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TWO MILESTONES ON THE ROAD FROM MYRA TO LIMYRA

Abstract: The author presents two milestones, each with three inscriptions dating from the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. The one was found in the bed of the river Başgözçay, near the modern town of Turunçova, the other in the Church of Nicholas in Myra. Both milestones once stood on the road from Myra to Limyra. In a detailed commentary Takmer then undertakes to reconstruct possible routes of this road using topographical, archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence to support his view.

The two milestones treated below have six inscriptions honouring Roman emperors who reigned in 4th and 5th centuries. The first three inscriptions, of which one is illegible, were engraved on the first milestone found in the bed of the river Başgözçay near the modern town of Turunçova.¹ The other inscriptions are on the second milestone, which was reused in the Church of Nicholas in Myra.

The Milestone near Limyra

The milestone was found in January 2002 by Mr. Ünal Demirer who transported it to the Museum of Antalya. Unfortunately, the milestone was broken in two parts in an attempt to lift it from the ground, the lower part having being abandoned there. The milestone is cylindrical in shape and has dowel holes on both upper and lower sides.

H: 1.03 m (broken at the bottom); Diam.: 0.35 m; L: 0.030–0.020 m

1 a. The First Tetrarchia²

Γ. Αὐρ. [Οὐάλ.]
Διοκλ[ητιανῶ καὶ Μάρ.]
Αὐρ. Οὐάλ. Μαξιμια[νῶ]
εὐσεβέσιν, εὐτυχέσιν



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¹ The find spot is approximately the same as the one in E. Petersen – F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyrtis*, Wien 1889, 75, no. 158 (= IGR III 730); cf. D. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor II.1*, Oxford 1988, 75, no. 196; cf. H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *TIB 8: Lykien und Pamphylien*, Wien 2004, 247 n. 19; 269 n. 289.

² For the parallel Latin texts see: TAM III, 1 no. 942 (Termessos); H.A. Ormerod – E.S.G. Robinson, *Notes and Inscriptions from Pamphylia*, *ABSA* 17, 1910–1911, 243 no. 27.

- 5 Σεβαστοῖς καὶ Φλ. Οὐάλ.
Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλ.
[Ο]ὐάλ. Μαξιμιανῶ
ἐπιφανεστάτοις
Καίσαρσιν
10 Λιμυρέων ἡ λ[α]μπρο-
τάτη μητρό[πολις]
τοῦ Λυκίω[ν]
ἔθνους.



The inhabitants of Limyra, the excellent metropolis of the people of Lycia, (erected this milestone) for C. Aur. Val. Diocletian and M. Aur. Val. Maximian, the pii and felices Augusti, and for Fl. Val. Constantius and Gal. Val. Maximian, the illustrissimi Caesares.

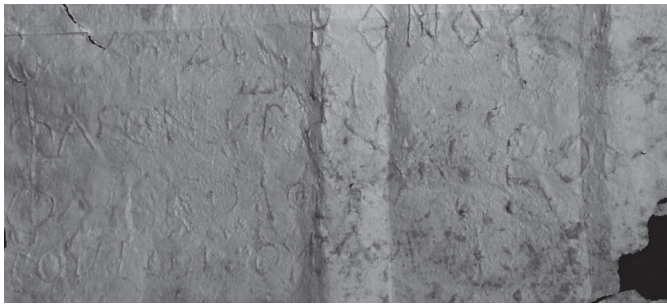
Date: A.D. 293-305.

L. 10-12: The title μητρόπολις τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους is first attested for Limyra under Caesar Commodus.³

1 b. Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius⁴

- Φλ. Ἀρ[κ]άδιον
2 Φλ. Ὀνώριον
Φλ. Θεοδόσιον νέον
4 τοὺς ἐωνίους Αὐγγ(ούστους).

(The inhabitants of Limyra, the excellent metropolis of the people of Lycia, honoured) Fl. Arcadius, Fl. Honorius and Fl. Theodosius the Young, the eternal Augusti.



