *Triganocarten* is listed as 47 miles, which is about 75 km, and corresponds well with the distance from *Arzan*, 82 km (if *Tigranakert* is located there).

Arcaiapis

It is 10 miles (16 km) from *Sardebar*. Considering the direction that should lead to *Cizre*. It roughly corresponds to the village of *Kocahüyük*. As already said, this is now often localized in modern *Üçtepe*, where, as we have seen, *Sardebar* should be.

¹¹⁹ Taylor J. G., *Travels in Kurdistan*, p. 22.

Sammachi

This is 17 miles (22 km) from the previous one. Based on the distance, it should have been approximately on the site of the present village of *Avine*: It is quite logical from the point of view of the position, near the river confluence and the intersection.

Aque frigide

This is 17 miles (27 km) from the previous one. There is no settlement at exactly that distance, but more importantly, from that point begins a region where there are many gardens and a huge number of springs, just as Ammianus described. There are dozens of springs here, just counting the ones marked on the map: in fact, there will be more than a hundred of them. There are also toponyms that remind us of the meaning of "cold water", for example Mount *Kurrepinar* (*Куррепинар*, 37°36'41"N 41°28'16"E), in the name of which we can see the distorted Syr. *qarīrē* "cold" component and the Turkish word *pinar* "spring". Or the *Soğucak* "colder" village (37°41'09"N 41°36'03"E). So, it is much more likely that *Aque frigide* was in these parts, and not on the way to *Mardin*.

Let's also note that Ammian is not talking about any settlement, but about the place, the region with that name (*Meiacarire*, Assyrian: *Mayyā Qarīrē* "Cold water"), from which it is not clear how the distance should be indicated. Meanwhile, TP gives a clear distance (although only on one side), therefore, probably, it refers to a certain guest house. The spring of Sipi is located 1 km from the mentioned point. However, it is more likely that the appropriate guest house would be not far from any settlement. It is more likely that it could be the village of *Içoren* under Mount *Gyeonggöl*, near which there is a spring called *Abdo* (*Cemlo*).

DARMC gives the coordinates 37°26'15.98"N 40°38'24.32"E, based on the fact that it should be on the road from *Mardin* to *Amid*. However, this is quite a desolate place, only a small number of gardens can be seen in Google Earth images, and no spring is indicated on the map.

Ammianus mentions the name *Meiacarire* twice: first, when he retreats from *Nisibin* with a small group, and then when he writes about the Persian army.

In the first case, he says that they were moving at night, escaping from the pursuing Persians. Around *Amudis* (Аммиан, XVIII, 6, 13), they tie a burning lamp to one of the horses and drive it to the left to deceive the pursuers, while they turn to the right towards the mountains. He reported that the road was gradually rising. The road to *Kızıltepe* begins to descend, so they were moving along the *Mardin* road, and they turned right at about the present intersection of *Ortaköy* (37°12'34"N 40°47'02"E) and climbed the mountains through *Ovaköy* (37°14'58"N 40°49'10"E). That is, to *Ömerli* (37°24'02"N 40°57'03"E). Of course, in theory, they could have returned to *Mardin* road again, but given that they were fleeing from their pursuers, it is more likely that they

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would have preferred to stay away from the direct path, and that path would lead to the location mentioned above.

In the second case, the Persians pass that way. "...having after leaving *Bebase* turned his march to the right, ... passed by *Horren* and *Meiacarire* and *Charcha*, as if he meant also to pass by *Amida*"¹²⁰. Where was that *Horren*? This is also not known. BATlas locates *Qal'at el-Mer'a* at *Horrin /Gülhorrin* (37°13'49"N 40°43'50"E)¹²¹ near the same *Ortaköy*. That is, on the Mardin road, which leads in a straight line to *Amid*. However, that road does not pass through *Karkh*, which is the historical *Charcha* (*Üçtepe*), the only one of these four place names, whose place is perhaps definitely known, because until recently it kept the historical name (indicated as *Кархъ* on the Russian map).

Are there other options? At least two. everything depends on where *Bebaza* was, while that is not known either. It was located west of *Nisibin*, but how far? If it is near the present (and historical) *Dara*, then they could pass through the *Dara* gorge, which leads directly to the rubbish-filled place described above. However, in this case, it is not clear what *Horren* was. However, it is not excluded that the Persians could move back a little and only turn right: it is especially possible, because according to Ammianus, in addition to the main plans, the Persians also wanted to take possession of the property of some rich people, which were kept in one of the fortresses on that side, and for that they could extend the road a little. In that case, they would have passed through another gorge near *Nisibin*, the name of the first settlement of which is *Gürün*, which means nothing in Turkish, and may be a distorted form of the old name.

Innōminis — *Ad Tygrem* (Phileterian mile)

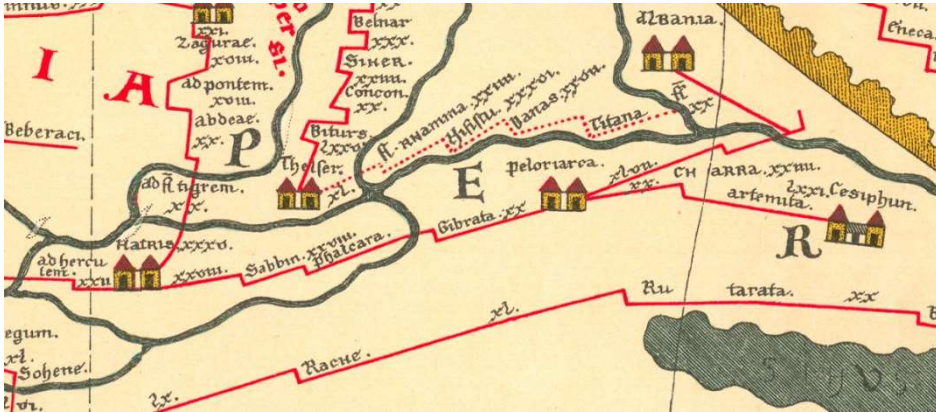
Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Innōminis	Cizre				
Arcamo	Karalar	30	48	48	0.00
<u>Aque frigide</u>	Içoren, <u>Куррепинар</u>	∅	∅	68	—
Sammachi	Avine	17	27	34	25.93
Arcaiapis	Kocahüyük	14	22	21	-4.55
Sardebar	Üçtepe, Кархъ	10	16	16	0.00
Ad Tygrem	Diyarbakir	13	21	29	38.10

¹²⁰ «...a *Bebase loco itinere flexo dextrorsus, ut monuerat Antoninus, per Horren et Meiacarire et Charcha ut transiturus Amidam*», in <https://goo.su/h2F1c>, in *Аммиан Марцеллин*, Римская история, М., 2005, XVIII, 10, 1.

¹²¹ Also see: **Edward Lipiński**, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, Leuven — Paris — Sterling, Virginia, 2000, p. 147., also: <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/874513>

Cesiphun — Albania

Cesiphun LXXI Artemita XX Peloriarca XLVII Charra XXVIII Albania



Three more small sections will be briefly considered below. They are *Cesiphun — Albania*, *Hatris — Peloriarca*, *Thelser — Titana fl* routes. These were included in the study to complete the Mesopotamian routes, although from the point of view of the analysis of the Armenian lines themselves, these have no direct effect, but only help to confirm the correctness of the principles used in the previous reconstructions. There are no phonetically identifiable points on the *Hatris — Peloriarca* line. *Cesiphun* is definitely *Ctesiphon*, and *Albania* is *Hulwan*, therefore it makes sense to start the location from *Cesiphun* itself.

Cesiphun

The place of *Cesiphun* is known: its ruins are located on the left bank of the *Tigris*, 30 km southeast of *Baghdad*, near the town of *Madain*. It should be specially emphasized that this is one of the settlements of TP, which are placed with exceptional inaccuracy. And it is even more surprising, because it was one of the most famous cities of the ancient world: Its placement far from the *Tigris* is inexplicable, probably the cartographer imagined it in the middle stream of *Diyala*, and also far from *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, from the neighboring cities and isolated from them as a dead end.

Artemita

According to TP, this station was 71 miles (114 km) away from the previous one. According to Isidore of Charaks, it was on the river *Silla*, which is identified with the present-day *Diyala*. Therefore, it should have been located in the place of the current *Miqdadiyah*. Here it is depicted at S. Yeremyan's "Armenian State in the Period of Tigran the Great" map. However, from the location of the next stations it becomes clear that *Artemita* could not be there and this distance of TP is not correct.

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First, and most importantly, the distance (about 235 km) between *Cesiphun* and *Albania*, the stations with known location, is less than the 162 miles (259 km) reported by TP (although it should be noted that the distance is not up to *Albania*, but the station adjacent to it, which, however, should not leave a significant impact). The difference of 24 km does not seem to be that big if it is spread over the whole distance (about 10%), but it means that *Artemita* cannot already be in *Miqdadiyah*'s place, and nearby there are no better candidate settlements to be considered in place of *Artemita*. However, *Artemita* is not suitable for other reasons as well. Isidore of Charax reports that the river flows through the city, while *Miqdadiyah* about 6 km away from the river. In addition, the next station, *Peloriarca*, is a junction where the road from Hatris should join, while the settlement of *Sadiyah* next to *Miqdadiyah*, where *Peloriarca* could be located, is already too far from the roads coming from the *Tigris*.

Another possibility to solve the problem is provided by Isidore report that *Artemita* was located 15 schoeni from *Seleucia* (which is only 5 km from *Ctesiphon*), i.e. about 96 km. This is significantly greater than the distance from *Seleucia* to present-day *Baqubah* (about 82 km), but it is still closer to *Baqubah* than to *Miqdadiyah*, which is about 40 km away from the former. In addition, as it was already said, in case of measuring with larger units, the inaccuracies could be larger (at least 3 km) and in those conditions the difference between 96 km and 82 km does not seem so decisive. Finally, *Baqubah* is indeed located on both sides of Diyala and in its place, thus *Artemita* can be located with great justification.

In fact, it means that the distance is wrongly indicated in the TP: it is written LXXI, while it should have been simply L. It must be said that on the original TP, that part is significantly worn, and the letters of the Roman numerals are too close and intricately depicted: see below.



And although it seems that LXXI is really written here, perhaps this uncertainty comes from the uncertainty of the original, and there were other numbers in it, for example, LIII, but in all cases, the presence of L is obvious, and in the conditions of the distance accepted above, the rest of the route it is plausible.

Peloriarca

Found 20 miles (32 km) upstream of *Diyala*. This is the distance from the center of *Miqdadiyah* (36 km), and it can still be assumed that the old city could be located on the western side of the current settlement, near the crossroads, that is, about 34 km.

Charra

Based on this, *Charra* can be located from *Peloriarca*, as indicated 47 miles (75 km) to *Sarpol-e Zahab*. It roughly corresponds to *Mazra'a* settlement (66 km). Martirosyan thinks that this is *Khala*. In other case, one could think so, but since it also had the form of *Hulwan*, and the next station is *Albania*, then this version cannot be accepted.

Albania

This *Albania*, as said, is identified with the ancient city of *Hulwan*¹²², which is now located on the site of the village of *Sarpol-e Zahab*, on the river *Эльвенд* (about 5 km to the west there is also a small settlement of *Хельвен*). There are two *Albania* toponyms on TP: city and region, which, however, have nothing to do with the well-known *Caucasian Albania*, as they sometimes think, for example, *Martirosyan*. This concludes this entire TP route. However, *Albania* is depicted at the end of a branch from the main road's terminus. But, the stated distance of 24 miles (38 km) seems to refer to the last unnamed station on the main road, which was probably east of the present-day town of *Qasr-e-Shirin*. Therefore, it can be assumed that the distance to the beginning of the branch leading to *Albania* is smaller, and the distance to *Albania* itself is not indicated. Moreover, branching is done after crossing a river. It may be a left tributary of the *Diyala* flowing past the village of *Qasr-e-Shirin*, but *Qasr-e-Shirin* is on its right, not left bank. However, taking into account the completely incorrect location of *Tizbon*, the involvement of additional sources is required for a more or less reliable reconstruction of this section.

Cesiphun — *Albania* (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
<u>Cesiphun</u>	Madain				
<u>Artemita</u>	Baqubah	51	82	75	-8.54
Peloriarca	Miqdadiyah	20	32	38	18.75
Charra	Mazra'a	47	75	66	-12.00
Innōminis	Seyed Khalil °	24	38	35	-7.89
Albania	Sarpol-e Zahab	∅	∅	24	—
		142	227	214	Average -5.73

¹²² Yarshater E., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (2), p. 759.

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Hatris — Peloriarca

Hatris XXVIII Sabbin XXVIII Phalcara Ø Gibrata XX Peloriarca

Finally, when we already know the location of *Peloriarca*, we can reconstruct the route from Hatris to here, which is even more uncertain than the previous ones. The main difficulty of this section is the lack of distance between *Phalcara* and *Gibrata*. *Sabbin* and *Phalcara* are also poorly localized, because there are almost no settlements in that area.

Sabbin

This station is 28 miles (45 km) from *Hatris*. Currently, there are no short roads from *Hatra* to the *Tigris* and then to *Tizbon*. The only road through *Hatra* leads to the *Tigris* by detouring from the north through a large bend. If we assume that there was a short way to the river in ancient times, then it would appear near the present *Sharqat*. However, it is extremely interesting that in front of this *Sharqat*, on the other bank of the *Tigris*, there is the settlement of *Safinah*. This name is so similar to the one being sought that it is hardly a coincidence, even though it is on the opposite coast. It can have different explanations. relocation of the village, existence of villages of the same name on different coasts, etc.

Phalcara

This station was located another 28 miles (45 km) away. There are several settlements on the banks of the *Tigris* to which this *Phalcara* can be connected (with an accuracy of 7-8 km). But it seems more likely to identify it with *Kaleh Jabbar* of the American map, which is located 48 km from *Safinah*. *Jabbar* means "strong, powerful" in Arabic, and in the word *Phalcara* you can see a misspelled Latin: the word *falcārius* "forgesmith". Although these are words with different meanings, they have contact edges: blacksmiths have always been considered (and were) strong people, and it is not difficult to imagine the possible connection between these two place names. Maybe the *Shaikh Hadid* "Sheikh iron" hill, located about 17 km from *Kaleh Jabbar*, has something to do with this. Maybe *Hadid* in the English transliteration should be *Haddad* "blacksmith".

Gibrata

The distance between this and the previous station is not indicated in the TP. This means that it can only be located relative to the next station, *Peloriarca*, which should be 20 miles (32 km) apart. In fact, after *Peloriarca*, the road crosses the *Tigris* (since *Hatra* is definitely on the right bank), and *Gibrata* is already on the left bank of the river. As well as on the left bank of *Diyala*. And it must be observed that, as the inhabited areas in these parts are confined to the narrow banks of the great rivers, the stations of *Gibrata* and *Artemita*, both situated within the same distance of 20 miles from *Peloriarca*, inevitably appear side by side, and it was to be expected that their there would be a connection between them. However, there are many such cases on TP, when the

connections between adjacent stations are not depicted, which is also noted by Podosinov (see above). And in this case, as we have seen, the cartographer could not notice this connection at all, because he had already placed *Tizbon* far from *Seleucia* and Babylon. In order for *Gibrata* and *Artemita* stations to be far enough apart (at least at the vertices of an equilateral triangle), it is necessary that *Peloriarca* be further south. But in that case, it would be impossible to justify the lowering of *Artemita* further south: anyway, it was done according to the rather shaky information of Isidore of Charaks. According to TP data, it should have been higher.

However, based on the aforementioned conditions, *Gibrata* is located in a rather narrow area, and the road to *Gibrata* should logically pass along the right bank of the *Tigris*. Conventionally, we can connect it with *Хад-Максай* settlement.

Hatris — Peloriarca (Phleterian mile)

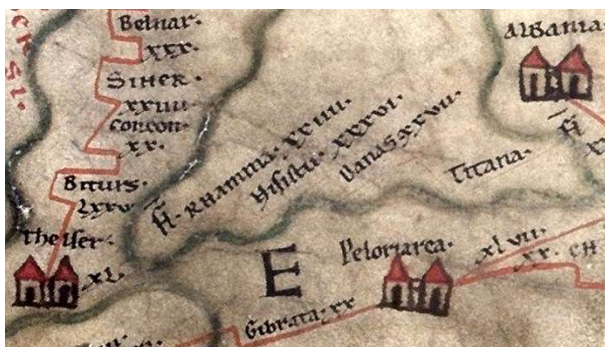
Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Hatris	Hatra				
Sabbin	Sharqat, Safinah	28	45	47	4.44
Phalcara	Kaleh Jabbar	28	45	48	6.67
Gibrata	Хад-Максай	∅	∅	224	—
Peloriarca	Miqdadiyah	20	32	32	0.00
		68	122	127	Average 4.10

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Thelser — Titana fl

Thelser XL Fl Rhamma XXIII Nisistu XXXVI Danas XXVII Titana fl XX

Finally, the last path of this group, which is represented by a faint line on the TP, and by a dotted line on the Miller reconstruction. One can only speculate as to why a full line was not drawn: maybe it's just that the drawing was left unfinished, but maybe the secondary role of that track was emphasized. And indeed, now that we have already reconstructed the previous routes, it becomes clear that this route is the parallel route of the previous route, *Peloriarca — Albania*, which passed along the right bank of *Diyala*. Moreover, in the very place where there are almost no settlements and roads even today.



Fl Rhamma

It is the first station since *Thelser*, located 40 miles (64 km) from the previous one. Since it crosses some river, one cannot doubt (based on previous experience) that the cartographer here meant *Al Uzym*, (although *Khazir* represented that line of the river in its upper part). As for the *Rhamma* river, after which the station is named, then, probably, it is *Al Uzym*. According to the distance, it is located in the place of the current *Dojama*. The similarity of the second parts of the two place names is noticed. Is it a coincidence? It cannot be ruled out that the first letter of *Rhamma* is the result of a copyist bug: *D > R*.

Nisistu

It is 24 miles (38 km) away from the previous one. Corresponds to *Abd Allah Afandi* settlement.

Danas

It is 36 miles (58 km) away from the previous one, and corresponds to the opposite bank of the *Sadiyah — Jalula* section. Currently, there are no notable settlements there. We can conditionally locate it with the *Koshuk* place.

Titana fl

This is the last station of this route. 27 miles (43 km) from the previous one. As this is some river on the road to *Albania*, it must be the *Diyala*, roughly on the line *Sherwane* — *Qasr-e-Shirin*. Another 20 miles (32 km) is given after the river, but it is not clear to what point. Since the distance between the two parallel roads leading to *Albania* is approximately that much, it is more likely that this is the distance the cartographer had in mind.

Thus, there are no reliable phonetic identifications in this passage. Because of that uncertainty and the peculiarities of the location, the location was made exclusively according to the distances of the PC, as a result of which the deviations of the PC and the located distances in the table below are zero.

Thelser — Titana fl (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Thelser	Samarra				
Fl Rhamma	Dojama	40	64	64	0.00
Nisistu	Abd Allah Afandi	24	38	38	0.00
Danas	Koshuk	36	58	58	0.00
Titana fl	Sherwane	27	43	43	0.00
		127	203	203	Average 0.00

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Singara — Nisibi

Singara XXXIII Baba XVIII Thebeta XXXIII Nisibi

Since the ending stations of this small section are clearly known, the two intermediate stations are localized automatically.

Singara

This is the today's *Sinjar*, see also above.

Baba

It is in 33 miles (53 km) from the previous one. The road to *Nisibi*, which is identically identified with present-day *Nusaybin*, bypasses the *Sinjar* Mountain range. On the opposite side of the mountain, in 51 km, is now the settlement of *Bara*. The similarity of the name and the correspondence of the distance (especially since we are dealing with the island distribution of settlements) leave no doubt that this is the historical *Baba*. The *r* instead of the second *b* is undoubtedly the result of a typographical error (presumably, for example, an intermediate capitalization: capital *B* and *R* are particularly similar).

Thebeta

It should be within 19 miles (30 km) of the previous one. The name probably had a *The*-component. On the road to *Nusaybin* (see below) approximately in the required region, many place names with such a component are indicated on the Soviet map, for example *Tel-Barda Hill* (36°45'29"N 41°14'16"E), but this is far from the indicated location. It is localized according to the distance, at the crossing of today's roads, in a small settlement, where the *Заки-аль-Кабур* (*Zaki al Kabir*) hill is marked on the Soviet map.

Nisibi

This is *Nusaybin*, the historical *Nizibis*. It should be 33 miles (53 km) from the previous one, which corresponds to reality with great accuracy.

Singara — Nisibi (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Singara	Sinjar				
Baba	Bara	33	53	51	-3.77
Thebeta	Zaki al Kabir	19	30	30	0.00
Nisibi	Nusaybin	33	53	53	0.00
		85	136	134	Average -1.47

Zeugma — Ressaina

Zeugma XII Thiar XXXII Batnis XXX Charris XXXII Sahal XXXV Ressaina

The location of the *Zeugma — Ressaina* route would might help to determine the adjacent routes from the southwestern side of *Armenia Major*. However, this path itself causes serious problems, related to both distances and identifications. And the most serious problem, no matter how strange, is the existence of the data of Isidor of Charax parallel to TP, which are completely consistent, but both seem illogical from the point of view of the features of the place.

Zeugma and Thiar

Until recent years, the main river crossing was located near the town of *Birecik*, until another bridge was built a little higher along the Euphrates for a new highway. And for a long time, *Zeugma* was identified with *Birecik*, also based on the identical meaning of the Greek and Turkish names "connection, union". However, in recent decades, *Zeugma* has been discovered and excavated, and it is now accepted that it was located about 10 km up the *Euphrates* from *Birecik*, near the present-day village of *Belkis*. And in the end, it should be taking in account, that *Zevgma* was on the right bank, and *Birecik* on the left: it-s name could not be the translation of a Greek place name, but it could serve another river and get a corresponding name by the same logic¹²³.

The location of *Zeugma* near *Belkis* is also more acceptable from the point of view of TP data. The thing is that from *Birecik* to *Suruç* (where *Batnis* is reliably located) is about 42 km, while according to the TP it should have been even more miles than that - 44 (70 km). However, the problem is not solved by this, because the road to the excavated *Zeugma* is only 10 km more. This means that either we are dealing with an incorrectly specified distance, or the road was significantly detoured.

According to Isidor of Charax data, that distance was 8 schoeni. 3 schoeni from *Απάμεια* on the opposite bank of the *Ζεϋγμα* to *Δαίαρα* (which is doubtless the *Thiar* of TP), and another 5 schoeni to *Χάραξ Σίδου* (which also reliably corresponds to *Batnis*). If we accept that the schoeni was 4 Phileterian miles, that is, 6.4 km, then according to

¹²³ There is also an opinion that *Birecik* is Ptolemaic *Birtha*. This is accepted, for example, in the Barrington Atlas. However, Ptolemy mentions this city significantly south of *Zeugma*.

Zeugma 72⁰⁰ 37⁰⁰

Nicephorium 73⁰⁵ 35²⁰:

Thapsacus 73³⁰ 35⁰⁵

Birtha 73⁴⁰ 35⁰⁰

As we can see, *Birtha* is marked a full two degrees further south, which is equal to 222 kilometers. Of course, the Ptolemaic lists are inaccurate, but not so much. Also, *Zeugma* is really at about 37° (or rather *Birecik* is at that latitude) and *Nicephorium's* latitude is incorrect (actually about 36°), so if we accept the deviation of the same order, then *Birtha* should be searched for, roughly in the vicinity of *Al Tabqa* (which is possibly *Thapsacus* itself).

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him the distance to *Thiar* was almost the same (or a little more), but the distance from *Thiar* to *Batnis* according to Isidore is significantly shorter; 32 km for the same number of miles according to TP. Chaumont notices this, finding that the distance indicated could be corrected by reducing it by 10 miles, that is, in fact, finding that an X had been added by mistake. It is quite probable, especially if we take into account that, as we will see, the length of the next site, to *Charris*, is shorter by the same 10 miles¹²⁴.

However, from Isidore's expression that *Δαίαρα* was located "at a distance of 3 schoeni from *Apamea* and the *Euphrates*" it follows that the road from *Ἀπάμεια* should have gone almost perpendicular to the river, and not along the course of the river. Otherwise, due to the large meander that the *Euphrates* forms in that section after about 7 miles, that is, passing more than half of the way and reaching the present-day *Uğurcuk* village, the traveler would still remain near the river, and it would not be logical to combine the river and *Apamea* in one sentence. Because it would turn out that *Δαίαρα* was located at a distance of 3 schoeni from *Ἀπάμεια*, but less than 1 and a half from the river. It should also be taken into account that this region is subject to gully erosion, and the roads bypass many gullies, which significantly lengthens the routes. Today, it is difficult to imagine the road network in those centuries, because the almost straight highways built in the last century have completely changed the terrain, and it cannot be ruled out that in ancient times they moved along longer, detour routes.

In that case, also taking into account the fact that the distance measured with a larger unit, the schoeni, also implies larger deviations related to rounding, at least half a schoeni (more than 3 km), perhaps it is possible to reconcile the data from those two sources.

Thus, both versions are possible with certain reservations, and the final location could only be helped by the discovery of any toponymic traces of *Thiar*. In the first case (which is accepted as a result of this restoration), as such an extremely weak trace, one can perhaps see the *Arat* (Rus. *Арат*) mountain name, near which the village of the same name is located (37°03'37"N 38°07'53"E), or else the village name *Derik* (Rus. *Дерик*, Turkish: "leather, tanner") located further away: although this is quite a common place name. In the second case, even a place name similar to that order is not observed. If this version is correct, *Thiar* would have been located approximately in the present-day village of *Tüten* (37°06'12"N 38°01'49"E).

Batnis and Charris

Batnis is reliably located in *Suruç*. Usually, *Charris* is also identified with modern *Harran*. Finally, *Ressaina* is now *Ras Al Ain*. At the same time, these and the deviations of the previous sites complement each other quite well. However, the length of this section is too long. At the same time, the deviations of this and the previous site complement

¹²⁴ **Chaumont M.-L.**, Études d'histoire parthe: V. La route royale des Parthes de Zeugma à Séleucie du Tigre d'après l'Itinéraire d'Isidore de Charax/Syria, T. 61, Fasc. 1/2 (1984), p. 76.

each other quite well: as if one *X* in this precinct was assigned to the previous precinct. Although even in that case the deviation will be in the opposite direction. It could mean that the *Batnis* guest house was not in that settlement, but outside of them, in the direction of *Batnis*. To some extent, this can also explain another inconsistency: as we will see below, this station probably coincided with another station, *Sathena*: maybe they were different guest houses of the same settlement.

Sahal

Sahal's location is unknown. Although Miller locates the site of the *Tell-Sahal* ruins, it is not marked on Soviet maps and Google maps. In a straight line between *Kharran* and *Ras-al-Ain* is about 95 km, while according to the TP it should have been 107 km. The difference of 12 km is not big, but maybe it wasn't even that, because the road could pass approximately at the place of the Baghdad railway, which forms the border between *Turkey* and *Syria*. Meanwhile, the short road passes through a barren and dry terrain. In that case, the road would be a little longer, but it would pass through the most populated area. At the exact spot of the required distances today is a small border settlement in *Syria* called *Sharat Tall Musa*. There is also some similarity in the name: is it a coincidence: the letters *t* and *l* could be confused?

Zeugma — Ressaina (Phileterian mile)

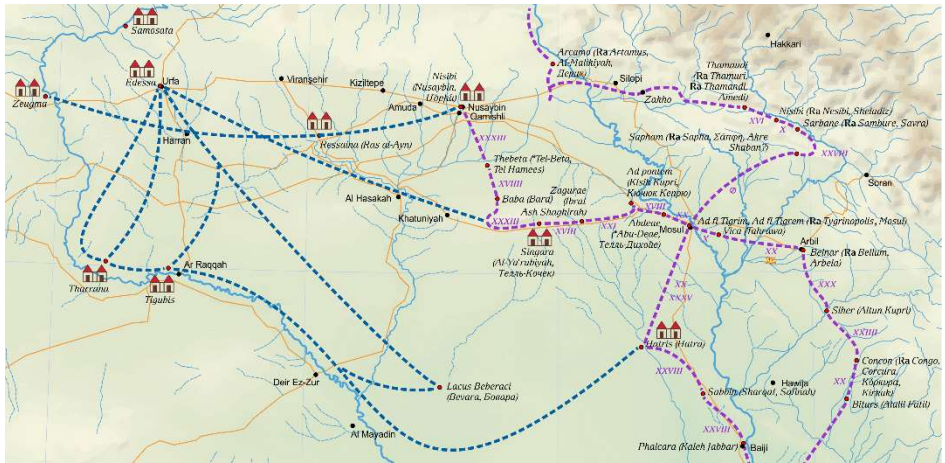
Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
<u>Zeugma</u>	Belkis				
<u>Thiar</u>	~Almaşar	12	19	20	5.26
Batnis	<u>Suruc</u> , Tell Batnan	32	51	37	-27.45
Charris	Harran	30	48	57	29.55
Sahal	Sharat Tall Musa	32	51	51	0.00
Ressaina	Ras Al Ain	35	56	55	-1.79
		141	225	220	Average -2.22

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Edessa — Baba

Edessa XL Barbare X Minnocerta XXII Chanmaudi XVI Thilapsum XXII Sihinnus XXX Baba

This and the next routes are not so unambiguous as the previous ones. The routes of *Mesopotamia* are probably one of the most problematic parts of TP in general. In these sections, the TP is drawn so mixed that sometimes it is impossible to present the stations sequentially according to the routes, and it is necessary to carry out a comparative examination with the stations of other routes. As already mentioned, *Nisibi* (*Nusaybin*), *Edessa* (*Urfa*), *Ressaina* (*Ras Al Ain*) are definitely known. However, inexplicable facts are observed here. Thus, if we move to the real location, the route from *Nisibi* via *Ressaina* to *Zeugma* intersects with the routes to *Edessa*, which is not at all characteristic of TP.

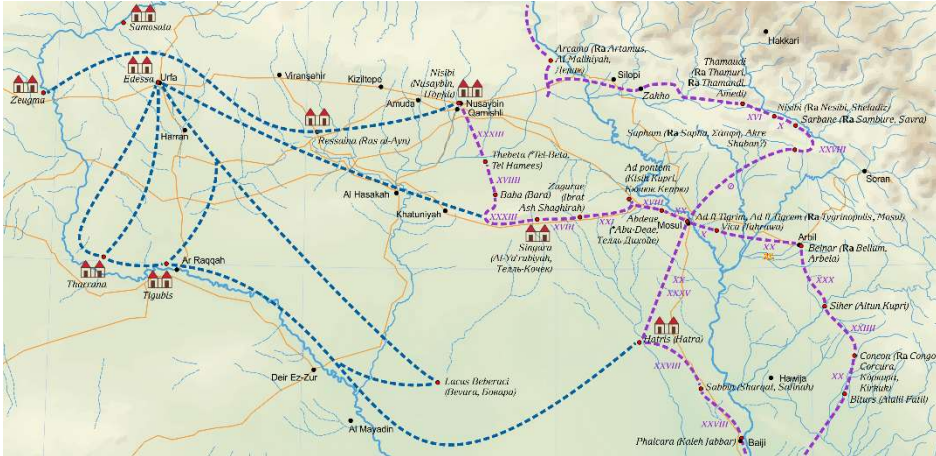


The main routes of northern Mesopotamia according to TP (shown by dotted lines, dark blue-green lines are those analyzed in this chapter, purple ones are those reconstructed in previous chapters. Modern highways are depicted by yellow lines).

The crossing of routes practically means that the roads cross and there is no station at the crossing point, which is theoretically possible, but from a practical point of view it is completely illogical: how could there not be a station at a junction of busy roads? Of course, it is possible to draw a route that would bypass *Urfa* (see below), but the existence of such a road would contradict the requirement of shortest routes (stemming from the same practical considerations): it is not clear why TP should have suggested bypassing *Edessa* on the road, and from the north, where the terrain is more arid and even somewhat hilly.

Also, it is striking that there is no direct connection of *Edessa* with *Nisibi* and *Ressaina*. Of course, as mentioned, we are reconstructing the TP routes, not the routes of the old eras in general, and if those connections are not there, then they shouldn't

have been, so that was the route of this map (TP). However, from the positions of the aforementioned same principle, the absence of such important connections is strange. In addition, the four roads leading from *Edessa* are also strange: in fact, there are really four main roads leading from *Urfa*, one to each of the four corners of the world, and only one road actually goes south, because the city is located in a field surrounded by hills, in which all the southern roads are equal, and only are branches of that one main road. The other paths have a west-east and north direction.

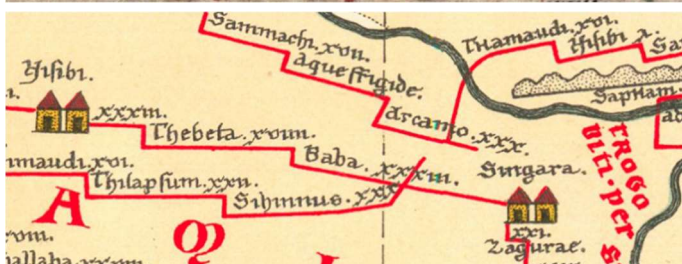


Let's also notice that *Ressaina* and *Edessa* are wrongly arranged in relation to the mountain range between them. In fact, *Edessa* remains to the north, not to the south, in relation to the *Zeugma* Road from *Nisibi* to *Ressaina*. First, it comes to mind that the author of TP simply replaced *Ressaina* and *Edessa* in his drawing, avoiding the aforementioned crossing. But this is unusual for TP, in which the arrangement of stations with respect to terrain is usually not arbitrary, at least in this region. However, a number of facts that will be considered below confirm this assumption. On the other hand, only the backward transfer of those two stations does not directly solve the problem. There are indeed some fundamental inconsistencies in TP: some of the mentioned routes really correspond to their position given on the map, others do not. The same applies to distances. Thus, the same road from *Nisibi* to *Ressaina*, which according to the TP should be 88 miles (141 km), actually turns out to be 109 km, which is a huge inaccuracy, considering that it refers to a flat terrain.

As we can see, we are most likely dealing with bugs. Miller tried to bypass those bugs by adapting the TP data to the real map, while making fundamental edits to the original. He combined the two *Nisibis*, simply lined up the unidentified stations along known real roads and even allowed for some speculation: for example, ignoring that after *Sihinnus* the road joins between *Baba* and *Singara*, but assuming that the road continues and joins with *Thamaudi's* (and perhaps so sure was the reckoner of his

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reconstruction, that he even continued that line a little on his copy of TP, although there is no such line on the original of TP, see below).



Among other emendations, he identified *Charra*, *Charris*, and *Tharrana*¹²⁵, essentially also *Ressaina* and *Fons Scabore*¹²⁶, and made the route from *Edessa* to *Hatris* entirely through uninhabited waterless spaces, whereas in the TP some of them obviously pass through the islands of the *Euphrates* (for example, the route described by Isidor of Charax obviously passes). These also lead to other contradictions. For example, it turns out that part of the road from *Ressaina* to *Zeugma* to the west coincided with part of the road from *Edessa* to the east, but neither their stations nor their distances coincided. This is a completely unacceptable approach. If we find that there is a bug in the name, then at least we should rely on the authenticity of the distances.

The location of *Lacus Beberaci* is also very important. Miller and Kippert identify it with *Lake Khatuniyah* (*Хатуния* on the Soviet map). Perhaps its main justification can be the appropriate distance. *Edessa* to *Khatuniyah* is exactly 171 miles (257 km). However, by its name, this lake is reliably identified with the *Bevara*¹²⁷ (*Бовара*) lake,

¹²⁵ "Von Vicus bis Charris ist auffallend, daß die 2 wichtigen Stationen Batnae und Charrae verschrieben sind in Banatis und Tharrana (j. Harran), und daß somit Charrae dreimal aufgeführt ist, offenbar ohne daß der Verfasser es ahnte, ein Beweis, daß eben einfach die Itinerarien, so wie sie vorgefunden wurden, mit allen Mängeln kartographiert wurden". Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 777.

¹²⁶ "Fons Scabore, Fons Cavorae (Ra), Fl. Chaboras (j. Chabur), Abora (Am); entweder identisch mit Ressaina, Strecke 110, oder in unmittelbarer Nähe; j. Ras el Ain." Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 780.

¹²⁷ Potts D., On Salt and Salt Gathering in Ancient Mesopotamia, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 27, No. 3. (1984), p. 244.

which is located about 75 km to the east from the confluence of the Khabur and Euphrates rivers. And this lake is 313 km away from *Edessa* in a straight line, which corresponds to about 207 miles (by road, obviously more).

And the problem is not only phonetic similarity. If, following Miller, this is *Khatunyah*, then the distance from *Fons Scabore* (i.e. *Ras Al Ain*) should be 118 miles (177 km), whereas in reality it is about 120 km; that is, Miller's locations do not solve the problem. And on the contrary, unexpectedly it turns out that *Bevara* (*Бовара*) lake is located at the same 171 miles (257 km) distance from *Ras Al Ain*. In fact, the assumption of the transfer of *Edessa* and *Ressaina* is confirmed.

Taking into account the mutual position of the two cities in relation to the mountain, as well as the fact that according to the TP, the direction and number of roads leading from them is correct, it can be assumed that there really was a castling, but it is the result of a bug, and the author of the TP simply transferred mentioned the names of those two cities, while the roads approaching them remained correct. Although a number of facts prove that this does not solve the problem completely. In particular, the length of the road from *Ressaina* to *Zeugma* really corresponds to the TP data.

One gets the impression that there are not one, but several errors in this part of TP, which, when superimposed, resulted in an image that cannot be identified with reality. So, criticizing the proofreading of TP data by Miller and other analysts does not mean that there are no errors. Simply, Occam's principle should be applied: if real bugs are found, only a small number of fixes will be required. Thus, we already know that "mirrors" of the same settlement are sometimes observed in TP (for example, from the pair *Ad fl Tigrem* and *Ad fl Tigrim*). But they must be clearly distinguished from real settlements of the same name, for example, the two different *Nisibis*, which Miller, as we have seen, wrongly identified.

Macharta and Minnocerta

Thus, the place names *Macharta* and *Minnocerta* mentioned side by side are doubtful. True, at first glance these are not very similar, but in the RA list, *Minicerta* and *Manacarta* correspond to them, and here they are not so different. If the assumption that this is identical with *Minnocerta* of the other route is correct, which of these is the closest true place name? The second part of this *Minnocerta* name is very interesting: *-certa*. The second component of the presentation of the word *Tigranakert* in RA's book has exactly this same form: *Tigrano-certa*. It seems that this is the Armenian *-kert* root¹²⁸, and in that case, this is probably some Armenian city¹²⁹.

And indeed, 56 km (37 Roman miles) west of *Nusaybin* is the village of *Kızıltepe*, also known as *Tell-Ermen*. The last one clearly means "Armenian hill", and it was really

¹²⁸ According to the Root Dictionary, this root is an Iranian loan, although judging from the opinions given in the dictionary, this is still a question that needs to be examined.

¹²⁹ **Dussaud René**, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927, p. 493.

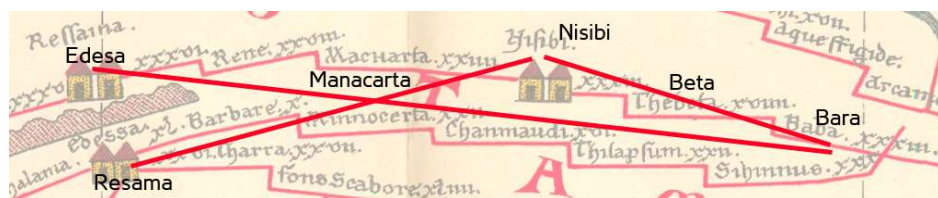
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an Armenian village until the beginning of the previous century. The similarity between the second syllable of this *Tell-Ermen* and the first syllable of the words *Minnocerta* (*Minicerta*, *Manacarta*) is noticeable. It seems that the latter is just a shortened version of the former. In other words, the real name could have been **Armenocerta*, or **Arminicerta*¹³⁰. Dussaud also notices this connection, but does not etymologically analyze the name and, as a result, does not see the connection with *Tigranakert* mentioned by Tacitus.

The reason for this misunderstanding (as well as the *Ressaina/Edessa* castling) is somewhat revealed by the RA list.

Edesa
Minicerta
Bara
Beta
Nisibi
Manacarta
Reche
Resama

It seems that the list lists the stations of the three-segment spiral route. Below is an outline reconstruction of that possible original on the loose backing of the TP. *Edessa* (*Edesa*) and *Ressaina* (*Resama*) are still not transposed on this, and *Rene* (*Reche*) is missing (why, see below in the subsection dedicated to *Rene*). Later, when the drawing was converted into a list, it took the form of the list shown above. Moreover, when listing the stations of each sector, *Manacarta* (or *Minicerta*: which of these was the original version is not important), naturally appeared twice in the list, and when the list was transcribed, it was written with an error in the second case: that is how the second version of the name of the same station was created.

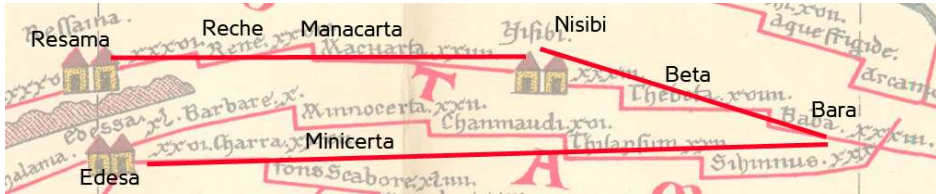


When the problem arose of adding *Rene* (*Reche*) the cartographer placed it as him were reported: after *Nisibi* and *Manacarta*.

At a later stage, this list was used to draw up (or restore) another map, and since *Manacarta* and *Minicerta* were seen as different stations, the corresponding sections

¹³⁰ It was discussed above how "*Armenia Maior*" could turn into "*Media Maior*". It was assumed that the initial *Ar* could have been lost due to damage to the map, but the existence of such an example suggests that maybe this is a manifestation of some phonetic pattern.

at the site of that city no longer intersected, but became parallel, resulting in *Edessa* and *Ressaina* were castling, moving the other western routes with them. And in the last stage, the remaining stations were added to the version that has already reached us.



In this connection, it is interesting that according to the famous report of Tacitus, the city of *Tigranakert* was located 37 miles from *Nisibin* (*Nusaybin*) (Тацит, *Анналы*, XV, 4,5). This became the basis for researchers to identify the Armenian capital with this *Tell-Ermen*. Within the framework of the above observation, it becomes possible to assume that perhaps Tacitus was already in a misunderstanding, who might have confused these two similar-sounding toponyms, *Tigranocerta* and **Armenocerta*, which may also have been one of the cities built by King Tigranes, and it maybe sometimes it was also called *Tigranakert*, just in that sense. as "the city built by Tigranes", while its official name may have been *Armenocerta*, "Armenian city". On the other hand, Tigran was sometimes called "Tigran the Armenian", as, for example, by Appianus, *Τυράνης Ἀρμένιος* (Ἄππιανός, Μ, Μιθριδάτειος, XVII, 117). Although it could have been the opposite as well: its name was really *Tigranakert*, but it was known as "Armenian city" and that's how it was presented in TP. It could be assumed that the reason for the mistake is that Tacitus was describing the events of about one and a half centuries ago, but Strabo, who was almost Tigran's contemporary, also located *Tigranakert* at the foot of the *Massius* Mountains (that is, in the same place).

One way or another, the observed circumstance becomes an additional argument for the assumption that a city called *Tigranakert*, different from *Triganocarten/Tigranakert*, could have been located in the place of *Tell-Ermen*.

One of the consequences of this «castling» is that the *Edessa — Rene* section is missing in TP: in the reconstruction it is given conditionally, as it must undoubtedly have been in the ancient editions of the map, when the «castling» had not yet been made. At the same time, the distance mentioned in TP is inconsistent. *Nisibi* to *Macharta* is 24 miles, not 37. However, it was already said above that the entire road from *Nisibi* to *Ressaina* is incorrect.

Chanmaudi

Having the successful experience of identifying *Thamaudi* with *Amedi*, it can be assumed that this *Chanmaudi* can also be identified with *Amuda*. Accordingly, this place name can perhaps be etymologically explained as a combination of the Iranian *xan* "house, inn" and the aforementioned Semitic '-*m-d* "pillar, standing", of which again (as

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in the case of *Thamaudi*) only the second component has been preserved. Between this and the previous station is indicated 22 miles (35 km), which is quite close to the reality - 32 km.

