THE LOCATION OF CASTABALUM AND ALEXANDER'S ROUTE
FROM MALLUS TO MYRIANDRUS

The question of the exact route taken by Alexander the Great on his march from Mallus to Myriandrus prior to the battle of Issus in 333 B.C. has recently been reopened by D.W. Engels, who — unfortunately, without argument — identifies Alexander's way-station Castabalum with Kastabala Hieropolis. It is the purpose of this note to support this unorthodox but cogent identification.

According to Curtius 3.7.5–8, Alexander marched from Mallus to Issus via a town called 'Castabulum' or 'Castabalum'. Now, the location of this place — which in most modern accounts of the campaign has been tacitly assumed to lie somewhere on the Cilician coast between Aegae and Issus — is of importance in determining Alexander's precise route on the march to Myriandrus and in estimating the time it would have taken him, both issues which have a bearing on our overall understanding of Alexander as a strategist. The orthodox view is succinctly stated by W. Ruge. There were, he claims, two places of this (or similar) name in eastern Cilicia, about twenty miles apart — one inland, the relatively well-known Kastabala Hieropolis, identified with modern Bodrum Kalessi, the other on the coast, to be identified with both the Catabolon of the late Roman Itineraries and the Castabalum of Curt. 3.7.5.

This hypothesis, however, raises more difficulties than it solves. In the first place, the only evidence we have concerning Catabolon is the 'shorthand' entries in the Itineraries, the traveller's guides of late antiquity. Even here there are inconsistencies. The Tabula Peutingeriana (10.4) locates Catabolon twenty-eight Roman miles from Aegae and five Roman miles from Issus; the Itinerarium Antonini (148) places it twenty-one Roman miles from Aegae and sixteen Roman miles from Baiae (Payas); whilst the Jerusalem Itinerary (580.6) gives only one relevant distance, that of seventeen Roman miles between Catabolon and Baiae. Such discrepancies do not inspire confidence, and the comments of W.M. Ramsay on the coherence and accuracy of our main epigraphical source, the Tabula Peutingeriana, are apposite: '... we find in the Table that sometimes the right names are mentioned in the wrong order, frequently an entirely false set of names is placed on a road, and sometimes true and false names are put side by side among the stations. Frequently an important Roman route is represented in mere fragments, or appears as a set of disjointed zigzags across the map, while fragments of two or three roads are united into a single straight line.'

Secondly, there is no justification for identifying Curtius' Castabulum with a way-station, Catabolon, that must have lain on the coast. There is in fact nothing in the sources to suggest that Alexander's march from Mallus to Myriandrus involved a strict hugging of the coast of the Gulf of Iskenderon (i.e. following the shortest route possible) aside from Arrian's statement (2.6.2) that it was accomplished in the surprisingly short time of two days. Even leaving aside the probability that the rapidity of this march is nothing more than Callisthenic
embroidery on the motif of Alexander as hero,\textsuperscript{10} we should note that this statement is contradicted outright by Curtius (3.7.3), who says that it was only on the second day of his advance from Mallus that Alexander reached Castabalum.

Thirdly, it is inherently improbable that there would have been two towns called Castabalum, or something very much like it, so close together, though there were, for example, two named Apollonia no more than seventeen or eighteen miles apart — one in Chalcidice, the other just to the north-east of it. Apollonia, however, is a very common place name,\textsuperscript{11} while no other Castabalum or Kastabala is known.

Fourthly, the received reading 'castabulum' bears a closer resemblance to the attested name (Kastabala) of the ruined town at Bodrum Kalessi than it does to any of the variants of the place name — Catabolon,\textsuperscript{12} Catabolo,\textsuperscript{13} Catavolon,\textsuperscript{14} Catavolo,\textsuperscript{15} Cabulon\textsuperscript{16} — entered between Aegae and Issus or Baiae in the various Itineraries. Indeed, it is hardly likely these variants represent corruptions of the name Castabalum or that Castabalum is a corruption of Catabolo(n): in particular, the addition or deletion of the 's' or 'c' is both morphologically and palaeographically improbable.\textsuperscript{17}