L. 1: Because this later inscription follows immediately after the last line of the first inscription and no subject is given, it may be suggested that both inscriptions share the same subject mentioned in the last four lines of the first inscription.

Date: A.D. 402-408.⁵

L. 4: ἐωνίους = αἰωνίους

³ J. Borchhardt, Die Steine von Zêhuri. Archäologische Forschungen an den verborgenen Wassern von Limyra, Wien 1993, 99; cf. Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), s. v. Limyra, 686 n. 18.

⁴ For the statue-base of Fl. Theodosius, the grandfather of Arcadius and Honorius, found in Limyra see: P. Ruggendorfer, Die Grabungen im Bereich der Sondagen 17, 21 und 22 in der Oststadt, KST 21/2, 1998 (1999), 84.

⁵ For a listing of the sources on the Augusti given see: D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle, Darmstadt 1990, 335; PLRE I 99 no. 5 (Arcadius); 442 no. 3 (Honorius); II 1100 no. 6 (Theodosius II).

The Milestone in the Church of Nicolaus in Myra

The milestone was first seen in 1992 by D. French, who wrote a preliminary report on the milestone.⁶

H (ca): 2 m Diam.: 0.195 m. L: 0.025–0.035 m (a); 0.025–0.030 m (b); 0.035–0.045 m (c).

2 a. Galerius Valerius Maximian

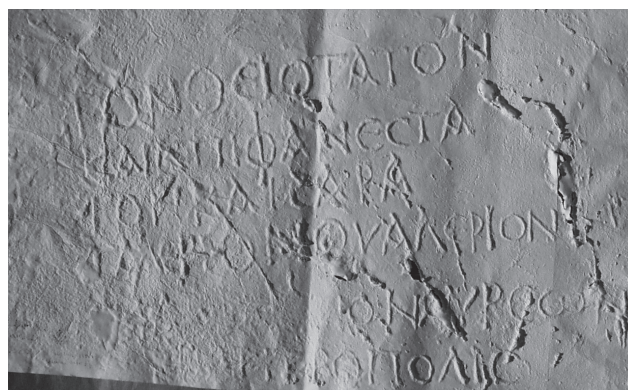
- 2 τὸν θειότατον
καὶ ἐπιφανέστα-
τον Καίσαρα
4 Γαλέριον Οὐαλέριον
Μα[ξίμιν]ον Μυρέων
6 [ἡ μ]ητρόπολις

The citizens of the metropolis of Myra (honoured) Gal. Val. Maximian, the divinissimus and illustrissimus Caesar.

L. 6: For the title metropolis for Myra see: W. Ruge, RE XVI 1 (1933), s. v. Myra, 1083.

Date: A.D. 293.

The reason for the exaltation may be Maximian's proclamation as Caesar on 1 March 293.⁷



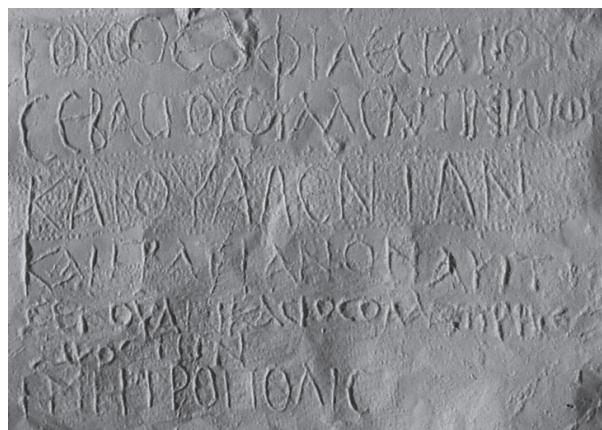
2 b. Valentinian, Valens and Gratian

- 2 τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους
Σεβαστοὺς Οὐαλεντινιανὸν
καὶ Οὐάλενταν
4 καὶ Γρατιανὸν Αὐγγ(ούστους)
Σεκού<ν>δω Κάσιος ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ἡγε(μὼν)
6 Μυρέων
ἡ μητρόπολις

Secundus? (Segudo) Cassius, the clarissimus praeses,⁸ (and) the citizens of the metropolis of Myra (honoured) Valentinian, Valens and Gratian, the most beloved Augusti of the gods.