However, *Amuda* is located between *Kiziltepe* and *Nusaybin* and all three are almost on a straight line and connected to each other. *Minnocerta* on the TP is also associated with *Chanmaudi*, but being on a different route, this one is already associated with *Thilapsum* rather than *Nisibi*, although that connection would have been expected. But within the proposed hypothesis, *Minnocerta* is identified with *Macharta*, which is already associated with *Nisibi*. And indeed, if we assume that the number after *Chanmaudi* shows the distance not to *Thilapsum*, but to *Nisibi*, then in total it will be 38 miles (57 km). as said, the distance between *Kiziltepe* and *Nusaybin* is almost that much, and about 37 miles, Tacitus mentions. Although in that case, it turns out that the distance between *Thilapsum* and *Chanmaudi* is unknown to us. But maybe that connection was never depicted. As Podosinov observes, due to the violation of the scale, the neighboring settlements sometimes deviated so much from each other that the cartographer was simply unable to depict the transversal connections¹³¹.

By the way, the lack of these connections additionally distorts the image of the routes, because the routes depicted in this part of the TP probably had different starting and ending points than it can be imagined by looking at the map. Thus, the traveler from *Sihinnus* to *Ressaina* would not move north to *Nisibi*, but would continue west along the *Khabur* course.

Rene

This settlement is mentioned in the route examined in the next section, but without its location it is difficult to understand the other features of this part of the TP. This is marked 28 miles west of the earlier *Macharta* (which already has been identified with *Minicerta* and present-day *Kiziltepe*) and 36 miles east of the later *Ressaina* (which, as noted, has been identified with *Ras Al Ain*). To the west of *Kiziltepe* is the present city of *Viranşehir* (Малала Иоанн, Хронография. Книга XIII, 12). Its name is etymologically interpreted as "ruined city": According to John Malalas, this city, which was originally called *Maximianopolis*, was first captured and destroyed by the Persians, and then it was destroyed by an earthquake. Emperor Constantine rebuilt the city, giving it his name, but the destruction of the city was so spectacular that it actually continued to be called "ruined". The similarity of the first part of this name, *Viran*, with the name of this station is remarkable. *Vi-ran* — *Ren-e*. The similarity is even greater if we look at the name along with the Roman numerals for the distance written from the left: XXXVI Rene > XXX-VI Ren-e > *Viran*-şehir. This is hardly a coincidence, especially when we measure the distance from *Viranşehir* to *Ras Al Ain*: it is about 31 Roman miles, not 36. as if the

¹³¹ Подосинов А. В., Восточная Европа в римской картографической традиции, р. 289.

real distance should have been 30, and as an additional 6 miles the cartographer mistakenly saw the first two letters of the name **Viren* (cīvitās).

Barbare

This is marked between *Edessa* and *Minnocerta*, 40 miles (60 km) from the former and 10 miles (15 km) from the latter. And here, on the Soviet map, about 14 km from *Kyzyltepe* to the west, the village of *Girger* is marked. The significant similarity of this name with the toponym *Barbare* is obvious, and the latter may be the result of its phonetic change in the Iranian language environment, which is characterized by $v > b$, $v > g$ transitions¹³². In any case, both the place to be expected and the sound image are quite close.

Thilapsum

The road from *Chanmaudi* to *Singara* joins the middle of the road connecting *Singara* and *Baba* (already identified with *Bara*). In fact, the road does have a branch near *Bara* (36°22'54"N 41°21'17"E). Moreover, one branch leads directly to *Bara*, and the other, cutting the road, immediately leads to *Sinjar*. The accurate reflection of such details in the TP (alongside gross errors, evidently, later), shows from how accurately composed sample of the TP was modeled come down to us exemplar.

From *Amuda* to the junction point on the *Sinjar* Road is about 95 km in a straight line, and according to the TP this distance should have been 68 miles (102 km), so it is quite plausible. However, there is no direct highway today, the reason for which is that the region is currently divided between two states.

21 km south of *Amuda* (of the required 16 miles (25 km)) on the Soviet map is the small settlement of *Тель-Апыс*. If we assume that this *Апыс* corresponds to the *-aps* of *Thilapsum*, in which Greek and Latin identical letters have been confused, then it is possible that this is the trace of *Thilapsum*, whose original form was **Thilarsum*.

Sihinnus

After *Тель-Апыс*, as said, the road should join the road to *Singara*, near *Bara*. Before that, the road passes the *Khatuniya* settlement, on the shore of the lake of the same name. And approximately at the required distance of 34 km, the settlement of *Shikha* is indicated on the Soviet map. It seems quite possible that this name *Шуха* is a trace of *Sihinnus*. It is noteworthy that 2.5 km to the east of *Shikha* there is a hillock with a height of about 20-25 m, on which the ruins of the structures visible on the same map are marked as the ruins of a Roman camp. This becomes another argument that the place of *Sihinnus* could be this. However, the distance to the intersection of *Bara* exceeds the data of the map even in a straight line, and even more so by road. Considering the accuracy of the previous locations, it seems that there is a bug here, and the distance is

¹³² <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/isfahan-xxi-provincial-dialects>

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written one *X* less. However, even with this condition, the deviation of the general route remains within the permissible limits.

Edessa — Baba (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Ressaina (Edessa)	Ras Al Ain				
Barbare	Гиргер	40	60	58	-3.33
Minnocerta	Kızıltepe, Tell-Ermen	10	15	14	-6.67
Chanmaudi	Amuda	22	33	32	-3.03
Thilapsum	Тель-Арус	16	24	22	-8.33
Sihinnus	Шиха	22	33	35	6.06
Baba	Вага	30	45	60	33.33
		<i>140</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>221</i>	<i>Average 5.24</i>

Nisibi — Ressaina

Nisibi XXVIII Macharta XXVIII Rene XXXVI Ressaina

After analyzing the previous route, the reasons for the errors that have crept into the drawing of this route, which have already been discussed, become clear. As it was said, *Nisibi* and *Edessa* were most likely be castling, which led to the violation of the whole system, although some of the compliances remained. Thus, the length of the road from *Nisibi* to *Ressaina*, which according to the PC should have been 88 miles (132 km), is actually almost exactly that - 130 km. However, it is not the result of the sum of the above-mentioned sites, but of other sites, that is, *Nisibi* \emptyset *Chanmaudi XXII Minnocerta X Barbare XL Ressaina* (at TP there isn't *Nisibi — Chanmaudi* site), and it is not clear whether we can consider it as a compliance to the TP data: perhaps only indirectly.

Macharta/Minnocerta

Now, when the identity of *Macharta* and *Minnocerta* was noticed, it is clear that this entire route is the result of a mistake, and here it does not make sense to expect a systematic correspondence of distances. On the other hand, the main problem is the identifications themselves. Although, as we have seen, there are individual coincidences of distances, which only confirm the authenticity of the locations. For example, *Chanmaudi* to *Minnocerta* is listed as 22 miles (33 km) and this is close to the reality of 32 km. Several other examples were given above.

Rene

Rene was already mentioned above and it was shown that it corresponds to the current *Viranşehir*.

Edessa — Alaina

Edessa XXVI Charra XXVII Fons Scabore XLIII Birrali XXVIII Thallaba XXVIII Thubida XVIII Lacus Beberaci Ø Innōminis XX Alaina

As we have already seen the distances from *Zeugma* to *Ressaina* section are presented quite correctly in the TP, and in the case of this route it is *Ressaina* itself, not *Edessa*. However, as we will see, in this section under consideration, the interchange is already manifested again and here too *Edessa* is confused with *Ressaina*.

Charra

This station is listed after *Edessa*. In fact, exactly 26 miles (39 km in Roman miles) from *Edessa* (*Urfa*) is the settlement of *Harran*, with which *Charra* is usually identified. Miller was said to have done the same, also identifying it in line with the *Charris* station on the *Ressaina* to *Zeugma* Road. Are these really "mirror" stations created as a result of the castling of *Edessa* and *Ressaina*? It seems not. True, the coinciding distance from *Edessa* is a serious argument, but in that case, we must accept that *Lacus Beberaci* is *Khatuniyah*, not *Bevara* (*Бовара*), because the length of the segment *Edessa* - *Lacus Beberaci* matches the distance from real *Edessa* to that very lake. And the phonetic parallel *Bevara* — *Beberaci* seems weightier than the *Charra* — *Harran* parallel, because, as said, we see a number of toponyms reminiscent of the *Charra* base in TP, and hardly all of them are "mirrors". Let's remember that we already located a *Charra* near *Peloriarca*. Place names based on *Charra* can be numerous, originating from the Akkadian word *ḫarrānu*, which means "road, caravan, business". And *Harran* is one of them. In addition, there is still a coherent Greek word *χάραξ* "fence, camp".

Based on the assumption of the transfer of *Edessa* and *Ressaina*, *Charra* should be located 39 km downstream from *Ras Al Ain*, in the vicinity of the present-day *Tall Tamr* (*Телль-Тамер*) settlement on the Soviet map. It should be noted that the settlements in this region are distributed in a linear-island way and the presence of a large settlement in the vicinity can be seen as an additional (albeit indirect) argument. Moreover, about 4 km south of *Tall Tamr*, the settlement of *Телль-Куран* is marked on the Soviet map, and the settlement of *Kaur* (*كور*) is indicated on Google Earth (with a deviation of about 1 km from the previous one). It can be assumed that the phonetic similarity is not accidental.

Fons Scabore

27 miles (40 km) from the previous one. It is also written as *Fonte Scoborem*. Latin *fons* means "source, origin". Miller identifies this with *Ras Al Ain* (Sem. "head of spring"), or places it close to it¹³³. It also compares with similar names from other sources, for example, the name of the *Khabur* river, Ptolemy's *Chabora*, etc. Moreover, he also

¹³³ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 780.

accepts the identification of *Ressaina* with the same city¹³⁴, which, however, is indicated on a different route of the TP. But this is not enough for identification. It is necessary to take into account the distances, the most informative data of TP. In this case, *Edessa* to *Ressaina* (assuming *Fons Scabore* was in *Ras Al Ain*) is not 53 miles as stated in the TP, but about 30 miles more.

However, it is already problematic to identify this *Scabore* with the river name *Khabur*. Ptolemy's *Chabora* seems indeed to be connected with the river name *Khabur*, although judging from its mutual arrangement with other settlements, it is located even further south of the mouth of the *Khabur*: that is, it has nothing to do with this station. But does *Scabore* represent the name *Khabur*? Indeed, if the first part of the place name is Latin, isn't the second part also Latin? Thus, there is a Lat. *scabo* is the word "to scrape" and it is not difficult to imagine a spring called "Scraped spring". In that case, there will be a purely accidental similarity with the river name *Khabur*. We have already seen such an example, in the case of the *Aque frigide* station, which Syr. *Mayyā Qarīrē* was the translation of the name "cold water".

Based on the assumption of *Edessa* and *Ressaina* displacement, *Fons Scabore* can be located approximately at *Al Hasakah* (36°30'27"N 40°44'41"E), which is about 54 Roman mile from *Ras Al Ain* away. However, there is another condition. The road to *Tigubis* joins the road east of *Fons Scabore* from the south. Moreover, that road passes through the northwestern side of some mountain. However, there is only one more or less noticeable mountain range in the vicinity, *Абд-Эль-Азиз* (36°25'52.41"N 40°17'58.44"E). And there is a road on its northern side that approaches *Khabur* right near *Al Hasakah*. Therefore, if this location is generally correct, then *Fons Scabore* was located on the site of present-day *Al Hasakah*, but slightly upstream.

Let's notice another circumstance. About 12 km north of *Al Hasakah*, the hill of *Tell Abu Hafur* is marked on the Soviet map as *Телль-Абу-Хфур* (36°36'20.18"N 40°39'09.01"E). This is a small hill in the *Ridgelet-Awajj* drainage bed (wadi), on which a reservoir is now built. This is a famous archaeological site, which also has Hellenic and Roman layers. And here it seems that this *Hafur* can be Arab. word *hhafara*¹³⁵ (حفر) "to dig, scrape", from which the Latin name may have been translated. In any case, *Fons Scabore* should have been in *Al Hasakah's* place.

Birrali

This is 44 miles (65 km) from the previous one. It is clear that the route had to run parallel to the *Khabur* river, since the main settlements could be near the river. However, the road between the stations could also pass through relatively dry areas: if only there were springs and wells for the pack horses. There is indeed a large settlement within the required distance, *Ash Shaddadi*. However, it is not excluded that at least this one

¹³⁴ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 770.

¹³⁵ Rajki András, *Arabic Dictionary [with etymologies]*, <https://goo.su/OEI2tcl>

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station was far from the river. That is the clue and the first component of the name, *bir* "water well". And indeed, on the Soviet map, about 14 km to the south-west of *Ash Shaddadi*, the *Бур-Аллян* well is indicated, the name of which is extremely reminiscent of the required place name. Of course, this is a fairly common name for this region, but its finding in the right place is hardly accidental.

Thallaba

The previous station had already deviated somewhat from the course of the *Khabur*. However, in this section the river forms a big arc and crossing the road near other wells and springs: *Бур-Мастур* (35°54'53"N 40°33'33"E), *Эль-Марзидж* (35°48'01"N 40°33'54"E) and so on, returns to river with the opposite curvature. This station is marked 28 miles (41 km) from the previous one. Like the previous one, this toponym also has a very transparent structure. there are several toponyms with *thall* and *aba* components in the vicinity, but there is none that resembles the sought-after toponym. In addition, these last sites pass through the desert, and the quality of the photos of the site does not give an opportunity to orientate in the network of desert trails. Based on the distance, it is located approximately near the settlement of *Эль-Джана* (*Al Jinā*).

Thubida

This is again 28 miles (41 km) away from the previous one. Unfortunately, this region is a complete desert today: not even a hint of an oasis can be seen. Maybe it once existed, but it disappeared, and with it, the corresponding paths also disappeared: today they are very poorly marked in Google Earth photos. In any case, since the road had to turn towards *Lacus Beberaci*, this station should have been located about 30 km to the east of *Khabur*, crossing the other bank of the river. According to the distance, it can be approximately located near the *Бияр-Абу-Расейн* well.

Lacus Beberaci

It has already been said that it is usually identified with Lake *Khatuniyah*, while Potts's opinion is more convincing, according to which it is Lake *Bevara* (*Бовара*). And, as noted, the problem is not only phonetic similarity. there are also many problems related to distances, which were discussed in the introduction to the chapter. There are no settlements around this draining lake today, but there could have been in ancient times. Although it is not excluded that they did not exist before, but this is mentioned only as a famous place that specifies the route.

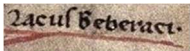
However, there are a couple of interesting circumstances related to *Lacus Beberaci*. First, the red line of the route has a long protrusion, directed to the east, on which it is written. It gives the impression that it could have continued until joining the next route line, but it does not continue. If it continued and joined, it should be the *Singara* — *Hatris* route. Talbert also notices that circumstance¹³⁶, finding that there

¹³⁶ Talbert R. J.A., Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, 89 D4

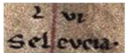
could be a connection with *Singara*, noting, however, that in that case the confusion would increase even more, because it is assumed that *Singara* is identified with *Sirgora* of the *Near-Euphratean* route.

Naturally, such assumptions have no basis. In general, it is noticeable (and it was repeatedly emphasized above that the TP is a carefully prepared and reliable document) that "mirrors" are only on nearby routes, which is quite natural. Talbert's fears are understandable, as he also identifies *Lacus Beberaci* with *Khatuniyah*. In the case of the interpretation under consideration, the line of *Lacus Beberaci*, even if continued, would not touch *Singara*, but roughly in the vicinity of *Abdeae* and *ad fl Tigrem*. It is natural that some of the travelers might want to cut the road, and that half-red line, perhaps, is what it is alluding to. And the incompleteness, perhaps, suggests that it is not a reliable direction. Moreover, the traveler would naturally be interested in the length of that path: at least roughly...

And it turns out that no matter how unexpected it is, it is written. And again, as a result of confusion between the Roman numeral and the letter, it was not noticed. It refers to the last two letters of *Lacus Beberaci*:



The name of the lake is *Bevara*, so **Lacus Bebera* is to be expected. And where does that *ci* ending come from? It should be assumed that it is a Roman numeral and indicates the namely distance to the next route. And indeed, the distance from *Bevara* to the site of *Abdeae* is 212 km, which is about 150 miles (222 km). In Roman numerals it should be *cL*. while it is written *ci*: 101. A distance of the order of 100 miles would hardly be marked to the nearest mile. It is more likely that there was simply an *L* instead of an *i*, but (perhaps because of the low vertical stem) he perceived it as an *i* followed by a dot. As a rule, TP names and distance digits end with a period. But there are also exceptions when the point is not set. Here are such examples:



L is almost as high as *i*, and without the end dot,



a very narrow *L* is followed by a dot.

As you can see, it is not difficult to confuse. The wear of the parchment could also play an additional role. In any case, it is obvious that the last two letters are additional and could not mean anything other than numbers indicating the distance. One can only wonder how correct the ideas about distances were about a millennium and a half ago.

Innōminis

Unfortunately, the next station is unnamed, at an unknown distance, depicted on the edge of the *Euphrates*, and the next, 20 miles (30 km) beyond this, *Alaina* is depicted already on an island in the *Euphrates*: we will consider this when analyzing the other route.

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The unnamed station is pointedly marked directly on one of the branches of the *Euphrates*: maybe his is how one of the periodically drying tributaries of the *Euphrates* could be depicted. And from the south (where *Alaina* is to be found) runs a desert path that crosses a long valley of salt marshes at its narrowest point. It may have been waterlogged at one time (or perhaps it is sometimes waterlogged nowadays). Today the road forms a rather large curve before passing through that narrow place, which is perhaps depicted by making the red line of the TP in a Z-shape (today's road in that part is really a Z-shape). And counting through road curve that place, that place is really about 30 km away from *Alaina*. Some structures can be seen in that place today (in the widespread desert): perhaps it is a small oasis.

Edessa — Alaina (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Ressaina (Edessa)	Ras Al Ain				
Charra	Куар (كاور)	26	38	41	7.89
Fons Scabore	Al Hasakah	27	40	39	-2.50
Birrali	Бир-Аллян	44	65	64	-1.54
Thallaba	Эль-Джана	28	41	44	7.32
Thubida	Бияр-Абу-Расейн	28	41	45	9.76
Lacus Bebera (ci)	Bevara	18	27	27	0.00
		<i>171</i>	<i>252</i>	<i>260</i>	<i>Average: 3.17</i>

Edessa — Tharrana

Edessa Ø Thalama XII Halia VIII Sathena XII Simitta XXX Vicus VIII Theibon XXIII Banata XX Aladin XVIII Tharrana

This section is related to the *Edessa — Ressaina* interchange noted and corrected above. *Ressaina* was moved to the southern side of Mt. As a result, the *Zeugma — Ressaina* route should also be moved along with it, as it is being reconstructed by locating *Ressaina* in *Ras Al Ain*, and in that case, the relocated *Edessa* should be joined by some other route, among those that are connected to the TP *Edessa*: it is unlikely that the paths related to the real *Edessa* were not included in the TP. And that means that at least one of the roads leading to *Edessa* really corresponded to *Edessa*, therefore, it should remain connected to it, also in the new place. And most likely, it should be the *Edessa — Vicus — Tharrana* semi-circular section, which, judging from the map, runs parallel to the *Euphrates* River at a distance of 12 miles (at least in the *Vicus — Theibon* section).

But it means that this road should cross with the *Zeugma — Ressaina* road. And there should be a common station at that point: there was hardly a deserted intersection. Among the stations on the two routes, the only pair that is similar in both name and location is the *Batnis / Sathena* pair. *B* and *S* could easily be confused¹³⁷.

Let's also note that this route corresponds to the starting point of Isidore's Mesopotamian route, connecting present-day *Suruç* and *Ar Raqqah*, but it passes not near the *Belich* River, but through the middle of the area between it and the *Euphrates*.

Unfortunately, there are few recognizable place names on this route. Distances remain the basis of the reconstruction, and in the case of *Thalama*, the distance is also missing, and it remains to rely on logic. At the same time, it seems that the small "Talmudic" mile was used in the next few sites.

Thalama

The distance of this from the previous station, that is, from *Edessa (Urha)*, is not indicated in the TP. Since this was located at the beginning of a semi-circular section, it must have been located not far to the southwest of *Urha*. Miller locates it at the site of the *Shabaka* ruin on the Soviet map at *Шебуке* (37°08'27"N 38°43'53"E), about 10 km from *Urkha*. However, from the logic of subsequent restorations, it follows that this station should have been located much further from *Urha*, in the present-day *Tekyamaç* village, whose name also has a distant phonetic similarity.

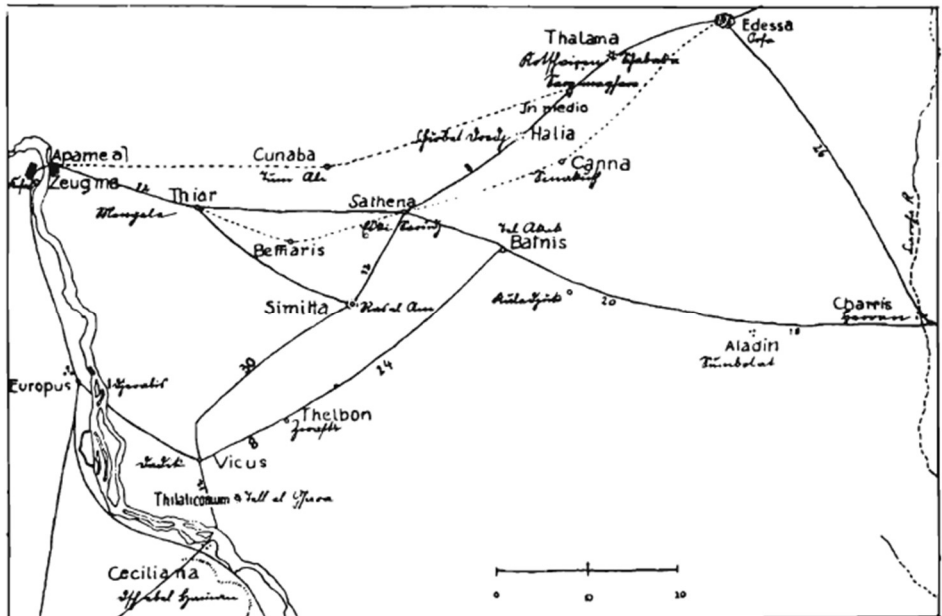
Halia

The red line of the route is missing in this section, but judging by the nature of its interruption (the line is interrupted by a smooth transition), perhaps it is accidental.

¹³⁷ Talbert R. J. A., Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, 67 G3

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This is marked 12 miles from the previous one, and the next *Sathena* station, which must be identified with *Batnis*, is marked 8 miles (12 km). This last one, as already mentioned above, is identified with the current *Suruç*. However, at a distance of 12 km from this, in the direction of *Urha*, there is no settlement with which it is possible to identify this station. But, halfway from it, the Soviet map shows the settlement of *Anuzëp* (now *Onbirnisan*), the first part of whose name resembles the name *Halia*. This name probably means "Ali's grave", that is, it is a complex word and may have been formed as a result of the folk etymology of the historical place name. This phonetic correspondence seems to be enough to assume that this is *Halia* and ignore the distance difference.



Reconstruction of the part adjacent to *Nisibin* according to K. Miller¹³⁸.

Sathena

As said, perhaps it coincided with *Batnis* (although it could also correspond to another guest house in the same settlement), so it should be located in *Suruç*. See above regarding *Batnis*. Interestingly, Miller also locates this station in *Suruç* (*Eski Serutsch*: this must be one of the districts of present-day *Suruç*), near *Batnis*.

¹³⁸ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 250.

Simitta

Marked 12 miles from *Sathena*. Miller localized at the ruins of *Ras al Ain*. This is a typo: fortunately, he also brought a Turk. name: *Mürşitpınar*, which corresponds to the city of *Ayn al Arab* (in *Syria*). Anyway, this is the most suitable place where this station can be located. However, the distance is again inconsistent, and again, much closer than it should be. This can be the result of incorrect location, and the wrong measurement, and a bug, and the use of some other unit of measurement in this area; a phenomenon that we see in different parts of TP and especially in the previous precincts.

Vicus

It is marked 30 miles (45 km) from the previous one. In Latin, it simply means a village, and it can refer to any settlement. Taking into account that the location of the previous station is indefinitely, because the specified distance was not kept and it was not possible to perform phonetic identification, the location of this station becomes even more complicated. Added to this is the fact that the nature of the distribution of settlements in the region of its likely location is *surface-even*, that is, when the location and the distribution of settlements do not suggest where the sought-after settlement could be located. It remains to locate, based only on distances and guided by the general lines of current roads. At the indicated distance, a village called *Kirata* (*Qirata*, 36°36'39"N 38°22'32"E) attracts attention, which may be Assyr. *qritha* "village", i.e. match Lat. with the name. Let's remember that the distance between this (or the next) station and the *Euphrates* is 12 miles. Some researchers (e.g. Miller) thought that this was a part of the route that was not marked with a red line. He assumed that line and connected it to *Ceciliana*, one of the stations of the route running along the right bank of the Euphrates. However, although it is probable, the absence of such a line is a fact, and, unlike other such examples, it is not even clear between which stations in particular this connection could have been.

Thelbon and Banata

Thelbon station was to be located 8 miles from the previous one. This name is a toponym with the usual *Thel-* component. There are no settlements with that name in the mentioned place, but it turns out that about 20 km away on the bank of the Euphrates, the settlement of *Tall Bawat* (remains at the bottom of the *Tishrin Reservoir*) is marked on the Soviet map, whose name is similar to *Thelbon*. However, it turns out that in the Noms Géographiques¹³⁹ database it is listed as *Tall al Banāt*, and the second part of this already coincides with the next station, *Banata*. Moreover, the coincidence is perfect: it's just the same name without reservations. In fact, we are faced with a clear error. It seems incredible that so match similar toponyms actually existed side by side. There is an impression that one unified place name in TP was split into two different

¹³⁹ Noms Géographiques URL: <https://goo.su/FXJle>

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stations. Perhaps the cartographer had two (or more) damaged versions of the same place, one of which preserved the first part of the place name, and the other the second part, which he inserted on the map as different stations. It is not clear what the distances corresponded to in that case. If we ignore the strangeness associated with those names, then, assuming that the distances after Vicus are already given in Phileter miles, we get a fairly good match up to *Aladin*, which is also phonetically identified with some certainty. Therefore, the distances are given correctly.

It is possible to propose different versions of what kind of originals and what kind of combination could be the result of that part of the TP that has reached us. Perhaps, it should be assumed that there was an unknown station as well, whose distances were given quite correctly. As for *Vicus*, the 8 miles mentioned after that are difficult to explain in any way: it remains to assume that this part was already measured by the philatelic mile, and one X was omitted along with it. This is quite natural in the case of this admittedly damaged section.

Aladin

From the previous one: should be at 20 miles (32 km). And almost exactly at that distance is the settlement of *Буп-Хвем*, but Google Earth gives الوديان (*Al Wadian*) "valleys" in the same place, a word that in ancient times, perhaps, could have been transliterated in Latin in the form of *Aladin*. The phonetic identification of this station is confirmed ones again main direction of the entire line. It also helps locate the next *Tharrana*: at the indicated distance of 18 miles (29 km) is present-day *Ar Raqqa*, which also has a distant phonetic similarity (more on that below). After this station, it seems, there is an additional step on the route line, that is, an unnamed station. However, it is more likely to be a bug, as the distances matched correctly.

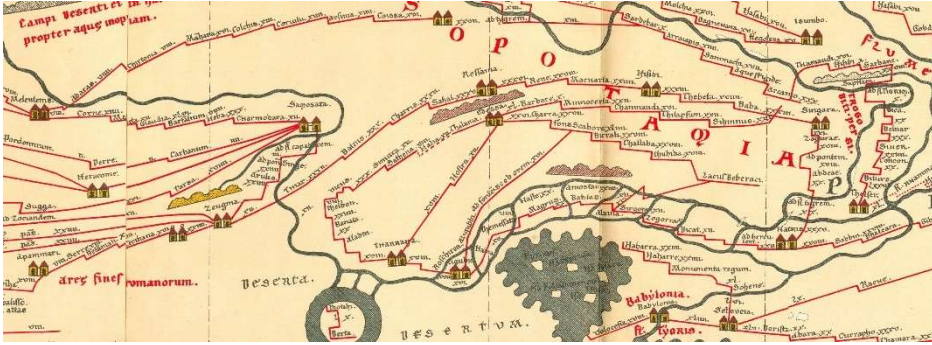
Edessa — Tharrana ("Talmudic" mile, then, Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
<u>Edessa</u>	<u>Urfa</u>				
Thalama	Текуамаç	∅	—	26	—
Halia	Алигѐр	12	12	12	0.00
<u>Sathena</u>	<u>Suruç</u> , Tell Batnan	8	8	7	-12.50
Simitta	Аун al-Arab	12	12	12	0.00
<u>Vicus</u>	<u>Qirata</u>	30	30	32	6.67
Thelbon/Banata	Tall al Banāt 8	18	29	24	-17.24
[Banata]	Мджейбна	24	38	39	2.63
Aladin	Al Wadian (الوديان)	20	32	32	0.00
Tharrana	Ar Raqqa	18	29	31	6.90
		142	190	189	*Average: -0.53

* Only the sites whose length is indicated in the TP are included in the amount.

Tharrana — Hatris

Tharrana XVIII Roschirea XVII Tigubis Ø Hadia XV Themessata VIII Haste XX Magrus XX Amostas XXIII Batitas XII Alaina Ø Sirgora XII Zogorra X Vicat XII Innōminis Ø Innōminis Ø Ad Herculem XXII Hatris



The main problem of this last sections is the general layout of the route in relation to the *Euphrates* riverbed. Miller drew this line far away from the *Euphrates*, placing all the stations on a straight line and in a sparsely populated zone: in his opinion, this was perhaps a pre-Roman highway, on which there were water systems at equal distances (about 11.6 km)¹⁴⁰. While on the TP the entire course from *Tigubis* is clearly depicted between the bed of the *Euphrates* and beds branching off the main bed: perhaps, the islands of the *Euphrates* were alluded to in that way.

At the same time, *Hatris*, which is definitely identified with the present-day city of *Al-Hadr*, is not on an island at all, although it is depicted surrounded by the waters of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. But one should remember the unique style of presentation of rivers in TP, when different parts of the same line depicting a river correspond to different real rivers, which may or may not be connected. In this case, *Hatris* is probably depicted not on the island. the *Tigris* is depicted on the right, the *Euphrates* on the left, and probably *Tharthar* (35°31'55"N 42°48'12"E) from above. Perhaps *Ad Herculem* is not depicted on the island either, while already *Vicat* seems to be on the *island*: at least no other explanation is found. Isidore of Charax clearly connects some of the stations on his route with islands, but in the case of TP it is not obvious, and it is more likely that the depiction on the islands is a convention, which was simply meant to emphasize that they are located close enough to the river. Besides, maybe they don't depict the islands, but the canals leaving the river. In that case, the stations can be located far from the actual bed.

¹⁴⁰ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 777.

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Tharrana

The location of *Tharrana* is very important, as it is the first major station depicted near the *Euphrates* bed (marked with a lodge icon). And really, where can it be? Perhaps, the most likely version remains that this route, depicted parallel to the *Euphrates*, really passed along the banks of the *Euphrates*, or not far from it: the parallelism of the lines of that route and the *Euphrates* River is extremely sharp, and the reorganization of the previous routes has repeatedly provided evidence that, despite many deviations, the location in TP is an important orientation.

Since we assume that *Tharrana* was a large settlement, perhaps it is still large. And the nearest largest settlement is the city of *Ar Raqqah* on the left bank of the *Euphrates*. And the phonetic similarity of *Tharrana* - *Ar Raqqah* pair is also noticeable.

The name *Tharrana* is interesting. As reported by Strabo, the Armenian king Tigran "...founded a city not far from Iberia, between this place and Zeugma on the *Euphrates*, and named it *Tigranakert*"¹⁴¹. The cities built by King Tigran in *Northern Mesopotamia* were already mentioned above, about which the sources provide very vague information. It can be assumed that this is another one of them, built in the *Euphrates* region (or, more precisely, probably rebuilt). The name *Tharrana* can convey the first part of the name *Tigranakert* in the form of *Tirana(kert)*: as we know, Khorenatsi reported the *Tiran* version of the king's name.

Themessata

In this difficult-to-reconstructed section, it makes sense to break the sequence of stations, addressing the most crucial ones from the point of view of reconstruction. Then it will be easier to locate the intermediate ones as well. *Themessata* is one of the few stations that can be phonetically identified with some certainty. And again, the guide of Isidore of Charax contributes to this. We have already seen in the previous point that *Tharrana* can be identified with *Nicephorium*. And here it is noticeable that the distances of Isidore's stations to the sanctuary of Artemis (*Βηρονάν, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν*) are extremely close to the distances of TP's stations to *Themessata*: the differences are within the accuracy of the measurement units.

This suggests that perhaps we are dealing with different names of the same settlements. The difference itself is natural: between Isidore's writing and the latest editions of TP, there is probably a time gap of about 5 centuries. However, at least some traces should have been preserved. And it seems that *Themessata* is at least one such trace, the beginning of which *themes-* represents the ending of the name Artemis, -

¹⁴¹ ...πόλιν ἔκτισε πλησίον τῆς Ἰθηρίας μεταξύ ταύτης τε καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην Ζεύγματος, ἣν ὠνόμασε Τιγρανόκερτα (Γεωγραφικά, XI, 14, 15).

temis. In other words, it can be assumed that the settlement was originally called **Artemissata*¹⁴².

Stations of Isidor of Charax	Isidor's schoeni	Equivalent mile	TP mile	TP stations
Νικηφόριον (<i>Ar Raqqah</i>)				Tharrana
Γαλάβαθα	4	16		
Χουμβανή	1	4	18	Roschirea
Θιλλάδα Μιρράδα	4	16	17	Tigubis
Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν				
Ἄλλαν	4	16	16	Hadia
Βηονάν, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν	4	16	15	Themessata

In addition to the coincidence of distances (let's not forget that the location of *Tharrana* was also based on certain assumptions), the location is aided by Isidore's indication that the *sanctuary of Artemis* was near the *Semiramis Canal*. On the other hand, the problem is complicated by the indefinity of Isidore's writing, which is expressed in the table. After the *Thillada Mirrhada*, he first tells about the *sanctuary of Artemis* and its surroundings, without mentioning its distance from the previous one. Then he goes to the village of *Allan* (*κωμόπολις*) and notes the distance to that settlement (4 schoeni), and then reports that beyond it is *Βηονάν*, the *sanctuary of Artemis*, and here he already states the distance (also 4 schoeni). This oddity, as well as the fact that the sum of the distances listed by Isidore does not agree with his own reported length of the Mesopotamian section of the *Parthian Road* (171 schoeni), Müller tried to solve by removing the second phrase referring to the *sanctuary of Artemis* (associated with *Βηονάν*), and the mention of the sanctuary after the first turn, he writes its distance, considering it to be 7 schoeni¹⁴³. This table shows the sequence of the original, which is why the boxes in front of the name of the *sanctuary of Artemis* in the first line of reference in the given table have been left empty.

Isidore's original first mentions the *sanctuary of Artemis*, and while describing its surroundings mentions the aqueduct of Semiramis near it. There is a canal named Semiramis to this day in the part of the *Euphrates* where the direction of the river changes to the south and it passes through a small gorge for several kilometers. Here, about 58 miles (92 km) down the Euphrates from *Ar Raqqah* is the famous *Zalabiyah Fort*, the construction of which is attributed to Queen Zenobia of *Palmyra*. It seems that

¹⁴² Let's note that this is the third case after (*Ar*)*Menia* Maior and (*Ar*)*Minnocerta*, when the initial *Ar*- is missing in TP, and if in the first case it could be explained by damage to the scroll, and in the second case it can be assumed to be a coincidence, then after this third case, another explanation is needed. Maybe this is the result of the manifestation of some phonological law.

¹⁴³ Schoff W. H., *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax; An Account of the Overland Trade Route Between the Levant and India in the First Century B.C.*, 1914, p. 27.

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it could be a suitable place for a station. However, in that case, *Themessata* remains too far north, and the next stations do not appear at the distances defined by TP.

And if we are guided not by the first mentioned part, but by the second and the distances corresponding to it (from *Ar Raqqah* to *Βηονάν*, *Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν* 17 schoeni or about 68 miles, or 109 km), then the following stations appear in the required places, while *Artemis* deviates from the position that seems so probable. However, since almost the same distance of 66 miles is also required according to the TP data, it seems logical to follow to the distances and not connect the location of *Themessata* with the *Zalabiyah* fortress. In that case, it will be located on the site of the current *Al Kasrah* settlement.

This confusion regarding the *sanctuary of Artemis* can be explained in various ways. For example, Isidore first mentioned the villages belonging to the *sanctuary of Artemis*, the one built by King Darius and *Ἄλλαν*, and then only the sanctuary itself, *Βηονάν*, for which he already mentioned the distance. Or that there were two sanctuaries associated with the name of *Artemis*, but the main one was the second one, for which only he found it necessary to mention the distance and which was also mentioned in TP in the form of *Themessata*. Or, finally, that there is a clerical error, and it was unnecessary to mention the *sanctuary of Artemis* for the first time. In any case, the identification of the two place names is consistent.

However, after *Themessata*, the routes of Isidore and TP and their stations no longer coincide, because the first passes through *Dura-Europos*, i.e. the right bank of the *Euphrates* (probably crossing the other bank from the *Nabagath* station near the mouth of the *Khabur*), and the second — on the left, because then it should turn to the north, *Hatris*.

Roschirea

This station was located 29 km from *Tharrana*, where the present-day *Al Karamah* settlement is located, to which *Φαμσεν-ἄθ-Τυεῶ* corresponds on the Soviet map. At RA is *Vesceria*, it makes us believe that there was a variant in the Greek script with an initial *B*, and as a result, the first letter was mistakenly perceived as *R*. Perhaps it is related to lat. with the word *vescor*, *vescere* "to eat, enjoy, partake of a feast". It is noteworthy that the name *Al Karamah* is probably related to the Arabic word (كرم) *karm* "wine, vineyard" (Sem: *k-r-m*). The name of the neighboring settlement, *Hamrat* (Sem: *ch-m-r*) also means "wine, yeast". It is difficult to say whether this is a coincidence or not, but the common edges of the meanings of historical and current place names are obvious.

Tigubis

This should be located about 27 km from the previous one. The settlement of *Dakur* is marked there on the Soviet map. Phonetic identification is perhaps difficult to record, but the path connecting *Fons Scabore* must have passed through this station. And it is

really visible on Google Earth images. Today it is not marked as an important road, but it exists.

Hadia

This station was supposed to be located about 25 km from the previous one. That place appears in the *Euphrates* gorge; therefore, it should be located a little before it, in the settlement of *Джазурет-эш-Шаму* (*Jazirat ash Shiti*) on the Soviet map. And the next station is *Themessata* already considered.

Haste

And this one follow *Themessata*, being 8 miles (13 km) away from it. On the Soviet map, the insignificant settlement of *Хаваедж-Дияб* (*Hawayij Diyab*) is marked at approximately that point.

Magrus

Marked 20 miles (32 km) from the previous one. There is a small settlement of *Mazloum*, whose name bears some resemblance to *Magrus*. This toponym could be the result of a reinterpretation of a native name which means of "oppressed". The Latin-speaking compilers of the map may have understood it in sense of Lat. *magirus* "cook" or *magis* "great" (also confusing *l* with *r*), given in form of one of the Latin indirect cases ending in -um, and decided turning it into a Nominative case.

Amostas

Marked 20 miles (32 km) from the previous one. At that distance there is an insignificant settlement *Шхиль* (*Ch'hail*). But a little further, in the territory of the small settlement of *Al Tayyana* today, an ancient site can be seen that could correspond to this station. However, the distance deviates almost by half. It is possible to find a more suitable point, in which the deviations of the distances would be minimal, but both the coincidence with a suitable ancient site and the location of the next stations with sufficient accuracy and the acceptable deviation of the reconstructed length of the entire route force us to reconcile with such a large deviation at this point.

Batitas

This station is marked another 24 miles (38 km) down the *Euphrates*. According to the distance, it is located: the hill *Tall Jubb al Bahrah* (on the Soviet map: *Телль-Джуб*), which is probably an archaeological site.

Alaina

This station is marked 12 miles (19 km) from the previous one. And at approximately 21 km, the *Bir-el-Alluni* well is marked on the Soviet map. the similarity of the name is obvious and *Alaina* can be identified with this. At the same time, it should be noted that this station is no longer located in the abundantly irrigated part of the *Euphrates* valley, while on the TP it is also depicted in the branches or canals of the *Euphrates*. This can

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mean either a map error or a change of ancient terrain. The second seems more probable. First of all, because we have already made sure many times that the topographic features of the map are quite accurate, and also, because this well is located near drying beds and salt marshes, and it is not excluded that they were irrigated areas in ancient times.

And the northern path coming out of this station connects with *Lacus Beberaci* already considered above.

Sirgora and Zogorra

The distance of *Sirgora* from the previous station is not indicated. Meanwhile, the distance between these two is 12 miles (19 km). It should also be noted that some researchers consider these two stations to be the "mirror" of *Singara* and *Zaguræ* stations. Of course, the similarity of the names is there, and repeating them as a pair seems implausible in general. Fortunately, such a case has already been considered above, the example of the two *Nisibis* and their neighboring *Thamaudi/Chanmaudi* stations being different settlements. In this case too, as we will see, these are different stations. And really, how could the stations of the routes that are so far away coincide? It would be equivalent to the complete practical unfitness of the TP.



In this case, at a distance of 50 km from *Бир-эль-Аллуну* (*Bir-el-Alluni*), the *Сакара* (*Sakara*) spring is indicated on the Soviet map, the name of which is so similar to *Zogorra* that nothing prevents it from being identified with it. However, locating *Sirgora* is not so easy. As it was mentioned, there should be 19 km between them, but there is no settlement or at least no spring at that distance to the west of *Saqqara*. It's just a desert. Perhaps the solution to the problem lies in the similarity of the names *Sirgora* and *Zogorra* and the resulting confusion, and perhaps *Sakara* does not correspond to *Zogorra*, but to *Sirgora*, while *Zogorra* may correspond to another one 37 km away. — *Капапа* (*Karara*) well, although the required distance is only 19 km. Of course, this is almost a double deviation, but, on the other hand, the deviation can be a consequence of measurement inaccuracy, which should be considered natural for these desert roads. Let's also note that *Zogorra* is also depicted between the branches of the *Euphrates*, but unlike the previous one, in this case it seems less likely that this area was ever abundantly irrigated: more likely, a map error.

And maybe the corresponding spring or well is simply not marked on the map: hardly all are mentioned. And from the nomenclature point of view, these are common and can easily be confused. In particular, there may be deviations due to their presentation in Latin and Russian letters or due to dialectal differences, when it is often difficult to guess what local words they correspond to. For example, *Zaguræ*, considered above, perhaps, as already said above, corresponds to the Arabic "small" toponym, and toponyms with that component occur at every turn. However, *Zogorra*, being so similar to the previous one, may have a completely different origin. The point

is that there is an Arab. صَفْعَة [ṣaq'a] "cold" (Sem. ṣ-q-' "white"), and it is natural that this name also frequently occurs in the use of springs or wells; this is, in fact, the Arabic version of *Mayyā Qarīrē* "Cold water", the Assyrian place name considered above in connection with the *Aque frigide* station. And although in Latin presentation they are similar, but when it comes to a spring or a well, it is more likely that the meaning of "cold" is at the base, not "small". Thus, we have: *Bir-Sakri* (36°34'07"N 39°12'29"E), *Bir-es-Sakar* (35°53'13"N 39°22'43"E), *Bir-Abu-Sakar* (35° 58'01"N 39°47'55"E) and others.

Vicat

This should be searched 10 miles (16 km) from the previous one. Miller reads *Dicat*, identifies it with Pliny's *Digba* and Ptolemy's *Didugna* or *Digna* (the first is written *Didugua* in Ptolemy, and the second is not clear). Does not offer location.

In general, there are not many place names starting with D in TP. And the first letter of this one is quite well read as V: . Here, the two branches of the first letter do not touch each other in the upper part. For comparison, *Dolica* station: . As we can see, the right branch of *D* has some inclination towards the left branch and touches it.