The word κατάβολος, however, occurs in Classical literature in a number of senses which suggest that it could have been used either as a place name proper or at least as a regular place description. The scholiast on Thucydides glosses ἐπίνειον at 1.30.2 with κατάβολον, the vulgar term in the Hellenistic period for a 'naval station' or 'roadstead', while the medical author of the first century A.D., Xenocrates (apud Oribasius 2.58.96), uses κατάβολος to mean a 'stew-pond' or 'oyster-bank, and the Etymologicum Magnum (3.36.2) defines it as an 'entrepôt' (ἐμπόριον). Any of these senses could be reasonably expected to underlie the formal name or itinerary designation of a place on the coast of the Gulf of Iskenderon. The conclusion is obvious: had Curtius in fact meant to refer to this coastal location, he could — and would — have used the established Latinization Catabolo(n) or Catavolo(n). By Castabalum (or 'Castabulum'), Curtius meant none other than Kastabala Hieropolis.

The question now arises of why Alexander’s route should have taken him so far inland. There was still much support for Persian rule in Cilicia: both Arrian (2.5.5.) and Curtius (3.7.2) tell us that Alexander was obliged to garrison Soli and fine it two hundred talents for its continued loyalty to the Great King. From Soli Alexander had marched with a very substantial flying column — three tæxeis of pezhetairoi, all the archers, and the light-armed Agrianians (i.e. 4,500 heavy and perhaps 1,500 light infantry\textsuperscript{18}) — to deal with the Cilician tribesmen who still held out against him in the highlands of the western Taurus. This opposition he had suppressed in a lightning campaign of seven days before returning to Soli.\textsuperscript{19} Nonetheless, the native population continued to be actively hostile until the Macedonian victory at Issus.\textsuperscript{20} Alexander’s march upcountry to Kastabala Hieropolis would thus have had the object of cowing the hill-tribes of the eastern Taurus, which were in a position to threaten the Macedonian line of com-
communications. That Curtius fails to explain Alexander's move to Kastabala should not concern us too greatly, for neither does he account for, or even mention, the king's earlier foray into the western Taurus.

NOTES

2. 'Castabalaum' is the emendation of J. Froben; the codices all read 'castabulum'.
4. These issues are fully discussed in my forthcoming article, 'The Strategies of Alexander the Great and Darius III in the Issus Campaign, 333 B.C.'
5. RE 10.2 (1919) 2335–2336, s.v. Kastabala.
8. Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society), London 1890, 63–64.
9. Scholars have, on the whole, been reluctant to accept Arrian's time of two days for the march. A. Bauer, 'Die Schlacht bei Issos', OJh 2 (1899) 123, argues for five or six days; W. Dätberner, Issos: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen, Diss. Berlin 1908, 79, three days; while A. von Dornasewski, Die Phalanxen Alexanders und Caesars Legionen (Heidelberger SB Phil.-hist. Kl. 16, 1925/26), 60–61, W. Judeich, 'Issos', in J. Kronayer and G. Veit (edd.), Anike Schachfelder, vol. 4, Berlin 1929, 360, note 2, and Hammond (above, note 3) 311, note 35, agree on four days. However, most recent commentators—R. Lane Fox, Alexander the Great, London 1973, 164, and Green (above, note 3) 538, note 58, for example—for example—follow M. Deulafoy, 'La bataille d'Issus', Mémoires de l'Institut National de France de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 39 (1914) 58–59, in accepting Arrian's statement. P.A. Brunt in the new Loeb edition of Arrian, vol. 1, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 458, argues that an intermediate stage, probably a pause at Issus, has been omitted in Arrian's account.
11. P. Stengel, RE 2 (1896) 111–118, s.v. Apollonia, lists no less than thirty-three towns of this name.
13. Itin. Ant. 146; Tab. Peut. 10.4.
16. Geogr. Rav. 358.1: 'Cabulon' is quite obviously the result of haplography.
17. I am indebted to my colleagues, Professors I. Ronca, C.A. van Rooy, and C.P.T. Naade, and Mr. A. Treson, for their opinions on this point.
19. Arr. 2.5.5–6.
20. Diod. 17.32.4.

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