Date: A.D. 367–375.⁹

L. 5: Σεκουδω = Σεκοῦδος? D. French read the name as Segudo Castus¹⁰ and the



⁶ D. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, AS 42, 1992, 6.

⁷ For a listing of the sources on Gal. Val. Maximianus see: Kienast, Kaisertabelle (n. 5), 279; PLRE I 574 no. 9 (Gal. Val. Maximianus).

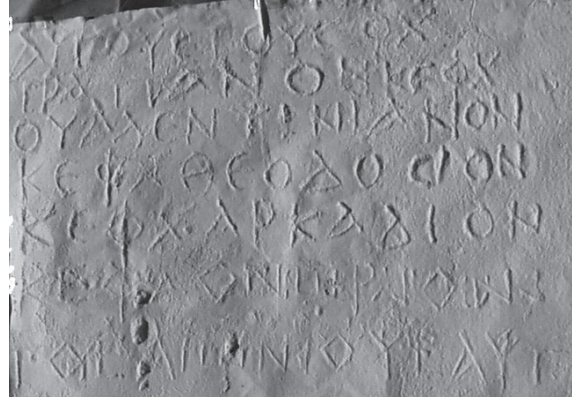
⁸ For ἡγεμῶν = praeses see: H.J. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, Toronto 1974, 148f.; cf. Heltenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), 109.

⁹ For a listing of the sources on the Augusti given see: Kienast, Kaisertabelle (n. 5), 322ff.; 325f.; 328f.; PLRE I 933 no. 7 (Valentinianus); 930 no. 8 (Valens); 401 no. 2 (Gratianus).

title as clarissimus praeses respectively. Casius, however, is definitely on the stone, while Secundus is also possible for Segudo.¹¹

2 c. Gratian to Honorius

- 2c-1 [τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους]
 2 Αὐγούστους Φλ.
 Γρατιανὸν κὲ Φλ.
 4 Οὐάλεντινιανὸν
 κὲ Φλ. Θεοδόσιον
 6 κὲ Φλ. Ἀρκάδιον
 2c-2 κὲ Φλ. Ὀνώριον
 8 τοὺς αἰωνίους Αὐγ(ούστους).



(The inhabitants of Myra, the metropolis, honoured) the eternal Augusti Gratian, Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, the most beloved Augusti of the gods.

Date (2c-1): A.D. 19 Jan. 383-25 Aug. 383.

Arcadius was proclaimed Augustus on 19 Jan. 383 and Gratian died on 25 Aug. 383. Consequently, the milestone must have been erected between 19 Jan. and 25 Aug. 383, and the first part of the inscription may be dated to this period.

Date (2c-2): A.D. 393.

Soon afterwards a further repair, the reason for which we do not know, was needed, since the name of Honorius was added in characters of different form. Honorius was promoted to imperial purple on 23 January 393, so it can be suggested that this further addition must have been made in 393.¹²

L. 1 may also read τοὺς κυρίου ἡμῶν.

L. 7-8: It is obvious from the different type of characters which are identical with those on the inscription Ib that the last two lines were engraved at a later date.

Commentaries on the Road

Both milestones were erected by the main road along the Lycian coast. This road is also mentioned in Stadiasmus Patarensis (STR 54–67) and Tabula Peutingeriana (706ff.).¹³ In view of the fact that the inscriptions were made at nearly the same time, it seems reasonable to suggest not only that they were erected on the road from Myra to Limyra but also that the road was repaired in the periods indicated. Furthermore, the similarity of the types of characters in the inscriptions 1b and 2c-2 supports this suggestion. In this respect, the find spot of the milestone

¹⁰ D. French, 1991 Yılı Roma Yol Taşları, Miltaşları ve Yazıtları Araştırması, AST 10, 1992 (1993), 202; cf. French, Roman Roads and Milestones (n. 6), 6. The Name Castus, however, is known in the region: IGR III 481: Valerius Statilius Castus (A.D. 256); cf. S. Mitchell, Native Rebellion in the Pisidian Taurus, in: K. Hopwood (ed.), Organised Crime in Antiquity, London 1999, 167.