There is no settlement with such a name at the indicated distance, but at about 54 km we see the settlement of *Nuvikit*, the second part of the name of which is obviously similar to Vicat. The difference in the beginning, of course, needs an explanation. For example, it can be assumed that the first part of the place name that has reached us represents *lat*. The word *novē* "new", that is, it can be restored **Nove Vicat*, meaning "New Village". In other words, the settlement indicated on the Soviet map was built after the *Vicat* of TP: the old one (which may have been a bit far away) was destroyed or abandoned.

However, regardless of the authenticity of that assumption, the coincidence of three of the four consonants of the name is a serious basis for accepting the identification. If this is true, then to explain the incorrect distance number, we must either assume a bug (for example, the omission of an *L* after *X*), or that this measure is given by a parasang. However, it is possible to assume a parasang only for this one location, because the next ones do not allow for such an assumption.

The point is that after *Vicat*, the red line of the route has two more steps without station names. That these did exist, but were omitted, is confirmed by the distances; it is 12 miles (19 km) from *Vicat* to the first of these unnamed stations, and another 22 miles (35 km) from the next named station, *Ad Herculem*, while *Hatris*. However, the actual distance from *Hybukum* to *Al Hadhr* is more than 100 km (as the crow flies). In fact, there are about 45 km remaining for those two unmarked stations, which is quite possible if we compare with the adjacent inter-station distances.

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Innōminis

Marked 12 miles (19 km) from the previous one. Perhaps it was in the vicinity of the *Дувайсан* well on the Soviet map.

Innōminis

Perhaps it was in the vicinity of the *Tarafavi* well on the Soviet map.

Ad Herculem

As stated in the previous point, this is marked from *Vicat* before reaching *Hatris* 22 miles. The Altar of Hercules is also mentioned by Ptolemy, for whom it is an important starting point for the lines dividing the territories. However, Ptolemy mentions it on the *Tigris* (according to the maps, it roughly corresponds to the *Artemita—Peloriarca* region of TP. That's how they were depicted on medieval maps based on his data: east of the *Tigris*. Maybe this is another place dedicated to Hercules. In any case, TP's Ad Herculem cannot be on the *Tigris* in any way, because already *Hatris* (now *Al Hadhr*) falls far enough west of the *Tigris*. According to the distance, it is located near the *Дияб* well on the Soviet map.

Tharrana — Hatris (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Tharrana	Ar Raqqa				
<u>Roschirea</u>	Al <u>Karamah</u>	18	29	28	-3.45
Tigubis	Дакур	17	27	27	0.00
Hadia	Джазирет-эш-Шати	16	26	22	-15.38
Themessata	Al Kasrah, Artemis	15	24	25	4.17
Haste	Хаваедж-Дияб	8	13	13	0.00
Magrus	Mazloum	20	32	33	3.13
Amostas	Al Таууана	20	32	47	46.88
Batitas	Tall Jubba al Bahrah	24	38	37	-2.63
Alaina	Бир-эль-Аллини	12	19	23	21.05
Sirgora	Сакара	∅	—	50	—
Zogorra	Карара	12	19	37	94.74
Vicat	НувикиТ	10	16	19	18.75
Innōminis	Дувайсан	12	19	22	15.79
Innōminis	Тарафави	∅	—	26	—
Ad Herculem	Дияб	∅	—	17	—
Hatris	Al Hadhr	22	35	35	0.00
		206	329	368	*Average: 11.85

* Only the sites whose length is indicated in the TP are included in the amount.

Tharrana — Edessa, Tigubis — Fons Scabore***Tharrana XVIII Hostra XII Edessa******Tigubis Ø A Tigubbi Ad Fontē Scoborem XVI Fons Scabore***

Thus, only the intermediate stations of these two connecting *Tharrana — Edessa* and *Tigubis — Fons Scabore* bridge-routes remain unlocalized.

There is a serious problem with their length. The first of the bridges has a specified length of 30 miles (48 km). The total length of the second is uncertain; only one of at least two distances is marked on it, and based on the unmarked distances of the other (or others), this path can be reconstructed to any length. But the former presents a serious difficulty, because, as we have seen, *Tharrana* was on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and regardless of which of the two displaced stations, *Edessa* or *Ressaina*, the route was attached to, the distance to the *Euphrates* is much larger than 48 km. And even if one disagrees with the location of *Tharrana* and the other stations of that route on the bank of the *Euphrates*, the reliable identification of *Lacus Beberaci* with *Lake Bevara* (instead of *Khatuniyah*) takes the routes significantly south. Perhaps, just by following that 48 km, Miller drawn the *Tharrana—Hatrīs* route through sparsely populated areas, which would hardly be of interest to travelers, whether they were traders or soldiers.

It remains to assume either a bug or that other measurement units are used in this section. However, it is not clear what the bug might be related to: the numbers are written completely cleanly and there is no possibility of variants. As for other units of measurement, they cannot be ordinary four-mile parasangs, which are used in some areas of the TP. However, there may be three-mile parasangs. Both options are not satisfactory, although the last one is somewhat more acceptable.

Hostra

However, first it is necessary to finally find out whether the road from *Tharrana* actually led to *Edessa* or to *Ressaina*. The decision must be made in favor of *Ressaina*, because, as said, otherwise that line would have to cross the *Zeugma — Ressaina* route. And in that case, they should have a common station. Meanwhile, the only intermediate station on this route is this *Hostra*, which does not have any phonetic similarity with the stations on the mentioned route.

The total length of this short route, with only two stations, is 30 units, marked with Roman numerals. If those units are the three-mile parasangs, i.e. 4,794 m, then the distance would be 144 km, which is roughly the actual distance from *Ar Raqqah* to *Ressaina* (roughly, as the exact route has not yet been found).

Now let's try to locate *Hostra*. It should be located 86 km from *Ar Raqqah* and 58 km from *Ressaina*. It is noteworthy that this point is located at the intersection of the current roads. Today it is a small settlement near *Телль-Зейда (Tell-Zeyda)* hill. And

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perhaps in those centuries it also was not a particularly important settlement: the main road passed through the *Belich* river valley.

A Tigubbi Ad Fontē Scoborem

Probably, the route passing through this station was also of secondary importance, because based on the location of *Tigubis*, it also passed through semi-desert and sparsely populated areas. It is also not clear how many intermediate stations there were on this track: is this the name of one station or two different ones: *A Tigubbi* and *Ad Fontē Scoborem*? The point is that there is a dot between them, and for a single name this seems too big an expression. Although at the same time, there are many examples in the TP when a period was placed between the components of a unified name. At least we know the distance from *Fons Scabore*, 16 units, which are probably also given here by a three-mile parasangs, that is, about 77 km. In fact, at a distance of 81 km from *Fons Scabore* (that is, *Телль-Абу-Хфур*), there is a small settlement of *Барака*, on the site of which *A Tigubbi Ad Fontē Scoborem* station could have been.

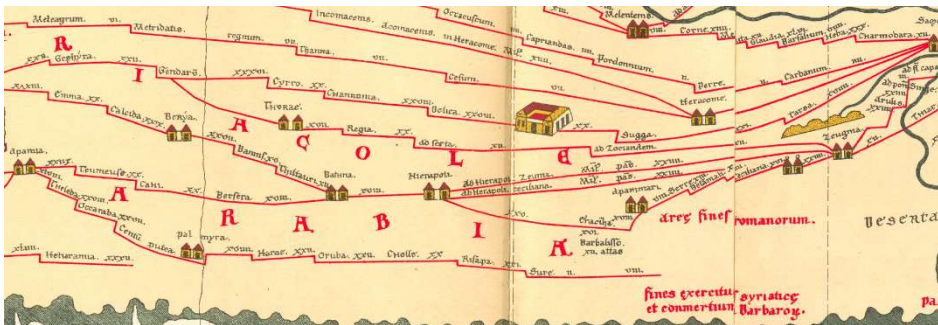
With the location of this station, the reorganization of the *Northern Mesopotamia* routes mentioned in the TP is completed.

SYRIA

Zeugma — Hierapoli, Eraciza — Attas

Zeugma XXIII Innōminis XVI Ceciliana XIII Betāmali XIII Serre VIII Apammari XVIII Eracīza XXV Hierapoli

Eraciza XVI Barbalissa XII Attas



This section consists of three routes from Zeugma to Hierapoli, and also a small branch from Eraciza to Attas, which is not equipped with red lines. The routes are depicted as going perpendicularly westward from the Euphrates, while the same line of stations in Ptolemy's list suggests that the direction must have been north-south and parallel to the river. And, perhaps, this is one of those cases where the topographical feature of TP should be ignored.

Miller already takes the route parallel to the river, and it is quite convincing. Meanwhile, some other reconstructions should be considered unacceptable. For example, when a number of stations, such as Apammari, are located even on the left bank of the Euphrates, in the present-day Abu-Daam (Abu Daghmah, Abu Du'an) settlement¹⁴⁴. Or, the name Serre is too similar to the place name Sarrin on the right bank, and some researchers could not resist the temptation¹⁴⁵. However, according to

¹⁴⁴ OmnesViae: Roman Routeplanner

¹⁴⁵ Matilla Séiquer, Gonzalo, González Blanco, Antonino, Romanización y Cristianismo ea la Siria Mesopotámica, Antig. crist. (Murcia) XV, 1998, págs. 183-212, Vías romanas.

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accepted principles, if it is still possible to imagine an incorrectly indicated distance from the river, it is almost impossible to show the wrong bank.

There are two routes from *Zeugma* to *Hierapoli*: direct, 24 miles, and the other, with a series of stations, the length of which is 118 miles. Therefore, the second road took a complicated detour route. And, perhaps, TP refers to the approximate place of the break of the route, near *Eraciza*. In other words, until that station, the route can be more or less rectilinear, and then it has to change direction abruptly.

Innōminis

The station marked 24 miles after *Zeugma* is unnamed. It is marked by houses; the tops of whose roofs are crowned with roundels of unknown meaning. Miller identifies it with *Europus*, which was located between present-day *Karkamiş* and *Jarabulus*. The short distance between *Zeugma* and *Europus* is about 31 km, although it was expected to be 36 km, but it is possible that in ancient times they preferred to move along the road near the *Euphrates* River: in that case, we will have exactly that 36 km. At the same time, the road is depicted moving away from the river, that is why the average value is indicated in the table below: 34 km.

Ceciliana

Marked 16 miles (24 km) from the previous one. It is usually localized in *Tell Aushariye* (*Авшария*)¹⁴⁶. Perhaps identical with Ptolemy's *Caecilia* (71⁵⁵, 36⁴⁰). Latitude matches precisely to the minute. The distance also matches. However, it seems that this toponym has left its mark in the name of the neighboring place *Khuajet-Kalkali*. The name probably originates from Sem. *k-l-y* "guard" as "guard post, fortress", which the Romans assimilated to Lat. to personal names derived from the word *caecus* "blind": Caecilius, Caecilīānus. This is confirmed by the existence of a number of related toponyms.

The distance to Hierapoli, which is identified with the city of *Manbij* (see below), is unsuccessful. According to TP, that distance was 24 miles. However, with this location, 17 km is obtained, instead of the necessary 40. In addition, the length of the road from *Hierapoli* to *Zeugma* is also given as 24 miles. And this is the result of an obvious error, because the locations of both stations do not raise doubts, and the real distance between them is about 60 km. Perhaps the reason could be confusion. It was mentioned that there are many consistent place names in the region, and it is not excluded that in the source of the map that has reached us, there could be two different *Ceciliana*, which were combined into one. Indeed, about the middle of the road to *Zeugma*, right near *Karkamiş*, we see the villages of *Upper* and *Lower Silsile* (36°50'07"N 37°54'46"E), whose name is quite similar to *Ceciliana*. And here, from *Manbij* to *Silsile* is exactly 24 miles or 36 km. If the assumption is correct, then the author of the TP could attribute the distance from *Hierapoli* to this settlement to *Ceciliana*.

¹⁴⁶ <http://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/places/21824.html>

Betāmali

14 miles (21 km) from the previous one. Perhaps identical to Ptolemy's *Bethammaria* (71⁵⁰, 36³⁰). BATlas does not include *Betāmali* and leaves *Bethammaria* unlocated¹⁴⁷. Miller identifies with the medieval fortress *Kalaat-en-Nedschm* (Калят-Ниджм, *Qal'at Najm*, 36°33'13"N 38°15'37"E), whose latitude differs by only 3' from that reported by Ptolemy and corresponds also by the distance. The name is probably composed of toponym-forming Sem. *Bet-* "house". There are many similar-sounding place names in the region, which can be imagined transformed into such a Latin form, for example, *Amarna*: there are several toponyms corresponding to this name. However, they are not convenient from the point of view of distance.

Serre

13 miles (19 km) from the previous one. It is probably identical to Ptolemy's *Gerrhe* (71⁵⁰, 36⁰⁵), whose maps, however, are completely unacceptable, since the deviation from the previous one is equal to about 46 km: there could not be such a difference. BATlas leaves unlocated¹⁴⁸. The name probably means "dwelling, dwelling place". cf. Amh. *qerre*¹⁴⁹, but it is also possible to link PIE. **wer-* "to cover" with the root from which we have, for example, garrison. On the Soviet map, place names reminiscent of the Ptolemaic form of the name are indicated in the region: *Big and Little Gappa* (*Garrah*) settlements and *Твихинет-Гурра* mountain (36°20'54"N 38°01'08"E). Unfortunately, the distances cannot be reconciled. Miller locates at *Kara Bambödsch* (*Bumbudj*) in a *Roman ruin*, which is quite acceptable.

Apammari

It is marked 8 miles (12 km) from the previous station. Perhaps it is identical to *Arimara* of Ptolemy (70¹⁰, 36⁰⁰) and *Pamanari* of RA. Ptolemy's maps are again unacceptable, although the relative 5' deviation between this and Serre is already plausible. BATlas does not include this place name, and the trismegistos.org database identifies BATlas-mentioned places as *Amphipolis*, *Tourmeda*, *Nikatoris*¹⁵⁰. However, these hypothetical identifications do not give anything, and it is necessary to be guided exclusively by the data of TP. The name seems to have been formed by the formula of *Betāmali* (which, as has been said, in Ptolemy received the form *Bethammaria*, which is too similar to this place-name), but perhaps, for example, with the place-name *Abu-* "father" of *Bet-* instead.

According to the distance, it is located in the settlement of *Khirbat az Zammalah* (Хирбет-Змала).

¹⁴⁷ BATlas, 2000, p. 1037 (pl. 67 unlocated), уџу, Trismegistos, <https://goo.su/mXhrHA>

¹⁴⁸ BATlas, 2000, p. 1037 (pl. 67 unlocated), уџу, Trismegistos, <https://goo.su/LA2N>

¹⁴⁹ Rajki András, Arabic Dictionary [with etymologies]

¹⁵⁰ BATlas, 2000, pl. 67 G4, Trismegistos, <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/42033>

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Eracîza

Corresponds to *Eraiza* of RA¹⁵¹. The composition of the name seems to represent a common Semitic toponym with the article **Er-Raciza*. In that case, the root may be Arabic *rakaza* "to fasten" (Sem. *r-k-z*), which can be cf. Akkad. *rakāsu* "to connect" and etymologically as "junction" (of roads). This is quite convenient for this station, which is approached by three tracks. It is identified with Ptolemy's *Eragiza* and cuneiform *Araziqi* (also *Arazik*)¹⁵². Although, Wolfgang Rollig, analyzing the inscriptions of Tiglathpilesar I and Ashur Bel Kala, expressed his opposition to this location of *Araziqi*¹⁵³, considering that it should be searched east of the *Euphrates*. Miller localized it at the *Abu Hanaja* ruin 8 km from the lower *Euphrates*.

Currently, it is customary to locate *Tell el Hajj* (*Tall al-Ḥaġġ*) in *Apyða*, *Aruda*, which is acceptable from the point of view of distances.

Hierapoli

25 miles (37 km) from the previous one. The location of this station does not raise questions, as the identity of this station and the city of *Manbij/Mabog* is known¹⁵⁴.

Barbalissa

Marked 16 miles (24 km) from *Eracîza*. By Ptolemy, *Barbarissus*. It is identified with the village of *Balis*¹⁵⁵, which is marked on various maps, for example Stielers¹⁵⁶, Brokgauz—Efron, etc.

Attas

It is marked at 12 miles (18 km) from the previous one. In Ptolemy's, *Athis*. A town with this name is marked on the bank of the *Euphrates* (remains at the bottom of the reservoir): *At Ta's*, *Ett Taass* (*Ἐτ-Ταφς*, 36°13'00"N 38°06'00"E). However, that settlement is located to the north of the previous one, while according to TP it should have been downstream of the *Euphrates*. This is also confirmed by the latitude reported by Ptolemy. marked 15' to the south of the preceding. It turns out that this is a different settlement, which is unexpected, because it has a unique shape.

It is customary to locate it at the site of *Dibsi Faraj* settlement (now it is also at the bottom of the reservoir), which corresponds to the data of TP.

¹⁵¹ Wilkinson Tony J., On the Margin of The Euphrates, Excavations at Tell es-Sweyhat, p. 9.

¹⁵² Kraeling Emil G. H., Aram and Israel, or The Aramaeans in Syria and Mesopotamia, p. 24

¹⁵³ Rollig Wolfgang, Aspects of the Historical Geography of Northeastern Syria ..., p. 281.

¹⁵⁴ Pliny, The Natural History, V, 19, 81.

¹⁵⁵ d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques, vol. VI, 1932, col. 575-576.

¹⁵⁶ Stieler, Adolf, Stieler's Hand-Atlas, 1875. №14.

Zeugma — Hierapoli (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Zeugma	Belkis				
Innōminis	<u>Jarabulus (Europus)</u>	24	36	34	-5.56
Ceciliana	Хуайджет-Калкали	16	24	24	0.00
Betāmali	Qal'at Najm	14	21	22	4.76
Serre	Kara Bumbudj	13	19	18	-5.26
Apammari	Khirbat az Zammalah	8	12	12	0.00
Eracīza	Tell el Hajj, Аруда	18	27	25	-7.41
<u>Hierapoli</u>	<u>Manbij</u>	25	37	40	8.11
		<i>118</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>175</i>	<i>Average: -0.57</i>
Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Eracīza	Tell el Hajj, Аруда				
Barbalissa	Maskanah, Balis	16	24	25	-5.56
Attas	Dibsi Faraj	12	18	17	4.17
		<i>28</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>Average: 0.00</i>

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Hierapoli — Antiochia

Hierapoli XVIII Bathna XII Thiltauri XV Bannis XXVII Berýa XXX Calcida XX Emma XXXIII Antiochia

The stations of this route seem to be arranged very close, and some of them are considered by different researchers to coincide with other stations. However, if we divide its approximate length, 180 km, by the total length of the TP, 155 miles, we will get a mile of 1.16 kilometers, which is close to the "Talmudic" mile that we see many times in the area of Armenia Major. However, not a kilometer, but a larger one — 1170 m. In other words, theoretically this is a possible number. Although it can be seen from the analysis that only some sections were measured using this unit. Meanwhile, if we consider this or that station to be a double of another, a "mirror", as a rule, we lose the opportunity to have clear distances between the rest and the judgments are detached from the factual material. However, the reconstructions given below prove that it is possible to make identifications of almost all stations within the framework of TP data.

Bathna

This station is easily identified with the *Tell Batnan* settlement. Probably near the present *Tell-Botnan* hill, about 2 km northeast of *Al Bab*. The only problem is the distance discrepancy. 18 miles compared to the actual over 40 km. Miller suggests that a station has been missed. But other sources also do not mention a city there. This kind of deviation in the distance between two large and lowland cities can be explained either by a bug or by the use of a different unit of measurement. A different unit of measurement is unlikely to be used: such a unit, 2.2 km, is not known. But what unit of measurement could be used here? If a "Talmudic" mile (perhaps a large one, if the unit of measure to be restored is closer to that size), then perhaps two decimal places XX have been forgotten. If by the Roman mile, with which the previous routes were measured, then one X. Perhaps, the second option is more likely: it is hard to omit two characters, and not notice that. In addition, in the case of a "Talmudic" mile, the distance would be about 44 km. that is, about 4 km more than reality. And in the second case, we would have a more correct size.

Thiltauri

Marked at 12 miles from the previous one. Dussault considers that this station and the next, Bannis, are mistakenly annexed here from the *Zeugma — Edessa* route, and represent the stations of *Batnis* and *Thiar*, respectively¹⁵⁷. It is known that there are indeed repetitions in TP, but such claims require more weighty arguments than simple phonetic similarity.

In this case, the copying of stations between such distant parts is highly improbable. But it must be observed that the distance from *Bathna* to *Berýa*, which is

¹⁵⁷ Dussaud René, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927, p. 451.

reliably identified with *Aleppo*, is about 37 km in a straight line, while the distance with intermediate stations must have been 54 miles, or (even in Talmudic miles) at least as many kilometers. It could mean that the route has deviated significantly from a straight line or that we are really dealing with a bug. However, the stations may be correct and the indicated distances may be incorrect. For example, in the previous site it turned out that we are probably dealing with a bug when one or two tens signs were missed. In this case, we have two stations with a cabin icon, the names of which are written quite similar to *Berýa* and *Bathna*. maybe the cartographer carelessly confused them and wrote the distance on the right side with the opposite affiliation? In other words, the distances *Bathna* — *Thiltauri* and *Bannis* — *Berýa* are transposed. Thus, about 19 km from Bathna, today we see the settlement of *Thalthanah*. If this is not a coincidence, there may have been *n/r* confusion in the original. And the deviation of the path from the short path can be explained both by commercial factors and, for example, by the features of the terrain.

Bannis

Located 15 miles from the previous one, and 18 km from *Teltana* the village of *Babennes* (*Babennes*, *Babinnis*) situated.

Berýa

This station should have been 27 miles from the previous one, but in fact it is only 14 km. But, as we have seen, this distance can be wrongly indicated. At least this station is identified with *Aleppo*.

In this case Miller considers this and the next stations to be a repetition¹⁵⁸: in his opinion, they are *Bersera* and *Cahi* stations, respectively.

Calcida

It is also written *Chacida* (RA). It is generally believed that this is the city of *Chalcis* on *Belus* mentioned by Pliny¹⁵⁹, although its location is not known. According to Pliny, it gave its name to the region, *Chalcidene*, which is the most fertile part of *Syria*. According to one opinion, it is the Arabic *Qinnasrin*, which is located in the present-day village of *Al-Hadher*, southwest of *Aleppo*. According to Pliny, it gave its name to the region, *Chalcidene*, which is the most fertile part of *Syria*. Although this is not a universal opinion¹⁶⁰, and some separate *Chalcis* from *Qinnasrin* and locate it in the neighboring village, *Al-Eis*¹⁶¹. In the OmnesViae database localized in the area of *Aleppo* (perhaps

¹⁵⁸ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 775.

¹⁵⁹ Pliny, *The Natural History*, V, 19, 81.

¹⁶⁰ Whitcomb Donald, *Hadir Qinnasrin*, p. 78.

¹⁶¹ Rousset Marie-Odile, *Chalcis/Qinnasrin: From Hellenistic City...* p. 551.

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confusingly), on the site of *Bab Qinnasrin* (*Kinnasrin Gate*). The location of *Qinnasrin* is beyond doubt and corresponds to historical descriptions¹⁶².

It should be noted that *Calcida* was probably identified with present-day *Al-Eis* in IA. Thus, there is no station named *Cahi* in IA. *Callicome* is included instead, which is supposed to be the present-day village of *Killi* (*Κελλυ*) (Miller believes that the *Callicome* name represents *Aleppo* again!). The name *Callicome* is perhaps a compound of unknown meaning *Calli* (perhaps Greek: *κάλιά* "hut") and Greek: *κώμη* "village" from the components. And the map from *Callicome* to *Calcida* gives 18 miles. And almost that many Roman miles is the distance from *Killi*, *Al-Eis*, which is considered to be the location of *Chalcis*. In fact, it may mean that *Calcida* is identified with *Chalcis* in IA.

However, TP's location of *Calcida* in that area contradicts the stated 20-mile distance to *Emma*, which has a fairly convincing location (see below). Otherwise, it would be about 40 miles in Roman miles. This makes it possible to locate *Calcida* in the aforementioned village of *Killi*, which it also resembles in name.

Indeed, if the entire area was called *Chalcidene*, why couldn't there be several settlements in that area with similar names? There was an opinion that the name *Calcida* originates from Greek. *χαλκός* from the word "copper" and is related to copper mining, which is not confirmed¹⁶³, however, that word is more similar to Lat. *calcis* "lime": the first sound is [k], not [χ]. The limestone mountains rising from *Aleppo* to the west, at the foot of which *Calcida* was located, are often called such: *Limestone Massif* from Fr. *Le Massif Calcaire*. Therefore, *Chalcis* of Pliny's "most fertile" country may be the one that locates in *Al-Eis*, not *Calcida*; these are completely different settlements.

Let's note that often when talking about the stations of TP, the *Chalcis* form is used, and the *Calcida* form of TP is bypassed. Miller, as said, identifies with *Cahi*. At the same time, as mentioned on other occasions, the mere external similarity of place names can be deceptive. In this case, the logic of TP does not prevent those two ways to exist. See also *Cahi* below.

Emma

Empsa by RA, *Imma* by Ptolemy. Starting from Miller, it is located in the *Imm* ruin near the village of *Yenişehir*, which is quite convincing. It can also be added that the neighboring river is marked on the Soviet map as *Хамам*, perhaps, Sem. *hh-m-m* "to heat", from which the toponym could very well have come: cf. Akkd. *emmu* "warm".

Antiochia

This station is obviously identified with *Antakya*. The resulting distance is significantly deviated, but the identification is so reliable that it's not a problem, regardless of the reason. Be it due to measurement inaccuracy or a copyist error.

¹⁶² Ibn Khordadbehe, *Book of Roads and Kingdoms*.

¹⁶³ Cohen Getzel M., *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*, p. 145.

Hierapoli — Antiochia (Roman mile, big "Talmudic" mile, Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Earth, km	Google Dist. deviation, %
<u>Hierapoli</u>	<u>Manbij</u>				
Bathna	Tell Batnan 18	28	41	41	0.00
Thiltauri	Thalthanah	12	14	20	42.86
Bannis	Babinnis	15	18	19	5.56
<u>Berýa</u>	<u>Aleppo</u>	27	32	13	-59.38
Calcida	Killi	30	44	45	2.27
Emma	Imm, Хамам	20	30	29	-3.33
Antiochia	Antakya	33	49	41	-16.33
		165	228	208	Average: -8.77

Bathna — Apamia***Bathna XVIII Bersera XII Cahī XV Teumeuse XXVII Apamia***

This path, like the previous one, causes serious problems. In particular, it was proposed to "transfer" *Cahī* and *Bersera* stations from this track to the previous one. There are also problems with distances. *Bathna* to *Apamia* is about 160 km, and on the TP it is indicated as 86 miles. that is, the mile was about 1900 m and even more. This is an unusual number, but it definitely stems from the structure of the TP. Probably, the rare Arabic mile was used in this section.

Bersera

Some similarity of the name suggests that this is the current *Al-Safirah* (*Sfire*, *Сѳира*). It was noticed¹⁶⁴. As mentioned, Müller and Dussault proposed to consider this as identical with *Berýa*. *BAtlas* specifically emphasizes that it is not the current *Sfire*. However, Lipiński notes¹⁶⁵ that the *Bersera* place name is derived from the Aramaic **Bēr Šehr* "Well of the Moon God".

The analysis of distances does not help to solve the problem either. From *Bathna* to *Al-Safirah* is about 38 km, or about 25 miles instead of the stated 18; the difference is around 31%. It seems that this is very bad. But, if *Bersera* is the same *Berýa*, i.e. *Aleppo*, then we get a worse result, because *Tell Batnan* is even further from *Aleppo*, about 42 km. Being a separate settlement of *Bersera* is also confirmed by the location of the next *Cahī* station. Finally, only the external similarity of *Berýa/Bersera* (the initial of both, perhaps, Sem: *b-'r* "well" is a common toponym-forming element with which hundreds of toponyms begin) and geographical proximity are not enough for such a conclusion. As if, for example, the cities of *Portland* and *Portsmouth* in the state of *Oregon, USA*, are considered to be identical, although they are adjacent to each other, but they are completely different settlements. It is true that *Macharta* and *Minnocerta*, *Sathena* and *Batnis*, *Ad fl Tigrim* and *Ad fl Tigrem*, then *Thelbon* and *Banata* stations were identified above, but these identifications were made as a result of a systematic analysis of the routes, and/or in conditions of much more obvious identity of names.

Cahī

In *RA*, *Calhi*. Perhaps, this station corresponded to *Chalcis* mentioned by Plinius, and should be located in *Al-Eis*. But the distance is problematic. From the aforementioned *Al-Eis*, the current *Talmenes*, where the next *Teumeuse* station is located, is about 47 km away, while according to the TP this distance should be 20 miles. Even in the case of an Arabian mile, it will be barely 38 km and we will have a deviation of about 32%, and we still have to assume the presence of a bug.

¹⁶⁴ Rubin Berthold, *Das Zeitalter Iustinians*, Volume 1, Berlin, New-York, 1995, p. 274.

¹⁶⁵ Lipiński Edward, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, Leuven — Paris — Sterling, Virginia, 2000, p. 204.

Teumeuse

Miller localized at the *Teil Menîs* ruin, today *Talmenes*. Which is quite convincing. Although there are again problems with the distance. According to TP, the distance from the next *Apamia* is indicated in an unusual way, *XXIIX*: it is not clear if it is a bug or such a way of writing. The actual distance from *Apamia* is about 43 km. that is, almost exactly 28 Roman miles. However, if the Arabic mile was used before then, it is expected here as well. And maybe we are dealing with a bug, which was expressed (judging by the comparison with other sites of this track) by adding an extra *X*, or adding it instead of one or two *I*'s. In that case the distance was 22, 23, or 24 miles. However, the table below includes the actual data reported by the TP in Roman miles. Note that IA gives 25 miles for that distance.

Apamia

Miller localized it at *Kala'at el Medik*, marked on the Soviet map as *Kana'am-el-Myduk* (*Апамэ*).

Bathna — Apamia (Arabic mile, Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Bathna	Tell Batnan				
Bersera	Al-Safirah	18	35	38	8.57
Cahi	Al-Eis	20	38	38	0.00
Teumeuse	Talmenes	20	38	47	23.68
Apamia	Апамэ	28	41	43	4.88
		86	152	166	Average: 9.21

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Apamia — Sure

Apamia XLVIII Theleda XXVIII Occaraba XXVII Centū Putea Ø Palmyra XVIII Harae XXII Oruba XXII Cholle XX Risapa XXI Sure II Innōminis VIII Innōminis

Theleda

It is easily identified with the present-day *Телль-Ада*. Miller also points that settlement: in *Tell Ade* form.

Occaraba

It is easily identified with the current *Akerbat (Акербат)*. Miller localized at *Djebel Bil'ās*. *Agerbat* is also provided by modern databases¹⁶⁶.

Centū Putea

They usually write in open form. *Centum Putea*. BAtlas leaves unlocated. Different locations are suggested. *Khirbet Ramadan, Hweisis, Bir Jihar*¹⁶⁷. But it is pretty convincing localized in the region of *Wadi-el-Futtae* (34°47'4.07"N 37°47'16.74"E)

Palmyra

The location is obvious.

Harae

It is easily identified with the modern Arak. It is an accepted location.

Oruba

Since this route mainly passes through the desert, i.e. there are few settlements, we are actually dealing with a surface-island distribution and we can be guided by matching the distances with the actual settlements and in the general direction to *Risapa*, which can be reliably identified. Miller locates *Et Taijibe*, also mentioning *Suchne*. This is the present day *As Sukhnah*, and it fits perfectly in terms of distance.

Moreover, on the Soviet map, we see the indicated locations of *el-Gharbi* and *el-Gurab*, which probably preserve the old name. Russian: Г can reproduce the local vowel [h], which for some reason was not expressed in Latin. Meanwhile, BAtlas refer to Honigmann II.343; Kennedy 1990, 136 and localize in the place *Tayibe*, whose coordinates, given in the Pleiades, refer to a completely deserted place. Perhaps it is a bug¹⁶⁸. However, the next one is like that.

Cholle

Miller does not locate, and Talbert, referring to Honigmann I.143; Dussaud 1927, 253, locates *Khoulle* at the site, which is completely empty, in an uncertain place, and far

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=40649>

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=42052>

¹⁶⁸ <http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/668323/darmc-location-8164>

from what is claimed. According to the distance, it is located in a cluster of small settlements, one of which, *Es-Solile*, also has a similar name.

Risapa

It is easily identified with today's *Rasafe*. There is only a problem with the distance, but the identification is so sure that we are obviously dealing with a bug. Probably, just another *X* was not written.

Sure

Miller identifies with *Surieeh*. Perhaps he meant *al-Hammam sobre Suriya*¹⁶⁹, which is quite acceptable.

Innōminis

As mentioned, it is usually assumed by default that this route should have been closed by joining *Attas*. However, that assumption is baseless. In general, as it was emphasized several times above, we should not confuse the problems of restoration of the routes of the TP and in general of all the routes of the Old World. As now, in ancient times too, settlements could be connected to each other in various ways. But only a small part of it was included in the TP. In this case, the line indicating the connection is missing here, so the question ends there. TP does not assume such a connection. Another question is that, since the TP is virtually unfinished in this section, we can try to understand how the routes in this section could be connected if the work was not left unfinished. Locating anonymous stations can help with that.

The last two unnamed stations may be upstream or downstream of the *Euphrates*. Since the previous station is located downstream from the point of the road coming from *Risapa* to reach the *Euphrates*, it is not logical that the two would be above it. Although it cannot be ruled out, it is unlikely, because it would mean the existence of a backward section of about 7 kilometers. So, it is more likely that the compiler of the TP imagined that route not going up, to *Attas* and then to *Barbalisso*, but down the *Euphrates*. And the nearest large settlement in that direction is *Ar Raqqah*, where the *Tharrana* station was located. And indeed, the interrupted line of this TP route is directed in the direction of that station, and most likely, the author of the TP had this connection in mind. And the branch of the route coming from *Attas*, which was not endowed with red lines (perhaps the author was not sure according to the information he had), perhaps, should also be connected to *Tharrana*.

Only the problem of locating the anonymous station (or stations) remains. The first station is listed as 2 miles from *Sure*, which is odd: it is a very small distance for the section. Especially since there is no significant settlement at that distance. The opposite would be expected within the framework of the hypothesis: first there would be a

¹⁶⁹ Matilla Séiquer, G., González Blanco, A., Romanización y Cristianismo..., p. 188.

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section of about 8 miles to the station on the bank opposite *Ar Raqqah*, then 2 miles to *Ar Raqqah*. It remains to assume either the use of larger units of measurement, or a bug, which is more likely in the case of such an unfinished section.

Apamia — *Sure* (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Apamia	Апамэ				
Theleda	Телль-Ада	48	77	75	-2.60
Occaraba	Акербат	28	45	36	-20.00
Centū Putea	Вади-эль- Футтае	27	43	45	4.65
Palmyra	Палмыра	∅	—	69	—
Harae	Арак	19	30	30	0.00
Oruba	эль- Гураб	22	35	37	5.71
Cholle	Эс- Солиле	22	35	39	11.43
Risapa	Расафе	30	48	56	16.67
Sure	al- Наммат	21	34	38	11.76
		217	347	356	<i>Average: 2.59</i>

Laudicie — Bacataiali**Laudicie ∅ Bacataiali XXVII Innōminis**

In the framework of this reconstruction, the route passing through the coastal zone of the *Mediterranean Sea* is considered only in the part of *Cilicia*, up to *Laudicie*, which is reliably identified with the present *Latakia* (more on this below, in the section of *Cilicia*).

A small route branches off from *Laudicie*, consisting of two sections, the length of the first of which is unknown, and the direction of the second is not clear. In general, it is clear that *Antiochia*, but the red line of the route breaks quite far from the image of *Antiochia* (unlike the other two routes): probably it alludes to the incompleteness of the route (which is confirmed when comparing with other sources), and after that the compiler of the TP had in mind the existence of at least one more intermediate station.

Miller seems to combine it with the coast route, as he includes *Bacataiali* a second time in it, in square brackets, although there is no basis for this except the discrepancy of distances. There is indeed another road from *Latakia* to *Antioch* (in fact, there are many of them: these mountains are completely passable), although in this section the state border has significantly disrupted the road network, and approaching the border, the two major roads merge, probably to approach a single checkpoint. It is clear that this was not the case in the past, and *Bacataiali* could have been exactly on this eastern path, as indicated on the TP. Unfortunately, due to the lack of distance value, as well as the *surface-even* distribution of settlements, it is impossible to locate *Bacataiali* with sufficient reliability. However, using the data of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (where it is probably presented in the form of *Bachaias*), one can assume its place with some probability. According to that guide, *Antioch* to *Bachaias* is listed as 32 miles. At that distance is the present village of *Baksariyah* (Баксария, بکسریا). The phonetic similarity (especially with the *Bachaias* version) is obvious. In that case, the unnamed station could be *Ad palatium Daphne* mentioned in the same guide 5 miles from *Antioch*, which was already noticed by Miller (perhaps in present-day *Harbiye*).

Laudicie — Bacataiali (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Laudicie	Latakia				
Bacataiali	Baksariyah	∅	∅	64	—
Innōminis	Harbiye	27	40	40	0.00

SYRIA

Apamia — Raphanis

Apamia XII Orontem fl. XXI Raphanis

Orontem fl.

It is marked 12 miles (18 km) from the previous one. Miller locates it at the river cross of the *Orontes River*. Today there is *Al Asharenah* settlement. The distance is less than required, only 15 km. However, it is not excluded that in ancient times they moved on a slightly more circuitous path, which still exists today. In that case, a number close to the required number will be obtained.

Raphanis

The name was probably preserved until recently. Miller locates it in the *Rafnie* ruin of his time. Perhaps it is the current *Nisaf (Hucoφ)* settlement, which keeps the old name in a distorted form. It is marked 21 miles (32 km) from the previous one. However, the actual distance is about 10 km more. Miller speculates that one *X* is missing, or a station is missing. However, the inaccuracy of the measurement cannot be excluded: the deviation of the length of this section is of the order of only 16%.

Apamia — Raphanis (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Apamia	Апамэ				
Orontem fl.	Al Asharenah	12	18	17	-5.56
Raphanis	Nisaf	21	31	40	29.03
		33	49	57	<i>Average: 16.33</i>

Apamia — Nemesa*Apamia XVI Larissa fl. XIV Epifania XX Aretusa fl. XVI Nemesa***Larissa**Definitely identified with the modern *Shaizar*.**Epifania**Definitely identified with the modern *Hamah*.**Aretusa fl.**

Definitely identified with modern *Ar Rastan*. But let's note that this and the next station are located on the right bank of the *Orontes River*, although they are depicted on the left bank. This can be seen either as an exception, or assume some explanation. For example, the author of the TP mentioned not the settlements themselves, but the guest houses, which could also be located outside the settlement. Or this can be seen as a reproduction error due to the coincidence of the route and the river bed. As we can see, the red line of the route crosses the river bends and it is possible that one of the transcribers did not depict one of the bends in the right place. In any case, this is an important feature of this route, which makes sense to pay attention to.

The issue of the relationship between Arabic and Greek names is not clear. they have always been used in parallel. It seems that they had mutual influence.

Nemesa

This toponym has been preserved almost unchanged. this is modern *Homs*. It was also known as *Emesa*. The difference in the first letter on the TP is a result of simple scribal confusion at some stage of copying. The letters *N* and *H* are extremely similar in the letterforms of TP.

Apamia — Nemesa (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Apamia	Апамэ				
Larissa	Shaizar	16	24	24	0.00
Epifania	Hamah	14	21	22	4.76
Aretusa fl.	Ar Rastan	20	30	27	-10.00
Nemesa	Homs	16	24	23	-4.17
		66	99	96	Average: -3.03

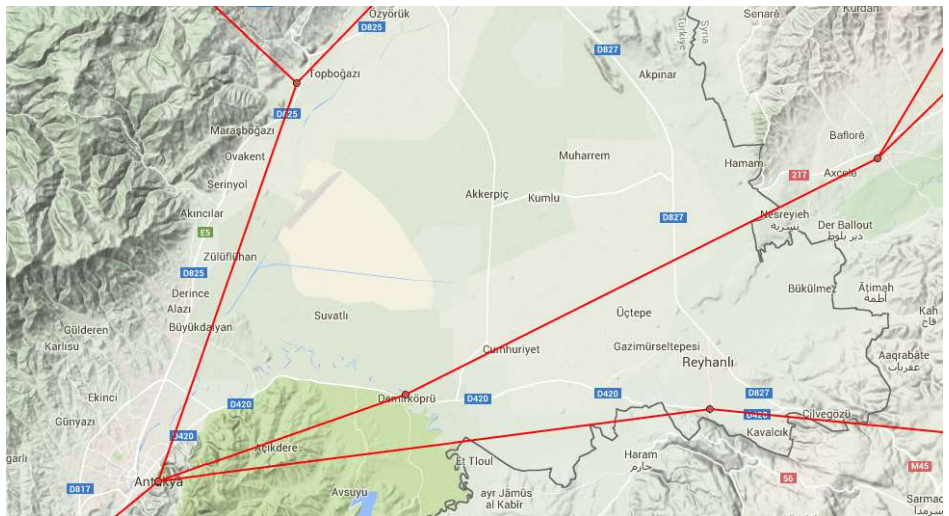
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Antiochia — Samosata

Antiochia XXII Gephyra XXII Gendaru XXXVI Cyro XX Channunia XXVIII Dolica XXVIII Innominis XX Sugga XXI Tarsa XVIII Samosata

Gephyra

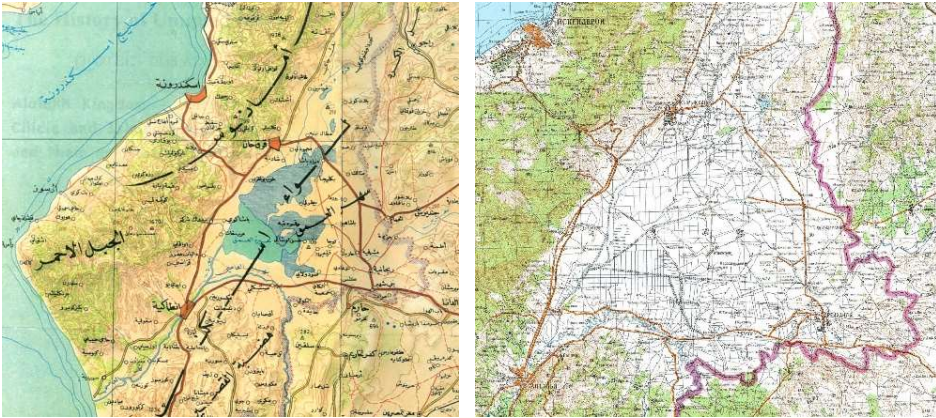
According to BAtlas location, it is in *Demirköprü (Jisr al-Hadid)* settlement. Probably, the idea of that location was given by a Turk. name *demirköprü* "iron bridge", because Greek *γέφυρα* means "bridge". But this location is excluded, because that village is located on the road *Hierapoli - Antiochia*, while according to TP it should be on the neighboring route. When path reconstructions are done abstractly with straight lines, such as in the OmnesViae image below, this circumstance is not observed. However, when an attempt is made to visualize the path of the actual road as well (they are represented by white lines in the picture), it is revealed that in that case *Gephyra* should have appeared on the same path between *Antiochia* and *Emma*, which contradicts the data of TP.



Also, then this station would be much closer to *Antiochia* than the next *Gendaru* (which is easily located), whereas according to TP it was right in the middle of them. Of course,

one can again justify that there are inaccuracies in TP. But are there so many of them? If they are at every step, and we also don't trust the distances, the most valuable information of TP, then what are we recovering?

And opposite, if we accept that TP corresponds to reality, we have to explain the created situation. First of all, let's note that according to Dvoretzky's dictionary, Greek *γέφυρα* in the first meaning means "ground zone of land between hostile armies, battlefield", in the second meaning "ground zone, dam", and only in the third meaning "bridge". This area under consideration is a huge field, in the middle of which there was a lake in ancient times, Lake *Antioch* or *Amik* (until the 70s of the 20st century, when it was drained), surrounded by two parts of swamps, which were separated by a narrow strip of land.