¹¹ Cf. Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), 250 n. 36; Appendix A 403.

¹² For Valentinian II see Kienast, Kaisertabelle (no. 5), 330f. and PLRE I 934f. no. 8; for Theodosius I see Kienast, Kaisertabelle, 332ff. and PLRE I, 904f. no. 4.

¹³ For the milestones found on this road see IGR III 691 (Aperlai); IGR III 730 (Turunçova); CIL 3 no. 14184 (Mavikent/Gagae); cf. Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), 269 n. 290.

(1) is important for determining the route. It was found in the very beginning of Arycandus Valley (for the find spot see: map). We suggest that it was erected in a specific location because no *milia passuum* is given on the milestone. It is unlikely that it was carried along the bed of the river Basgözçay, since another milestone was recorded by Petersen and von Luschan at nearly the same site.¹⁴ According to the Lycian road network given in *Stadiasmus Patarensis*,¹⁵ which was erected in A.D. 45 – some two years after the annexation of Lycia by Claudius, Limyra was linked by roads with the neighbouring cities of Arycanda (Str. 39), Myra (Str. 59) and Corydalla (Str. 60). It seems convincing that the route extended from Myra to Limyra only through the narrows at the beginning of Arycandus Valley because of the alluvial plain of Finike. From this point of view it should be taken into consideration that the roads from Arycanda and Myra to Limyra converge to form a crossroads by which the milestone (1) was erected (see: map).

On the evidence of the recently published inscribed altar found in 1994 by the excavation team of Limyra during their survey on Bonda Tepesi,¹⁶ we are able to reconstruct the route in the vicinity of Myra, while the milestone mentioned above aids us in determining the route to Limyra. The inscription on the monument indicates that it was dedicated to Claudius in gratitude for the peace and road construction work implemented by his well-known legatus Quintus Veranius, the wording being similar to that on the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* and on the altar found in Gagai by D. French.¹⁷

The monument lies on the west slope of Bonda Tepesi at a height of some 700 metres, by the ancient road, some 150 metres south of the ruins of the Classical-Hellenistic settlement called Kaklık by the native inhabitants. The ancient road extends some 120 metres to the north, then turns to the east and disappears. Approximately 200 metres south of the monument, the road descends to the south and makes a hairpin curve to the north before it disappears at a height of some 300 metres, descending along the steep west slope of Bonda Tepesi in numerous serpentine with stairs where needed.¹⁸ By following the remains recorded, the whole route can be reconstructed as follows: It may have crossed the Myros at the site known as Danabaşı, some hundred meters south of Gödeme, and, via Köşkerler, led up to the foot of Bonda Tepesi near the mouth of the lagoon. It may then have arrived at the site where the milestone (1) was found before it descended along the eastern slopes of Gülmez Dağı and crossed the river right at this location (Route I). As T. Marksteiner and M. Wörrle pointed out, it must have been the main link between Myra and Limyra in the early Roman period.¹⁹ Fur-

¹⁴ Cf. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones* (n. 1) 75, no. 196.

¹⁵ The inscription is meanwhile published in full-text and with complete commentaries by S. Şahin – M. Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarensis. Ein zweiter Vorbericht über das claudische Straßenbauprogramm in Lykien*, in: R. Frei-Stolba (ed), *Siedlung und Verkehr im römischen Reich. Römerstraßen zwischen Herrschaftssicherung und Landschaftsprägung. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums zu Ehren von Heinz E. Herzig vom 28. und 29. Juni 2001 in Bern*, Bern 2004, 227-282.

¹⁶ T. Marksteiner – M. Wörrle, *Ein Altar für Kaiser Claudius auf dem Bonda Tepesi zwischen Myra und Limyra*, *Chiron* 32, 2002, 545-69.

¹⁷ D. French, *Inscriptions of Southern Lycia, Adalya IV, 1999-2000*, 173-80; cf.: Marksteiner-Wörrle, *Altar für Claudius* (n. 16), 562f.

¹⁸ Marksteiner-Wörrle, *Altar für Claudius* (n. 16), 546; for more detailed information about the ancient road system on Bonda Tepesi see: *ibid.* 550-53.

¹⁹ Marksteiner-Wörrle, *Altar für Claudius* (n. 16), 546, 550, 560f.

thermore, the supplementary statement giving the route over the Masicytus²⁰ could find a meaning in the serpentine necessary to climb to a height of 700 metres on the steep slopes of the Bonda Tepesi.

Travelling through Lycia in the 19th century, Fellows, Spratt and Forbes arrived at Limyra via the route which is identical with the one mentioned above. They described the route as being very tedious and totally unfit for horses.²¹ In fact, the route first ascends a very precipitous slope and then descends again quite rapidly. As a result, it is not suitable for transport by wagon, as already mentioned by T. Marksteiner.²² It may therefore be suggested that there must have been an alternative route for inland transport.

In fact, transport via the Lycian road network, which was exactly indicated in *Stadiasmus Patarensis*, was very difficult because of the mountainous nature of the peninsula. Consequently, as M. Zimmermann points out, transport by sea was preferred to transport by land, although individual *poleis* in the hinterland possessed interregional roads in Hellenistic Period just as they did in Roman times. As well as the roads, the excellent bridge with 25 arches at Alakırçay shows the expensive techniques required for these roads.²³ Nevertheless, a papyrus says that transport by sea was preferred even in winter.²⁴ Furthermore, *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* provide evidence for the preference of maritime transport by mentioning only the important cities on the southern coast of Lycia.²⁵ Finally, the most important document related to the preference of transport by sea in the Severian period is the inscription mentioning the letting of *πορθμική* between Myra and Limyra.²⁶ According to this inscription Myra had three quays for transport purposes: in Andriace (*ἀπὸ Ἀνδριακῆς*), on the mouth of the lagoon²⁷ (*ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τῆς λίμνης*) and at Daseia²⁸ (*ἀπὸ τῆς Δασ[εί]ατος*).²⁹

²⁰ For the identification of Masicytus with Beydağları see: Şahin–Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarensis* (n. 15), Str. 59; B. Takmer, *Lykia Oroğrafyası*, in: S. Şahin – M. Adak (ed.), *Lykia İncelemeleri I*, İstanbul 2002, 35f; cf. Marksteiner-Wörrle, *Altar für Claudius* (n. 16), 561.

²¹ C. Fellows, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia*, London 1840, 204; T.A. B. Spratt – E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis I*, London 1847, 139ff.; R. Heberdey – E. Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Wien 1897, 15; cf.: F. Stark, *Alexander's March from Miletus to Phrygia*, JHS 1958, 114; G.E. Bean, *Kleinasien 4: Lykien*, Stuttgart 1986, 122; M. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens*, Bonn 1992, 114.

²² Marksteiner-Wörrle, *Altar für Claudius* (n. 16), 554.

²³ Zimmermann, *Zentrallykien* (n. 21), 231ff; for the bridge itself see: W. Wurster – J. Ganzert, *Eine Brücke bei Limyra in Lykien* (mit einem Beitrag von K. Ströhle), AA 1978, 288–307.

²⁴ M. Zimmermann, *Die lykischen Häfen und die Handelswege im östlichen Mittelmeer*, ZPE 92, 1992, 201–17.

²⁵ *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege anhand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt* von K. Miller, Rom 1964, 706f.: *Pataras, Antifillon, Coridallo, Phaselis*; *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. M. Pinder–G. Parthey, V, 8: *Faselis, Coridalion, Limera, Antiphiron, Patera, Telmion*; *Guidonis Geographia*, ibid. 96: *Phaselis, Coridarium, Limira, Antisilon, Patera, Telmion*; cf. Zimmermann, *Zentrallykien* (n. 21), 232.