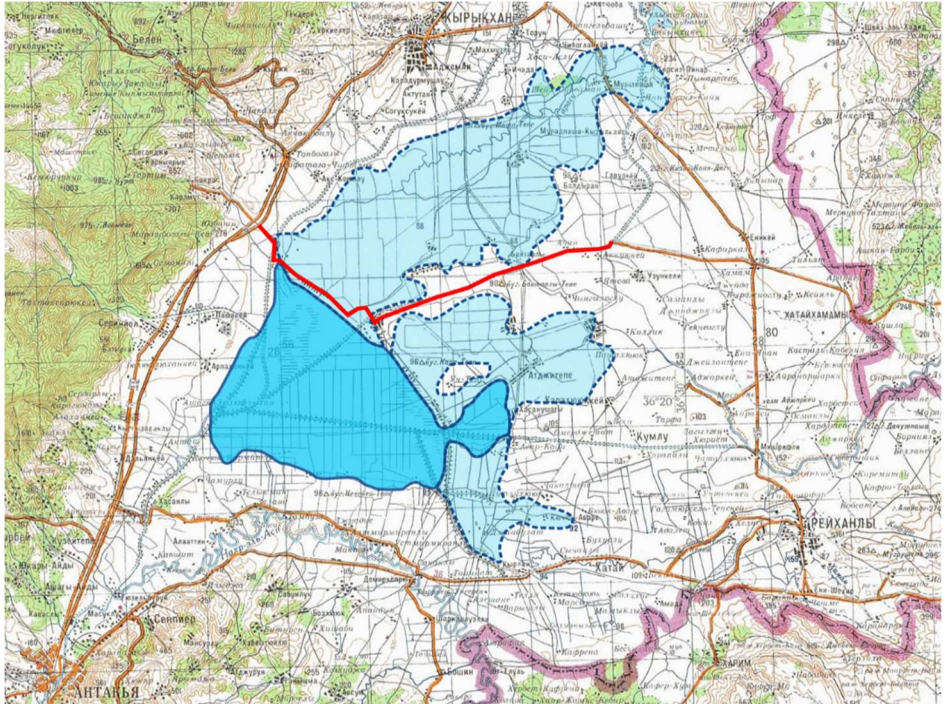
Amik Lake region on old and new maps.

As can be seen on the old Syrian map, the main roads bypassed the lake and marshes. Moreover, the bypassing road from the southern side is the road leading towards *Aleppo*, and really, there is no room left for the second road between the southern mountains and the lake (on which this station would be), and we have to accept that the road bypassed the lake, along the western and northern shores. However, in that case, it seems that the road would coincide with the *Alexandria Catisson — Samosata* Road. However, perhaps it did not happen like that, and in the section leading to *Pagaris* (*Bakras* on the Soviet map) the two roads approached but did not connect¹⁷⁰. The point is that on the Soviet map it is clearly visible that a road passed between the lake and the swamps that did not reach the intersection of *Pagaris*, which created a connection

¹⁷⁰ In other words, in fact, on the spot they were undoubtedly connected by some additional section, but the TP shows routes, not the entire road network of those centuries. Which, by the way, in the old centuries did not differ much from the current situation, except for the system of additional modern high-speed highways.

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with the strip of land between the two parts of the swamp (see below, the red line on the map that made up of the previous two maps).



And perhaps it is precisely this strip of land and the dams protecting it from water that gave their name to the *Gephýra* station, and it should be searched for on that strip of land. It is definitely difficult to say which of the existing villages *Gephýra* could have been. It seems more likely that it should have been from the side of the road, and also the relatively high one. Perhaps it is one of the unnamed villages on the Soviet map, which is listed on GoogleEarth as *Aktaş*: this is about 5—6 m above the terrain, which would provide for its inhabitants in case of some fluctuations in the water level, and besides, it exactly corresponds to the distances specified in the TP; it is exactly 22 miles away from neighboring stations.

Gendarū

It is easily identified with the current *Jenderes* (*Джендерес*).

Cyro

It is reliably identified with *Cyrrhus*, founded in the Seleucid era. The last component of the name of the nearby settlement *Ash Shaykh Khurūs* (36°44'10"N 36°53'38"E) probably corresponds to the historical name.

Channunia

The DARMC is located in a completely uncertain place¹⁷¹ [36°53'N 37°16'E], *tabula-peutingermanica.de* does not locate this station. Depending on the distance, many options are possible. The name suggests that it could mean "inn", but no place name with such a component could be found. It is interesting that the etymology of the name of *Aintap* with the beginning of *khan-* as *Khantap* wanders from site to site. However, even if that etymology is correct and if it has something to do with the name of this station, it still does not help with the location, because it is simply referring to a settlement or guest house of the same name. The next station is also connected with this version (see).

The main difficulty is the *surface-even* distribution of settlements in this region. It is also a question whether the current main road partially coincides with the restored road, and in particular, whether it passed through *Killis* or not. For example, the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire has drawn route through that city. However, it should be taken into account that in that case the road significantly deviates from the main direction and does not correspond to the distances of the TP. But due to the extreme fragmentation of the terrain, the lengths of the real roads are significantly longer than the distances in a straight line, and this is an additional condition for finding the right path: most likely, it should have passed with little deviation from the straight line connecting the two neighboring stations, otherwise it would have been difficult to fit within the specified distances. The final location was made purely based on these conditions, in the present village of *Yeşiloba*. By the way, probably the second component of this name, Turk. *-oba* "tent", may correspond to the first component of the station name under consideration, if it is indeed Pars. *khan-* is the word for "house".

Dolica

It is easily identified with the present-day *Dülük*. It is a corrupted form of the name of the ancient settlement of *Doliche*. This is where the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus began.

Innōminis

This station is marked with a special icon in the form of a large guest house. And it is doubly surprising that the name of that important station was not mentioned. Fortunately, the distances are indicated, and besides, the terrain dictates, in fact, the only way. At the distance of 28 miles (42 km) from the previous *Dülük*, after crossing the *Karadag mountains*, we see the village of *Gelinbuğday*, where naturally (near the mountain pass) there could be a guest house.

Sugga

BAAtlas locates in *Üçgöz* regardless of distances. Meanwhile, in this case, we can even talk about phonetic identification: exactly 20 miles (30 km) from the previous station is


¹⁷¹ <http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/658433/darmc-location-19634>

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the village of *Aşağı Söğütlü* (*Ашагы Сөгютлю*). This is probably one of the cases of reinterpreting a historical Turk. name: *söğüt* means "willow".

Let's notice that in this site Miller adds stations known from other itineraries, and in particular, *Marash*, *Germanicia*, although it is several tens of miles away from the considered site.

Tarsa

It is identified with the village of *Kuyulu* (*Turuş, Түрүш*). This is one of the cases when, in addition to the phonetic identification, the position of the station is additionally determined by the depiction of the mountain and the river. The river is, in fact, *Гёксу*, and the mountain is the mountains of the right bank of the Euphrates, namely *Kyzyldag* and *Karadag* mountain ranges, which the compiler of the TP also used to clarify the position of *Zeugma*. However, the distance is obtained with a large deviation from the previous one. At the same time, the phonetic identification of the two border stations of this site, the correctness of the rest of the sites and the entire route (this is perhaps one of the most accurately presented routes of TP) suggest that we are dealing with a simple bug here: perhaps, the distance should have been XXV instead of XXI. The confusion might have arisen because of the following point: probably, in the source of the example that has reached us, the usual dot following the digits was missing, and the copyist perceived the upper part of the right branch of V as a dot: . Although the actual distance is a little more.

Samosata

It is easily identified with the village of *Samsat* (on the former site, which is now at the bottom of the reservoir).

Antiochia — Samosata (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Antiochia	Antakya				
Gephýra	Aktaş	22	33	33	0.00
Gendarū	Jenderes	22	33	34	3.03
Cyrro	~ Ash Shaykh Khurūs	36	53	54	1.89
<u>Chan</u> nunia	<u>Yeşiloba</u>	20	30	29	-3.33
Dolica	Dülük	28	41	41	0.00
Innōminis	Gelinbuğday	28	41	41	0.00
Sugga	Aşağı Söğütlü	20	30	29	-3.33
Tarsa	Turuş 21	25	37	41	10.81
Samosata	Samsat	19	28	28	0.00
		200	296	301	Average: 1.69

Gendarū — Zeugma

Gendarū Ø Thurae XVII Regia XX Ad Serta XII Ad Zociandem XII Zeugma

Almost all of this path is in the zone of *surface-even* distribution and the terrain does not guide at all. Moreover, as a result of the division between different states, the importance of the roads in this area has also changed, and now the main roads are not always the same as in the ancient centuries. There are also no phonetic identifications, and it remains to be guided only by distances. Moreover, since the distance between *Gendarū* and *Thurae* is not known, it makes sense to start from the *Zeugma* side.

Ad Serta and Ad Zociandem

Ad Serta is marked 12 miles from *Ad Zociandem*. BATlas identifies *Ad Serta* with Ptolemy's *Ariseria* and locates it in the present village of *Kaşyolu*. The rationale is not clear. And *Ad Zociandem* is listed 12 miles from *Zeugma*. BATlas tries to identify it with *Nizip*, although the only basis seems to be the existence of an ancient site. If *Zeugma* was *Birecik*, as was believed before the discovery of the present site, it is still possible; the distance is almost that much, while it is barely 8 km from the currently accepted place. Even in the case of *Zeugma* located within the framework of this restoration, the distance is insufficient, therefore, being *Ad Zociandem* of *Nizip* is excluded. Of course, if we do not take into account the possibility of a bug in TP. However, the distance from *Ad Serta* located by the same BATlas is around 25 km, that is, an acceptable distance is not provided in this direction either.

Additional indirect information for these two stations is provided by the structure of the names with the prefix *ad*, which suggests their location on some rivers. This was taken into account in the above-mentioned locations. *Nizip* is located on the river of the same name, and the river of *Kaşyolu* is *Sajir* (*Саджир*). At the same time, the distance from *Zeugma* to *Sajir* River corresponds to TP data, about 24 miles. In addition, the *Nizip* River has a right tributary, the *Oluk*, on which, if located at the site of the *Uluyatır* village, the distance of *Ad Zociandem* from *Zeugma* would be correct. And another 12 miles away from *Uluyatır*, near the village of *Gündoğan* on the right bank of the *Sajir* River, we see a hill on which the existence of an ancient settlement would be probable: on the Soviet map it is called *Tılbaşar* (*Тильбашар*) fortress. Note that the word *Serta* can correspond to the Syr. word *serṭa* "line", which in Turkish can be translated as *satır*, and this has some similarity with the river name *Sajir* (representing the first component of the plosive *j*). If this assumption is correct, then *Ad Serta* really refers to this river, and perhaps to *Tılbaşar* Castle itself.

Regia

BATlas, albeit with a question mark, locates *Yananköy* (now *Yavuzlu*). It seems that at the moment it is the most convincing option.

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Thurae

In practice, there are two possible options for locating this station: *Azaz* and *Kilis*. The second one is marked with a question mark in the *tabula-peutingeriana.de* database. However, the first corresponds better to the TP distances.

Gendarū — Zeugma (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Gendarū	Jenderes				
Thurae	Azaz	∅	—	41	—
Regia	Yavuzlu	17	27	25	-7.41
Ad <u>Serta</u>	Tilbaşar, <u>Саджир</u>	20	32	33	3.13
Ad Zociandem	Uluyatır	12	19	18	-5.26
Zeugma	Belkis	12	19	20	5.26
		61	97	96	Average: -1.03

Alexandria Catisson — Samosata

Alexandria Catisson XXII Innōminis XXII Pagaris XXXVI Meleagrum XX Metridatis regnum XXVIII Thanna XXVIII Cesum XX Heracome XXI Samosata

There is a serious problem with distances in this track. First, the lengths of the peripheral sites are missing. In addition, since its ends are reliably identified, we know its approximate length of 320 km, while the sum of the lengths of the known sites is 43, and if we assume that the ends were about 10 each, then we get about 63. But in that case, the unit of measurement used was more than 5000 m. However, in the easily recoverable part of this track, Roman miles were definitely used, and from *Pagaris* onwards, it is clear that a different unit of measurement was used, and in the order of "internal recovery" it can be concluded that it is apparently the Persian parasang, 6.392 m. That number is used below.

It should be noted that R. Kippert, but Miller did not accept it, considering that such "stretches" ("Strecken")¹⁷² are inadmissible arbitrariness. It is interesting that he did not consider it arbitrary to add additional stations in such seemingly long areas (which Miller did at every turn). As a result, he considers all these distances as given in miles, and locates this entire route not far from *Antioch*. For example, *Heracome* locates Zincirli (37°06'11"N 36°40'19"E), while suggesting that a major route that would have connected it to *Samosata* was probably missed.

Alexandria Catisson

We will see below that the location of this station is also problematic: from some of the known distances it follows that it should be identified with *İskenderun* (Greek: *Ἀλεξανδρέττα*), but from another part of the data it follows its significantly more northern position. However, from the point of view of the reconstruction of this route, it is not important, because the length of its last section is not indicated. Moreover, the red line does not even attach to the icon of *Alexandria Catisson*, but only approaches it. So, here we can equally accept that it is located in *İskenderun*.

Innōminis

It is traditionally identified with the *Pictanus* station mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim.

Pagaris

It is reliably identified with the current *Ötençay* and the *Bagras*, *Βακρας* place names of the old maps.

Meleagrum

Miller identifies it with Strabo's *Μελεάγρον χάραξ* and locates it in the *Deli Ushagy* ruin: today it is not clear where it was. In the BATlas, distances shows as miles and it locates

¹⁷² Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 765.

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at *Gündüzlü* (Гюндюзлю, 36°33'15"N 36°23'34"E). Much the same is done in OmnesViae: locating in a completely uncertain field near *Kırkhan* (36°31'12"N 36°23'08"E).

Based on the fact that the distances here are presented in parasangs, it can be located in present-day *Akbez*. This is an intersection of major roads, and it would be natural to build a guest house here.

Metridatis. regnum

This place name probably means "Kingdom of Mithridātēs", although it is written incorrectly. It is a strange name. Miller considers that this could be the name of an inn and locates it in *Rihanije*, the location of which is unclear today. This station does not exist in BATlas at all. Based on the distance of 6 parasangs (39 km) it can be located in *Nurdağı*. This is quite a probable location, because it is located at the most important intersection, near the *Amanos* mountain pass. It is an additional confirmation that in this part of TP distances are brought by parasangs. It is true that the distance from the previous station is 43 km, however, in the case of a large measurement unit, the accuracy decreases by itself, and the obtained accuracy can be considered sufficient.

Thanna

The length of the previous and next two sites (up to *Heracome*) is equal: 7 parasangs. The route naturally follows the course of the *Aksu* River, which passes through the *Pazarçık* mountain pass. At the end of that natural corridor (and again at the intersection) is the village of *Gölbaşı* (Гөлбашу). It seems that *Heracome* should have been located here, because it is represented on the TP as a crossroads. It is about 120 km from *Nurdağı* to *Gölbaşı*. Therefore, the length of the aforementioned sites should be about 40 km. About 45 km from the previous one, *Narlı* settlement is located on the bank of *Aksu* river. There are no other notable settlements nearby. the distribution of settlements here is linear-island.

Note that the name *Thanna* may belong to the range of *Danube*, *Tanays* and other similar river names, and perhaps this name is identical to the name of the river, which is now called *Aksu* (Turkish: "white water"). And although the name *Narlı* can be seen as Turkish. *narlı* "pomegranate", but it is not excluded that it is just a result of the reinterpretation of the old name, because it can also correspond to Greek. to the word *ῥαρός* "flowing". In that case, the Turkish name of this settlement may simply have preserved the unattested Greek version of the Latin name. In this regard, the small settlement named *Denizli* "sea" located 4 km north of *Narlı* is also noteworthy, also related to the idea of water.

Cesum

To ensure the distance of 7 parasangs from the previous one, this station should be located approximately in the middle of the *Pazarçık* mountain pass. However, there is

no prominent settlement or at least no intersection in the mountain pass and adjacent areas. It remains to assume that this station was at the exact location of the *Pazarlık* settlement, which, however, is significantly deviated from the required distance. Although, if we take into account the accuracy of measuring with 6 km parasangs, the deviation can be justified.

Heracome

As it was said, the most logical location of this station is in *Gölbaşı* town. The position of this is also confirmed by the restoration of the next *Heracome - Anazarbo* road (see below). BATlas locates at *Kızılkaya* (*Кызылкая*, 37°29'47"N 38°01'41"E), on the right tributary of the *Euphrates Keysun*. However, this is impossible, since *Heracome* is depicted north of the *Sugga — Tarsa* site of the previous route, while even in the BATlas locations it appears south of that site.


Alexandria Catisson — Samosata (Roman mile, Persian parasang)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Alexandria Catisson	Iskenderun				
Innōminis	Belen, <u>Pictanus</u>	∅	—	13	—
Pagaris	Ötençay, Бақpac	6	9	10	11.11
<u>Meleagrum</u>	<u>Akbez</u>	10	64	61	-4.69
Metridatis regnum	Nurdağı	6	38	44	15.79
<u>Thanna</u>	<u>Narlı</u>	7	45	45	0.00
Cesum	Pazarlık	4	26	20	-23.08
Heracome	Gölbaşı	7	45	50	11.11
Samosata	Samsat	∅	—	90	—
		40	227	230	Average: 1.32

Heracome — [Mompsistea]***Heracome XXII Incomacenis. Acomacenis. in Heracome XIII [Mompsistea]***

Although this route has only one intermediate station, but thanks to this, a very important problem is solved. This confirms the location of *Heracome* in *Gölbaşı*: since the distance to Samosata is missing, a control measurement was needed. The distances, as in the second part of the previous route, are given in Persian parasangs. Although, since this route is very long and the stations are few, the distance numbers are large and give the impression that they are miles. And it seems that the creator of the map was puzzled in this matter.

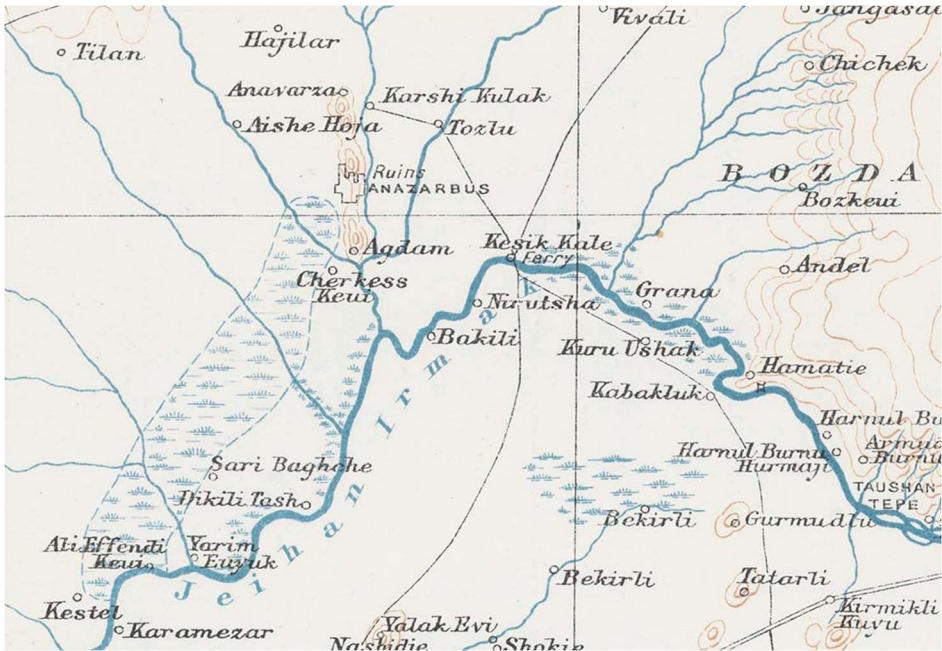
Miller divides the single station *Incomacenis Acomacenis in Heracome* into two different stations: *Acomacenis in Incomacenis* and *Heracome*, between which, of course, no distance is indicated. Of course, it is a strange name, which can perhaps be translated as: "to *comacenis*. from *comacenis*. at *Heracome*". Maybe it should be understood that that station is in the domain of *Heracome* and around it is *comacenis — Commagene*. In other words, that station is located in *Commagene*. Let's note that Marash, one of the most important cities of *Commagene*, is left out of the routes of this region. It was noted above that Miller included *Marash, Germanicia* in the *Antiochia — Samosata* route, taking it from IA. However, it turns out that *Marash* was also among the TP stations, and it is this station: it follows with great accuracy from the lengths of the sections of this route.

A more serious problem is the prefix  before the number *XIII*, which can be read as *Mil'* (Mile) with an apostrophe (that's how Miller reads it), or perhaps with double l's superimposed. In any case, it is strange, because as a rule, units of measurement are not specified in TP. Maybe it doesn't mean a mile, and maybe the compiler felt that something was wrong with the unit of measurement, but considering it to be a mile, and not another unit of measurement, added extra emphasis to it. In any case, it is clear from the measurements that it is not really a mile, but a parasang.

To make up for the insufficient distances, Miller calculates 27 miles to *Anazarbo* (in fact, including this station in the route), although this is not obvious, and the red line of this route is attached to the midpoint of the *Anazarbo — Mompsistea* section (hence the name of the route *Mompsistea* written is in square brackets). In addition, he includes *Mompsistea* (as *Mompsistia*) in this track. As it follows from the distances, that solution is not correct. *Anazarbo* is clearly depicted on the other route (this station will be considered as part of the *Alexandria Catisson — Tarso Cilicie* route).

It is difficult to say for sure what made the cartographer end the route not at *Anazarbo*, but bypassing it; perhaps some feature of the terrain, for example, swamps. Nowadays there are no marshes there, but they are depicted on the British map of the beginning of the last century. And one can only wonder again and again how carefully this map, which seems to be approximate from the outside, and often contains errors,

is the result of careful processing, and that even the most insignificant, seemingly secondary features can contain important information.



Swamps near Anazarbo on a British map.

Heracome — [Momsisteia] (Persian parasang)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Heracome	Gölbashi				
Incomacenis...	Mapaw	27	173	161	-6.94
Anazarbo	Dilekkaya	14	90	98	8.89
		41	263	259	Average: -1.52

Zeugma — Samosata**Zeugma XXVIII Arulis XXVIII Ad Poñ Singe III Ad fl Capadocem Ø Samosata**

The length of the last section of this track is missing. Fortunately, this gap seems to be filled thanks to the restoration of previous sites. From the analysis, it becomes clear that a unit of measurement larger than the Roman and even the Phileterian mile is used, although the Phileterian mile is accepted in the calculation.

Arulis

In RA, *Araris*. Miller also identifies it with Ptolemy's Ἄρουδις. This place name is very similar to the Latin word *arvālis*, which means "of the field, to drive", and by that name the flamens, *Fratres Arvales* "Arval brothers", who marched in May, asking for a bountiful harvest, were known¹⁷³. And in the considered region there are now the villages of *Yukarıkaravaiz* and *Aşağıkaravaiz*, whose names can be translated as upper and inner "propagator of the soil" (in Turkish *kara* has two meanings: "black", but also "soil"¹⁷⁴). There is a temptation to see the Turk. *karavaiz* as a translation of *arvālis*. Unfortunately, the distances do not match. Instead, at the required distance, we see the village of *Sarılar*, whose name seems to be a modified version of the letters of TP, *Arulis*. Perhaps, at the required distance, such a coincidence may not be accidental, and we are dealing with the reinterpretation of a historical name.

Miller is identified with *Rumkale*, which is located about 7 km south of *Sarılar*. But this is inconsistent with distance. *Arulis* is listed as being equal to 24 miles from the neighboring stations, while in the case of *Rumkale* the difference between the two distances would be about 36%.

Ad Poñ Singe

In RA — *Since*. The name is presented in abbreviated form: usually opens: *Ad Pontem Singe* "at the bridge of the *Singe* (river)". In judging of distance, it is clear that the word refers to the river *Гёксу*, "blue water". Miller also accepts this and identifies it with Ptolemy's Σίγγα. Indeed, the remains of the old bridge are still preserved on that river, and the name of the now defunct settlement *Akdzhin* (*Акджин*) is even indicated on the Soviet map.

Ad fl Capadocem

Marked 3 miles from the previous one. Miller locates it with the village of *Chalburdji*, which is probably the *Birdzhik* (*Бурджик*) of the Soviet map. If so, it cannot be agreed with because of the distance discrepancy. And at the exact required distance, the village of *Akdere* "white river" is located, in the name of which, as well as in the considered

¹⁷³ Дворецкий И. Х., Корольков Д. Н., Латинско-русский словарь.

¹⁷⁴ Магазаник Д. А., Турецко-русский словарь, М. 1945.

toponym, the concept of "river" is contained, which can be seen as an additional argument for the justice of the location.

It is also noticeable that the red line of the route crosses the *Euphrates* near *Samosata*. Perhaps, it does not mean that the road crossed the opposite bank, but it alludes to the presence of a river crossing in that place, which really existed (Strabón, Geogr. XIV, II, 29).

Zeugma — Samosata (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Zeugma	Belkis				
Arulis	Sarılar	24	38	43	13.16
Ad Poñ Singe	Ақджин	24	38	42	10.53
Ad fl Capadocem	<u>Akdere</u>	3	5	5	0.00
Samosata	Samsat	∅	—	29	—
		51	81	90	<i>Average: 11.11</i>

CAPPADOCIA

Samosata — Comana Capadocia

Samosata XXII Carbanum XXII Perre XXXVI Pordonnum XX Capriandas XXVIII Octacuscum XXVIII Nastae XX Arianodum XXI Cilca. nouum XVIII Salandona XXI Catara XVIII Comana Capadocia

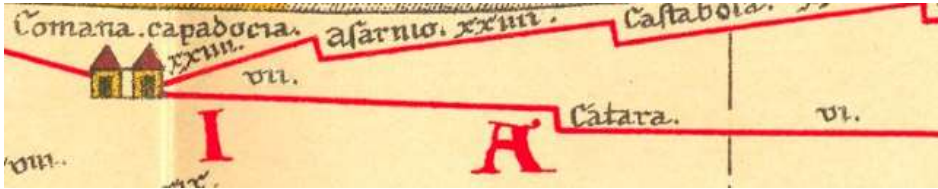
Most of the station distances on this track are again given in parasangs. This time Miller accepts it¹⁷⁵. The only exception is the *Catara — Comana capadocia* area marked in miles. Most of the stations on this line, apart from the peripheral stations and Perre, do not have reliable locations. However, since settlements have a linear-island distribution, most of them appear in solid places — intersections, in large settlements. It should also be noted that the direction to *Comana Capadocia* cuts through the *Eastern Taurus*, and the actual road is much longer than a straight line. In a straight line, it is about 210 km, while the sum of the corresponding TP sites is 283 km. At the same time, the current restored length is about 20 km more. If distributed over the entire route, this could be considered insignificant, but since all the stations appear in convincing places, the entire deviation falls on the *Salandona — Catara* and *Catara — Comana Capadocia* sites. In the first case it reaches 50%, and in the second case - 25%. Moreover, the last number is obtained under the condition that the distance given was not to the settlement itself, but to the guest house of the same name on the main road, while from that point to the settlement itself there is still about 10 km.

This is also confirmed in the form of roads: the routes coming from *Mazaca Cesarea* and *Melentenis* should also end at the same point. However, this 25% is also not small, and in the case of the previous location, the only explanation remains the bug. The fact that we are dealing with a bug is perhaps expressed in the fact that the *Catara — Comana Capadocia* site is expressed in miles. Probably, the original manuscript was damaged in that section, and the copyist reconstructed the numbers that seemed plausible to him from several preserved points. The numbers 5 and 7 should have been the best to correspond to the reality. But, probably, instead of 5, 4, or even 6 numbers were indicated, and if the lower part were deleted, the preserved part

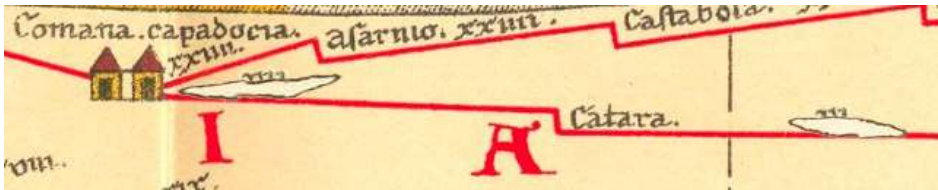
¹⁷⁵ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 761.

would consist of 3 stems. A version of the status recovery is presented in the following images.

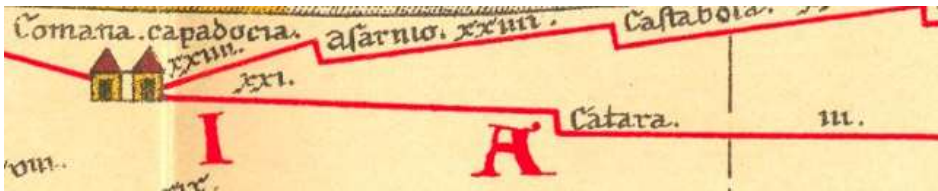
Originally, the original TP could have been something like this:



then, as a result of damage, it could have the following appearance:



the damaged parts of which were imagined by the map creator that has reached us:



This is just a guess, but the successful matching of the previous sites to the terrain, as well as the acceptable size of the average deviation of the entire route (with actual data), suggest that the track is correctly restored.

Carbanum

However, 4 parasangs (about 27 km) from *Samsat* is *Karahöyük*, a village called "black hill". If we take into account that the name *Carbanum* most likely originates from Lat. from the word *carbonis* "coal, black paint", it will become clear that finding a place name so close in meaning at the required distance is hardly accidental, and *Carbanum* can be reliably located in that place. Or rather, right on its hill.

Perre

The identification of this station is not difficult, because its ruins have been preserved almost under the same name, *Pirin*, and are located on the outskirts of *Adiyaman*, not far from the village of *Örenli*.

CAPPADOCIA

Pordonnium

According to the BAtlas, this station is identified with the city of *Adıyaman*. It is difficult to say what motivated such an identification, but the location of the previous *Perre* station near the city of *Adıyaman* already makes this identification impossible, since according to the TP there are 2 parasangs between *Perre* and *Pordonnium* (about 13 km) and the last one should be searched on the same road. At the indicated distance, there are two relatively large villages, *Kayatepe*, in the widening of the narrow gorge of the *Şemikyan* (*Шемикян*) River, and *Kuyucak Bucağı*, on the plateau. The first of these is on the new road, and the second is on the old road. However, it seems that the first one, which is on a shorter path, is more likely.

Capriandas

Marked on 4 parasangs from the previous one. At this distance, the road exits the canyon into a relatively wide valley, where there are a number of hills on which there may have been ancient settlements. Location is made in *Mestan* village based on distance.

Octacuscum

It is mentioned on 4 more parasangs than the previous one. Here the road goes out into a wider valley, the main city of which is *Doğanşehir*. The road to *Malatya* passes through this. However, another TP route passes through *Malatya*, so the road from *Doğanşehir* must turn left. Today, here is the *Sürgü* reservoir, but in the past, the road passed through here, and on the left side of the river is the place of *Marsanlidibi*, where this station could have been.

Nastae

Marked on 5 parasangs from the previous one. At the required distance, there is an intersection again. The location is made in the village of *Кючюк-Гекаланкому*, based on the distance and features of the terrain, on the hill.

Arianodum

Marked on 5 parasangs from the previous one. There is also an intersection at the required distance. The location is in the village of *Barış*, at the crossroads of old roads.

Cilca. nouum

Marked on 5 parasangs from the previous one. At a required distance in a large valley is the settlement of *Elbistan*, which is also a center of local roads. However, judging by the distances, it is more likely that this station was located in the village of *Karaelbistan*, on a hill. Miller here locates a completely different one, the *Arcilapopoli* station on the *Comana Capadocia — Melentenis* route.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 737.

Salandona

It is mentioned on 5 more parasangs than the previous one. This point is not a crossroads, but within the required distance is the large village of *Cardak*. The location is based on the distance, on the nearest hill.

Catara

This and the following sites were discussed above. The location was also made on the hill near the village of *Göksun* on the crossroads.

Comana Capadocia

This station is traditionally located near the village of *Şar*. It is convincing because the ruins of the old settlement have been preserved, including documentary material. However, if the TP station was located in this village, it is unlikely that it would be a crossroad, because it is located in a ravine, although not deep. As it was mentioned above, the distances also speak in favor of it, which, perhaps, are indicated from the roadside guest house of the same name, which should have been on the site of the present village of *Kamer* (on the Soviet map: *Kemep*). Turkish *kamer* means "moon", but it is not excluded that this is the result of reinterpretation, and the trace of the ancient name *Comana* has been preserved in this village name.

Samosata — Comana Capadocia (Persian parasang, Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Samosata	Samsat				
<u>Carbanum</u>	<u>Karahöyük</u>	4	26	27	3.85
Perre	Örenli, Pirin	2	13	13	0.00
Pordonnium	Kayatepe	2	13	13	0.00
Capriandas	Mestan	4	26	26	0.00
Octacuscum	~ Sürgü	4	26	27	3.85
Nastae	~ Biçakci	5	32	31	-3.13
Arianodum	Barış	5	32	33	3.13
Cilca. nouum	Karaelbistan	5	32	31	-3.13
Salandona	Cardak	5	32	34	6.25
Catara	Göksun	3	19	30	57.89
Comana Capadocia	Kamer	21	32	40	25.00
		60	283	305	Average:7.77

Comana Capadocia — Mazaca Cesarea

Comana Capadocia XX In Cilissa XXIII Larissa X Arasaxa XIII Sinispora XXVIII Mazaca Cesarea

This path is quite easy to recover, because the endpoints: both *Comana Capadocia* and *Caesarea* have been located, although some problems still remain.

In Cilissa

This means "Cilician direction": perhaps watched from side of *Caesarea*. Below, with the identification of *Larissa* and *Arasaxa* stations, it becomes clear that *In Cilissa* should be located in *Arslantaş* village. From here to Kamer, where *Comana Capadocia* station was located, it is 32 km, which provides acceptable accuracy and also confirms the assumption that *Comana Capadocia* is a roadside guest house.

Larissa

The location of this station is crucial for the rehabilitation of the entire track. In the case of Miller's version, it located on the banks of the *Zamanti* (*Заманты*) River in the village of *Muhadjir* (probably present-day *Çaybaşı*). However, this settlement seems to have been preserved until today. 32 km from the previous *Arslantaş* is the village of *Güzelsu*. Until 1970 it was called *Xapca* (*Harsa*, *Harso*), which is quite close to the name Larissa. Moreover, perhaps it could have been formed in the Armenian environment by the usual transition of *l* > *t*, then by the transition of *t* > *χ* (cf. *Ghrim* > *Khrim*) to get *Kharisa* and the omission of *i*, the recorded form *Kharsa*, which, due to the absence of the [χ] sound in Turkish, can be written in lat. with *h*: *Harsa*, and due to the absence of [h] in Russian, the writing with *x* should be restored: *Xapca*.

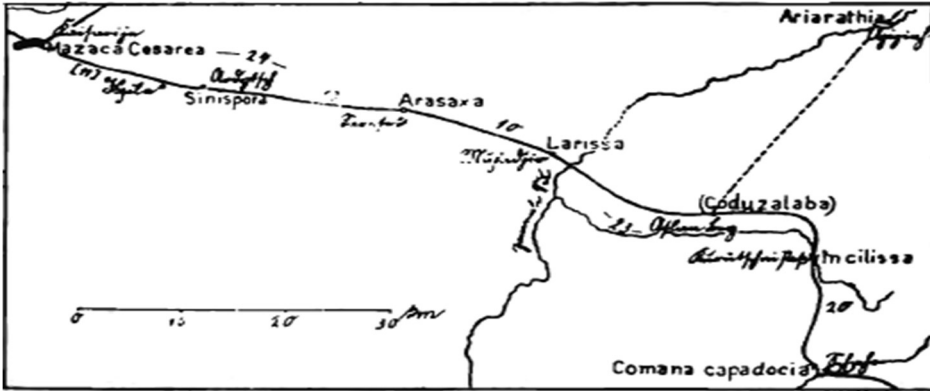
As for the current name, *Güzelsu* means "beautiful water" in Turkish. However, the name *Larissa* (which is a pre-Greek, Pelasgian word and has the meaning of "fortress"¹⁷⁷) resembles the Greek word *λᾶρός* "beautiful", and according to folk etymology it could have been interpreted as such and then translated into Turkish. It is interesting that only a drying bed passes through this village, and it is not clear what "beautiful water" we are talking about, which indirectly confirms the authenticity of the assumption.

Arasaxa

It is interesting that in IA this station is represented as *Artaxata*. And on the Dutch map of the 17th century¹⁷⁸, perhaps the *Arasar* settlement corresponds to this, which is indicated a little south of the parallel of 40° latitude: that is, at that time it still existed under that name and was quite large. Miller locates *Arasaxa* in *Seresek*, (now marked on maps as *Zerezek*, *Зерезек*), which evidently retains traces of the old name. Today, the place with that name is marked on Google Earth 1 km to the east of *Akmescit* village.

¹⁷⁷ Liddell, Henry George, Scott, Robert, A Greek-English Lexicon.

¹⁷⁸ Trcicvm imperivm, Apúd F. de Wit Amstelodami.



Comana Capadocia — Mazaca Cesarea according to K. Miller¹⁷⁹.

Sinispora

The name is probably derived from Lat. *sinister* "left, unfortunate (however, sometimes also the opposite, lucky)" and Greek *φορά* "bring, carry". In other words, it can mean "fateful". Miller locates it on the site of the villages of *Ispile* (today *Başakpınar Ufuk*) or *Ardisch* (today *Ardıç*). These are not convenient from the point of view of distances: the first is very close to *Caesarea*, and the second is quite close to the previous station. The location of the current *Yazılı* village between them is more convenient.

And if we take into account that Turk. *yazılı* also has the meaning "fateful", it can be assumed with some probability that we are dealing with the translation of the meaning. However, the distance from the next station is still small. Either we are dealing with the inaccuracy of the measurement, or the roads were more winding and longer in the olden days: in this region, the terrain is quite fragmented.

Mazaca Cesarea

It is equally identified with today's *Kayseri*.

Samosata — Comana Capadocia (Roman mile)

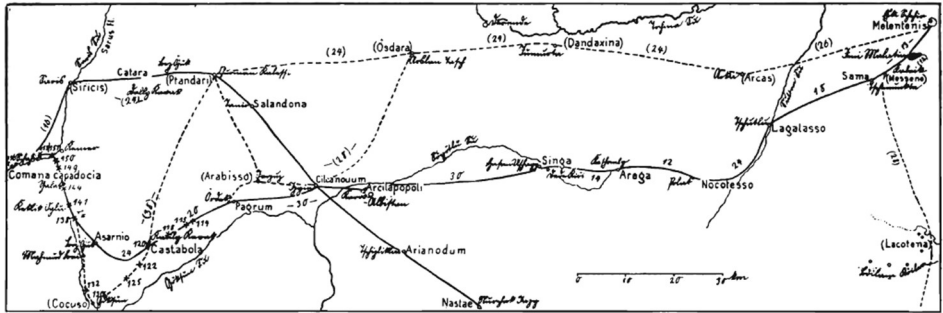
Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Comana Capadocia	Kamer				
In Cilissa	Arslantaş	20	30	32	6.67
Larissa	Harsa, <u>Güzelsu</u>	23	34	32	-5.88
Arasaxa	Zerezek	10	15	15	0.00
Sinispora	<u>Yazılı</u>	13	19	19	0.00
Mazaca Cesarea	Kayseri	24	36	31	-13.89
		90	134	129	Average: -3.73

¹⁷⁹ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 236.

Comana Capadocia — Melentenis

Comana Capadocia XXIII Asarino XXIII Castabola XX Pagrum XXX Arcilapopoli XXX Singa XIII Arega XII Nocotesso XXIII Lagalasso XVIII Sama XIII Melentenis

The probable main outline of this route has been preserved on the Soviet map. But there is a problem with the distances. According to TP data, this entire track is 209 miles, while the approximate actual length of the track works out to be almost as many kilometers. In other words, we are again dealing with the so-called "Talmudic" mile. Phonetic or semantic identifications can be found for most of the stations. But the problem is complicated by the location. Near the city of *Malatya*, it is highly fragmented, and the settlements have a *surface-even* distribution, which makes identifications difficult.



Comana Capadocia — Melentenis according to K. Miller¹⁸⁰.

In *BAtlas*, *Singa* and *Castabola* are considered to have penetrated in from other paths¹⁸¹. In contrast, Miller specifically notes that the *Castabola* of this route is different from the *Castabola* of *Cilicia*. Instead, in Miller's reconstruction, this route strangely intersects with the *Samosata — Comana Capadocia* route.

Asarino

Marked 24 miles (36 km) from *Comana Capadocia*. At that distance is the village of *Azmankei*, the remote similarity of the origin of its name with the sought-after locality does not seem to be accidental, taking into account the fact that it is located at the specified distance.

Castabola

At RA, *Nastavera*, although TP's version seems to be more correct. It is probably composed of Lat. *castē* "pure, immaculate" and the Greek word *βολέω*, which, among many meanings, has the meaning "to pour, to fill": that is, "immaculate filler," which may refer to the spring. It is marked at a distance of 24 miles (about 36 km) from the

¹⁸⁰ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 237.

¹⁸¹ *BAtlas* of the Greek and Roman World, Map 64.

previous one. About 34 km away from the previous *Azmankey* village is *Karapınar* "black spring" village. And although there are hundreds of place names with the "source" element, being in the specified place may not be accidental.

Pagrum

It is marked at a distance of 20 miles (about 30 km) from the previous one, and about 28 km away is the present *Gürün* settlement (Armenian: *Гурин*), whose name resembles the ending part of the name *Pagrum*. Different authors identified this village with *Togarma* (*Tegarama*) of Hittite sources, *Til-Garimmu* of Assyrian sources, *Gauraena* of Ptolemy¹⁸². Perhaps, this can be one of the options for distorting the historical name.

Arcilapopoli

Near RA, *Archelailopolis*. It is marked at a distance of 30 km from the previous one. It is from this station that the unit of measurement seems to have changed, because the remaining distance to *Malatya*, even taking into account the severe fragmentation of the last section, does not fit the mentioned sites of TP, if we count them in Roman miles. Therefore, it must be assumed that the "Talmudic" mile mentioned above was used in this passage. Indeed, at a distance of about 31 km from *Gürün*, down the *Melas* (*Тохма*) river gorge, there is the village of *Hacılar Sıragöz*. The phonetic similarity of the *Hacılar* component of this toponym and the *Arcila/Archela* component of the searched toponym is noticeable, which may be the result of the reinterpretation of the old name.

Singa

It is marked another 30 miles away from the previous one. Perhaps, it could have been located about 32 km away from the previous one in the *Melas* gorge, now *Hisarcık*: Turk. "little castle" on the site of the village. Unfortunately, no edges for the phonetic identification of the name can be seen, but the subsequent restoration of the track makes this location probable.

Arega

Marked at 14 miles from the previous one. Perhaps it coincides with a group of gardens located 12 km from *Hisarcık*, in the middle of which there seems to have been a settlement in the past. Especially since at this point there is now a crossroads, and the main road leading to *Malatya* departs from the road along the river bank. The extremely small distance from the previous station is puzzling, although perhaps the road was more winding before and as a result, a bit longer.

Nocotesso

This is marked 12 miles from the previous one. *Kayadibi* village "under the rock" is located about 3 km from the previous *Esenbey*: indeed it is not far from the big rocks.

¹⁸² Дьяконов И. М., Предыстория армянского народа, р. 10.

CAPPADOCIA

At the same time, in the name *Nocotesso*, one can notice the lat. *cōtes* "rock" component. And although place names with the *kaya* component are common in this region, the overlap of concepts is a fact. But, as we see, the distance is completely inconsistent.

But it is possible that the village had a higher position in the past. Indeed, the rocks that could have given their name to the village are considerably higher. In addition, there are gardens under the mentioned rocks without houses: such a phenomenon is characteristic of the cases when the village is moved. This is evidenced by the fact that today the name *Kayadibi* is mentioned in the undeveloped section. If the assumption is correct, the distance from the previous settlement will be significantly greater: especially if we take into account that the terrain here is very uneven, and in ancient times it could have been considerably longer. In the presented restoration, it is assumed that the ancient road after *Arega* continued along the river bank, bypassing the wastelands. In any case, it is not impossible that in ancient times the village was in a higher position, and the road was more circuitous and longer.

Lagalasso

The settlement of *Akçadağ* is located 20 km (about 30 km by road) to the southeast from the current *Kayadibi*. This name means "white mountain", and the name *Lagalasso* contains the Greek root *γάλα* "milk, milk-white-juice" (cf. also: *γάλακτινος* "milk-white") with the prefix *λα*. The proximity of the meanings and the correspondence of the distance make it possible to make the location exactly in this settlement. BAtlas identifies this station with Ptolemy's *Leugaisa* (*Λεύγαισα*), which seems quite likely. At the same time, it should be noted that the similarity is not only external, because Greek *λευκός* means "white". this is an additional argument that understanding the meaning of this place name as "white" is not unreasonable.