²⁶ OGIS 572; L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale*, Paris 1966, 52; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine I*, Paris 1963, 35ff.; Zimmermann, *Zentrallykien* (n. 21), 233ff.

²⁷ For the location of the lagoon see map.

²⁸ For the location of Daseia in the woodland on Gülmez Dağı, east of the lagoon, see: C. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*, München 1998, 122ff; cf. Marksteiner-Wörrle, *Altar für Claudius* (n. 16), 561 n. 55; Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), s. v. Daseia, 513f.

²⁹ Cf. Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8.1 (n. 1), 254 n. 94.

In addition, the inscription reveals that the treasure of Myra was damaged by illegal ship-pings. Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that control of the coastline between Myra and Limyra was needed. In this context we may also suggest that the towers on the hills over the port of Andriace (nos. 7 and 8), over the lagoon (tower near Beymelek)³⁰ and over Gök Liman (no. 2) should be seen in this light.³¹ A function such as the controlling of overland transport, which should also be taken into consideration in respect of the alternative route, may be proposed for the inland towers too.

The fact that the towers in Central Lycia were built especially along the roads³² supports this proposal. From this point of view they may be regarded as part of a security system. Here, the term 'security' has both an economic and a military meaning. The towers have economic grounds, as A. Konecny suggests, because they were located near fertile land and had olive oil workshops, and they have a limited military function, because these farms (both their inhabitants and products) would have needed protection from plundering during the Hellenistic period.³³ Be as it may, a connection with the roads cannot be ruled out. In this context a secondary function may be suggested, namely the protecting of economic and agricultural interests through the controlling of transport on these roads (especially in the form of customs duties). Consequently, we may conclude that the towers may indicate where the ancient road passed. Though A. Konecny persuasively clarified that these towers were Hellenistic foundations and were replaced by unfortified farms in the Roman period, it must be kept in mind that the Hellenistic road network was entirely preserved in later periods.³⁴ On this basis, the find spot of the milestone (I) is also important for proposing the alternative route from Myra to Limyra, the usage of which route increased at least from the 6th century onwards.³⁵ The site in question is near the ruins at Asarönü³⁶ from where M. Wörrle published an inscription in which a peripolion is mentioned.³⁷ This inscription reveals that the peripolion was in the territory of Limyra. In the vicinity of this peripolion a tower was discovered.³⁸

³⁰ Fellows, Discoveries in Lycia (n. 21), 204; Spratt-Forbes, Travels I (n. 21), 155ff.; J. Borchhardt, Myra, in: Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit, Berlin 1975, 55ff.; A. McNicoll – A. Winikoff, A Hellenistic Fortress in Lycia. The Isian Tower?, AJA 87, 1983, 311-23; C. Foss, The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age, DOP 48, 1994, 26; C. Foss, Cities and Villages of Lycia in the Life of Saint Nicholas of Holy Zion, GOTR 36, 1991, 330; W. Wurster, Die Ruinen oberhalb von Yukarı Beymelek, in: Myra, 87ff.; Zimmermann, Zentrallykien (21), 16 and 113ff.

³¹ We may now add to the list the tower recently found on the hill over Gök Burun. For the location of the tower see: Marksteiner-Wörrle, Altar für Claudius (n. 16), 565, Abb. 1 (Kartenskizze des Bonda Tepesi).

³² For the locations of towers see the map in: A. Konecny, Hellenistische Turmgehöfte in Zentral- und Ostlykien, Wien 1997.

³³ For the function of towers in Central Lycia as 'Turmgehöfte = farms with tower' see: Konecny, Turmgehöfte (n. 32), 13 and 86ff.; for the interpretation as a part of security system see: Borchhardt, Myra (n. 30), 49; cf.: Zimmermann, Zentrallykien (n. 21), 113ff.; for the commentary of the fort near Yukarı Beymelek as enabling the collection of taxes and tolls in the district see: McNicoll-Winikoff, Fortress (n. 30), 321.

³⁴ For the significance of the granary in terms of local communication between coast and interior see: D. French, The Roads, Paths and Water Channel, in J. Morganstern (ed.), The Fort at Dereagzı and Other Material Remains in its Vicinity: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Tübingen 1993, 87-90; cf. Foss, Lycian Coast (n. 30), 25; for the continuity of earlier roads till the Late Antiquity see: H. Brandt, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphylens und Pisidiens im Altertum, Bonn 1992, 189.

³⁵ The Roman road network generally used the pre-roman routes. For such a commentary on the roads on Bonda Tepesi see: Marksteiner-Wörrle, Altar für Claudius (n. 16), 553.

³⁶ For the Ruins by Asarönü see: Petersen-von Luschan, Reisen (n. 1), 223ff.; Foss, Lycian Coast (n. 30), 39.

³⁷ M. Wörrle, Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens VII: Asarönü, ein Peripolion von Limyra,

Two interesting stories in *Vita Nicolai Sionitae* aid us in proposing the alternative route: a) When returning from the Holy Land, Saint Nicholas asked the captain to let him disembark at the port of Phoenix (modern Finike) so that he could travel from there to his monastery in the territory of Myra. The captain, however, refused this request, because he wanted to take advantage of a favourable wind that would take him straight to Rhodes. But he obliged to put Nicholas ashore in Andriace after a miracle occurred;³⁹ b) Nicholas met a married couple on his way from Myra to his monastery, coming to the so-called Stratiotes.⁴⁰ According to F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, the road may be the one known as Gavuryolu at the beginning of Myros Valley. They also suggest that the city was given its name in connection with the tower (no. 15) at Gavuryolu.⁴¹

In order to determine which route he followed from Phoenix to his monastery, it is essential to locate his monastery in Φαρρώα (Holy Sion) the territory of Tragalassos.⁴² The monastery was identified with the church at Karabel⁴³ discovered in 1960 by M. Harrison.⁴⁴ However, it is now more convincing to identify the monastery of Saint Nicholas with the church at Alacahisar because of the evidence in *Vita Nicolai Sionitae*.⁴⁵ As for the road, we can reconstruct it on the basis of both the narrations in *Vita Nicolai Sionitae* and the remains discovered between Asarönü and Alacadağköyü.⁴⁶ The road then turns southwestwards and runs to Muskar over Alakilise (Route II in the map). There is a crossroads at Muskar: one road goes to Karabel (Pharroa) (Route III), the other goes over Gödeme (crossing the Myrus Valley at the site of Danabaşı) to Myra⁴⁷ (for the road starting on the left side of the valley see the picture below). Owing to the location of Pharroa at Karabel and of the monastery of Saint Nicholas at Alacahisar, we believe it was the route that Nicholas would have followed if he had landed in Phoenix. The large number of churches by the road suggests that it was an important link between Myra and Limyra, while the Hellenistic towers along the road (nos. 3, 5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17) testify that it was also used in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁸

Chiron 29, 1999, 353-65.

³⁸ T. Marksteiner, Ein klassisches Turmgehöft bei Asar Önü?, in: F. Blakolmer et al. (ed.), *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt*, Wien 1996, 85ff.; Konecny, *Turmgehöfte* (n. 32), 17ff and 95 n. 63.

³⁹ I. Sevçenko–N. P. Sevçenko (ed.), *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion. Text and Translation*, Brookline 1984, cap. 37 (henceforth VNS).

⁴⁰ VNS (n. 39) cap. 106.

⁴¹ Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), s. v. Stratiotes, 864; cf. Foss, *Lycian Coast* (n. 30), 333; for the road and tower see Konecny, *Turmgehöfte* (n. 32), 33.

⁴² VNS (n. 39), cap. 20; 24; Foss, *Nicholas* (n. 30), 303f, 309; Foss, *Lycian Coast* (n. 30), 27. For the location of Pharroa in Karabel see: Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), s. v. Pharroa, 798.