Sama

This station is marked 13 miles from *Melentenis* (the ancient city of *Arslantepe*). The same number of kilometers away is the village of *Samanköy* (*Саман*, 38°23'37"N 38°14'12"E), and it is tempting to assume that the origin of this village name retained the old name in a reinterpreted form. Miller did so. However, the first thing that speaks against this is that the place name *Samanköy* has a very common composition and means Turk. "mudbrick village", and in the same field, about 8 km south of the mentioned *Samanköy* (and about 12 km from *Arslantepe*) there is another place with a similar name, *Samanly* (38°19'11"N 38°16'11"E) which can also claim to be the heir of Sama. Besides, the distance is inconvenient. if the 1-kilometer mile is used here, it turns out that the previous *Lagalasso* - *Sama* site (which also seems to have been measured in the same mile) is much larger than required. And if it is measured in Roman miles, then the *Sama* - *Melentenis* area is already very small. It is true that the network of roads in this area is quite irregular (and probably it was the same in ancient times) and

the actual road is slightly larger, but not significantly. Meanwhile, if we assume that the observed station was further away from *Malatya*, both sites will correspond well with the TP data. Unfortunately, there are no settlements at all within the required distance. Therefore, either they have not been preserved, or perhaps we are dealing with inaccuracy in the data, perhaps a bug (a tens sign could have been forgotten), perhaps only this part is really given in Roman miles (and why not: from reconstructions of previous routes, it is clear that the TP was compiled as a result of the selection of different sources) and this station really identifies with one of the two mentioned settlements. In that case, Miller's version seems more likely, because it is a bit further from *Arslantepe*.

Samosata — Comana Capadocia (Roman mile, "Talmudic" mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Comana Capadocia	Kamer				
Asarino	Азманкей	24	36	34	-5.56
<u>Castabola</u>	<u>Кагаринар</u>	24	36	39	8.33
Pagrum	Gürün	20	30	26	-13.33
Arcilapopoli	Насилар Сıragöz	30	30	31	3.33
Singa	Hisarcık	30	30	32	6.67
Arega	~ Полатушагы	14	14	12	-14.29
<u>Nocotesso</u>	<u>Каядйби</u>	12	12	12	0.00
<u>Lagalasso</u>	<u>Акçадаğ</u>	24	24	27	12.50
Sama	Samanköy	18	18	25	38.89
Melentenis	Malatya	13	13	12	-7.69
		<i>209</i>	<i>243</i>	<i>250</i>	<i>Average: 2.88</i>

Mazaca Cesarea — Seuastia

Mazaca Cesarea XIII Sorpara XIII Foroba XIII Armaza XVI Eudagina XXXII Magalasso XXXII Comaralis XXII Seuastia

Almost no historical place names have been preserved on this track, except for peripheral stations. It is possible to make some semantic identifications, but the main guide remains the distances. On average, the distance of the whole route is less than the required one. And since the names identified with some reliability appear in the second part of the route, the distances in the first part are more inaccurate.

Sorpara

This is marked 13 miles (19 km) from *Mazaca Cesarea*. Miller locates it in *Gematz* or *Mandschusu* villages (*Гемеч, Gömeç* 38°52'12"N 35°39'52"E and *Мунджусун, Muncusun, Güneşli Kale*, 38°54'02"N 35°37'20"E). However, they are about 24 km away from *Mazaca Cesarea*.

In general, since this indicated distance remains within the extensive field extending northeast of *Mazaca Cesarea*, this station could have been located in many places. However, the settlement on the hill, *Karahöyük* ("Black Hill"), could be more ancient and therefore more famous, and is also located at a more convenient distance of 21 km.

Foroba

Marked 14 miles (21 km) from the previous one. Miller connects it with Ptolemy's *Sobara* and locates it near the village of *Sarumsak* (now *Sarımsaklı*). However, this one is only 5 km away from the previous station he located, and this location is perhaps the consequence of the inaccuracy of his maps.

Since there are no phonetic similarities with the current place names, it remains to be located according to the distance. About 18 km from *Gesi Bağpınar* is the village of *Burhaniye*, whose name is even remotely similar to the sought-after place name.

Armaza

It is marked at a distance of 14 miles from the previous one. BAtlas locates near the village of *Gemerek* (with survey), where Miller located the next station, *Eudagina*. Miller locates this station in the village of *Pallas*: probably just based on the estimation of distances. But there is a more important circumstance that gives grounds for accepting Miller's location. The point is that, Turk. *pala* means "sword"¹⁸³, and Lat. *arma* means "weapon" (though mostly defensive), from which *armātus*, *armāta*, "armed": we can assume a typo *t > z* (Miller notes in the footnote, the wrong form in some editions is *Armatra*). This makes it possible to make another fairly reliable intermediate identification. Although, as in the previous location, the distance is small.

¹⁸³ Miles G. C., Turkish Pala "Sword" and Its Derivatives .

Eudagina

It was located 16 miles (24 km) from the previous one. Miller, as said, locates in the village of *Gemerek*. But from *Palas* to *Gemerek* is around 30 km, instead of the required 24 km: perhaps this location of Miller is again a result of the inaccuracy of the maps of his time. The current *Beştepe* village is closer to the required distance. A significant part of this route is plain, and it seems that the roads should be straight, but they are not. The fields are divided into separate plots, and bypassing them significantly lengthened the path. Perhaps, at least by 5%.

Magalasso

It is marked at a distance of 32 miles (about 47 km) from the previous one. Almost at that distance is the present village of *Şarkışla*, where this station can be located. Miller did the same. Perhaps there is also preservation of meaning. The name *Magalasso* can be connected with Lat. (Punic.) *māgālia* with the word "tent", and the name *Şarkışla* - to interpret, as "city barracks" (*şar* Turkish: "city", *kışla* Turkish: "barracks"): since barracks in ancient times were also tents, then we can talk about the same meaning.

Comaralis

It is 32 miles further than the previous one. *Kabasakal* village is located approximately at the required distance. Its name means "luxuriant beard" < Turk. *kaba*- "rough, lush" and *sakal* "beard". On the other hand, in the name *Comaralis* you can see the Greek lat. *coma* "hair" and lat. *rāllus* "shaven" < Lat. *rādo* "to scrape, shave" the ingredients. The proximity of the two concepts is obvious: this is not the usual "new village" or "under the rock" concepts that occur in place names at every turn. It is very unlikely that a toponym related to such a narrow field, barbering, could accidentally appear in the necessary place. Probably there was a barbershop in that village and that feature could be expressed in the village name and then translated into Turkish.

However, on the British map, the village is marked with the "standard" name *Eski Keui* "old village", although this does not exclude the variant, when the traditional name of village may be appeared on later published maps. In any case, the accidental similarity of names of such order is very improbable.

At the same time, *Kabasakal* village is far from the main road, and it is more likely that the guest house of that village is indicated on the TP. On the same British map, a number of guest houses, or their ruins, are indicated at a distance of 3 km from it: probably, there were several of them side by side. Perhaps, one of them, approximately near *Karapınar*, was *Comaralis*.

Seuastia

This station, as has been said, is identically identified with present-day *Sivas*.

CAPPADOCIA

Mazaca Cesarea — Seuastia (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
<u>Mazaca Cesarea</u>	Kayseri				
Sorpara	Karahöyük	13	19	21	10.53
Foroba	Burhaniye^o	14	21	18	-14.29
<u>Armaza</u>	<u>Palas</u>	14	21	17	-19.05
Eudagina	Beştepe	16	24	22	-8.33
<u>Magalasso</u>	<u>Şarkısla</u>	32	47	47	0.00
<u>Comaralis</u>	<u>Kabasakal</u>	32	47	47	0.00
Seuastia	Sivas	22	33	32	-3.03
		143	212	204	Average: -3.77

Ýconio — Týana**Ýconio XII Baratha XI Týana**

The lengths of both sections of this short route are controversial. The first one is perhaps not mentioned (although it may seem that the number XXXIX refers to this¹⁸⁴, see also *Aquis Calidis*). As for the second site, the distance digit looks unusual: looks like an X or a drawn I: *l*. However, it can be assumed with some confidence that it is indeed the Roman 50, especially since it does not seem to contradict other data.

Ýconio

Equivalently identifies with present-day *Konya*.

Baratha

As stated above, it is marked 50 miles (80 km) from the previous one. And approximately 83 km from *Konya*, the summer *Çukurkuyu* (*Чукуркюю*) site is marked on the Soviet map, the name of which is etymologically Turk. *çukur kuyu* "pit well". However, in the name *Baratha*, the Greek base *βάραθρον* "pit, abyss" is noticeable: that is, the two names are identical in meaning. This allows us to locate this station in the *Çukurkuyu* area, northwest of *Karapinar* settlement.

Týana

The ruins of this settlement have been preserved near the village of *Kemerhisar*, southwest of *Nigde*.

Ýconio — Týana (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Ýconio	Konya				
<u>Baratha</u>	<u>Чукуркюю</u>	50	80	83	3.75
Týana	Kemerhisar	∅	∅	110	—

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace2297.html>

CAPPADOCIA

Týana — Mazaca cesarea

Týana XXVII Addaualis XV Scolla XXII Cibistra IX Tetra Ø Mazaca cesarea

It is quite a difficult route to locate, as phonetic identifications are almost absent.

Addaualis

Marked 27 miles (41 km) from the previous one. Miller identifies it with the village of *Eski Andaval*. Until recently, *Andaval* was called the current *Aktaş*, at the foot of the mountain of the same name. Undoubtedly, this is the sought-after settlement, especially since there are the *Ambavalis* of RA and the *Andabalis* of IA. There is also the *Andaval* railway station. However, the distance from the previous station to the current station is only about 26 km, and to *Aktaş* is less. Note that this almost matches the IA data of 16 miles and it can be assumed that there is a bug: one additional digit X has been written. Although, the distances of that source to the observed region are quite far from reality. Thus, Tiana to *Podando* (*Pozanti*, see below) is listed as 34 miles, when it is actually 48 miles (72 km), and *Tiana* to *Aegeas* (*Ayas*) is listed as 82 miles (123 km). Meanwhile in fact even in a straight line it is around 162 km. However, in this case, it seems that the IA distances are more accurate. This is indirectly confirmed by the length of the next site: here too, it seems, the cartographer wrote one X digit less. Maybe he just confused the tens numbers of the two locations? We also saw a similar case when locating the *Ad pontem* and *Abdeae* stations on the *Singara—Hatris* route.

Scolla

It is listed as 15 miles (22 km) from the previous one, although, as stated in the previous point, it appears to be a bug and should have been 25 miles. The point is that the name of this station is written beyond some mountain range compared to the previous station. Unfortunately, the corresponding stair of the red line of the route marking the station is missing (although the line has a slight break to the left of the mountain range, and it can be assumed that this is the location of the station itself and it was west of the mountain range). And indeed, the current road crosses a mountain range, and just at the point indicated on the TP, about 66 km from *Tyana*. Miller locates this station beyond (east) of the mentioned ridge at *Develi Karahissar*, near present-day *Yeşilhisar*. However, this point is about 11 km further from *Tyana* than the TP requires. It is more likely that this station was right next to the mountain pass. west of the ridge, in present-day *Araplı*. Note that Greek *σκολιός* means "curve, winding". maybe it's the hint on the bends of the mountain pass?

Cibistra

Marked 22 miles (33 km) from the previous one. Miller finds that this station is also mislabeled, as the ancient *Heraclea*, now *Ereğli*, is known by this name, and moves it to the *Yconio — Tyana* route, placing it between *Barathe* and *Tyana*, while there are no sufficient grounds to claim that there could not have been a station with this name on

the considered route. In particular, RA also confirms this sequence. Miller himself notices that uncertainty increases as a result of relocation¹⁸⁵. In this case, 31 km from *Araplı* is the *Yavashkhany* inn (a ruin according to the Soviet map), which probably just bore the name of the famous city, or belonged to it.

Tetra

It is marked 9 miles (14 km) from the previous one. *Subaşı* village is located 13 km from the previous one, where this station can be located. It is noteworthy that there are now several settlements around this with the numeral "four" in their names: several *Çardaklı* (Turk. "pavilioned" < Persian: *char* "four", as "four arches"), as well as one *Dortyol* Turk. "four ways", while the name Tetra probably comes from Gr. from the meaning of "four", although, of course, there is no information that this *Subaşı* ever bore such a name.

Týana — Mazaca cesarea (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Týana	Kemerhisar				
Addualis 27	Андавал	17	25	25	0.00
Scolla 15	Araplı	25	37	36	-2.70
Cibistra	Явашханы	22	33	31	-6.06
Tetra	Subaşı	9	13	13	-6.06
Mazaca cesarea	Kayseri	Ø	Ø	42	—
		73	108	105	<i>Average: -2.78</i>

¹⁸⁵ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 729.

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Seuastia — Nicopoli

Seuastia xxiii Comassa xv Doganis xxv Megalasso xxii Mesorome xiii Nicopoli

Few historical place names or traces of them have been preserved on this path either. Only *Seuastia* is definitely identical: this was always one of the large settlements, where the population keeping the tradition of place names stayed for the longest time.

The restoration of the last sections of the route is largely related to the location of *Nicopoli*. In addition to the one under consideration, four more routes connect with *Nicopoli*. Unfortunately, among these there are several sites, the length of which is not indicated, and the general, systematic compliance of the routes with the special features of the site takes a primary role. And the most important of them: that the road connecting *Comana pontica* with *Nicopoli* joins at the midpoint of the last section of the road under consideration; identification of roads with such properties is a necessary condition for identification. Given the mountainous nature of this region, and the fact that the site is only 13 miles long, this may correspond to a situation where two roads are located in adjacent canyons separated by a mountain range. From the analysis of the location, it becomes clear that with a high probability it can be the gorges of *Kelkit River* (Arm. *Gail River* «wolf river», Lat. *Lycus*) and *Iris*, which come together near *Suşehri* (formerly *Enderes*) settlement. It was on this assumption that the next restoration was made, confirming (as the restoration of the rest of the routes shows) Miller's proposed location of *Nicopoli*.

At the same time, it unexpectedly turns out that the largest part of the almost straight and convenient road passing through the gorge of the *Gail River* is not included in the TP at all, which can be explained by the stretch of the TP, as a result of which it was inconvenient to depict the connections between parallel routes. Indeed, in order to depict the connecting road (on which, apparently, there was no notable station) between *Anniaca* and *Neocesaria* (*Koyulhisar* and *Niksar*), it would have been necessary to depict an extremely long line, and that too in the narrowest part of the routes, which and the cartographer probably considered it unnecessary.

Comassa

Marked 23 miles (31 km) from the previous one. The location of this is also not in doubt. 37 km from the previous one is the present village of *Dışkapı*, whose former name is indicated on old maps as *Kemiş*, and the phonetic identity of this with the searched place name is obvious.

Doganis

This station is marked 15 miles (about 20 km) from the previous one. Online repositories do not locate it. Miller located it in the village of *Devekse* (*Девекесе*, now *Ekinli*), which is located 25 km from *Dışkapı*. In the absence of other data, this is a completely acceptable option, especially since even some distant phonetic similarity can be noticed. Although it is bad that the village is located on the opposite side of the river from the main road. The distance is also slightly skewed. The reason for the latter may be that the almost level road seemed shorter to the surveyors than it actually is, perhaps the settlement was in a slightly different place in the past. In particular, it could be on one of a number of suitable hills in the vicinity, including on the right bank of the river (the drawing shows exactly that version).

Megalasso

Marked 25 miles (33 km) from the previous one. Miller locates it in *Sharjerije* (*Şerefiye*). This is located on the old road and is due north of the previous station. However, this means, on the one hand, the road become more length, and on the other hand, in that case, the road coming from the *Iris Gorge* will join it already near *Megalasso*, but according to TP, this should have happened only in the middle of the last section. From this it follows that the route went along the current main road, and this station can be located already according to the distance. And here, at the required distance, we see two villages side by side not far from the main road in *Halys Gorge*. *Eskikeşlik* (Turkish: "old winter house") and *Türkkeşlik* (Turkish: "Turkish winter house"). As mentioned when examining the *Magalasso* station, that name can be connected with Lat. (Punic:) with and through the word *māgālia* "tent", Turk: *kışla* with the concept of "barracks" as a place for gathering tents, and it was logical to expect that the place name *Megalasso* is perhaps a variant of the previous one and should have the same meaning and should be expected in a place of the same order (again related to "tents, temporary shelters") modern seeing a place name indirectly confirms the previous assumption. As for which of the two current settlements could correspond to the sought-after station, it can be assumed from their location and names, which are quite telling. With great probability, it can be claimed that it is the "old" barracks, next to which the new one, the Turkish one, was later created. In addition, the "old" *Eskikeşlik* is also more convenient in terms of location, since the road from the second one leads already through the mountain passes to the neighboring route through *Oleoberda* (as

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mentioned above, due to the lack of information about some important sites to restore, the roads to *Nicopoli* should be observed in system order).

Mesorome

It is marked 22 miles (29 km) from the previous one. At that distance, near the source of the *Gemin* River, the Soviet map shows the settlement of *Kürtmezary* (*Кюртмезары*), whose name can be etymologically interpreted as "Kurdish grave". The external phonetic similarity of the *mezary* "grave" component of this place name and the word *Mesorome* can be noticed (the latter is probably related to the Greek name *Μεσορομάσθης = Ὠρομάζης* "Aramazd"¹⁸⁶).

Nicopoli

It is marked 13 miles (19 km) from the previous one. This is the area where the road from *Comana pontica* joins it from the northwest. According to the proposed restoration, the point was located about 7 km from *Nicopoli*, near the present-day village of *Gökçekaş*. And the city of *Nicopoli* can be located on the site of the present village of *Eskişar* (Turk. "old city") according to the distance and positional correspondence with other routes. Miller locates near the neighboring village of *Piurk* (now *Yeşilyayla*, Turk. "green pasture"), which is actually the same location: simply, the name "old city" (which, perhaps, was not even indicated on Miller's map) is an eloquent evidence of the existence of an ancient site in that place.

Seuastia — Nicopoli (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Seuastia	Sivas				
Comassa	Kemiş (Dışkapı)	23	34	37	8.82
Doganis	Девекесе °	15	22	23	4.55
<u>Megalasso</u>	<u>Eskikeşlik</u>	25	37	35	-10.81
Mesorome	Кюртмезары	22	33	25	-24.24
Nicopoli	Eskişar	13	19	19	0.00
		98	145	137	Average: -5.52

¹⁸⁶ Дворецкий И. Х., Древнегреческо-русский словарь, М., 1958.

Comana Pontica — Nicopoli

Comana Pontica xvi Gagonda v Magabula xxv Danae xxv Speluncis Ø Nicopoli

This is perhaps one of the most difficult reorganizing routes. The length of the last site is missing, and the location of none of the intermediate stations on the route is definitely known, and the absence of large settlements does not give an opportunity to give preference to one or another settlement when locating the stations. It also does not give an opportunity to estimate the size of the mile used, although the location of the first two sites gives the impression that we are dealing with a Phileterian mile. *Nicopoli* was located in the previous section, and the location of *Comana Pontica* is also known (see below). The actual distance of the entire route is thus known to be about 150 km. The sum of the known distances from these is 71 miles. In fact, there are about 40-45 km to the last section, including 7 km to *Nicopoli*, as this route joins the midpoint of the *Mesorome—Nicopoli* section.

Comana Pontica

Its location is known from excavations and there is no doubt. It is located 7 km west of *Tokat*, on the *Yeşilirmak (Iris)* river, near the bridge of *Gümenek (Геменек)* village.

Gagonda

The distance of this from the previous station is marked to be 16 miles (24 km), accompanied by with explanatory note: *A comana pontica. Gagonda "From Comana Pontica. Gagonda"*. Miller locates between *Georek* and *Kevaklyk* (now *Gevrek* and *Serince, Кевахык*), Kippert locates at *Almus*, which is exactly the required distance. Moreover, today *Almus* is on the bank of the reservoir, but before that it should have been on the bank of the river, that is, perhaps about 1 km to the east.

Magabula

It is marked 5 miles (8 km) from the previous one. At that distance, the village of *Megelli (Мегелли)* is indicated, the name of which is also somewhat similar to the name of the sought-after station. Miller locates in *Almus*.

Danae

Marked 15 miles (23 km) from the previous one. There are no opportunities for phonetic identification, and it remains to be located by distance. BATlas locates at *Kündür* with a question mark (*мост Кюндур, 40°20'46"N 37°30'01"E*). Moreover, it is in the neighbor gorge of the *Gail River*, on the opposite side of the river, on the right bank: it is not clear why the road had to cut through the mountain range (which is difficult to pass: only in recent years they began to build an asphalt road crossing it), if it could still go on a relatively small slope. And on the other hand, in that case, this route appears in the same canyon with the route from *Polemonio* and therefore connects to it, while according to TP they do not. Miller locates at the village of *Samail* (now *İsmailiye*) in the

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same gorge. However, that station is no more appropriate than the others, and considering the distances, it should have been located higher up the river.

Unfortunately, the name of the station is not particularly telling. It should be related to the root *nhe* **danu*- "water, river", i.e. it corresponds to modern Turk. *Irmak* (the connection with the cult of *Danaya* is unlikely). There are no consistent toponyms and the toponym with that name (i.e. "river") could be anywhere on the *Iris* River. E.g. there is *Dereköy* "river village", but this place is not suitable. According to the distance, is located at *Dalpinar*: the name perhaps means "branch-source".

Speluncis

This station was 25 miles away from the previous one. *BAtlas* locates a guest house near *Koyulhisar*. And in *Koyulhisar* itself, *Anniaca* of the *Polemonio* — *Nicopoli* route is located. in fact, with this approach, the two routes actually merge.



On Stieler's map, 1875.



On Genshtab map.



On GoogleEarth image.

There are some edges of the phonetic identification of this place name. The point is that at a distance less than the required one, the settlement of *Ipsile* is marked on the map, which has an obvious similarity with the sought-after place name. This *Ипсиле* (*Ипсела*, Greek: Ὑψηλή) was a famous fortress in ancient times¹⁸⁷, and it is also marked as *Ipsala* on the maps of the 17th century. The name probably originates from Greek. From the word ὑψηλός "high, elevated". And the name *Speluncis* probably originates from Lat. *spēlunca* < Greek σπήλυγξ "grot". These two words are very similar, in fact, differing by the *s/p* change, and it is not excluded that they could have been confused already in ancient times. The reason for the confusion could also be that, perhaps, the first could be a distinguishing epithet of the second: as "upper, elevated" *Speluncis*. As a result of this, some confusion related to this settlement in the maps could have arisen. On the

¹⁸⁷ 888 Arabs occupied it by displacing the population. See *Продолжатель Феофана*, С-Пб., 2009, сс. 221, 264, *Васильев А. А.*, *Византия и арабы*. т. 2. с. 109.

Soviet map, the settlement of *Ipsile* is indicated on the *Gekeliichy* tributary of the *Gail* River (in this section, *Tozanly*), above the *Gail* River (40°12'50"N 37°31'57"E), and on present day maps it is located the village of *Doğanşar* "the city of the falcon" (note that the concept of "falcon" also includes the idea of being "elevated"), while there is also *Doğanşar* on the Soviet map in the form of *Doğanşar*, but the latter is located on the *Gail*, about 5 km below the previous one: where today there is no settlement at all.

The reason for this obvious bug could be the simultaneous existence of "upper" and "inner" *Speluncis*. However, in terms of distance, neither is convenient, and unfortunately, since the length of the next site is unknown, the location of this cannot be independently verified; as said, this track connects to the middle of the *Mesorome* — *Nicopoli* section, without specifying the distance. Therefore, it is most logical to locate this station according to the distance, at the exit from the *Iris* Canyon. it would be a suitable place for a guest house. Moreover, it does not exclude that it could bear the name of *Ipsile*. Although it is very unlikely, because it would already be very far from the castle, about 25 km away.

Comana Pontica — Nicopoli (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Comana Pontica	Геменек				
Gagonda	Гезги	16	26	25	-3.85
Magabula	Мегелли	5	8	9	12.50
Danae	İsmailiye	25	40	40	0.00
Speluncis	Ипси́ле	25	40	40	0.00
Nicopoli	Eskişar	∅	∅	37	—
		71	114	114	Average: 0.00

Polemonio — Nicopoli

Polemonio ∅ Sauronisena xvi Matuasco xviii Anniaca xviii Innōminis ∅ Nicopoli

The lack of lengths of the first and last sites complicates the restoration of this path.

Sauronisena and Matuasco

Miller locates *Sauronisena* in *Melet Hamidije*, now called *Mesudiye*. It is often believed that *Sauronisena* is the fortress of *Gölköy*, which is the Byzantine *Habsamana*¹⁸⁸. It is possible, although there seems to be no phonetic similarity, and the only determinant remains the distance from the next station, *Matuasco*, whose location is also unknown. Miller locates this one on some tributary of the Melet River. And Bryer and Winfield find that the name *Matuasco* can be a distortion of the name Melet (Greek: *Μελέτ, Μήλας*, probably meaning "black river").

However, on the Soviet map, 4 km to the west of *Mesudiye*, the *Maksutalan* (*Максуталан*) settlement is marked, the first part of whose name seems to be *Matuasco*. Turk: *maksut* means "goal", but the word is completely obscure. The suffix *-lan* can (but after a vowel: there is no vowel here) form the indefinite verb "to aim?", but also form the name of a *wild beast*. In that case, both options seem meaningless, and it creates the impression that we are dealing with an attempt to reinterpret some unfamiliar word on local soil.

By this reasoning, if that station was located here, then the previous station must have been on the road passing through it, 16 miles (24 km) away. *Mahmudiye* village is located at that distance. However, there are still 12 km from that point to the aforementioned *Habsamana* fortress, which makes the possibility that it is *Sauronisena* unlikely. On the other hand, about 6 km from *Mahmudiye*, to the north, in the direction of *Gölköy*, is the village of *Siyrikıryk*, the beginning of the name of which resembles the beginning of the searched place name: *Sauro-/Cuŭpu-*, which makes it possible to consider this village name as a trace of the old name and to locate *Sauronisena* near it, on the highway, where the road inn of the same name could have been in ancient times.

Anniaca

It is marked 18 miles (29 km) from the previous one. At that distance is the village of *Koyulhisar*. Both Miller and DARMC locate *Anniaca* here. This is also perfectly acceptable in the framework of this reconstruction, as it ensures a perfect correspondence of distances.

Innōminis

It is marked 18 miles (29 km) from the previous one. *Akçaağıl* is marked at that distance. Miller ignores this station, while it is clear from the calculation of distances that it did

¹⁸⁸ Bryer A. and Winfield D., The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos, p. 117.

exist, since the distance to *Nicopoli* (*Eskişar*, see above) is about 17 km more than these 18 miles mentioned in TP.

Polemonio* — *Nicopoli (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Polemonio	Bolaman				
Sauronisena	Сийрикырык	∅	∅	68	—
Matiasco	Максутолан	16	26	27	3.85
Anniaca	Кочулhisar	18	29	27	-6.90
Innōminis	Акчаағыл	18	29	28	-3.45
Nicopoli	Eskişar	∅	∅	17	—
		52	84	82	Average: -2.38

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Nicopoli — Draconis

Nicopoli XIII Innōminis Ø Draconis

Only one unnamed station and its distance from *Nicopoli* are mentioned between *Nicopoli* and *Draconis*. Based on this distance, it can be located near the present village of *Altıntepe*, on the *Suşehri — Refahiye* road.

Usually, information about this route is supplemented by data known from IA, according to which the station *Olotoedariza* is indicated between *Nicopoli* and Ad Dracones (which is undoubtedly the same *Draconis*), and it is assumed that this is the anonymous station of TP. However, according to the unnamed station of TP, the distance from *Nicopoli* is 14 miles, and according to IA, *Nicopoli* to *Olotoedariza* is 24 miles. We may be dealing with a phenomenon that has already been observed many times in the case of TP, when it is felt that one X has been missed, but we cannot say that for sure: there could be many stations on that route, and one of them could be marked in TP and the other in IA. However, if the distances of this are correct, it can help in locating *Draconis*. It is 50 miles to *Draconis*, and the same to *Satala*. About it in the *Zimara — Satala* route section.

Nicopoli — Zimara

Nicopoli քի *Oleoberda* և *Caleorsissa* քիսի *Analiba* և *Zimara*

Due to the lack of phonetic identifications and the large number of roads, this route can only be reconstructed with a considerable approximation.

Oleoberda

It is marked 21 miles (24 km) from the previous one. According to the distance, it is located in present-day *İmranlı*. The component *Berd* Arm. "fortress" is noticeable in the structure of this place name. On S. Yeremyan's map it is marked as *Ուղեու* (*Ugheu*) fortress¹⁸⁹. It should be noted that in the Soviet map this settlement is represented as *Imranly*, but also as *Hamitabad* (*Хамутабад*). The second of this, *abad*- Pers. *abad*- "dwelling", being phonetically close, perhaps replaced the Arm. "fortress".

Caleorsissa

It is marked 24 miles (38 km) from the previous one. According to the distance, it is located in the present-day *Uyanık*.

Analiba

This station is also debate when restoring the *Zimara-Satala* route. It is marked 15 miles (24 km) from *Zimara*. Perhaps, it is the same *Ani-Aghiun* (*Անի-Աղիւն*)¹⁹⁰, the center of the *Aghiun* (*Աղիւն*) province of *High Armenia*. It would be logical to assume that it could be on the site of a modern provincial center, such as the present village of *Kuruçay* once was. However, according to the distance, it should be located about 5 km downstream of the *Kuruçay* River, perhaps at the site of the present day *Çiftlikköy*, at the foot of Mount *Aktash* (39°36'59"N 38°33'35"E). And the name *Aghiun* can be connected with the name of that mountain. It can be explained as Turk. *ak* "white" and *taş* "stone". The same meaning of "white" can be seen in Arm. *Aghiun*, which is probably composed of the suffix *-իւն* (*-yun*), from the root *աղ* (*agh-*) "white"¹⁹¹, as in Armenian *արիւն*, *աւղիւն* and other similar words. But in that case, that route will be in the same gorge as the *Zimara-Satala* route for some distance. However, it is so in the conditions of today's roads, and in the olden days, the *Zimara—Satala* Road could be slightly deviated to the west.

¹⁸⁹ Երեմյան Ս., Քարտեզ՝ «Մեծ Հայքի թագավորությունը IV դարում», Ե. 1979, Բ3.

¹⁹⁰ Երեմյան Ս., Քարտեզ՝ «Մեծ Հայքի թագավորությունը IV դարում». Աղոնց Ն., Հայաստանը Հռոմի նիսիանոսի դարաշրջանում. Քաղաքական կացությունը և նախարարական կարգը:

¹⁹¹ This root is probably Arm. *ali-* is the ancient form of the root, which underwent the phonetic change / > ʰ. See Աճառեան Ջ., Հայերեն արմատական բառարան. Петросян С., Древнейшие названия Черного моря, озер Урмия и Ван в свете морфологических представлений древних армян.

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BAtlas locates on the same river, but near the mouth of the river, on the *Altıntaş* — *Kemah* Road, which is impossible due to the deviation of about 15 km from the distance, specified on TP.

Zimara — Nicopoli (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Nicopoli	Eskişar				
Oleoberda	Imranlı	21	31	34	9.68
Caleorsissa	Uyanık	15	22	23	9.09
Analiba	Çörekli	24	36	32	-11.11
Zimara	Зымапа	15	22	27	22.73
		75	111	117	<i>Average: 5.41</i>

Samosata — Melentenis***Samosata XII Charmodara XXX Heba VIII Barsalium XLVI Glaudia XII Metita XIII Corne Ø Melentenis***

This route, marked by the right bank of the *Euphrates*, is one of the most difficult to restore. The terrain here is extremely fragmented (the mountains of *Eastern Taurus*), and no reliable identification is known for any intermediate station. The roads are so twisted that it is strange that any important road could pass through such terrain. Although, two of the intermediate stations, *Barsalium* and *Glaudia*, are known. Ammianus mentions them as Roman camps, perhaps fortresses, named *Barzalo* and *Claudias* (Ammianus, XVIII, 7, 10) and in addition, there were two cities of *Arsamea*¹⁹² built by King Arsam of *Komagene* in *Kocahisar* (*Ескуп-Кяхма*, 37°56'59"N 38°39' 10"E) and *Gerger* (*Гергер*, 37°57'42"N 39°00'52"E), as well as the sanctuary of King Antiochus I of *Komagene* on Mount *Nemrut* (37°58'50"N 38°44' 27"E). Perhaps, these are the factors that ensured the importance of this route.

Due to the severe fragmentation of the terrain, it is also impossible to imagine in any reliable way how the road could pass, and therefore to estimate the size of the mile used here. Today's road was built based on the conditions for the movement of cars, but in the past, they could move with greater slopes. In any case, it is more likely that the Phileterian mile was used.

There is another problem: the question of the length of the *Corne — Melentenis* site. It says 8 miles, but it is not clear which of the two section it corresponds to: to that section itself, or the *Melentenis — Ad Aras* section pictured above? Miller assumed that this applies to both sections. However, the distance is written above the line, so this number refers only to *Corne — Melentenis* (this version is accepted by R. Talbert¹⁹³). On the other hand, the line relating to *Ad Aras* is narrow for writing, and the number is tucked under the first step of that line, as if it refers to it, while there is a free space on the right of the lower line, and the number could have been written there. At the same time, when reconstructing the *Melentenis — Ad Tigrem* route, it was found that 8 miles for the *Melentenis — Ad Aras* section is plausible, and from the reconstruction of this route, it can be seen that the *Corne — Melentenis* section is definitely more than 8 miles. Therefore, it is accepted below, this number refers only to the *Melentenis — Ad Aras* area.

The undisputed length of the section is 123 miles, but it is difficult to guess the possible routes of this route. Miller runs this route with conventional lines, which do not take into account the unevenness of the terrain at all. The distance between the outlying stations in a straight line is about 95 km (60 Philitarian miles), that is, less than

¹⁹² Հակոբյան Թ. Խ., Մելիք-Բախչյան Ստ. Տ., Բարսեղյան Ջ. Խ., Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, Ե., 1986 – 2001.

¹⁹³ <https://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace2532.html>

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half of the stated distance. In fact, the shortest route from *Samosata* to *Melentenis* (via *Arikonak*) is about 145 km (90 mi), so the route was taken by a more circuitous route, following the curve of the *Euphrates*. What would have made him choose such a long path instead of a short one? Perhaps, the only reason could be the importance of the intermediate stations, in particular, the aforementioned two military bases, because the settlements in this hard-to-reach area hardly had any commercial importance. And the military importance could be explained by the fact that among them, as Ammianus notes, the *Euphrates* was relatively shallow and these fortresses were probably built as guard posts guarding the river crossings. Therefore, they should have been close to the river. However, the road directly along the river bank is much more winding and extremely long: the length of the detour in the *Doğanyol* section alone is more than 60 miles, i.e. about 3 times longer than the shorter route through *Pütürge*. Indirectly, this helps to some extent in navigating the tangled road paths of this region: Roads that are extremely different from the lengths specified in the TP can be rejected in principle.

Charmodara

Marked 12 miles (about 19 km) from *Samosata*. At that distance, the Soviet map shows the village of *Alakepryu*, which now remains at the bottom of the reservoir. About 6 km north of this, in the same valley, is the village of *Sultanmagara* (*Султанмагара*) (< Turk. *mağara* "cave"), whose name is consistent with *Charmodara*. Is it a coincidence?

According to BAtlas, it is located on the right bank of the *Kahta* (*Kahta*) river, near the confluence with the *Euphrates*, about 25 km from *Samosata*. According to the DARMC, it is located even further, on the left bank of the same river, at about 30 km, that is, it deviates from the TP data by about 50%.

Heba

It is marked 30 miles (about 48 km) from the previous one. Perhaps, the road ran parallel to the tributaries of the *Kahta* (*Кяхма*) river, a little south of the city of the same name and near the village of *Narince* (37°52'52"N 38°45'41"E). The village of *Gündoğdu* (*Мушрак*) is located at the indicated distance, under Mount *Nemrut*. Phonetic identification is not observed here either. However, if we notice that the name *Hēbē* probably comes from Greek. *Ἥβη*, from the name of Heba, the goddess of youth (Greek. *ἦβη* "youth", Doric. *ἦβᾶ*), then the location of this village on the roads leading to the famous sanctuary of Mount *Nemrut* seems to be no coincidence. Maybe the place of worship of the goddess Heba was found there.

In the light of this, a connection with the name of the previous station can also be seen. *Charmodara* can be etymologically translated as Greek. *χάρμᾶ* "object of joy" or *χάρμη* "fighting spirit, victory" and Lat. *dare* "give, present", i.e. "give joy, victory". This indirectly confirms the proposed location.

Barsalium

This is one of the two stations that Ammianus mentions as military stations (*Barzalo*). It is 9 miles (14 km) from the previous station to this station. It corresponds to the current *Gerger* (Soviet map: *Гергер*) castle (there is also Gerger village, next to the castle, and another new Gerger about 7 km north of this). This is the Armenian *Karkar*, where one of the cities of *Arsameia* is also located. Miller also located *Barsalium* here. BAtlas locates only *Arsameia* here and places *Barsalium* at *Killik* (*Куллик*, 38°03'53"N 39°11'37"E), which contradicts the TP distances.

The word *Barsalium* can be seen as Sem. *b-'r* "well" (probably also "spring": hmm: Arab. *bir*¹⁹⁴) and Sem. *s-l-'* "rock" (hmm: Arab. *sal'*) as "rock spring". Such etymology is also supported by the Armenian name of the place. *Karkar* "protruding part of the rock". It is noticeable that the names *Arsameia* and *Barsalium* have a common part, *arsa*. This may be a coincidence, but it is also possible that the name *Arsameia* was reinterpreted on a Semitic basis. DARMC gives a point about 16 km east of this point in a straight line.

Another version is mentioned at the foot of the Russian edition of the history of Ammianus, the current *Berzel* (*Берзель*), which can be considered a perfect phonetic identification, but it was not possible to find a settlement with that name¹⁹⁵. Instead, on the Soviet map, about 2 km north of the aforementioned *Gerger*, the place name *Gerzel* (*Герзель*) is indicated. This can be seen both as a distortion of the first letter of the historical name, and on the contrary, a bug in the Soviet map, resulting from the similarity of the Russian letters Г and Б. In any case, if it is really the historical *Barsalium*, then due to the small distance difference, this and *Gerger* can perhaps be considered different descendants of the same historical settlement.

Glaudia

Marked at 46 miles from the previous one. This is the second military base mentioned by Ammianus, which, as said, is logical that it would be not far from the *Euphrates*. And indeed, after *Gerger*, the road leaves the river and then approaches the river at 46 miles in the region of the present village of *Çığırılı*. Unfortunately, there are no edges of phonetic or semantic identification. There are also no traces of ancient sites on the Google Earth images. Pliny mentions the city of *Claudiopolis* in *Cappadocia*, which seems to be this *Glaudia*. Ramsay identifies them¹⁹⁶. However, there are two cities at Ptolemy: *Claudiopolis* in *Cataonia*, and *Claudias* in *Laviansena*.

Metita

This is marked 12 miles from the previous one. It corresponds to the present-day *Yenidamlar* village. And again, there are no edges of identification.

¹⁹⁴ Эль-Массарани М., Сегаль В. С., Арабско-русский словарь сирийского диалекта.

¹⁹⁵ Аммиан Марцеллин, Римская история, с. 159.

¹⁹⁶ Ramsay W. M., The Historical Geography of Asia Minor, p. 71.

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Corne

Finally, this station is marked 14 miles from the previous one. And in this case, we already have the possibility of phonetic identification. at the indicated distance, we see the *Karan* (*Каран*) settlement on the Soviet map (now it is at the bottom of the reservoir). Unfortunately, from this station to the next one, *Melentenis*, *Malathia*, as said, TP does not indicate the distance, and there is no possibility to further determine its location.

Samosata — Melentenis (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Samosata	Samsat				
Charmodara	Алакепрю	12	19	19	0.00
Heba	Gündoğdu	30	48	48	0.00
<u>Barsalium</u>	<u>Չարժառ</u> , Arsameia	9	14	14	0.00
Glaudia	Çiğirli, Халлеберик	46	74	74	0.00
Metita	Yenidamlar	12	19	19	0.00
Corne	Каран	14	22	22	0.00
Melentenis	Malatya	∅	—	36	—
		<i>123</i>	<i>196</i>	<i>196</i>	<i>Average: 0.00</i>

Melentenis — Zimara

Melentenis XXVIII Ciaca VIII Arangas XVIII Hispa XVIII Daseusa XVIII Saba XIII Vereuso XVIII Zenocopi XVIII Zimara

In the case of this route, the peripheral stations are known and the intermediate stations are uncertain. The distance between the outlying stations in a straight line is about 125 km, which corresponds to 140 miles in TP, which is quite natural for the highly dissected terrain of this region. And in general, this is perhaps one of the most difficult paths to rebuild in TP. It is difficult not only to locate the stations (almost no place names reminiscent of historical names have been preserved), but also which roads the route took: many options are possible. If we add to this that some toponyms show a distant similarity with TP stations, and it is not so easy to understand whether they are accidental or traces of old names, then the complexity of the problem will become clear.

Pliny gives some information about these stations while describing the Euphrates: according to him, from *Daseusa* (his *Dascusa*, which is perhaps the correct form; perhaps the cartographer simply confused the letters *c/e*) to *Zimara* is 75 miles (The Natural History, V, 20, 84), while according to TP, as we can see, it is only 67, although this can be considered a small difference, and it can be accepted that the real distance is of that order, because, as it was said, in this area, you can get from one point to another by different routes. What is more important is that thanks to this information it is at least clear that this station was on the *Euphrates*. Although it does not follow that it was necessarily on the coast: after all, both *Malatya* and *Zimara* are quite far from the banks of the Euphrates.

According to TP, after *Daseusa*, the road crosses the *Taurus* and leaves the *Euphrates*, ending up west of some mountain range branching from the *Taurus*. Moreover, it is clearly seen here that the cartographer considered the *Taurus* exclusively the Inner, *Armenian Taurus*, because the route to reach *Malatya* from *Samosata* already crosses the *Eastern Taurus*, in the *Barsalium — Glaudia* area. In the area of present-day *Saraycık* (38°50'57"N 38°38'07"E), the road splits: to the left it departs from the river and between it and the river remains a large mountain range. In *Arapgir*, the road splits again: one branch returns to the side of the *Euphrates*, and the other branch remains west of the mentioned mountain range. *Zimara* can be reached by both roads today, but the TP clearly instructs to move along the western road.

Note that the *Euphrates* flows through a difficult-to-pass gorge in that area, and through an impassable gorge in the *Akni* region: in one part the main road passes along the left bank of the river and again approaches the river already more than 10 km above *Zimara* and there is no sign that the situation was different in ancient times¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁷ Նաթանեան Մ., Տեղագրական, Ակն, p. 871–872.

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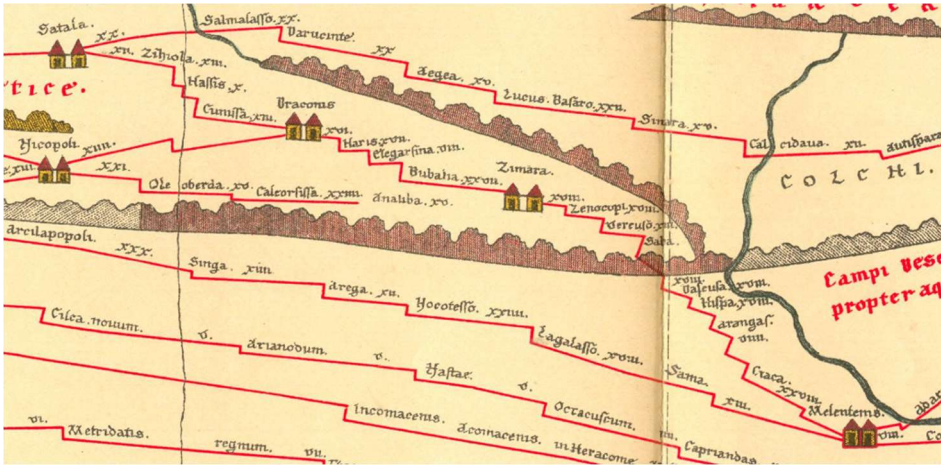
Akni Canion.

This means that the entire right-hand mountain range of the Euphrates was designated by the mountain range depicted to the west from *Taurus*. The same mountain range sign (as we saw above) was also used by the map maker to determine the *Artaxata — Satala* route. For the reconstruction of this route, it should also be noted that *Daseusa* is marked south of *Taurus*, and *Saba* is already north of *Taurus*: probably, from the point of view of the cartographer, the main mountain pass of *Tavros* was located in that area. We will see below that this is really so, although there was another mountain pass before *Zimara*, even higher.

It is also noticeable that there is an empty section after the *Ciaca* station. But, perhaps, it was left by chance, because at least the road to *Arangas* does not raise any doubts: the terrain is relatively flat, and the road runs roughly parallel to the river, and the distances indicated in the TP coincide quite accurately with the few settlements and rivers in this region. Uncertainties begin after *Arangas*.

Ciaca

Marked 28 miles (45 km) from *Melentenis*. At that distance is the village of *Morhamam*. Miller locates the next station in this village.



Arangas

It is marked 9 miles (14 km) from the previous one. At that distance is an unnamed village, to the north and at the foot of the *Shakshak* mountain (38°45'50"N 38°28'58"E), and at 500 m south of *Sögütlüçay* Kpr. (Turk. "Willow River Bridge"). Grässl's map shows the settlement of *Tschernik* in this region¹⁹⁸.

Hispa

Marked 18 miles (29 km) from the previous one. Miller located south of *Kjeban Maaden* (now *Keban*). It is probably a mistake, and it should be north, because *Keban* is located south of the *Euphrates*, on the left bank, while the observed station should be on the right bank, where the village of *Arabyn* (Арабын) is marked on the Soviet map. Let's note that according to the old maps, the main road passes through *Arabkir*, that is, it leaves the *Euphrates*, but according to Pliny's report, according to which this station connects with the *Euphrates*, that option is rejected, and Miller's location becomes possible.

Daseusa

It is 18 miles away from the previous one. DARMC is located in *Ağın* (38°56'42"N 38°42'41"E). Perhaps Miller did the same, marking *Daseusa* on the map in front of the mouth of the *Aratzani* river.

In this region, the bed of the *Euphrates* accompanies a mountain belt with a width of about 10—15 km, which is cut by separate narrow gorges. The road leading to *Keban* passes through one of them, when it forks after *Saraycık* and heads east. In these conditions, there are two options to reach the next station: to go back and travel the

¹⁹⁸ Grässl, J. (Joseph), *Spezialkarte der Asiatischen Turkey*.

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indicated 10 km in the same way, which would be a senseless waste of energy for the passenger, or, if possible, continue the movement directly along the coast. Unfortunately, today the old banks of the river remain at the bottom of the reservoir built near *Keban*, and it is difficult to say whether the road could have passed along the river bank. Judging by the slope of the coast in this area north of *Keban*, it should have been possible. However, in order to ensure the necessary distance, the location should be made not in *Ağın*, but about 7 km further up, in present-day *Hyunyü* (*Хюню*), or even (although this is already a little more than required) in *Haskini* (*Хаскини*), which, although distant, has some similarity with the searched place name.

Saba

This is marked another 18 miles from the previous one. On one of the old maps of the region, this is perhaps marked as *Schabani*¹⁹⁹, on the lower bank of the *Euphrates*, in front of the mouth of the *Aratzani* river. As we have already seen, the previous station should have been north of the river confluence, and *Saba*, therefore, should have been even further north. DARMC is located not far from present-day *Dutluca Bucagı*, on the banks of the *Vican* River (*Виджан*). However, to ensure the required distance, after the previous station, it is necessary to move almost exactly to the northwest, pass *Dutluca Bucagı* and go down the *Euphrates* gorge to the river bank: here, on the site of the current *Ashagi Kindir* (*Ашагы Киндир*) village, the wanted station could be located. It should be noted that as the site of the *Saba* station (a station that was marked on the map, that is, it was quite prominent), this village has a small area. Although the situation could have been different in ancient times, the existence of the second, "upper" *Yukary Kindir* (*Юкары Киндир*) village can also be seen as indirect evidence of this. It is possible that the importance of the village decreased in the last centuries, when the new *Akni* road was built, which passed about 2 km from the village.

Vereuso

It is marked 13 miles (21 km) from the previous one. If the route ended up in this part of the *Euphrates*, the only way could be along the coast to *Akn* (now *Kemaliye*). After *Akn*, to the north (as well as to the south of *Ashagi Kindir*) the bank of the *Euphrates* is impassable. And the more or less passable part has approximately the required length (a little more with curves). DARMC also accepts the location in *Akn*. Miller locates north of *Gemedshi*. Unfortunately, this is not on the new maps either, and judging by Miller's drawing, he located this station in the vicinity of the above-mentioned *Ashagi Kindir*.

As for the name, it can be assumed that it has something to do with Greek. *βέρεθρον* with the concept of "abyss" (perhaps at the time of the composition of the Greek: *β* should already have been read with the Middle Greek pronunciation [v]): *Akn* is really at the bottom of the abyss.

¹⁹⁹ Lisle, Guillaume de, Carte des Pays voisins de la Mer Caspiene.

Zenocopi

This is marked 18 miles (29 km) from the previous one. Since the Euphrates gorge after *Akni* was anciently impassable, the only way remains up the *Mazman* river gorge, to the southwest and then to the north, bypassing the steep, rocky massif of *Harmanjik* mountain. About 30 km on this road is the present village of *Harmankaya* (*Хаманкая*). The name *Harmankaya* can be etymologically interpreted as Turk. *harman* "threshing machine" and *kaya* "rock". At the same time, the second component of the name *Zenocopi* can be seen as Greek. *κόπη* "hit", *κόπτω* "to hit", that is, essentially it coincides with the Turkish word. In addition, the first component can be viewed as *ζῆν* "to live, to eat", i.e. as a concept related to food. One can also compare with the Russian words *жить* "to live" and *жито* "grain". Thus, it can be accepted that the current Turk. name is the translation of the old name meaning "place to thresh grain".

Zimara

Until recently, this toponym was preserved unchanged in the form of *Zymara* (*Зымара*, now *Altıntaş*) and is identified univalently.

Melentenis — Zimara (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Melentenis	Malatya				
Ciaca	Morhamam	28	45	41	-8.89
Arangas	~Söğütlüçay Kpr.	9	14	14	0.00
Hispa	Keban	18	29	29	0.00
Daseusa	Öğrendik (Хаскини) °	18	29	29	0.00
Saba	Ашагы Киндир	18	29	28	-3.45
Vereuso	Kemaliye	13	21	22	4.76
<u>Zenocopi</u>	<u>Harmankaya</u>	18	29	30	3.45
Zimara	Зымара	18	29	27	-6.90
		<i>140</i>	<i>225</i>	<i>220</i>	<i>Average: -2.22</i>

Zimara — Satala**Zimara XXVII Bubalia VIII Elegarsina XVII Haris XVI Draconis XIII Cunissa X Hassis XIII Ziziola XII Satala**

The toponyms of this route are also poorly preserved. According to TP, there is one road going up from *Zimara*, and another one without marking the red line of the route. It can be assumed that the interrupting of line reflects the fact that the area in question was difficult to pass; maybe because of crossing a mountain range, or the cartographer did not know which point it should join. For at least the approximate location of this route, the identification of one or two intermediate stations would be very helpful. For example, *Draconis*, endowed with a lodge icon (therefore, probably relatively large, and perhaps still preserved today). Miller seems to offer two locations: west of *Ulu Schiran* (*Şiran*, *Шуран*, *Караджа*, 40°11'19"N 39°07'42"E), and notices that the distances to *Draconis* are very short, and from *Draconis* to *Satala* very long, and a mile shall be considered as a kilometer²⁰⁰. He also suggests a location in *Melikşerik* (*Melikşerif*, *Мелкшериф* now *Yurtbaşı*, 39°55'08"N 38°55'26"E)²⁰¹. Among online databases, *tabula-peutingeria.de* locates *Refahiye* (*Gerjanis*, 39°54'09"N 38°46'15"E) with a question mark, while *BAtlas* does not locate at all.

But Miller's locations are far from specific to the terrain; probably, the reason was the imperfection of the maps in his hand. *Draconis* is joined by three routes, and as the terrain is highly incised, it must have corresponded to the junction of some three gorges. Whereas his proposed both *Şiran* and *Yurtbaşı* are in gorges on the only road, and *Şiran* is generally even considerably north of *Sadak* (*Satala*), while the road through it would have joined *Draconis*, which would be definitely south of *Sadak*.

The location in *Refahiye* is quite plausible. It is approached by a road from *Eskişar*, where *Nicopoli* was located, and at least two roads come out, one of which leads to *Sadak* and the other to *Zymara*. According to TP, there are three roads coming out of *Zimara*. From the actual *Zimara* (*Altıntaş*) *Sadak* can actually be reached in two ways (not counting the mountain trails). First, along the *Euphrates*: that road passes through heavily cut and desolate, stone deserts. In addition, according to the route of TP, there is a whole mountain range between the *Euphrates*, therefore, the road along the river is excluded (although there are phonetic similarities with some settlements of that road). The second way is through *Refahiye*. However, there are problems with distances. The whole way from *Zymara* to *Sadak* is about 190 km. Moreover, *Refahiye* is located almost in the middle of it. From *Zymara* to *Refahiye* is about 100 km, and from *Refahiye* to *Sadak* - 92. Meanwhile, according to TP, it is 68 miles from *Zimara* to *Draconis*, and 48 miles from *Draconis* to *Satala*: the difference is huge.

²⁰⁰ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 672.

²⁰¹ It is sometimes confused with *Refahiye*, but on the British map they are marked as different settlements, even though they are close.

It is obvious that we are dealing with an error. And that mistake is quite obvious. The point is that the red line between *Hassis* and *Cunissa* on the TP has an additional unnamed stair, the corresponding station probably contained the missing miles. That degree falls on the line of attachment of two sheets of TP, but it is clearly visible. However, the researchers ignore that section²⁰². The reason for this is probably that the length of the *Ad Dracones* — *Haza* section according to the IA (which undoubtedly corresponds to the *Draconis* — *Hassis* section of the TP) is almost the same, 24 miles. However, this cannot be considered a proof of the absence of that anonymous station, because it is not excluded that TP and IA are not mutually independent, and have a common source. After all, the existence of that unmarked site derives from the analysis of the site, not from a mere feature of the drawing.

Bubalia

Marked 27 miles (40 km) from *Zimara*. The name is probably related to Lat. *būbalus* < Greek *βούβάλλος* with the word "buffalo", perhaps in the sense of "barn". The present village of *Bozyayla* is located at the indicated distance: phonetic similarity is noticeable. It is difficult to say whether it is a coincidence or a trace of a historical name, the result of its reinterpretation.

Elegarsina

It is marked 8 miles (12 km) from the previous one. Today there is no settlement in the mentioned point. The closest is the village of *Uğur*. It is obvious that the first component of the historical place name is the Arm. *եղեգն* ([eghegn] "reed"). S. Yeremyan presents the place name as *Yeghegarich*²⁰³, although maybe the second component could be Arm. *արծն* [atsn], or *արզն* [arzn], based on the template of the not far *Ekeghyats* province and the city of *Yerznka*. As mentioned above, the root *ars/z-* is extremely common in this region. In other words, the restored form should be **Ehegarzn*, or **Ehegartsn*. Perhaps, in this toponym, the ancient form of the name of Ekeghyats province was preserved, which later, after the Christianization of Armenia, was perceived as a word related to "church" and was mostly changed to it: although the unmodified version of *Elekets* was also rarely used²⁰⁴.

Haris

This is marked 17 miles (25 km) from the previous one. *Gümüşakar* village is located at this distance. While examining the *Artaxata*—*Satala* route, there was talk of a *Hariza* station similar to this one, which Manandyan quite convincingly compared to Arm. *Հարիճ* [Harich]. And this place name can be seen as the representation of the same

²⁰² <https://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace2519.html>

²⁰³ Երեմյան Ս., Քարտեզ՝ «Մեծ Հայքի թագավորությունը IV դարում», Ե. 1979, 93.

²⁰⁴ Հակոբյան Թ. Խ., Մելիք-Բախշյան Ստ. Տ., Բարսեղյան Յ. Խ., Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, Հատոր 2, Ցուցակ 1, p 177.

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Arm. toponym *Harich*. Let's notice that about 30 km to the southeast from here on the left bank of the *Euphrates*, we see the village of *Eriç* (*Еруч*, 39°30'43"N 38°53'06"E), on the river of the same name: this is one of those place names that could be an argument for taking this route through the *Euphrates Gorge*, if there were no other weighty arguments against it.

However, there are also place names with the *-еруч* component only 15 km away. *Pekeric* mountain (*Пекеpуч*, 39°42'46"N 38°51'43"E), and several villages of the same name, which confirms that the location of this station in this area is quite reasonable. The distance is certainly great, but it does not exclude the existence of a guest house of the same name in one of the mentioned villages on that road.

Draconis

It is marked 16 miles (24 km) from the previous one, and probably corresponds to *Refahiye*. This unexpected name probably corresponds to the Armenian *vishap* (վիշապ) "dragon", a kind of Armenian stone sacral monument. Perhaps in this settlement, or near it (perhaps it is not a coincidence that it is represented as *Ad Dracones* in the IA list), there was a prominent monument, a *vishap*, which was translated as *Draconis*. This is especially probable, because on the way out of that settlement, about 50 km away, is the city of *Kemah*, where the tomb of the Armenian kings was located. And although *Kemah* is quite far away, it is not excluded that there could be such monuments in the neighboring province as well.

Interestingly, about 4 km south of *Refahiye*, there is a village named *Divir* (*Дивир*) on the Soviet map and *Divik* on the British map (now *Pinaryolu* "source of the road"). The root of that name is probably is Arm. *dev* "demon", a concept that could be translated into Latin as *Draconis*. And although there are words with the same root in Latin: *dīvus*, *dīvīnē* "god, divine", but in Armenian, that word is often used in a negative sense, so it could be translated as "Draconis".

Cunissa

It is 13 miles (19 km) from the previous one. Corresponds to *Yeni Khan* on the British map, now *Yeniköy*.

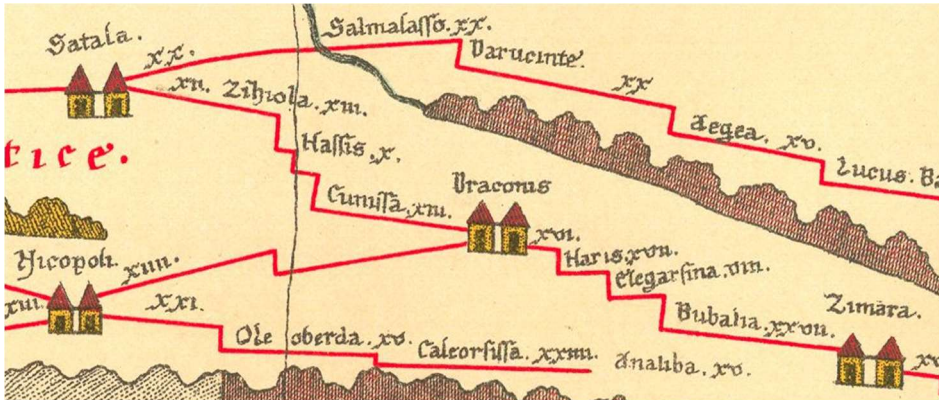
Anonymous

As mentioned, on the TP it is represented by the empty stair of the red line. We do not know the distance from the previous station. But based on the general configuration of the route, it can be said that this distance was about 12 miles (18 km). Corresponded to *Beshguz Khan* of the British map.

Hassis

It is marked 10 miles (15 km) from the previous one. The name *Esesi* (*Эсесу*) on the Soviet map is the village of *Esesi* (now *Çatalarmut*) on the British map, whose name is almost exactly the place name you are looking for. However, this village is located about

4 km south of the probable route. Therefore, on the TP, the guest house of the same name should be indicated, which corresponded to Yer Khan on the British map. If we do not accept the existence of the previous, anonymous station, the deviation of the distance of this station will be double, and we will have to assume, for example, the omission of one X, or a measurement error, etc.



Ziziola

This is marked 13 miles (19 km) from the previous one, and 12 miles (18 km) from the next, *Satala*. The closest to that point is the present village of *Örenbel*. Since the village is about 2 km away from that point, in this case too, it should be considered probable that the guest house of the respective village was indicated on the TP. Although it is not excluded that there was also another settlement there in ancient times.

Zimara — Satala (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Zimara	Зымара				
Bubalia	Bozyayla	27	40	40	0.00
Elegarsina	Uğur	8	12	12	0.00
Haris	Gümüşakar	17	25	25	0.00
<u>Draconis</u>	Refahiye, <u>Divik</u>	16	24	23	-4.17
Cunissa		13	19	19	0.00
Anonymous Ø	Beshguz Khan	12	18	18	0.00
Hassis	Эсеси	10	15	15	0.00
Ziziola	Örenbel	13	19	21	10.53
Satala	Sadak	12	18	19	5.56
		116	172	174	*Average: 1.16

* Only those sites whose length is indicated in the TP are included in the amount.

Satala — Trapezunte

Satala XVIII Domana XVIII Solonenica XII Medocia XIII Patara VIII Frigidarium VI Bylae XVIII Gizenenica X Magnana XX Trapezunte

Some phonetic or semantic traces of the place names of this path have been preserved. In addition, the terrain almost predetermines the route, and it is relatively easy to recover. Although it is difficult to restore the original location of the roads, because they were found in a severely cut canyon, the landscape of which has been significantly degraded by the construction of the modern highway. It can only be asserted that in ancient times, the road had many more bends.

Miller and BAtlas correctly locate the *Domana* station in *Köse* (BAtlas — with a question mark), but the logic of locating the remaining stations is not clear. In fact, this rather simple route was not convincingly located in these two studies. Perhaps the reason of confusion is the station of *Zigana* mentioned by IA, listed at 52 miles from *Trapezunte*. There is a village with that name even today, in the mountain pass of the same name. And almost exactly at that distance. However, another station, *Bylae*, is mentioned in the TP at almost the same distance (48 miles). It seems that there is no problem: one of the two, or this is another name for the same station, or they were two different guesthouses not far from each other. However, it is confusing. And in BAtlas, in that part, the existence of another route was assumed, through the neighboring canyon.

Domana

Marked 18 miles (27 km) from *Satala*. In present-day *Köse*.

Solonenica

It is 18 miles further than the previous one. Localized according, of the distance in present-day *Pirahmet*.

Medocia

It is 12 miles (18 km) from the previous one. As a result of the above-mentioned distorting of the roads, this and the following sections are slightly shorter than the indicated TP.

Patara

It is 14 miles (21 km) from the previous one. According to the distance, and with the logic that the guest house should have been located at the junction of the roads, it can be located in the current *Bobulak* (*Бобулак*).

Frigidarium

It is 8 miles (12 km) from the previous one. About 11 km away is the village of *Çamlıca*. But more interesting is the village of *Soğuksu* (Turkish: "cold water"), about 6 km away

from here, up the mountain, because lat. *frīgida* means "cold water" and *frīgdārium* means "cold room". This is hardly a coincidence.

Bylae

6 miles (9 km) from the previous one. According to the distance, it is located in the present village of *Zigana*, which is located at the foot of the mountain pass of the same name, where it was logical to have a guest house to rest before a hard ascent or after a descent.

Gizenenica

It is 18 miles (27 km) from the previous one. According to the distance, it is located near the present village of *Güzelce*. The phonetic similarity is noticeable.

Magnana

It is 10 miles (15 km) from the previous one. Miller locates it in *Dschawizlyk* (Джевизлик), which is acceptable in terms of distance. Today that settlement is called *Maçka*. It is possible that the first syllable of *Maçka* is identical to the first syllable of *Magnana*: *Mag/Maç*: as said, sometimes new names reflect distorted forms of ancient names.

Satala — Trapezunte (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Satala	Sadak				
Domana	Köse	18	27	27	0.00
Solonenica	Pirahmet	18	27	27	0.00
Medocia	Gümüşhane	12	18	17	-5.56
Patara	Бобулак	14	21	20	-4.76
<u>Frīgdarium</u>	Çamlıca (<u>Soğuksu</u>)	8	12	11	-8.33
Bylae	Zigana	6	9	9	0.00
Gizenenica	Güzelce	18	27	27	0.00
Magnana	Maçka	10	15	15	0.00
Trapezunte	Trabzon	20	30	29	-3.33
		124	186	182	Average: -2.15

Polemonio — Neocesaria

Polemonio ∅ Bartae XXXVIII Neocesaria

Only the beginning of this path leading to the western side of *Asia Minor* is considered below.

Bartae

The distance of this from the previous *Polemonio* is not stated. However, the general direction of the road is clear, since the next station, *Neocesaria*, is definitely identified with the current *Niksar*. Kipert had suggested locating in *Kumru*. Bryer and Winfield think that this is possible, considering that, although no modern road passes by it (i. e. important), but this was never important. Also, that it is in the "right" place and is 44 km from *Niksar*²⁰⁵. However, it cannot help but surprise. First, there were hardly any secondary roads on the TP, and besides, 44 km were measured in a straight line. In fact, there is a local road passing through *Kumru*, but it is located about 75 km from *Niksar*, so this option is ruled out.

And on another road of the same order, at the correct distance from *Niksar* (assuming that it was given in the Phileterian mile; at such a short distance it is difficult to say with certainty, but in the section from *Niksar* to *Amasia* the mile is found to be even greater) is the current *Aybastı* settlement. It seems that in this case there is a typo in the TP, *s/r*, and the TP station was named **Bastae*, after the cities of *Bastia* in *Corsica* and Italy.

Polemonio — Neocesaria (Phileterian mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Polemonio	Bolaman				
Bartae	Aybastı	∅	∅	29	—
Neocesaria	Niksar	38	61	61	0.00

²⁰⁵ Bryer A. and Winfield D., The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos, Eγ 116:

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Missos — Trapezunte

Missos XXVIII Ancon XL Heracleon XXX Caena VII Camila VIII Pytane XX Polemonio VIII Melantum XXXVI Carnasso XXVIII Zepýrium XI Philocalia XXX Cordile XVI Trapezunte

This is the unique case when the same route is completely known to us from another source. We are talking about the route given in Arrianus' "*Periplus of the Euxine Pontus*". This gives a unique opportunity to compare and mutually verify the data of those two sources. Here it is.

Ἀμισός 120 Ἄγκων 360 Ἡράκλειον 40 Θερμώδοντος 90 Βῆριν 60 Θοάριος 30 Οἰνόην 40 Φιγαμοῖς 150 Φαδισάνης 10 Πολεμώνιον 130 Ἰασόνιον 15 Κιλικῶν 75 Βοῶνα 90 Κοτύωρα ~60 Μελάνθιον 150 Φαρματηνὸν 120 Φαρνακεία Κερασσοῦς 30 Ἄρητιάδα 120 Ζεφύριον 90 Τρίπολιν 20 Ἀργυρίων 90 Φιλοκάλειαν 100 Κόραλλα 150 Ἴερὸν ὄρος 40 Κορδύλην 45 Ἐρμῶνασσαν 60 Τραπεζοῦντα

And here it turns out that the data of the two sources regarding the considered route contradict each other in some places (this also applies to the next route), which indicates the presence of certain errors in them. Interestingly, sometimes these errors seem to be related. that is, that Arrian's work was later edited, taking into account the data of the TP (or its source). Indirect evidence of this is the existence of the Anonymous author's " Periplus of the Euxine Pontus" (or "False Arrianus"), in which both mile and stadia data are given in parallel.

In general, for the route under consideration, the Arrianus data seem more consistent than the TP, but there are also reliable identifications within the TP. It is important to identify the measurement units used, which can be done on the basis of clearly identified stations. First of all, it is *Trapezunte* (see the next route), which is identically identified with modern Trabzon. This is also present in Arrianus, in the form of *Τραπεζοῦντα* (the place names mentioned by Arrianus below are given exclusively in Greek letters). The identification of *Athenis* with the current *Pazar*, which until recently (until 1928) was called *Atina*, is also almost certain. And this is also found in Arrianus in the form of *Ἀθηνῶς*. The actual distance between the two is about 115 km (by sea — a little less: 111. naturally, these estimates are approximate). According to TP, this corresponds to 91 miles (and an unnamed station and an unnumbered section, which, judging by the available data, perhaps did not exist and was unnecessarily drawn), and

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according to Arrianus, 720 stadia. In other words, the TP mile in this section was about 1264 m, and the Arrianus stadium was 154.2 m. As we can see, both one and the other are far from normal sizes. as units of measurement, it was expected to see Roman units: 1482 m, the mile, and 185 m, the stadium²⁰⁶. Although, as far as the stadium is concerned, according to Manandyan, the stadium of Eratosthenes was almost that long (159.8 m). It should be noted that Agbunov also comes to almost the same conclusion²⁰⁷. In addition, there is the Pseudo-Arrianus (Anonymous) Periplus, where the stadiums of the Arrian Periplus are almost repeated, combined with their mile representation. And it turns out that the stadiums of Pseudo-Arrianus were 197 m. And finally, it turns out that the lengths of a number of localities are probably given by parasangs.

At the same time, it should be taken into account that, as we can see, Arrianus' data are often rounded to 30 stadia steps, that is, their inaccuracies can reach several, maybe even 10 or more stadia, that is, 1.5—2 km. For this and the aforementioned reason, it makes sense to perform the calculations with units identified on the basis of "internal recovery", and to calculate the deviations only between distant points. then individual sequence inaccuracies will be significantly neutralized. Only as a result, one should try to guess what units could have been used in the originals. Although, if the recalculation is done not with "internal" measurement units, but with some standard units — stadiums and miles — the numbers will be different. But all the same, decreasing in the case of some stations, the accuracy will increase for others, and the average accuracy will remain almost unchanged.

It should also be noted that this part of the Black Sea coast is divided into two routes, not only to simplify the essay, but also because this division is also found in Arrianus' book, where the author begins the essay from *Τραπεζοῦντα* and reaches *Σεβαστόπολις*, and only passes this one to the description of the passage.

Below, the two routes, TP and Arrianus, are presented in parallel tables, in which identical stations are arranged opposite each other. It should be noted that in both cases the calculation points must have been different: after all, in one case the calculation was made by points on land (probably, as in other cases by the location of inns), while sea measurements must have been based on ports, which often coincided with estuaries, and not necessarily inns (or land any other landmarks) were near the port. The summary table shows that, although the total data correspond fairly well, the data for individual sites are sometimes too skewed to the positive or negative side, which suggests that the relevant stations were probably located elsewhere in the past.

Missos

This corresponds to Arrian's *Ἀμισός* and is equally identified with modern *Samsun*.

²⁰⁶ Engels Donald, The Length of Eratosthenes' Stade, The American Journal of Philology, p. 298.

²⁰⁷ Агбунов М. В., Античная география Северного Причерноморья., p. 29.

Ancon

It is marked at a distance of 24 miles (about 30 km) from the previous one. In the *Periplus*, the port of *Ἀγκῶν* corresponds to this. No phonetically corresponding toponym survives, but according to Arrianus, this was located at the mouth of the *Ἴρις* (now *Yeşilirmak*), which makes it possible to locate it precisely. However, the distance mentioned by Arrianus, 120 stadia (about 19 km), does not correspond to the actual distance from Samsun to that estuary, which is about 40 km. It should be noticed that the next distance also deviates, from *Ἀγκῶν* to the next points. This makes it possible to assume that the mouth of the river was in a different place in ancient times, which is quite possible due to the plain terrain and the delta of the river mouth. And indeed, today the main course of the river's coast is directed almost exactly to the north, while on the old (18th century) maps, after the present *Çarşamba*²⁰⁸, the course of the river is bent to the northwest.



Considered region on Edward Stanford's map²⁰⁹.



Mouth of *Ἴρις* on Grass's map²¹⁰.

And the main course in ancient times river probably passed through the course of the current *Kaydardzha* (41°17'56"N 36°54'47"E) and the port that was being searched for was located right there: that is, in the region of the present village of *Çaltı*. Although in any cases, the land route should have been longer than the water route, which is obtained in the conditions of the mentioned location.

Heracleon

Marked 40 miles (51 km) from the previous one. *Periplus* also has a port of the same name, 360 stadia (57 km) from the previous one: the difference may simply be the result of measurement inaccuracy, which is especially natural in the case of a large enough distance, although, to some extent, it may be due to the fact that the land in this area has the shape of a cape, and this time the land route should have been shorter. Miller locates *Heracleum Burun* "Cape Heracleum" at the site, which, however, cannot be

²⁰⁸ On different maps, the city is depicted on the left and right banks of the river. But in fact, the city is spread over both banks of the river.

²⁰⁹ **Stanford, Edward.** *Asia Minor, The Caucasus & the Black Sea*

²¹⁰ **Grass, J. (Joseph),** *Spezialkarte der Asiatischen Turkey. II. Blatt. Armenien und Theile von Klein-Asien, Syrien & Mesopotamien.*

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found on either new or old maps showing *Cape Çaltı* (this is a different point from the previous *Çaltı*): most likely, this is what was marked as *Heracleum Burun* on Miller's map.

Caena

It is marked 30 miles (38 km) from the previous one. Arrianus does not have a point with this name. Instead, at about that distance (220 stadia, or 34 km) Arrianus has the point *Οινόην*; whether this is a settlement or a river is not mentioned. According to the name and distance, it is easily identified with today's *Ünye*.

Before that point, Arrianus lists three more stations: *Θερμώδοντος*, *Βῆριν* and *Θοάριος*. The first is easily identified with the current Terme. The second one is identified by position with the current *Ακçay*, although the distance is double wrong, which is especially strange for such small numbers. William Smith equates it with *Melitsch Chai*, but probably it is about the same river²¹¹. The third one can also be identified at a distance with the present *Gheureh Irmak* (*Джури*, or *Джури Ирмак* on the Soviet map), which Hamilton finds possible to correct to *Thureh Irmak*²¹². It is possible to imagine such a distortion, but it should be noted that the current name seems to represent the Armenian word for water *ջուր* [djur], and as such it may be very old, and the result of a distortion or error should be seen already in the Greek writing. The Armenian origin of this name is quite possible, especially if we remember that Arrianus mentions the port of *Ἀρμένην* 40 stadia from *Σινώπη*, which is also mentioned by Xenophon, and in the Itinerary of Anonymous there is a locality of the same name 24 stadia or 3½ miles from the river *Πρύτανις*, and this suggests, that the Armenian element could have been present in this region much earlier than *Hamshen*. Anyway, this identification is pretty reliable, at least based on distance.

As for the place names *Caena* and *Οινόην*, they have some similarities: in particular, if we assume that the first *C* in the name *Caena* is a mistake and should have been *O*, then the two names will be almost identical. However, other Latin sources also have a similar form, for example, in the list of RA, with the forms *Cena*, *Cenae*. In Latin, that word means "refectory" and it can easily become the name of a settlement. On the other hand, the name *Οινόην* may be based on Greek. *οἴνη* "wine", which formed the basis of many proper names and is also connected with the idea of "refectory". However, this word is also reminiscent of Armenian. The extremely common place name *Kayan* has a similar name to another station we see *Cyanes* on the continuation of the same route of TP, in *Colchis*, so this name can also be etymologically explained in Armenian. Anyway, Miller equates these two considered place names. The actual distance is a little less, but the road could have taken a longer route in ancient times, in particular to bypass marshes, or it could have passed through *Thermώδοντος* (now *Terme*) mentioned by Arrianus.

²¹¹ Smith William, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

²¹² Hamilton William J., Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia, p. 279.

Camila

This is marked 7 miles (9 km) from the previous one. At nearly the same distance (40 stadia, or about 6 miles, in Anonymous — 5½ miles) Arrianus mentions the river *Φιγαμοῦς*, which can be identified at a distance with the present *Cevizdere*. The present-day village of the same name is located a little far from the sea, and if the corresponding settlement was also located there in ancient times, this can explain the difference between sea and land distances.

Pytane

The location of this station is somewhat problematic. It is marked 8 miles (10 km) from the previous one. According to Arrianus, the fortress of *Φαδισάνης* corresponds to this, and by the similarity of the name, both can be identified with the present *Fatsa*. However, it is actually 18 km to this city: this is too large a difference to be considered measurement inaccuracy. The distance to the next *Polemonio* station is also highly distorted: in reality it is much less. Meanwhile, Arrian's distances have acceptable accuracy. One of the two: or there is a bug on TP, or the identification with *Φαδισάνης* and *Fatsa* is wrong. Miller considers the second option probable. However, the two lists are extremely consistent and it seems unlikely that such a similarity of place names is accidental. More likely a TP bug: maybe *X* was omitted.

Polemonio

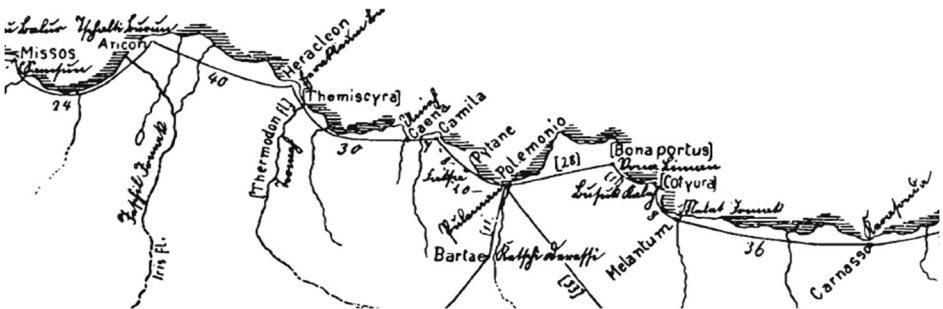
The name of this station has been preserved as *Bolaman*: the river flowing 2 km east of *Fatsa* bears that name. That distance means that, as with the previous station, there are problems here, because this station, according to TP, should have been 20 miles (25 km) from the previous one. It should be noted that the name *Bolaman* also bears the name of a small settlement with scattered huts, but this is also located about 8 km to the east of *Fatsa*. So, linking the location of *Polemonio* to this point does not solve the problem, especially since this *Bolaman* was probably formed in the 19th century (but Miller seems to place *Polemonio* right here, in *Buleman*). In addition, according to Arrian, the city of *Πολεμώνιον* corresponding to this station was located only 10 stadia (about 1 mile, or 1.5 km) from the previous *Φαδισάνης*, i.e. *Fatsa*, i.e. it must have been on the border of present-day *Fatsa*, in its eastern part. Therefore, one way or another there is a mistake. It can be the result of a bug, but also the result of using a different measurement unit. For example, the result of measuring in stadia. In that case, the mentioned number 20 should correspond to about 3 km. This seems to be a unique case, but it can be explained by the coastal location of the route, as the stadia is often used in seafaring. This is also a large deviation from Arrian's number, but quite acceptable if they are different roundings of the same value; one downward, the other upward. Based on that assumption, the actual distance was about 2 km. This location of *Polemonio* is also confirmed by the location of the following stations. In addition, this station is depicted west of some river, and there is no more or less noticeable river east

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of present-day *Bolaman*. Moreover: that river is represented as rising from some small pond, and there is but one pond in the neighborhood, the *Gaga*, not far from the supposed site of *Polemonio*. It is true that the *Bolaman* River does not originate from it (although perhaps it is connected to that pond by a small tributary), but it flows only 360 meters from it, and any traveler who is the source of the cartographer and is not well acquainted with the area could have thought so.

Melantum

The distance of this station from the previous one is again problematic. It is indicated by digit 8, but it cannot be a quantity measured in miles, because in Arrianus' essay between the corresponding river *Μελάνθιον* and the preceding *Πολεμώνιον*, 4 points are indicated: *Ἰασόνιον*, *Κιλίκων*, *Βοῶνα* and *Κοτύωρα*, and 370 stadia (about 57 km). In addition, the *Μελάνθιον* river has preserved its name in the form of *Melet* and its distance from the previous *Bolaman* river in a straight line is about 35 km. so the problem is obvious. The relationship between the mentioned digit 8 and the actual distance suggests that if the stadium was used as a unit of measurement in the previous site, then here we are dealing with a parasang, although it is not clear whether it was three or a four-mile parasang was used.



Location Black Sea stations of TP east of Missois according to K. Miller's ²¹³.



²¹³ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 211.

Location Black Sea stations of TP in *Trapezunte* region according to K. Miller's²¹⁴.

As for the intermediate stations, they are quite easy to locate (see the table below), since the names of the other three, except for *Κιλίκων*, have been preserved. However, it is still not enough to restore this site of TP. The point is that three of the four intermediate points known from Arrianus' essay are located on a large cape, and maybe the land route not pass through them. Miller explains the inconsistency of the distances by the absence of intermediate stations mentioned by Arrianus, and by adding the last two of them to TP and leaving out the first two, he gets the required distance.

Meanwhile, the above-mentioned cape has an extremely cut, hilly terrain, and the roads passing through it look like a giant labyrinth, and in the direction assumed by Miller, there is no straight road with the calculated length.



As the Soviet map shows, the main road connects the two points at the base of the cape (today, a modern, almost straight road is built between these points), and only from its middle point does the road that leads to *Vona* (*Вона*) leave. As a result, the final path is significantly longer, and the length of the site in any case is about 50 km, which corresponds to 8 four-mile parasangs. However, we will see below that 3-mile parasangs were used in this and the following routes, therefore, it must be accepted that it was the same in this section as well.

Carnasso

Marked 36 miles (46 km) from the previous one. It is identified with the current *Giresun*. The intermediate point of Arrianus, *Φαρματηνόν*, which is perhaps modern *Maden*, also

²¹⁴ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, pic. 212.

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has phonetic identification. Arrianus's next point, *Ἀρητιάδα*, also appears in the current territory of the same city.

Zepýrium

This place name has also been preserved to this day. On the Soviet map it is marked as *Uluburun* (*Υλυβυρυν*) "big cape", but the old version, *Zefre* (*Ζεφρε*), is also attached in brackets. The cove of the same name is also marked east of it. In Arrianus, the port of *Ζεφύριον* corresponds to this. It is marked 24 miles (30 km) from the previous one.

Philocalia

This station is marked 11 miles (14 km) from the previous one. Meanwhile, according to Arrian's *Τιλοκάλειαν* (which in the Periplus system can be located at the site of present-day *Görele*, ancient *Liviopolis* (Natural History, VI, 3, 11) later *Elegü, Elevi*), it should have been 36 km away from the previous one. As in the previous similar case, here too Miller tries to solve the problem by adding as a station the intermediate station of *Τρίπολιν* mentioned by Arrianus. Of course, it is possible, and especially in this case, because if measured by a four-mile parasang, we should have had 44 miles (about 56 km) here, and assuming a three-mile parasangs for this one location may seem inconsistent (although this too, theoretically cannot be excluded and the calculation is presented in the table below based on this assumption). For example, in the case of some inconsistencies like the *Artaxata — Sebastopolis* route, following Manandyan, such a solution was given, when the existence of an intermediate station in the RA list was noticed against the insufficient distance specified in the TP. And on the other hand, in the *Heracleon — Caena* section of the same route, although we have missed three points compared to Periplus, the length of the section is given quite correctly, in miles. In that case, their omission in the considered section should be explained by damage to the original... One way or another, regardless of the explanation of the reason for the inaccuracy of the TP distance, this station of Arrianus' Periplus manages to be located.

It should be noted that although *Philocalia* is located in *Görele*, the name *Görele* corresponds to the next station mentioned by Arrianus, *Κοραλλια*, which is mentioned in the form of *Köreli*, as the name of the cape on the eastern side of the current city²¹⁵.

On the same map, Arrian's next station, *Ἱερὸν ὄρος* (Greek: "Holy Mountain") is also marked as *Yoros Burnu* (Turkish: *burnu* "promontory").

Cordile

This station is marked 30 miles (38 km) from the previous one and corresponds to Arrian's port of *Κορδύλην*. According to the distance, it corresponds to the current *Akçakale*. This location was also accepted by Miller, today's authors also accept it.

²¹⁵ Grande Atlante Internazionale del T.C.I., Caucasia e Mar Caspio, p. 73-74.

Before the next station another point Arrianus has mentioned, the port of *Ἐρμώνασσαν*, which by distance can be identified with the present *Akcaabat*, formerly known as *Platana*.

Trapezunte

It is marked 16 miles (20 km) from the previous one. *Trapezunte* = *Τραπεζοῦντα* = *Trabzon*: this identification is beyond doubt.

Missos — Trapezunte (local mile, stadium, parasang)

Station	Localization	Dist. TP, mi	Dist. TP, km	Dist. GE, km	Dist. deviat., %	Station	Localization	Dist. AP, mi	Dist. AP, km	Dist. GE, km	Dist. deviat., %
Missos	Samsun					Ἄμισός	Samsun				
Ancon	Çalti	24	30	28	-6.7	Ἀγκῶν	Çalti	120	19	19	0.0
Heracleon	Çalti (other)	40	51	43	-15.7	Ἡράκλειον	Çalti (other)	360	57	51	-10.5
						Θερμῶδοντος	Terme	40	6	6	0.0
						Βῆριν	Akcaay	90	14	14	0.0
						Θοάριος	Gheureh	60	9	5	-44.4
Caena	Ünye	30	38	32	-15.8	Οἰνόην	Ünye	30	5	5	0.0
Camila	Cevizdere	7	9	8	-11.1	Φιγαμοῦς	Cevizdere	40	6	6	0.0
Pytane	Fatsa 8	18	23	19	-17.4	Φαδισάνης	Fatsa	150	24	19	-20.8
Polemonio	Bolaman 20	1.5	2	2	0.0	Πολεμώνιον	Bolaman	10	2	2	0.0
						Ἰασόνιον	Yason	130	20	20	0.0
						Κιλίκων	Χοϊнаткале	15	2	3	50.0
						Βοῶνα	Вона	75	12	12	0.0
						Κοτύωρα	Ordu	90	14	14	0.0
Melantum	Melet 8	32	51	50	-2.0	Μελάνθιον ²¹⁶	Melet	60	9	5	-44.4
						Φαρματηνόν	Maden	150	24	21	-12.5
Carnasso	Giresun	36	46	41	-10.9	Κερασσοῦς	Giresun	120	19	18	-5.3
						Ἀρητιάδα	Giresun	30	5	4	-20.0
Zepýrium	Зефре	24	30	25	-16.7	Ζεφύριον	Зефре	120	19	19	0.0
						Τρίπολιν	Tirebolu	90	14	15	7.1
						Ἀργυρίων	Келекджи	20	3	3	0.0
Philocalia	Görele 11	33	42	36	-14.3	Φιλοκάλειαν	Görele	90	14	14	0.0
						Κόραλλα	Köreli	100	16	16	0.0
						Ἰερὸν ὄρος	Yoros	150	24	24	0.0
Cordile	Akçakale	30	38	48	26.3	Κορδύλην	Akçakale	40	6	6	0.0
						Ἐρμώνασσαν	Akcaabat	45	7	8	14.3
Trapezunte	Trabzon	16	20	22	10.0	Τραπεζοῦντα	Trabzon	60	9	11	22.2
		291.5	380	354	-6.8			2285	359	340	-5.3

²¹⁶ Arrianus writes: "at most 60 stadium", so maybe the deviation is less.

Trapezunte — Sebastopolis

Trapezunte XXVIII Nýssillime XVIII Opiunte XV Reila XVIII Ardinco XVI Innōminis ∅ Atheni[s] VIII Abgibes XI Cissa XVI Apsaro VI Portualtu XII Apasidam III Nigro VI Phasin III Cariente XVI Chobus XVIII Sicanabis IIII Cyanes XII Tassiros IIII Stempeo IIII Sebastopolis

We also have this passage in Arrian's "*Periplus of the Euxine Pontus*".

Τραπεζοῦντα 180 Ὑσσος ~90 Ὀφίς ~30 Ψυχρὸν 30 Καλὸν 120 Ῥίζιος 30 Ἄσκουρος 60 Ἀδιηνός 180 Ἀθηνώς (<7 Ζάγατις) 40 Πρύτανις 90 Πυξίτης 90 Ἀρχαβίς 60 Ἄψαρος 15 Ἀκαμψίς 75 Βαθὸς 90 Ἀκινάσης 90 Ἴσις 90 Μῶγγρος 90 Φᾶσις 90 Χαρίεντος 90 Χῶθος <210 Σιγάμης 120 Ταρσοῦρας 150 Ἴππος 30 Ἀστέλεφος 120 Σεβαστόπολις²¹⁷

This route is more difficult to restore: identifications are more unreliable and distance deviations are larger. To neutralize them, not the lengths of individual sites, but the general proportions of the distances between separate large sections were often taken as a basis. Moreover, in a number of sections, it is clearly observed that they are provided with prasangs, mostly 3 miles. Indirectly, this confirms the fact that the distances in miles are often multiples of 3. As in the case of the previous route the TP mile in this route was about 1264 m, and the stadium of Arrianus was 154.2 m.

This route of Arrianus was tried to be restored Ельницкий, in the article, *Из исторической географии древней Колхиды*²¹⁸, in which he paid special attention to the localization of the rivers and settlements in the *Colchis* region. There are many successful identifications in the footnotes of this article, which are not specifically referenced below. However, he did not refer to the TP data at all, while the combination of the two sources helps to clarify a number of data.

An interesting fact should be mentioned in particular, that in the *Colchis* section there are a number of place names that we see on modern maps. But they often appear in slightly different places than they should be, judging by the description of the place or the distances. There are several of them, and perhaps we are dealing with some common phenomenon. Maybe the reason is that the *Colchis* plain, having a very small slope, was often subject to water erosion: the rivers changed their beds, destroyed the settlements and the inhabitants were forced to change their settlements and as a result the names of the villages and rivers were also moved.

And there is another problem related to this region. Vast coastal areas of *Colchis* today are covered with swamps and there are no important roads in that area, but it is not known whether it was like that in ancient times. The reconstruction was made based on the fact that in ancient times the main road passed along the edge of the sea: this is evidenced by the distances mentioned in the TP.

²¹⁷ When implementing this part of Arrianus' Tour in GoogleEarth format, the points of the route, in which, according to the author of the essay, he went ashore, are depicted starting from the shore of the corresponding point. In other cases, they start and end in front of the corresponding point, in the sea.

²¹⁸ Ельницкий Л. А., Из исторической географии древней Колхиды.

It is also noteworthy that on TP a significant part of this route is depicted between two rivers flowing parallel to the coast of the *Black Sea*, which cannot be convincingly identified. It can only be assumed that this is how the two rivers flowing east and west from *Trapezunte* are depicted.

opiunte²¹⁹

opiunte = Ὀφίς = *Of*: this phonetic identification is beyond doubt. This is also confirmed by distance (within the framework of "internal reconstruction" mentioned above).

Nýssillime

It is marked between the previous two and is quite problematic. According to Arrianus, the point mentioned between the previous points is the river Ὑσσός. The identity of the two place names is obvious: it's just that the copyist of the map confused the first letter because of the similarity; should have been *Hýssi* lime: "*Hýssi* gulf (< Greek: λίμνη "(sea) gulf)". The distances from the previous points are also almost identical: the TP station is marked 24 miles (30 km) from the previous one, and Ὑσσός is 180 stadia (29 km) from the previous one. However, the distances mentioned up to the next point are different. 18 miles (23 km) for TP, and 90 stadia (14 km) for Arrianus. the difference is noticeable. If we take into account that the actual distance between *Trabzon* and *Of* is about 50 km, then the number of TP exceeds by about 3 km (6%), and the number by Arrianus is less than 7 km (-14%). In principle, these differences can be attributed to measurement inaccuracies and located in the town of *Araklı*, 32 km from *Trabzon*, which divides the distance between *Trabzon* and *Of* by a ratio of 2:1. This corresponds to the relationship proposed by Arrianus: 180:90, and it is far from the 24:18 ratio that TP gives.

The Anonymous Periplus gives a different dimension by miles. the size of the first precinct repeats the 24 miles reported by TP, but for the second precinct we see 12 miles²²⁰, which is already the ratio given by Arrianus (although this is to be expected: Anonymous's miles correspond to his own stadia and are slightly different from the above "internal" obtained by restoration). But since the size of the first site in the data of Anonymous and TP match, it would be natural that the size of the second site would also match, and it is clear that there is a bug in one of them. And it seems that the bug is in TP, because there is no river at the point (*Merkez*) corresponding to the 24:18 ratio of *Trabzon* — *Of* coast. This seems to confirm the location at *Araklı*, but Anonymous also reports that the port of Ὑσσός "is now called *Susarmia*", which recalls the name of *Sürmene*, a settlement 5 km east of *Araklı*. But if that midpoint was in *Sürmene*, then the resulting ratio becomes 37:13 ≈ 3:1. so what to prefer? The *Susarmia-Sürmene* identification (which is recognized by almost everyone today) or the better relation of

²¹⁹ It is written in small case in TP: Miller especially notices this circumstance.

²²⁰ Arriani Periplus Ponti Euxini. Anonymi Periplus Ponti Euxini, qul Arrino falso adscribitur. Graece et Latine, Edidit, S. F. Guil. Hoffmann, Lipsiae, MDCCCLII, p. 123.

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distances? It should also be taken into account that the *Araklı* river and the village, even if it is little, are bigger than the *Sürmene* village and the river. And on the other hand, taking into account that Arrian's data is highly rounded, and if they were actually not 180:90, but, for example, 195:75, then this is already close to the position of *Sürmene* (especially since the distance to "Ὀφίς Arrianus cautiously notes: "at most 90 stadia"), and as a result, emphasizing phonetic identification in particular, one can agree with the accepted identification and place "Υόσος (later *Nýssillime*) in *Sürmene*.

Although, one cannot rule out the transfer of the name from one settlement to another. Thus, the settlement of *Derepaزاری* is also indicated on the Soviet map as *İyidere*, while the latter is the name of the neighboring village according to Google Earth (see below). In this case, the current *Sürmene* had another name: *Хамурзян*, and the name *Araklı* is connected with the name of the emperor Heracles in 626 AD in connection with the events, and before that it could also have another name. In this region, where the lively renaming of settlements has been going on for the last centuries, the most unexpected relocations are possible.

Reila

The name of this station is reminiscent of the place name *Ρίζιος* of Arrianus (the first letters of the two names match, the length, and the differences can be attributed to graphical errors), which in turn is almost identical to the current *Rize*. The deviation of the calculated distance from *Trabzon* is -9.2%. The deviation from *Trabzon* is almost the same (-8.3%) in the case of *Ρίζιος*, with the difference that two more intermediate points precede this in the Periplus: *Σύχρον* Greek "cold" and *Καλόν* Greek. "beautiful" rivers. However, the deviation calculated from *Opiunte* is 37%, which is unacceptable. This is one of those cases where it really seems to be the result of the omission of the intermediate points mentioned by Arrianus: indeed, the distance of 15 miles (19 km) mentioned in the TP corresponds exactly to the distance mentioned by Arrianus from the preceding *Ψυχρόν*, while the other two distances seem to have been left out.

The second of the intermediates has kept its name until modern times: on the Soviet map it is marked as *Κολοποταμ* "beautiful river". In the estuary region, it is also called *İyidere*, the translation of the historical name. Distance from *Of* about 8 km, against the required about 10. The deviation of the calculated distance from *Trabzon* is -9.5%. As for *Ψυχρόν*, although the traces of its name are almost not preserved, there is no alternative, and it should have been the only river between "Ὀφίς and *Καλόν*, which is indicated on the Soviet map as *Baltadji* (*Балтаджу*). And "almost", because *Söğütlü* < Turk. *söğüt* "willow" place name is mentioned in the valley of that river, the name of which is phonetically close to Turk. *soğuk* "cold": maybe this is the result of the reinterpretation of the old name.

Ardinco

This perhaps corresponds to Arrian's *Ἰδιηνός*. Before this, the *Ἰσκούρος* river is also mentioned in the Periplus, the name of which is preserved in the name of the *Ἀσκούρος* cape mentioned in the Soviet map. Also, it is possible that it was preserved in a reinterpreted form in the name *Akarsu*. As for *Ardinco*, the location leaves no room for an alternative and it can be equally identified with the river *Κυβλεδαγύ*. Note that it should not be confused with Google Earth's *Kibledağı*, which corresponds to the aforementioned *Ἰσκούρος*. As for the distances, the deviation of the position of *Ἰσκούρος* from Trabzon is -3.4%, the deviation of *Ἰδιηνός* is -5.6%, and that of *Ardinco* is -0.7%. better accuracy is hard to imagine.

Innōminis

Perhaps this station (represented by the stair of the line of the route) may be the result of an error, since the available distances correspond to the real situation.

Atheni

The position of this station, as it was said, does not raise doubts: it equally corresponds to the *Ἀθηνῶς* of the Roundabout and the current *Pazar*, which until 1928 was called *Atina*. For this reason, this point is often used as a reference point for comparing old and new units of measurement.

After this, the *Ζάγατις* brook is mentioned in the Periplus, "at a distance of not more than 7 stadia", but it is left out of further calculations. According to its location, it can be identified with the river *Hemşin*, now *Pazar*, flowing through the town of *Atina*.

Abgabes

This is marked 8 miles (11 km) from the previous one. According to the name, it corresponds to the *Ἀρχαβίς* known from the Periplus, which in turn has been preserved almost unchanged until today in the form of *Arhavi*. However, this settlement is about 43 km (about 32 miles) from *Atina*. And at approximately the indicated distance from *Pazar*, there is the village of *Ardeşen*, on the western edge of which the *Firtina* river flows. This river name obviously coincides with the river name *Πρύτανις* of the Itinerary, which is mentioned in the Itinerary at 40 stadia (6 km), which exactly corresponds to the mentioned river (distance deviation from *Trabzon*: 3.3%). After *Πρύτανις*, the site of *Ἀρμένην* is marked 24 stadia or 3½ miles in the Anonymous Periplus (and after this to the next river *Πυξίτης* (seems to have kept the name in *Piskala* (*Πικκαλα*) form) it is 66 stadia or 8½ miles). Thus, if *Abgabes* is indeed *Ἀρχαβίς*, then his distance from the predecessor, 9, is not true. Or we are dealing with parasang again. This time, it seems there was a 4-mile parasang, that would be a better match, but it is unlikely that different units of measurement would be used on the same route.

Cissa

Marked 11 miles (15 km) from *Abgabes*. At approximately the required distance (and perhaps exactly the same: this site winds along the slope of the mountain and it is possible that the road was longer in ancient times) is the current *Hopa* settlement. Some authors locate the *Cissa* station right here²²¹. But it is important to note that about 3 km before reaching *Hopa* is the village of *Sugören*, whose Laz. name we see on the Soviet map: *Kuce*. This can be considered a perfect identification: it is true that the distance is significantly (about -35%) deviated, but it perfectly matches the sound. We cannot rule out the option of which we have an example in the case of *Dolica/Aintap*, when a smaller settlement of the same name is formed outside the big city (perhaps around the guest house), which later retains the name of that settlement, while the "mother" settlement loses it. Then *Hopa* could really be *Cissa*.

Miller identifies with *Kisseh*, which is probably the same *Kuce*.

Portualtu

To solve the above-mentioned problems, it makes sense to change the order of observation of the stations and go to the *Portualtu* station, which is easier to locate. The point is that the name of this station can be translated as "deep harbor" < lat. *altus* "deep". Then this matches Arrian's river *Βαθύς*, which also means "deep" < Gr. *βάθύς* "deep", and can be identified with the port of *Batum*. Muller also made this identification. Sometimes you can hear that the name *Batum* originates from the Svan word "stone" and was only reinterpreted by the Greeks²²². However, *Batum* is really one of the deepest ports in the *Black Sea*, 14 m (the port of *Anaklia* is deeper (20 m))²²³, and besides, *Batum* is very far from Svan land, and the accidental similarity to the Svan word is more likely. It is true that the corresponding river *Bartshana* (*Барцхана*), which flows into the Bay of *Batumi*, is small in size, but it flows into the sea in the direction of a deep underwater canyon, and thanks to this underwater bed, it could well have received that name. True, Arrianus does not write about the navigability of this river: perhaps considering that the river already has an eloquent name. Thus, if *Portualtu* is *Batum*, then it can be used as a reference to identify the preceding and following rivers.

In Arrianus this is preceded by the navigable river *Ἀκαμψις*, which was 75 stadia (about 12 km) from *Βαθύς*. At exactly that distance from the Bay of *Batumi*, there is indeed a navigable river, *Chorokh*. Müller also comes to this identification. The fact that *Ἀκαμψις* was *Chorokh* can be seen from Pliny's description: also, from Ghevond's history, when describing the migration led by Prince Hamam to the future *Hamshen*, he writes that the emigrants "...crossed the Akamsis river, which, emerging from the sides

²²¹ [http://omnesviae.org/#!iter_TPPlace2403_Cissa%20\(Hopa\)%20](http://omnesviae.org/#!iter_TPPlace2403_Cissa%20(Hopa)%20).

²²² Поспелов Е. М., Географические названия мира. Топонимический словарь, р. 58.

²²³ Международный морской порт Анаклия, URL: <<http://anaklia.travel/news/novosti-anaklii/miezhdunarodnyi-morskoi-port-anakliia.html>>

of *Tayq*, goes northwest, crossing the Yegerats country, entering Pontus" (Ghevond, 46), that is, describes the process of *Chorokh*.

Apsaro

In the Itinerary of Arrian, the station is presented as *Ἀψαρος* and precedes *Ἀκαμψις*. 15 stadiums (about 2 km) are marked between them. According to Arrianus, this was an important stronghold, a fortress surrounded by moats, where five cohorts were kept. The relevant river is also mentioned by Pliny under the form of *Absarrum*. However, if *Ἀκαμψις* is *Chorokh*, and this seems to be without doubt, then no suitable river with a significantly large settlement can be seen at the indicated distance. And besides, the mouth of the river (delta) of *Chorokh* is so wide that it is comparable to that distance, and the corresponding port should be located in that mouth of the same river. Müller accepts it as well, considering that *Ἀψαρος* corresponds to the western estuary of the same *Chorokh*. In other words, both *Ἀψαρος* and *Ἀκαμψις* are the same river. This is how it was presented in the *Apsarus* article of Smith's dictionary, where it is considered that this station is located in the present-day *Gonio* (*Gonieh*) settlement, about 5 km south of the mouth of the *Chorokh* river²²⁴. This is also accepted by modern databases.

But this is unbelievable: first, with great probability, such an interesting feature of the place (the fact that the two rivers are branches of the same river) would have been recorded by *Arrianus*, and besides, as said, Pliny also knows the separate *Absarrum* and *Acampseon* rivers, which he lists in the same paragraph (6.12). Although, on the other hand, the description of *Absarrum* in Pliny's book is somewhat reminiscent of *Chorokh* ("*Armenia autem Maior...longitudinem vero ad Minorem usque Armeniam, Absarro amne in Pontium defluente et Parihedris montibus qui fundunt Absarrum discreta ab illa*" (Natural History, VI, 9, 25)), because it reaches Armenia Minor. In that case, it really turns out that both rivers are similar to *Chorokh* in their description. But even if 15 stadia up to *Ἀψαρος* were correct, still from *Ἀψαρος* to *Ἀρχαβις*, the site of which, as said, reliably coincides with the present *Arhavi*, *Arrianus* gives 60 stadia (about 10 km), i.e. from *Ἀκαμψις* *Ἀρχαβις* is 75 stadia (about 12 km), while it is about 38 km from the mouth of the *Chorokhi* river to *Arhavi*. The mistake is obvious.

Arrianus says: "*Leaving Apsar, we by night passed Akampsis, which is 15 stadia from Apsar*". This formulation "*we by night passed*" does not logically and psychologically correspond to 15 stadia (about 2 km), because if they were moving at an average speed of at least 2 knots²²⁵ (about 4 km/h), they would have reached *Ἀκαμψις* in just 30 minutes: that is, even if they left *Ἀψαρος* at twilight, they would still be near *Ἀκαμψις* at twilight. And if they went out at night, it wouldn't be said "*we by night passed*". It is more likely that there is a mistake here and the distance was much greater. And indeed, there is an obvious confusion related to the distance of *Ἀψαρος*, because before that

²²⁴ Smith William, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

²²⁵ Гончарук П., К вопросу об античном мореплавании.

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Arrianus writes that "*Leaving from here (Athens)... We still passed more than 500 stadia before noon and arrived at Apsar...*" That is, as a result of the consecutive calculation of the site from Ἀθηνῶς to Ἄψαρος is 280 stadia (about 45 km, Elnitskiy probably writes 220 stadia by mistake), which, however, corresponds to the final sum at the end of the entire route — 2260 stadia, while in the previous paragraph he says the same he estimated that distance at more than 220 stadia. Elnitskiy notices that if 500 is considered reliable, then the general picture will be more believable, and assumes that Müller probably acted the same way²²⁶. It should be noted that, however, even in that case Ἄψαρος will appear north of *Batumi*. not counting that, according to Elnitskiy, Arrian's stadium is equal to 200 m, and not 159, as was accepted in this section.

Perhaps, as for this discrepancy in numbers and the 500 stadia, it should be seen only as evidence of inaccuracy, but not as an unconditionally correct number. In addition, Arrianus says that they reached Ἄψαρος "before noon". if it was summer (judging by the description of nature), the duration of the night was about 8 hours and they really went out to sea in the evening before sunset, for example at 19:00, then until noon it would mean about 11:00, that is, about 16 hours. Taking into account that sometimes the sea was rough and they could not move very fast, but at the same 2 knots assumed above, they would have covered about 32 nautical miles, that is, about 60 km (or about 50 ordinary miles). That distance corresponds approximately to the midpoint between the aforementioned *Нора* and *Gonio*. Thus, Ἄψαρος may be between these.

However, in addition to the distances, we also have important information about the terrain. First, about the river issue. It is usually considered that Ἄψαρος is a river, and the very river described by Pliny, which can be identified with Ἄκαμψις and *Chorokh*. However, Arrianus does not clearly state that Ἄψαρος is a river. Arrian's Ἄψαρος is only a station. This may be explained by the fact that Pliny's *Absarrus* is really the same *Acampseon*; Pliny might enumerate the same river twice, with different names from different authors, while Arrianus, being an eyewitness, could be less likely to err, especially as he specifically mentions more or less important, and especially navigable, rivers. And the name Ἄψαρος of *Chorokh* is completely explainable: this region was the place of residence of the *Apsil* tribe (which Arrianus also mentions) and there are many place names with the root *aps-*.

But if the presence of the river is not considered a condition, then in the above-mentioned 50-mile area, that is, about 5 km south of *Gonio*, there is the village of *Sarpi/Sarp*, whose name has an obvious similarity with the name of *Apsaro*: is its anagram. The change could be made later when the linguistic environment changed, while where it did not, this root was also preserved; for example, in the language of the *Abkhaz* (self-name: *Apsua*), their country is still called *Apsny*. Let's also note that the

²²⁶ Ельницкий Л. А., Из исторической географии древней Колхиды, р. 30.

current Georgian-Turkish border passes through this. In other words, this is a strategically important point and it is not excluded that it was so in ancient times as well, because the importance of the strategic position is largely determined by the characteristics of the place, which change very little over the centuries. And this means that it really made sense to keep there the five cohorts that Arrianus writes about there.

And one more important observation. Arrianus reports that Ἄψαρος is the easternmost point of *Pontus*, because after that they moved north. In fact, the extreme point is in the present-day *Kobuleti* region, but starting from *Sarpi* and reaching the mouth of the *Chorokh* river, the coast line bends almost exactly to the north. Then it again bends to north-east, but only gradually returns to the northern direction, near *Kobuleti*. Thus, although Arrianus' claim that Ἄψαρος is the extreme point is not confirmed, they would have really moved in the northern direction in that area.

Sarpi is located 10 km from *Chorokh* (Ἀκαμψις), which would take about 2.5 hours to cross at a speed of 2 knots. that is, if the ships set out before dusk in the evening, they would actually reach it after dark. In the case of Arrianus' rounded numbers, perhaps it would be 75 stadia (about 12 km). Arrianus gives the same number as far as *Βαθύς*, that is, to *Bathum*.



Coastal road near *Sarpi*.

However, going back to the TP, *Apsaro* to *Portualtu* is listed as 6 miles (about 9 km), which is barely half the required distance. In fact, that distance should have been longer by land routes. Today there are three ways to get from *Sarpi* to *Bathum*. The most direct and convenient way is the coastal highway.

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But since in some parts the rocks descend almost vertically to the edge of the water, this path probably did not exist in ancient times, or it was extremely dangerous. The second road passes through the middle part of those steep slopes and in ancient times it must have been difficult to pass. Finally, another road bypasses the coastal mountain range on the opposite slope. This is the longest route (about 25 km, and if the *Chorokh* river crossing was higher in its bed, then longer), and although it has steep sections, it was probably the safest, otherwise the extension of the road would be pointless. But the unexpectedly small, single-digit number in TP raises the suspicion that its unit of measurement is not the mile, but the parasang: probably 3-mile. However, it is logical to accept that when converting to kilometers, one should not take the size of Roman or Phileterian miles, but the mile found through the "internal reconstruction" mentioned above: 1.353 m, in which case the parasang will be 4.059 m. In that case, the distance indicated in the TP would be 18 miles (or about 24 km).

Аpasidam

In Arrianus' essay, *Βαθύς* is followed by *Ἀκινάσης*, which Ельницкий identifies with *Kintrishi* (*Кинтриши*)²²⁷: taking into account the some phonetic similarity, this is completely acceptable. However, no station in TP matches this station.

And the next river *Ἰσις* mentioned by Arrianus, according to Miller, may correspond to the considered station. Ельницкий equates it with the current *Natanebi*. Miller observes that the name *Аpasidam* may be a corruption of the Lat. phrase *Ad Isidem*, which is especially likely, because we see this name presented in the form of *Аpisidem* in RA. But in that case, the distance from *Portualtu* is extremely inaccurate. around 35 km, against the required 12 km. It is obvious that we are dealing with a parasang again.

Nigro

To this station corresponds, according to Arrianus, the navigable river *Μῶγρος*. Elnitskiy identifies it with the river *Supsa* (*Супса*). The name of this station means "black" in Latin. It is noteworthy that there is a Georgian word *მოიგეს* [moiges] means "black" (cf. also Armenian: *մուգ* [mug] "dark"). As for the *p* sound, it may be added influenced by Latin word *nigro*. This confirms that the Latin name really means "black". And here, in the area corresponding to the distances mentioned by TP and Arrianus' Periplus, we see several river names with the component *Шави* (Georgian: *შავი* [shavi] "black"), which also means "black" (cf. also Armenian: *սեւ* [sev] "black"). A stream of this name, *Шави-Геле* (north of *Супса*), empties into Lake Paleostomi, another brook of the same name, south of *Supsa* (and even south of *Натанеби*, with which Ельницкий identifies *Ἰσις*) which empties *Choloki* (*Чолоки*) river.

²²⁷ Ельницкий Л. А., Из исторической географии древней Колхиды, р. 311.

Finally, much further north, in the region of *Anaklia* (*Анаκλια*), there is the village of *Mogiri* (*Μογυρι*), which, although it cannot help with the location, but its name may be derived from this river name.

Of course, there are many rivers in the region and all over the world in the sense of "black river", but their presence in the area mentioned in the sources suggests that the proposed location is convincing.

The distance from the previous one is again given in parasangs (3).

Phasin

This station evidently corresponds to the historical *Phasis*, mentioned by Arrian under the form *Φᾶσις*, and is, as has been said, the modern *Poti*, situated on the modern river *Rioni*: it is almost certain, as it corresponds to Strabo's exhaustive description, according to which "On the *Phasis* is situated a city bearing the same name, an emporium of the *Colchi*, which is protected on one side by the river, on another by a lake, and on another by the sea" (Geogr. XI, II, 17). The question may refer only to the clarification of, in particular, in which part of the above-mentioned island the city is located, but this is not essential for the restoration of the considered route.

Here too, the distance is in parasangs (6).

Cariente

Here, too, the distance from the previous one is given in parasangs (3). Arrianus mentions 90 stadia (about 14 km) between *Φᾶσις* and *Χαρίεντος*, and at that distance is *Χῶβος*. Elnitskiy also finding that the phonetic similarity between *Χῶβος* and *Hobi* is deceptive, and that *Χαρίεντος* corresponds to *Hobi* itself. The whole system of distances also supports that conclusion. In Arrian, it generally corresponds better to reality than TP. In addition, we see several village names with the *Kariata* component on *Hobi*, which may correspond to *Cariente*: Georgian *კარი* means "door" and may coincidentally resemble the Greek name, but one of them may be the result of the reinterpretation of the other. It was mentioned above that there are many identical toponyms in the region, which can be connected with the small slope of the terrain and, as a result, with the instability of river beds.

Chobus

As mentioned in the previous point, according to Elnitskiy, *Hobi* (*Χοβυ*) is *Χαρίεντος*, while *Χῶβος* is *Inguri* (*Ингури*). Let's note that the argument that according to Plinius the *Chobus* river passed through the land of the Svans, and the source of the *Khobi* is in the foothills of the *land* of the *Megreles*, is not quite correct²²⁸. Undoubtedly, the *Khobi* is shorter, but its sources also reach *Svanetia*.

²²⁸ Ельницкий Л. А., Из исторической географии древней Колхиды, p. 315.

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But there is a more weighty argument against this version: the fact is that Inguri, the largest river in these parts, remains unmentioned. It can be assumed, of course, that Inguri also flowed into the sea in a more southerly direction, and was even a tributary of the *Khobi* (for example, it flowed into it not far from the mouth of the river, as *Tsiva* flows into the *Khobi* today). But this is extremely unlikely, because the *Ингури*, which flows into the sea near *Anaklia*, has an underwater bed, due to which the harbor of this settlement is the deepest in the region, therefore it is obvious that a river has always flowed here. Of course, one can make another and less likely assumption that it happened for a short period of time, and it was at that moment that Arrianus was a witness, but such an assertion is perhaps difficult to prove or disprove.

Therefore, it makes sense to accept Elnitskiy's assumption and to consider that *Χῶβος* is *Inguri*, and *Χαρίεντος* is *Hobi*, and to explain the phonetic deviations by the displacement of settlements and with them, place names due to the same floods. By the way, today there are several settlements named *Hobi*, which of them was the *Chobus* mentioned in TP (or maybe there were other *Hobi* in ancient times, for example, we also have the aforementioned *Нора*, which most likely has the same root represents) it is difficult to say. Maybe this word is based on abaz. *хәа* is a "mountain, hill" and *η* "pre-" composition²²⁹. On the other hand, the name *Anaklia* is origin from the of Abkhazian word *Акра* "promontory, lighthouse"²³⁰, and between this and the previous "mountain, hill" concepts, although far away, one can notice a commonality in the sense of "any high, prominent thing", and maybe we are dealing with different dialectal perceptions of the same concept.

Sicanabis

This station is marked 19 miles (26 km) from the previous one. In RA, the *Sigamium* corresponds to this, though without maintaining the sequence, and in Arrianus, the *Σιγάμης*, which is listed as a navigable river 210 stadia from the former, i.e. about 33 km. It is mentioned in the Anonymous Periplus that it was also called *Ziganis*. Elnitskiy considers that this is either the *Galizga* (*Галузга*) or the common estuary of the *Okumi* (*Окуми*) and *Eris-Tskali* (*Эрус-Цкали*), leaning towards the second option, since their combined course (judging only by the map in his hands) he considers possible that it should be more watery (perhaps navigable) than *Galizga*. It is difficult to say what that united river could have been like today, because the bypasses implemented here in the last decades of the century have fundamentally changed the original image.

Elnitskiy also says that the existing river names do not resemble any of the historical names. But it is difficult to agree with this statement. In fact, both *Galizga* and *Okumi* are similar to *Σιγάμης*. In the case of *Galizga*, the first and last parts are identical, and in the case of *Okumi*, the middle parts. However, those two rivers are so far from

²²⁹ Кварчия В. Е., Историческая и современная топонимия Абхазии, р. 266.

²³⁰ Кварчия В. Е., Историческая и современная топонимия Абхазии, р. 93.

each other (about 9 km) that the size of the mouths cannot be decisive, only the distances. And from the analysis of the distances, it becomes clear that *Σιγάμης* is *Okumi*.

Cyanes

This station is marked 4 parasangs from the previous one. Arrianus does not mention a corresponding place name for this: probably the reason is that there was no large river of the corresponding to this settlement, while Arrianus mainly focuses on rivers. According to its place and name, it corresponds to *Γυηνός* of Greek sources. Some people associate this place name with the tribe name "Genioch"²³¹, because it is mentioned by Aristotle and Pomponius Mela that it was built in the *land of the Genioch*, but according to Scylax of Caryanda, a number of other countries are mentioned after the *land of the Genioch*, and only after the city of *Γυηνός* is mentioned²³², so the connection between the mentioned tribal name and this place name is doubtful. On the other hand, the connection of this place name with Armenian *Կայան* [kayan] "station" is noticeable. It seems that it would be effective to investigate the possibility of this connection with the name of the station.

In 1935 As a result of the excavations, it was found that the city of *Γυηνός* was located near the present-day *Очамчыра*, on the seashore²³³. BAtlas identifies this and the next station with a question mark.

Tassiros

Marked at 12 miles from the previous one. Corresponds to Arrian's *Ταρσουρας*. It is also mentioned in the Anonymous Tour that it was called *Μοχε*. From this it becomes obvious that it refers to the current *Мокви*. Ельницкий also comes to that conclusion, but immediately expresses the opinion that if other river names have not been preserved, then this too can be just an accidental similarity. However, this identity is also confirmed by distance analysis, and it cannot be accidental.

Moreover, as we will see, the name of the next river mentioned by Arrianus, *Ἴππος*, also left its mark (the corresponding place name is not mentioned in TP). *Ἴππος* means "horse" in Greek. Arrianus reported that from *Ἄψαρος* to *Σιγάμης* they moved to the north, and from *Σιγάμης* to *Ἴππος* they moved "on the left side of the Sea" (*λαϊὰν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πόντου*), that is, to the west. This condition is met by the coast from present-day *Galizga* to *Kodori*, after which it takes a northern direction again. Therefore, *Ἴππος* is *Kodori*.

Elnitskiy also comes to that conclusion, but he limits himself to that. Meanwhile, there is Abkhaz. word *Акгадыры* "saddle horse", therefore *Kodori* can be seen as

²³¹ Воронов Ю. Н., Гиенос.

²³² Скилак Кариандский, Перипл обитаемого моря, 83.

²³³ Бгажба О. Х., Лакоба С. З., История Абхазии. С древнейших времен до наших дней.

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Abkhazian equivalent of Greek. ἵππος. It is also interesting that the name of the *Tschenis-Tskali* river, which flows several valleys to the east, means Megrel. *ἵππος ὕδατος* "horse water, horse river". Based on this fact, Kvarchiya finds that the "horse" of Arrianus is this very river²³⁴ (Abkhazian: *Ачыркэара*). However, this is unlikely, since this river is extremely insignificant, while Arrianus' focus was mainly on large, navigable rivers. Probably, simply, horse breeding was developed in this region, and this led to the formation of a number of identical river names.

Thus, the river *Ταρσοῦρας* is *Мокви*, while the station *Tassiros* is probably the modern village of *Мокви*. This is quite a distance from the coast and this layout could explain the 12 miles distance from the previous station mentioned in the TP. It is not clear why the road had to leave the sea. But it can have many explanations. It may be the importance of the given settlement, for some reasons. Or some features of the place. However, the departure of the road from the sea does not contradict TP, and there are no stations mentioned by Arrianus in that section, which makes this location to be considered justified.

Stempeo

To this corresponds the *Ἀστέλεφος* of Arrianus, which according to the distance is located in near *Μαλ. Κόδору*. The name can be connected to the Greek to the word *στέλλω* "build, prepare, assemble". Accordingly, lat. The m of the word can be the result of a misunderstanding of the double *λλ* in one of writing of the Greek word. The distance mentioned between this station and the previous one is again too small to be represented in miles, and between *Ἀστέλεφος* and *Ταρσοῦρας*, Arrianus gives 180 stadia (29 km). However, even in the case of 3-mile parasangs, the deviation reaches 60%. Probably, on the one hand, the rounding of the parasangs played a role, on the other hand, the inaccuracy of the measurement, which, when superimposed, gave such a large deviation.

But there is no corresponding place name in the vicinity of *Μαλ. Κόδору* River. There is only the village of *Εστονκα* (*Эстонка*) that reminds of it, but its name is evidenced only from the end of the 8th century, when Estonians really settled in that village. However, there is nothing to prevent that village existed in the past as well, and it was called by a phonetically similar name (for example, **Astom*), which got its current appearance under the influence of the ethnonym "Estonian". Anyway, that village is exactly where *Stempeo* could be, on the river *Μαλ. Κόδору*, the mouth of which is about 3 km from the mouth of the river *Kodori* (according to Arrian, this distance was 30 parasangs, about 5 km).

²³⁴ Кварчия В. Е., Историческая и современная топонимия Абхазии, с. 271.

Sebastopolis

It is obvious that the name *Sebastopolis* is presented in this way, which, as Arrianus notes, was also called *Dioscuria*. It is usually identified with the city of *Sokhumi*. Sometimes located at *Cape Iskuria* (42°47'36"N 41°10'38"E). Miller, in particular, does this. However, as shown, the analysis of distances confirms *Sokhum's* version.

For the connection with *Ad Fontem Felicem* station, see above in the section related to that station.

Trapezunte — Sebastopolis (local mile, stadium, parasang)

Station	Localization	Dist. TP, mi	Dist. TP, km	Dist. GE, km	Dist. deviat., %	Station	Localization	Dist. AP, mi	Dist. AP, km	Dist. GE, km	Dist. deviat., %
Trapezunt	Trabzon					Τραπεζούντα	Trabzon				
Nýssillime	Araklı	24	30	31	3.3	Ύσσοσ	Araklı	180	28	31	10.7
Opiunte	Of	18	23	19	-17.4	Όφις	Of	90	14	17	21.4
						Ψυχρόν	~Eskipazar	30	5	5	0.0
						<u>Καλόν</u>	<u>Καλοποταμ</u>	30	5	3	-40.0
Reila	Rize	15	19	22	15.8	Ρίζιος	Rize	120	19	19	0.0
						Άσκουρος	Аскорос	30	5	5	0.0
Ardinco	Çayeli	18	23	18	-21.7	Άδηνός	Çayeli	60	9	12	33.3
Atheni[s]	Pazar,	16	20	19	-5.0	Άθηνός	Pazar, Atina	180	28	20	-28.6
						Πρύτανις	Firtina ,	40	6	7	16.7
						Πυξίτης	Пискала	90	14	17	21.4
Abgabes	Arhavi 9	36	46	49	6.5	Άρχαβις	Arhavi	90	14	16	14.3
Cissa	Kise , Нора	11	14	14	0.0						
Apsaro	Sarpi	16	20	24	20.0	Άψαρος	Sarpi 60	180	28	28	0.0
						Άκαψις	<u>Çoruh</u> 15	75	12	10	-16.7
Portualtu	<u>Batumi</u> 6	18	23	24	4.3	Βαθός	Batumi	75	12	12	0.0
						Άκινάσης	Кинтриши	90	14	20	42.9
Arasidam	Натанеби12	36	46	39	-15.2	Ίσις	Натанеби	90	14	13	-7.1
Nigro	Супса 3	9	11	13	18.2	Μώγρος	Супса	90	14	12	-14.3
Phasin	Ποτι 6	18	23	14	-39.1	Φάσις	Ποτι , Рион	90	14	14	0.0
Cariente	Καριата 3	9	11	19	72.7	Χαρίεντος	Καριата	90	14	17	21.4
Chobus	Анаκлия	16	20	20	0.0	Χώβος	Ингури	90	14	14	0.0
Sicanabis	Ochamchire	19	24	33	37.5	Σιγάμης	Галидзга	210	33	27	-18.2
Cyanes	Jukmuri	4	5	6	20.0						
Tassiros	Араду	12	15	3	-80.0	<u>Ταρσούρας</u>	<u>Мокви</u>	120	19	17	-10.5
						Ίπλος	<u>Кодор</u>	150	24	24	0.0
Stempeo	Эстонка? 4	16	20	25	25.0	Άστελεφος	Эстонка?	30	5	5	0.0
<u>Sebastopli</u>	<u>Сухум</u> 4	16	20	19	-5.0	<u>Σεβαστόπολις</u>	<u>Сухум</u>	120	19	19	0.0
		327	413	411	-0.5			2440	383	384	0.3

CILICIA

Alexandria Catisson — Animurio

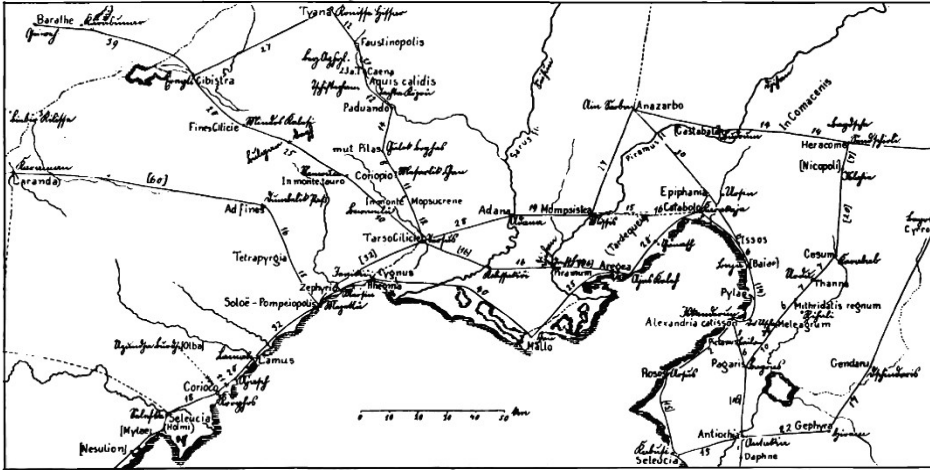
Alexandria Catisson VI Issos V Catabolo XXVIII Aregea XXV Mallo X Zephyrio XIII Soloe XXXII Pompeiopolis XX Corioco XVIII Seleucia XXXIII Crunis XXV Celendenis Ø Arsinoe XXVIII Animurio

This route was one of the busiest roads of the ancient world, and it seemed that so much material about it should have been preserved so that the TP would be more accurate in this section and reconstruction would not be difficult. However, the reality is different. Some stations (e.g., *Mallo*, *Animurio*) do match the TP positions quite well, but others (*Zephyrio*, *Soloe*) reveal multiple errors of TP, and the stations cannot be uniquely identified. To some extent, the maps of the 19th—20th centuries help: some place names are still preserved in them. However, they cannot be trusted to the end either, because the given place name could have appeared on the map as a result of certain ideas of the locals, which are the result of popular etymology or reinterpretation of historical events.



Cilicia by J. Cary on the 1801 map.

And the most serious problems are related to the location of the most prominent city of the region, *Alexandrette*, which is presented on the TP as *Alexandria Catisson*. Moreover, its location is in the joint system with a number of other stations.



TP routes in Cilicia according to K. Miller ²³⁵.

Alexandria Catisson

Alexandria Catisson is one of many cities founded by or named after Alexander the Great, known today as *Iskenderun*. But there are problems, and based on the principles of this reconstruction, the most serious of them is related to the roads leading from *Alexandria Catisson* to *Epifania* and *Issos*. In TP, they are depicted as separate lines that connect to *Alexandria Catisson*'s icon. However, if the latter were in the place of today's *Iskenderun*, then since the coastal part is compressed between the sea and the *Amanos* mountains, there would not be room for two separate roads: in the 6–7-mile section at least, they would coincide. It is true that nowadays two parallel highways pass in that section, at a distance of about 600 m, but in one section they almost touch, and in ancient times this was hardly possible: the place of the road passing through the base of the mountains on either side would have been impassable at that time both because of the slope and because of the forest cover. And then, the roads that are so close would not be distinguished within the accuracy limits of TP. In other words, in that case the road to *Epifania* would join the coastal road between *Alexandria Catisson* and *Issos*, or even at *Issos* itself. And we have no right to ignore this fact, because the road network is the most valuable property of TP.

And from the south, the distance between *Alexandria Catisson* and *Rosos* (which is now *Arsuz*) is 22 miles, instead of the specified 28. And although there are bigger deviations in TP, but together with the previous circumstance, it already gives an opportunity to assume that in ancient times *Alexandria* was located further north. The

²³⁵ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 666, pic. 219.

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same is suggested by the length of the *Alexandria Catisson* to *Epifania* site according to TP, 30 miles, when in fact it is 33 miles (the location of *Epifania* is known, see below).

In addition, the distances from the mentioned *Alexandria Catisson* to *Issos* and from this to *Catabolo* are strangely small: 5 and 6 miles, respectively. This is especially noticeable in comparison with neighboring sites, which are 10 to 40 miles. Or: From *Ayas* (which is reliably identified with *Aregea*) Iskenderun is actually about 55 miles, while TP gives 35 miles (or 39) for that distance, including those small sites mentioned. In other words, about 20 miles less. It appears that one X is omitted for the lengths of those two sites, which seems psychologically implausible: two bugs in a row!

Note that as early as 1911 An article in the Encyclopedia Britannica on *Alexandretta* suggests that the city retained the name of the old city, but probably not the correct location.

On the other hand, the current location of *Alexandria* is supported by the data provided by other sources, for example, the pilgrim from Bordeaux and the IA. Thus, from *Baie (Payas)* to *Alexandria* both mention 16 miles, which is exactly the distance from *Paia* to *Iskenderun*. In both sources, the distance from *Alexandria* to *Antiochia* is given almost identically: 33 miles in the first and 32 in the second. The data of the anonymous author's²³⁶ *Periplus* seem to be consistent with these two: here from *Ῥωσοῦ (Rosos) Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατ' Ἴσσοῦν (Alexandria Catisson)* 170 stadia are mentioned. And although it is difficult to restore the size of the stadium today, *Alexandria* will once again be located in Iskenderun, considering the most common 185-meter stadiums. The line of the *Alexandria Catisson — Samosata* route, which is not connected to the icon of *Alexandria Catisson*, and the distance is not indicated, is also in favor of the current location, perhaps because of that uncertainty. In this case, the route approaches Iskenderun, and due to the lack of space, it could not be extended further north.

In fact, we have conflicting data: TP on the one hand, and other sources on the other. However, it is not excluded that there is no contradiction, and TP simply preserved the older state of the topography. Finally, *Alexandria* was founded in the IV century BC, but the examined documents were created about 7 centuries later. During the past centuries, the location could have changed significantly, and it is not impossible that data from different centuries were interwoven on the TP. Especially since such facts are known. For example, the presence of the city of Pompeii on the TP means that the document includes data from at least the I century.

Alexandria was founded in commemoration of Alexander the Great's victory over Darius III at Issus (hence the designation *Catisson* "near *Issus*"), and knowing the location of the battlefield would help to locate both *Alexandria Catisson* and *Issus*, however, it is not clearly known. According to Arrian, bypassing Alexander, Darius

²³⁶ Anonymi Stadiasmus Sive Periplus Maris Magni.

entered *Cilicia* from the west and was behind him. First, he captured *Issos*, and the next day he approached the river *Pinaros*, near which the battle took place.

For a long time, it was believed that the *Pinaros* River, near which that battle took place, is the present-day *Delhi* River. For example, J. Fuller, when he recreated the details of the battle of *Issos* in the book "The Art of War of Alexander the Great"²³⁷. However, in recent times, researchers seem to be more inclined to identify the *Payas* River with *Pinaros*²³⁸.

In any case, the battle took place definitely further north, and it is logical to assume that it should have been founded not far from the field of that battle. However, from the point of view of trade issues, that position would be significantly inferior to the current position of *Iskenderun*, which is located at the intersection of the road connecting *Cilicia* and *Syria* through the *Belen* pass and the coastal road. It can be assumed that after some time the Alexandrians built a guest house bearing the name of their city at that intersection, which later expanded so much that it centered the entire city on it. At the initial stage, when the transfer was not yet completed and *Alexandria Catisson* still existed, but the new city was being formed in parallel, to distinguish it from the previous one, and while it was still small, it could receive name *Alexandretta*, that is, "little *Alexandria*" (rather than comparing it to *Alexandria*, Egypt). Indeed, *Bordeaux* pilgrim mentions not the city of *Alexandria Catisson*, but a guest house named *Alexandria Scabiosa*. Judging by the name, initially that guest house was extremely dirty and could be located far from *Alexandria Catisson*, in the place of the present *Iskenderun*. In other words, the cities of *Alexandria Catisson* and *Alexandretta* (*Iskenderun*) are different settlements. And the first one, as the name suggests, was supposed to be near *Issus*. And where was *Issus*?

To solve the problem, it is necessary to locate this station in one system with the other two: *Issos* and *Catabolo* stations.

Issos

Issos has been known since ancient times, the whole bay was often named after it, so it must have been a large city. This is how *Xenophon* describes it: as "great and rich" (*Anabasis* 1.4.1). And it is doubly surprising that not only the name, but also the location of the city has been lost. It seems more likely that the city still remained, but the name changed. The fact that *Issos* was really renamed at least once is known from the report of *Stephen of Byzantium*, according to which it was called *Nikopolis* in honor of *Alexander's* victory²³⁹.

It is noteworthy that in the itinerary of the *Pilgrim of Bordeaux* and *IA*, *Issos* is also not there, but it is in ancient sources: *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Xenophon*. In *Anabasis*,

²³⁷ Fuller, J. F. C. *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*, 1958.

²³⁸ *Toohy Kathleen*, *The Battle Tactics of Alexander the Great*, 2019.

²³⁹ *Smith William*, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Amánus.

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after *Tarsus*, Cyrus the Younger reaches the *Psaros River* (*Saros* of other sources²⁴⁰, now *Seyhan*), perhaps *Adana*. Then, the *Pyramos* river (now *Jeyhan*), that is, *Msis*. Then the gate between *Cilicia* and *Syria*, then the city of *Miriandos*²⁴¹. Distances are given in parasangs. The comparison table is like this:

Κῦρος	Bordeaux Pilgrim	Itinerarium Antonini	Tabula Peutingeriana
Ταρσός	Tarso Cilicie		
	Pargais (Gökçeler) <i>XIII</i>		
Ψάρος <i>X</i>	Adana <i>XIV</i>		
Πύραμος <i>V</i>	Mansista (Misis) <i>XVIII</i>		
	Tardequeia <i>XV</i>		
		Aegeas (Ayas)	Aregea (Ayas)
	Catavolum <i>XVI</i>	Catabolo <i>XXI</i>	Catabolo <i>XXVIII</i>
Ισσός <i>XV</i>	Baie (Payas) <i>XVII</i>	Bais (Payas) <i>XVI</i>	Issos <i>V</i>
	Alexandria Scabiosa <i>XVI</i>	Alexandria <i>XVI</i>	Alexandria Catisson <i>VI</i>
Πύλας <i>V</i>			
Μυριανδος <i>V</i>			

In fact, *Baie*, which is now *Payas*, corresponds to *Issos* of TP in this series. Note that in recent centuries this was the largest settlement on the eastern coast of the bay and was depicted on maps. Of course, it can be objected that being between *Catabolo* and *Alexandria* does not mean that it is the same settlement. However, judging from the distances reported by the last three sources, *Bais* and *Issos* are not just between them, but almost in the middle, and there can only be one settlement in the middle. As we see, according to Bordeaux, it is 17 miles from *Catabolo* to *Païas*, and 16 miles from *Païas* to *Alexandria*. the difference is only 1 mile. According to IA, these distances generally coincide: 16 miles each. And they are almost equal according to TP: 5 and 6. But 5 and 6, with what points? Is every single *X* really missed? Now, when we see Xenophon's data alongside the medieval data, we get the impression that the lengths of these two sites are given not in miles, but in parasangs. Simply, since a parasang is about 3 times larger than a mile, it is the same as missing the tens sign.

However, when it is revealed that an old measurement unit was used here²⁴², the assumption is confirmed that many sources, including, perhaps, ancient ones, were selected and combined when compiling this part of the TP. And it is also considered

²⁴⁰ Smith W., Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Geography, 1857.

²⁴¹ Although the data from this source should be used with caution, as parasangs are too large and approximate units to measure small distances. Thus, from *Σάρος* to *Ταρσός*, 10 parasangs (actually 39.2 km) are indicated, and from *Ψάρος* to *Πύραμος*, 5 parasangs (actually 27.1 km). In the first case, it turns out that 1 parasang is equal to 3.92 km, and in the second case - 5.4 km. the deviation is huge. For comparison, the length of 1 mile in Bordeaux pilgrim is 1.45 km in the first case, and 1.50 km in the second case.

²⁴² We also encountered three-mile parasangs in *Mesopotamia*, while analyzing the routes *Tharrana* — *Edessa*, *Tigubis* — *Fons Scabore*, although there they seemed to be made up of Phileterian miles.

natural that the structure of the old road network of the routes could have been taken from any source. This, although indirectly, confirms the possibility that in ancient times Alexandria could be located further north.

The identification of *Paia*s and *Issos* does not mean that *Issos* coincided with the current city, but only that the current city is the successor of the old city, but the ancient *Issos* could also be located in a slightly different place. Judging by the data in the table, *Issos* was located as far from *Msis* (*Pyramos* River) as *Msis* was from *Tarsus*, that is, at 15 parasangs (66 km: 1 parasang, that is, with an accuracy of 4–5 km). Besides, it was almost exactly in the middle of *Catabolo* and *Alexandrette*, about 1–2 miles, or about 3 km to be exact. But the place of *Catabolo* is also unknown. According to Bordeaux pilgrim's list, it was located 31 miles (46 km) from *Msis*. It corresponds to the region of the present *Yukarı Burnaz* village.

Two numbers are mentioned after *Aregea* (*Ayas*). 24 miles and 28. It is clear that one of them refers to *Catabolo*, but what the other refers to is difficult to say. According to Miller, 28 refers to the distance to *Catabolo*, and 24 to the distance to *Mompsisteia*, i.e. *Msis*, whose route is not indicated by the red line. However, it can be assumed that one of them could also refer to the distance to *Piramum*, the route of which is also not indicated by the red line. The situation is complicated by the fact that *Aregea* is almost equidistant from all four neighboring stations, which can be located with one or another reliability. And both mentioned numbers, 24 and 28, differ from each other within the general accuracy limits of TP. Either way, if we measure 24 miles (36 km) from *Ayas*, we will reach the same point we reached by following the Bordeaux pilgrim list distance from *Msis*, near the village of *Yukarı Burnaz*. Miller also proposed the same location.

Now, having the location of *Catabolo*, about 66 km from *Mysis* and in the middle of *Catabolo* and *Alexandretta*, we can look for *Issos*. It corresponds to the northern outskirts of *Payas*.

But there is another option. Having crossed 5 parasangs from *Issus*, Cyrus reached the "gate" of Cilicia, that is, *Jonah's* pillars. That place is famous. It is located 10 km north of *Alexandrette*. Calculating this distance from them, we arrive at the ancient site of *Kinet Höyük*, which has long been considered the hillfort of *Issos*, especially based on *Xenophon's* report²⁴³. It was also mentioned as a ruin of *Issos* in 1915. on a British map. There is a difference of more than 8 km between this and the previous locations. Which version is correct? *Kinet Höyük* was quite a large (in the scale of the centuries) settlement and its archaeological picture corresponds well to *Issos*. But that circumstance is purely psychological: no corroborating records or data of sources. Even if we accept that the distance from *Catabolo* is given in miles, then *Issos* would still be located about 6 km north of *Kinet Höyük*. As for the numbers reported by *Xenophon*, as

²⁴³ **Gates Charles**, *Kinet Höyük* (Classical *Issos*): A Harbor Town in Southeast Cilicia during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods, p. 83.

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noted above, for small distances measurements with parasangs can give large deviations, since the size of parasangs was in many cases based on the speed of movement. And if the parasangs in that section were smaller (for example, less on 1 km), this can significantly neutralize the difference.

However, according to Pomponius Mela, Issus was located in the depths of the gulf: it should be understood, especially in the eastern part (1.13). And according to Strabo's already quite clear information, *Issos* was located where the coastline turns from the southeast direction to the south (Geography 14.5.11), and at that point is *Païas*.

However, the more northern location of Issus only confirms the assumption that ancient *Alexandria* had a more northern location: it had to be as close as possible to *Issos* to get the designation *Catisson*. However, since the data of the last three sources given in the table are mutually more relevant, it makes sense to be guided by them. In fact, from the sequence and distances of the settlements, it follows that either *Bais* and *Issos* are the same settlement, or there was a distance of no more than 3 miles between them. And on the site of *Bais*, or south of it, where today the two highways join (but before the "gate", that is, north of present-day *Sariseki*), *Alexandria Catisson* was built. settlements are rarely established in a completely empty area. Later, *Issos* lost its significance and became a part of the new city. And in the next stage, when *Alexandria* was moved and the new city was named *Alexandretta*, the old city obtain new name, becoming *Bais*. The only evidence of the ancient location of *Alexandria Catisson* left on the TP is the mention of that city as a road junction and the distances to *Rosos* and *Epifania*. The proposed assumption provides an opportunity to explain why *Alexandria Catisson* is indicated as the junction point, but in the summary table below, the distances are given from present-day Iskenderun, although *Alexandria Catisson* is indicated further north on the map.

Miller regards *Issos* and *Bais* as different stations, placing the latter between the former and *Alexandria Catisson*, and thereby reconciling the distances.

Catabolo

It was already shown above that this station was located near the present *Yukarı Burnaz*. But there is also another information. On the British (1915) map, 9 km to the northeast of *Ayas*, the *Kastabol* settlement is marked, next to which is written Ruins. Today, there is no settlement in that place, although an area reminiscent of an archaeological site can be seen (36°49'20"N 35°52'07"E). Curtius Rupus (G.7.5) mentions that place in the form of *Castabalum*, stating that Alexander arrived at that settlement after *Mall*, on the second day. However, it is about 25 miles from *Mall* (see *Mallo* below), that is, a day's journey, so the settlement mentioned by Rupus must have been the TP station itself. The name *Kastabol* also reminds of the name of the ancient site of *Castabala Hierapoli*,

located about 30 km from the sea, with which they sometimes propose to identify *Catabolo*²⁴⁴, considering the TP data unreliable.

Aregea

According to the name, this station is identically identified with *Ayas*. However, there are serious problems regarding the exact location. First of all, on the TP it is depicted to the right of the river and it is important to identify that river. It is certainly the *Πύρραμος*²⁴⁵, that is, the current *Ceyhan*, the largest river in the region. However, *Ayas* is located on the left side of this river. So, either it should be counted among the errors of TP, or it was located on the other side of the river in ancient times. Note that the terrain is such that it is not impossible: the coast here is at zero height and is constantly changing, because the river has formed a delta.

Today, the branch that is depicted as the main one on the 1901 map gave way to one of the right branches, while the previous one received the name *Old Ceyhan* (*Эски-Джейхан*), which flows into the sea at the top of the cape. And the cape is gradually washed away by the sea.

Comparing the old map, we see that a coastal *Akyatan* (*Акьятан*) lake was formed in it. In fact, in this part, the shore sinks into the water. And if the processes developed in the same direction in ancient times, it is possible that *Ayas* really changed its place, and in this case, TP kept the older state of the place.



Branches of the *Ceyhan* estuary on Stanford's 1901 and Soviet map.

That would also explain *Aregea's Catabolo* mentioned 28 miles. At the same time, it should be noted that the distance from *Aregea* to *Mallo* corresponds to the current situation. It turns out, after *Alexandria Catisson*, this is another case when the image of TP roads has preserved the older state, and some of the distances are new. However, in the absence of archaeological information from the above-mentioned cape region, it makes sense to locate *Aregea* in the place of present-day *Aias*.

²⁴⁴ Devine A. M., The location of Castabulum and Alexander's route from Mallus to Myriandrus.

²⁴⁵ E.g. BAtlas Map 67, Antiochia, 1034, or Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, col. 842.

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Mallo

This station is mentioned by J. Cary on the 1801 map in the form of *Mall* in the *Ceyhan* estuary area. It seems to be marked east of the river. And on the Soviet map, in that region, between the present-day *Bahçe* and *Bebeli*, the place *Малаздюзю* (*Malazdüzyu*) is marked, the second component of which is Turk. *düz* "plain", and the starting point is the toponym being searched for (-з, perhaps, is either a determinant or a mistake made when presenting through Russian letters). However, Strabo reports that the *Mall* was located on a hill (Geography 14.5.16), therefore it should not have been on that plain, but on one of the hills nearby. Judging by the distances, on the site of the northern quarter of the village of *Bahçe* (*Бахчекоў*) near *Taşkıntepe* (*Ташкынтепе*) hill. This location seems to be contradicted by the report of Curtius Rufus (3.7.5) that Alexander moved from the west and entered the *Mall* by throwing a bridge over *Pyramos*. However, in this section, *Jeyhan* had an arm from the left. It is depicted on old maps, according to the Soviet map, only its lower part remains, which is connected to another lake on the coast, also called *Akyatan* (see the previous point). The part adjacent to the main channel is nowadays lost in the network of irrigation canals. Perhaps, Alexander passed through this branch when entering the *Mall*.

[Zephyrio]

The location of this and the following stations is also problematic. They are well known from historical sources, but the positions of TP do not quite match their description. It seems that we are again dealing with the relocation of settlements and the confusion of settlements with the same name. And, in particular, this very *Zephyrio* seems to have appeared in the place which derives from the stated distances as a result of a misinterpretation of the original in the hand of the cartographer, and for that reason it is here taken in parentheses.

Zephyrio is now *Mersin*. In the form of *Zafra*, it is also mentioned by J. Cary on the 1801 map. However, TP lists *Zephyrio* 10 miles (15 km) from the previous one, and in that case, there are still about 40 miles to *Mersin*. Miller solves the problem by adding the *Cygnos* station known from RA between the two, which he identifies with the river *Cydnus* (*Tersus*, *Тарсус*) and locates at its mouth. This could be perfectly acceptable, but it does not solve everything. Thus, we have another RA list, according to which *Cygnos* is not between *Mallo* and *Zephyrio*, but between *Zephirion* and *Soloe*. There is also the problem of distances. It is not clear what the mentioned 10 miles should correspond to. The distance of *Mersin* from that point is about 2 times higher than that number and even more so it cannot match the distance to *Mallo*. However, if RA can have arbitrary sequences, then in the case of TP it is unlikely (the previous experience also confirms this) that a whole redundant station would be added. On the other hand, from *Corioco* (now *Kızkalesi*) to *Ayas* (*Aregea*, now *Yumurtalık*) is about 170 km compared to TP's 100 miles. In other words, the distances of TP are quite close to reality. It is about 20 km less

(the difference is only 12%; perhaps one or two Roman Xs were carelessly omitted in some sites).

One could assume the existence of another *Zephyrio* of the same name (especially since this was a fairly common place name) rather than claim that the author of the TP made a mistake of 40 miles and confused the sequence of stations. Apart from this (or along with this), there may be another explanation regarding the location of the next two stations, which seems more convincing (see below).

Soloe and Pompeiopolis

According to Strabo, Pompeius renamed the city of *Soloe* after himself *Pompeiopolis*. Therefore, they are the same settlement, but they are not only represented as separate stations, but the entire 32 miles are indicated between them. Not counting that another *Pompeiopolis* is mentioned next to it, on the adjacent route.

It is known that the ruins of *Pompeiopolis* are located about 10 km southwest of *Mersin*²⁴⁶. But the TP from *Pompeiopolis* to *Zephyrio*, which is identified with *Mersin*, gives a full 45 miles (about 68 km). At the same time, as it was said, the distances of TP in this section are plausible. Considering this, as well as the fact that these two stations are also listed separately in the RA list (*Ponpiopolis*, *Zephirion*, *Cygnos*, *Soloe*, *Tetrapyrgia*, *Coricos* in the order) it can be concluded that there may have been additional settlements of the same name. In other words, *Pompeiopolis* was not registered twice (as Miller thinks), but they were most likely different stations. North *Pompeiopolis* was probably an inn with the name of the same city, in the mountain pass, as we have in other cases. And there were also two Soloes, only one of which became *Pompeiopolis*, while the other kept the name. In the end, we have no reason to doubt the knowledge and vigilance of the author of TP. Especially since the distances are indicated with quite good accuracy. It's even clear where one of the X's was missed. *Corioco* to *Pompeiopolis* is stated to be 20 miles, although it is actually 30. Instead, Miller adds the intermediate station *Lamus*, which is known from other sources. Maybe the compiler of TP really missed it. And maybe he didn't even intend to include it. In the framework of this reconstruction, it was preferred to assume an omission of X.

As for the second *Soloe*, not far from where *Soloe* was supposed to be according to TP is the present-day village of *Tuzla* (near the *Tuz* "salt" lake), whose name means Turkish: "saltern". It seems that got confused the words Lat. *sōl*, *sōli* "sun, in the sun" or perhaps *solum* "plain, soil, earth" (gen. *solis*, it is noticeable that *Soloe/Pompeiopolis* is on a plain, while mountains rise not far from it), and *sal* "salt": the settlement could be called **Salio* or **Sallo* "salt down", and later be written in the same way due to the name of a more famous city. However, the inhabitants could remember the correct meaning of the name and translate it in the established new linguistic environment. Perhaps *Soloe* TP of could have been located on the site of the village of *Aydin*

²⁴⁶ Cockrell, Charles, Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810–1817, p. 189.

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(Айдынлылар) at the western end of the lake: in that case the distance would correspond to that indicated in the TP, but the more appropriate by name location is adopted in the summary table.

In addition, this could become the reason for the creation of another *Zephyrio*, the previous *Zephyrio* station (the real one, as said, should have been in the place of today's *Mersin*). The point is that the real *Zephyrio* is exactly the distance from the real *Soloe/Pompeiopolis* that is stated between *Soloe* and *Zephyrio*. Perhaps the original was damaged in this part, but the existence of *Mallo* station was noted, and knowing the distance between the two cities (13 miles), the cartographer placed *Zephyrio* 13 miles east of *Soloe*.

Corioco

This is identically identified with the fortress of *Coricos*, which until recently was indicated on maps as *Curco*, *Кергез*.

Seleucia

This place name has also been preserved until today in the form of *Silifke*.

Crunis

This one is marked at a distance of 33 (50 km) from the previous one and was written on the bed of some river, probably due to the lack of space. That river probably has nothing to do with this station, but refers to the previous station and is the *Calycadnus* mentioned by Strabo (now *Göksu*). Miller locates this station at *Crauni* on his map. However, in the new maps, that settlement is no longer indicated and the location is done according to the distance, in the middle of the north-western coast of the *Ovadhik (Оваджик) Bay*.

Celendenis

It is marked at a distance of 25 miles (38 km) from the previous one and is clearly located at the present *Aydıncık* site, as the old name was preserved until recently. It is still mentioned as *Гилиндуре* in the Genstab map.

Arsinoe and Animurio

The place of *Animurio* is not in doubt, because the name has been preserved until now: *Anamur*. In addition, it was located on the promontory of the same name, which is difficult to confuse, since Strabo emphasizes that it is the closest point to the island of *Cyprus*. There are even ruins of some ancient structures left on the cape.

As for *Arsinoe*, its only known distance from *Animurio* is 23 miles (35 km). It is accepted to be located on the site of *Softakalesi* fortress, located east of the present-day *Bozyazı* town. However, this place is not 35 km away from Cape *Anamur*, but only 25 km away. And on the required 35 km is the current *Tekeli* village, which is located at the foot of the *Teke* Mountain. It is interesting that this name comes from the Turk. word

teke "male goat", and the name *Arsinoe* is based on is the feminine form of the Greek word *ἄρσην* "male, masculine". Of course, a coincidence is possible, but why right in the place that mentioned by TP?

Alexandria Catisson — Animurio (Roman mile, Persian parasang)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Alexandria Catisson	Iskenderun				
Issos	Payas 6	18	27	25	-7.41
Catabolo	Yukarı Burnaz 5	15	22	22	0.00
Aregea	Yumurtalık	24	36	36	0.00
Mallo	Малаяздузю	25	37	37	0.00
[Zephyrio]	İsahacılı	10	15	16	6.67
<u>Soloë</u>	<u>Tuzla</u>	13	19	18	-5.26
Pompeiopolis	Вираншехир	32	47	55	17.02
Corioco	Кергез 20	30	44	48	9.09
Seleucia	Silifke	18	27	25	-7.41
Crunis	~Ovacık	33	49	49	0.00
Celendenis	Гилиндире	25	37	35	-5.41
<u>Arsinoe</u>	<u>Tekeli</u>	∅	∅	20	—
Animurio	Anamur	23	34	36	5.88
		266	394	402	Average: 2.03

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Alexandria Catisson — Tarso Cilicie

Alexandria Catisson XXX Epifania XXX Anazarbo XL Mompistea XIX Adana XXVIII Tarso Cilicie

The names of all the stations on this route have actually been preserved until recent times, and some of them even today. Only *Epifania* causes some problems.

Epifania

Its location is known. The ruin is marked on J. Grässl's map at the exact 37° parallel (actually 36°58'24"). The distance of 30 miles from the previous station was considered when locating *Alexandria Catisson*. If the latter is located at Iskenderun, 10 km is obtained. deviation, since this distance expresses the original position of *Alexandria Catisson*, not far from *Issus*.



The only question about the location of this station is that to get to the next station and the beach it would be more natural to go south and bypass the hilly terrain of *Haydardagi* to the right, but then the intersection with the coastal road would be between *Catabolo* and *Issos*. And although there is also a highway bypassing *Haydardagi* from the left, the first option seems more natural. It must be assumed that in ancient times there were some terrain-related obstructions to direct movement, such as a bog (some bogs are shown on the British map, and anciently there may have been more), or perhaps the relevant inn. is not in the city itself, but a little north.

Anazarbo

This place name was preserved until recent times. General headquarters is marked on the map as *Anavarza*. Present-day *Dilekkaya*.

Mompistea

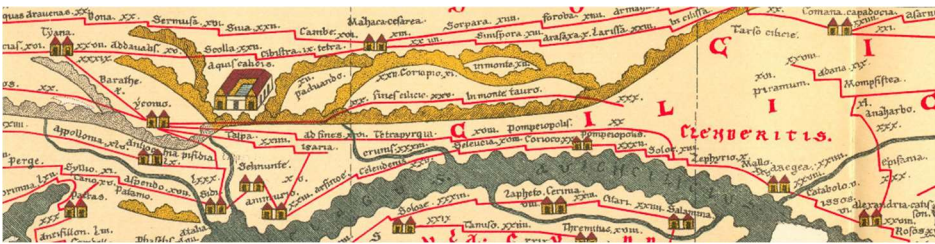
Present-day *Eski Misis*.

Adana

Present-day *Adana*.

Tarso Cilicie

This is present-day *Tarsus*. However, the name is written away from all lines. As Miller suggested, the cartographer had left a place for the icon, but for some reason had not implemented it. In sure, the part adjacent to *Tarso Cilicia* seems unfinished: the line of the route from *In monte Tauro* is interrupted, the red line of the route passing above it is completely missing. Adding to this some other real or, perhaps, apparent errors, such as the problem of *Soloe* and *Pompeiopolis* (see the corresponding paragraph), Miller concluded that the extant copy of the TP misrepresented the old original and tried restore it from *Tyana* to *Tarso Cilicie*: that is, in the entire western mountainous *Cilicia*.



Miller's proposed restoration of the *Tarsus* fragment from *Tyana* ²⁴⁷.

As we can see, the changes made by Miller are significant. not only the icon of *Tarso Cilicie* was added, but also some stations, missing and interrupted lines of the routes, and some of the depicted routes were edited (for example, the same section of *Soloe* and *Pompeiopolis*).

Some edits should certainly be considered valid: after all, it is obvious that there are indeed some errors in this part of TP. For example, the icon of *Tarso Cilicie* is obvious it should have present. But what should it have been like? In the form of a large six-tower structure or in the form of ordinary two houses, it should have been approached by 5 roads or less — it is difficult to say. Undoubtedly, Miller was guided by the name of *Tarso Cilicie* and the number of the XVI distance to the next *Piramum* station, but in TP

²⁴⁷ Miller K., *Itineraria Romana*, cols. 665 – 666, pic. 220.

CILICIA

there are not a few cases when the cartographer's eye gauge betrayed him and he allowed unnecessary thinning and thickening of the drawing. On the other hand, although the termination of unfinished routes in *Tarso Cilicie* seems generally probable, at the same time, the fact that the direction of the end of the route from *In monte Tauro* clearly points downwards from the place of the supposed icon of *Tarso Cilicie* cannot be ignored.

Finally, it makes sense to examine the question of why the aforementioned omissions and bugs should have occurred. It seems that the most likely reason was damage to the original: in that part, similar holes were formed on the original, which we see on the copy that has reached us. These questions will be examined below, *Zephyrio* — *Ýconio*, and another option for the restoration of this section will be proposed.

Alexandria Catisson* — *Tarso Cilicie (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Alexandria Catisson	Iskenderun				
Epifania	~Erzin	30	44	54	22.73
Anazarbo	Анаварза	30	44	42	-4.55
Mompsistea	Eski Misis	40	59	53	-10.17
Adana	Adana	19	28	28	0.00
Tarso Cilicie	Tarsus	28	41	39	-4.88
		<i>1010</i>	<i>1498</i>	<i>1460</i>	<i>Average: -2.54</i>

Alexandria Catisson — Laudicie**Alexandria Catisson XXVIII Rosos XV Seleucia XII Adorontem XV Laudicie**

Although the stations on this route are easily identified, the distances do not match; if there were no data from other sources and phonetic similarities of place names, many distances would only lead astray.

Rosos

This is the current *Arsuz*. See also *Alexandria Catisson* section for distances related to this station.

Seleucia

This is marked 15 miles (23 km) from the previous one. It is located in the present village of *Çevlik*, which probably retains the distorted form of the old name. However, the actual distance is around 45 km. probably the road has passed along the coast, under the steep slopes of *Amanos*, where there are almost no settlements. Miller suggests that the 15 miles mentioned refers to the distance from *Seleucia* to *Antioch*. However, although the actual distance from *Seleucia* to *Antioch* is indeed 15 miles, this is unlikely, as most TP distances are written on the same line as the previous station name to the right. More likely a simple bug: probably one X has been omitted here as well, something that is quite possible, considering the narrowness of the map in that area. It was mentioned on the 1915 British map as the ruins of *Seleucia*.

Adorontem²⁴⁸

This is marked 12 miles from the previous one, on the left bank of the *Orontes* River. However, it is only half of the mentioned distance to the river, near which the station named "near the Oront" was expected to be found. Maybe it should have been V instead of X. In that case, the station could be located approximately on the site of present-day *Çöğürlü*. But it is also possible that the station was located in the mountain pass, before reaching the *Orontes* valley: Lat. *ad* can mean both "to", "on", and "near". It is clear from the British map that at least at the beginning of the 20st century, the river cross was located significantly higher up the river, which would have added the missing distance to the site. On the map, the village of *Tumama* is indicated in that section, which is not on the new maps, but is exactly at the required 12 miles.

Miller locates it in *Suedie* (*Suedia*, *Сквейдие*, *Samandağ*, *Самандагы*). However, on the TP it is clearly indicated on the left bank of the *Orontes*, so that location is not acceptable.

²⁴⁸ It is clearly written as one word, although, for example, at <http://www.tabula-peutingeringiana.de/> it is presented in a separate words, *Ad Orontem*.

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Laudicie²⁴⁹

The distance from the previous one is listed as 15 miles (23 km), but the actual distance is around 60 km. As in other similar cases, Miller fills the section with stations known from other sources, in particular, he adds *Cattelas* known from IA. However, this was on the road from *Antiochia* to *Laudicie*, and another, separate road from *Antiochia* to *Laudicie* is indicated on the TP, and it is not clear on which of them *Cattelas* could have been. He also adds the *Bacataiali*²⁵⁰ station, which is already definitely marked in the TP on the neighboring track.

In fact, TP's mistake is obvious. What it is explained by, one can only assume, but, as has been said many times, our task is to identify the actually marked stations and roads of TP. In this case, due to the historical material and phonetic similarities, this station is precisely identified with the current *Latakia*.

Alexandria Catisson — *Laudicie* (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Alexandria Catisson	Iskenderun				
Rosos	Arsuz	28	41	44	7.32
Seleucia	Çevlik 15	25	37	35	-5.41
Adorontem	Tumama	12	18	17	-5.56
Laudicie	Latakia	15	22	53	140.91
		65	96	96	<i>Average: 0.00</i>

The sum of the distances and the average deviation are calculated up to *Adorontem*.

²⁴⁹ Usually, the last letter is deciphered as *a*, but *e* is clearly read.

²⁵⁰ Miller has a typo in col. 761: *Bacataioli*.

Tarso Cilicie — Týana**Tarso Cilicie XII inmonte XI Coriopio XXII Paduando XII Aquis Calidis XXXIX Týana**

This route is not marked with a red line, which makes it significantly more difficult to localize. In this case, it helps that this route should have passed through the *Cilician Gate*. There is no other convenient way to cross *Taurus* here.

Inmonte

Marked 12 miles (18 km) from *Tarso Cilicie*. BAtlas does not locate. This is a really hard station to locate: phonetic traces of the name were hardly preserved, because the name is descriptive. It helps, as said, the high probability of this route passing through the *Cilician Gate*. The second conflict is distance. Finally, this place is marked as surrounded by mountains, and indeed, the road leading from *Tars* to the *Cilician gates* passes a mountain range from about 8 km from the city, then appears, although not very pronounced, in a hollow, within the limits of which, about 22 km from *Tars Taşobası* (Turkish: "stone tent") village is located. Perhaps this station should have been nearby.

Coriopio

This is marked 11 miles (17 km) from the previous one. There is no phonetic compliance. It is located by distance in the present village of *Çamalan*.

Paduando

It is marked 22 miles (33 km) from the previous one. This is the current *Pozanti*, a distorted form of the historical name.

Aquis Calidis

12 miles (18 km) from the previous one. This is the current *Çiftehan*. This location confirms the meaning of the name: Lat. "hot water": even today this place is known for its hot mineral waters.

Tarso Cilicie — Týana (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Tarso Cilicie	Tarsus				
inmonte	Taşobası	12	18	22	22.22
Coriopio	Çamalan	11	16	20	25.00
Paduando	Pozanti	22	33	36	9.09
Aquis calidis	Çiftehan	12	18	16	-11.11
Týana	Kemerhisar	39	58	63	8.62
		96	143	157	Average: 9.79

CILICIA

Aregea — Tarso Cilicie

Aregea XXVIII Piramum XVI Tarso Cilicie

This small route is also not marked with a red line and is actually a continuation of the previous one. However, it is even more uncertain. Furthermore, the distance to the second site is marked clearly wrong.

Piramum

This is depicted separately from the neighboring routes, away from any red lines. However, it seems that this was intended to be associated with *Tarso Cilicia*. Maybe after implementing the icon of the previous one, it should be connected to it with a small line. But in that case (and there is no more convincing option) the mentioned distance of 16 miles is obviously wrong. The point is that, judging by the name, this station should most likely have been on the river of the same name, which is now the *Ceyhan*, but the closest point from Tars to the *Ceyhan's* course is more than 52 km (35 mi). BAtlas identifies with *Mompsistea*, as well as with Gr. *Σελεύκεια πρὸς τὸν Πύραμον* and with Lat. *Seleucia ad Pyramum*. However, here again we see the manifestation of the approach, when the clearly mentioned as different stations of TP are announced as "mirrors" of the same station. Of course, as we saw above, there can be overlaps, as in the case of *Macharta* and *Minnocerta*, or *Ad fl Tigrim* and *Ad fl Tigrem*. But it requires consistent proof, rather than being derived from the simple external similarity of place names. In this case, *Mompsistea* and *Piramum* are both represented on the TP, and are therefore likely they different, even if one of the components of the former is known to be related to *Piramum*; after all, could there are several large cities on the same river, even with the same name?

Therefore, Miller's solution, which assumes the existence of an unmarked route from *Tarso Cilicia* to *Aregea*, on which *Piramum* was located, is more convincing. And to solve the issue of distances, he adds the *Sarum fl* station between *Tarso Cilicie* and *Piramum*. This is perhaps the most convincing solution, although it is still very speculative. Perhaps the cartographer did not want to place an intermediate station and simply made a mistake with the distance.

Aregea — Tarso Cilicie (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Aregea	Yumurtalik				
Piramum	Esenler	24	36	34	-5.56
Tarso Cilicie	Tarsus	16	24	~60	150.00

Zephyrio — Ýconio

Zephyrio XXX In monte tauro XXV Fines cilicie XX Innōminis Ø Ýconio

This route causes serious problems, because the peripheral part of its red line is missing, and it is not clear from which station it could have started. As stated, Miller was of the opinion that it should connect with *Tarso Cilicie*, but the existing tip of the red line does not point to *Tarso Cilicie*.

Of course, this is not a decisive fact, and nothing would have prevented the cartographer from taking the line in a different direction after that point. However, there are other circumstances. The most important thing: From *Tarso Cilicie* to the other side of the Taurus also leads the *Tarso Cilicie — Tyana* route considered above, which passes through the *Cilician Gate*, while there is no other convenient way to cross the *Taurus* in this section, and if it starts in *Tarso Cilicie*, the considered route would coincide with *Tarso Cilicie — Tyana* route.



Cilicia section of TP.



Reconstruction of the Cilicia section of TP.

In Miller's drawing we see roads radiating from *Tarso Cilicia*, but there are no roads radiating so clearly from the real *Tarsus*; reaching the mountains, they become entangled, turning into a network in which the settlements are evenly distributed, and this network hardly suggests how the main roads could have passed in ancient times. Of course, there are paths in the required direction, but they go through stone deserts, and it seems unlikely that there would be routes worthy of being included in the TP. The condition of distances is added to it. according to TP, the second station after the starting point of that route is called *Fines cilicie* and it is 55 miles (about 83 km) to that point.

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But what could the cartographer mean by *Cilicia*? Whether the whole province (which at various times included *Tyana* and *Heraclea Cybistra*), or merely the southern slopes of the *Taurus* to the sea. If the former, the distance mentioned is not sufficient to reach from the southern belt of *Cilicia* to its northern edges, and if secondly, it is a very long distance (it is barely 60 km to the watershed of the *Taurus*) and to cover the said distance the road would have to make unnecessary windings. And this fact makes it extremely improbable that this route started from *Tarso Cilicia* and to go to *Ýconio* on a separate line.

And if the route started at another station, which one? If we continue the red line in the direction of the end section, it will approximately reach the *Zephyrio — Mallo — Aregea* section. However, they could not be the beginning, because the route starting from them would coincide with either *Aregea — Tarso Cilicia* or the coastal route. In addition, the distances also seem inconsistent: even counting from *Zephyrio*, the 30 miles mentioned in *In monte tauro* are not enough to reach the mountains where the station of such a name should have been located.

However, it seems that the continuation of the red line should have been connected to *Zephyrio*, but not referring to the *Zephyrio* mistakenly appearing in the neighborhood of *Mallo*, but the real one, now *Mersin*. Perhaps, the realization of this uncertainty was the reason why the cartographer did not draw the line to the end. Perhaps he felt that the red line could not reach the point where he had located *Zephyrio*, but that *Soloe* was the same *Pompeiopolis* and *Zephyrio* must be near it, he probably, did not know. For the same reason, it seems, the red line of the neighboring route was not drawn: at least in some part, in the area of the *Cilician Gate*, the two routes should have coincided, and the data from the cartographer's sources probably did not provide an opportunity to clarify this issue.

As can be seen from the restoration, unlike Miller's proposal, the goal here is not to restore the positions of all known settlements in the given region, but only to verify the connections and positions of the already existing stations in the TP in the states in which they could be, if the implementation of the given section the cartographer finished.

Zephyrio

As already mentioned, *Zephyrio* is the current *Mersin*, which is also mentioned in the form of *Zafra* by J. Cary in 1801 the map. This is different from the *Zephyrio* mentioned in TP, which was probably formed by the cartographer's incorrect restoration of the original in his possession.

In monte tauro

Marked 30 miles (45 m) from the previous one. Miller identifies this station with *Nemrun*, better known as *Lambron* (now *Çamlıyayla*). This is a good solution, if you take into account the important location of this place on the mountain roads. But the

distance is not convenient. The distance from Mersin to *Çamlıyayla* is around 65 km, instead of the required 45 km. By the way, it is almost the same distance from Tars, where Miller sees the beginning of this route. And the current village of *Körmenlik* corresponds to the distance of 45 km from *Mersin*, but these are ordinary settlements and hardly played a pivotal role even in ancient times. But the correspondence of distances seems to be the more prevailing argument: in the end, we cannot claim that due to some circumstances it would not be appropriate to build a guest house in a relatively secondary settlement. Of course, the possibility of Miller's location cannot be excluded, but in that case, we have to assume a mistake in the original, for which we have no basis. Although, even in the case of *Körmenlik*, it should be assumed that in ancient times, the main roads passed by a shorter route, even if it was more inclined.

Fines cilicie

25 miles (38 km) from the previous one. Miller locates it at *Mindos Kalesi* (37°21'11"N 34°16'52"E), southeast of present-day *Ereğli* (historical *Heraclea Cybistra*), i.e. beyond the *Taurus* watershed. However, as said, there are no convenient roads crossing the *Taurus*, only narrow mountain paths through rocky deserts with huge gradients. It seems more likely that this route also passed through the *Cilician gates*, but this circumstance was not clearly known to the cartographer, and that is why he did not endow one of the two routes with a red line. In this case, Fines cilicie can be located in present-day *Gülek*, within the gates of the *Cilician Gate*, which retains the "Cilicia" component of the ancient name.

Innōminis

Finally, after another 20 miles (30 km) there should have been another station, the name of which is not mentioned. According to Miller, it is *Cybistra*, but it was already mentioned that we have no basis for such assumptions and corrections. The *Cibistra* mentioned on the route *Tyana — Mazaca cesarea* may be a completely different settlement, or simply an inn. And within the framework of the proposed assumption, it is probably *Paduando*, which is thus included in the two routes.

Zephyrio — Ýconio (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Zephyrio	Mersin				
In monte tauro	Kesecik	30	44	48	9.09
Fines cilicie	Gülek	25	37	36	-2.70
Innōminis	Pozantı	20	30	27	-10.00
Ýconio	Konya	∅	∅	20	—
		75	111	111	Average: 0.00

Innōminis [Pompeiopolis] — Ýconio***Innōminis [Pompeiopolis] XX Pompeiopolis XVIII Tetryrgia XVI Ad Fines Ø Ýconio***

This route also causes problems. Especially regarding the two *Pompeiopolises*. As said, Miller identifies these two stations, combining them with *Soloe*. And if the unconditional identification with *Soloe* still has justification, then combining the two *Pompeiopolises* is, without argument, unacceptable, because it seems psychologically and logically implausible to mistakenly depict a station of the same name side by side. It is most likely that one of them is the city itself, and the other is a guest house in its suburbs.

At the same time, the existence of some error is obvious. The misunderstanding seems to have started from the confusion of *Soloe* noted above, and since the cartographer probably had information that the next station after *Pompeiopolis* inn was *Soloe* (perhaps *Pompeiopolis* was represented by that old name in his source), he managed is the red line of the route to *Soloe*, not taking into account that this is another *Soloe*, and attached it to the coastal route at an unnamed place.

After making this clarification, the remaining data do not seem to cause any contradiction.

Innōminis [Pompeiopolis]

As said, this should have been *Pompeiopolis*, but as a result of probable a cartographer's error, it turned into a mere nameless intersection in the wrong place, and therefore here the name *Pompeiopolis* is written conventionally and to emphasize the fact, in square brackets. In other words, this intersection (connection point) cannot actually be depicted on the map, because it has no connection with the *Soloe* station (which, as stated above, is actually another station with a consistent name).

Pompeiopolis

This station is listed as 20 miles (30 km) from the previous (ie *Soloe/Pompeiopolis* proper) city. This was probably a guest house with the same name as the famous city. There are probably no phonetic traces left. According to the distance, it is located in the present village of *Fındıkpınarı*.

Tetryrgia

This is marked 18 miles (27 km) from the previous one. The name means Greek. "four towers", in which the second component *πύργος* "tower", can mean, in particular, "type of troop". The present *Gâvuruçtuğu* village is located in the mentioned place, whose name can be etymologically explained as Turkish. "Three troops of unbelievers". In fact, the two place names have a close meaning, except that the Turkish word contains the number *uç* "three", while in Greek it corresponds to the number *τετρα* "four". This is hardly a coincidence.

Ad Fines

This is marked 16 miles (24 km) from the previous one. The name is descriptive, and it is natural to see it in the region of the *Taurus* watershed. According to the distance, it is located in the present village of *Evdilek*.

Innōminis [Pompeiopolis] — Ýconio (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Innōminis	Вираншехир				
Pompeiopolis	Fındıkpınarı	20	30	28	-6.67
Tetrapyrgia	Gâvuruçtuğu	18	27	28	3.70
Ad Fines	Evdilek	16	24	25	4.17
Ýconio	Konya	∅	∅	200	—
		54	81	81	<i>Average: 0.00</i>

CILICIA

Animurio — Ýconio

Animurio XV isaria XI Taspá XXIII Ýconio

This little route is also almost entirely uncertain: although the outlying stations are known, one can only make assumptions about the two intermediate ones.

isaria

This is marked 15 miles from the previous *Animurio*. However, this is improbable, since it is certainly *Isauria*, which was located north of the *Taurus* watershed. A key to the solution may be given by the location of the name at the *T*-intersection, if viewed as the starting point of an unfinished route. The point is that north of *Animurio* there is a prominent crossroads from which the road to *Seleucia* (now *Silifke*) opens to the east. And at that point is present *Ermenek*, the ancient *Germanicopolis*. It turns out, *Germanicopolis* and *isaria* are identical. It is a bit unexpected, but natural, because *Germanicopolis* was a prominent city in *Isauria*, and the guest house could be named after the country. As for the distance, it should be considered a bug. probably the letter *L* was forgotten. This seems especially likely, because the adjacent routes on the western side have similar lengths, and the actual distance from *Anamur* to *Ermenek* is almost the same.

Miller identifies it with the fortress of *Zengibar* (37°11'28"N 32°21'13"E), and counts 15 miles from the previous *Astra* station, an addition between *Isaria* and *Germanicopolis*.

Taspá

Marked 24 miles (36 km) from the previous one. Due to lack of additional data, should be located by distance. However, in the case of moving along the shortest, therefore a natural route, there is no settlement at that distance, and the most suitable option is perhaps to locate in the village of *Başyayla*. Since Miller reckons 24 miles already from the previous *Zengibar*, this station appears near *Konya*.

Animurio — Ýconio (Roman mile)

Station	Localization	Dist. by TP, mi	Dist. by TP, km	Dist. by Google Earth, km	Dist. deviation, %
Animurio	Anamur				
isaria	Ermenek 15	65	98	99	1.02
Taspá	Başyayla	24	36	29	-19.44
Ýconio	Konya	Ø	Ø	160	—
		89	134	128	Average: -4.48

CONCLUSION

In the course of the research, the routes and stations of the *Common Armenian* and neighboring countries depicted in the TP were observed. An important result can be considered the fact that the high topographical accuracy of the TP was shown, and especially the authenticity of the mentioned distances. An important result of the research is that the informational role of the features of the TP terrain, mountains, rivers, lakes, and not decorative role was proved. The important thing is that from the precedent of the successful identification of a number of settlements within the framework of this work, it will be clear from now on that in the case of the reconstruction of the TP (and other such documents), it is necessary to start from the assumption of the authenticity of the data reported by it, and only after proving their contradictions, to announce them incorrect, and offer a logically justified proposal to correct that data. It is also desirable, if possible, to reveal the circumstances that became the reason for the inaccuracy of the original. And opposite: no matter how indisputable this or that identification seems, do not ignore other data of the original that contradicts that one. It is necessary to find the explanation within which the existing facts will appear in one system, each in its place.

The same applies to the issue of the capital *Tigranakert*. Traditionally, researchers have given little weight to the topographical information known from the sources, while they naturally carry much greater weight than chronological, linguistic, or administrative-political data for the location of a given settlement; there is a problem of interpretation of all of them, while if a characteristic feature of a mountain, river, or road is described in the source, it is much clearer, and most importantly, we can hope that it has not changed until today. By the way, for this very reason, the spatial imaging systems of the earth, and, in particular, Google Earth, the freely available military, i.e. accurate cartographic materials of different years, offer huge opportunities, while their huge opportunities are still not well used for historical purposes, for the purposes of solving geography problems.

Undoubtedly, many of the phonetic identifications may turn out to be accidental as a result of further research. It is also possible to find out that some routes were reorganized correctly, but the settlements were wrongly identified. Obvious identifications may have been overlooked, or on the contrary accidental phonetic similarities may have been given exaggerated importance. In all cases, this is science,

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and even if most of the identifications in this research are not confirmed later (I hope that at least a small part will be correct :-)) it will contribute to the solution of the considered problems to some extent. At least by confirming their error and trying to find other solutions: a negative result is also a result.

And this is the main value of the work done: the fact that for the first time in one work and in one system, around 380 place names of the Armenian cradle and adjacent regions were presented, and most importantly, it was done in a modern cartographic format, which can serve as a basis for further studies.

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