⁴³ For the ruins by Karabel see: Petersen-von Luschan, *Reisen* (n. 1), 40; Konecny, *Turmgehöfte* (n. 32), 34f no. 16 and 35f no. 17; P. Grossmann – H.G. Severin, *Forschungen im südöstlichen Lykien*, TAD 25.2, 1981, 106.

⁴⁴ R.M. Harrison, *Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia*, AS 13, 1963, 150 n. 165; Foss, *Nicholas* (n. 30), 308f; Foss, *Lycian Coast* (n. 30), 27f; for the church see: Harrison, *ibid.* 131-5 and 146f.

⁴⁵ VNS 20, 30, 84; cf. Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8.1 (n. 1), s. v. H. Sion, 852-6; S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda*, Bonn 1994 (IK 48), 3.

⁴⁶ O. Benndorf, *Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische Expeditionen nach Kleinasien*, AEMitt 6, 1882 232: He recorded two rock cut tombs, one with the inscription and the other with the relief, by the ancient road at Alacadağköyü; cf. Wörrle, *Asarönü* (n. 37), 358.

⁴⁷ For the general road network in the territory of Myra see: Harrison, *Churches* (n. 44), 131 n. 96; cf. Foss, *Lycian Coast* (n. 30), 28 n. 109.

⁴⁸ On the road see further: Hellenkemper-Hild, TIB 8 (n. 1), 269.



ÖZET

Myra-Limyra Yolu Üzerinde İki Mil Taşı

Bu makalede biri Limyra'nın 10 km kadar kuzeyinde, Arykandos Vadisi'nin girişinde; diğeriye Myra'da, Nikolaos Kilise'sinin içinde bulunan iki mil taşı incelenmektedir. Söz konusu mil taşları, Lykia sahili boyunca devam eden ve Stadiasmus Patarensis Anıtı (STR 54-67) ile Tabula Peutingeriana'da (706f.) verilen yol güzergâhında bulunmaktadır. Mil taşları üzerindeki yazıtların birbirine yakın dönemlere tarihlenmesiyle, bunların Limyra ile Myra arasındaki yol güzergâhında (Patara Yol Kılavuz Anıtı'nda STR 59) bulduklarını ve söz konusu yolun bu dönemlerde tamir görmüş olabileceğini düşündürmektedir. 1b ve 2c-2 yazıtlarının harf karakterleri arasındaki benzerlik de bu sonucu doğrulamaktadır. İlk mil taşının buluntu konumu ve üzerinde *milia passuum* bulunmamasıyla, onun kavşak ya da benzeri, önemli bir noktaya dikildiğine işaret etmektedir. Finike Ovası'nın alüvyonlu yapısından dolayı, Myra'dan gelen yol Arykandos Vadisi'ne açılan boğaza kadar Gülmez Dağı'nın doğu eteğini takip etmiş ve mil taşının bulunduğu noktada Başgözçay'ı geçerek Limyra'ya ulaşmış olmalıdır. Dolayısıyla, söz konusu mil taşının, Arykanda ve Myra'dan Limyra'ya ulaşan yolların oluşturduğu kavşak noktasında dikildiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Güzergâhın Fenike Ovası'nı aştığı nokta bu şekilde belirlenebilirken, Limyra kazı ekibi tarafından 1994 yılında Bonda Tepesi'nde bulunan yazıtlı bir anıt, yolun Myra'ya ulaştığı kısmın saptanmasını sağlamıştır. Taşdığı yazıta göre, anıt barışın sağlanmasına ve yolların yapımına duyulan şükran vesilesiyle İmparator Claudius'a ithaf edilmiştir. Anıtın hemen önünden geçen antik yol ise, Bonda Tepesi'nin sarp batı yamacı boyunca birçok kıvrımla alçalarak lagünün denizle birleştiği noktada düzlenmektedir. Patara Yol Kılavuz Anıtı'nda Myra ve Limyra arasındaki güzergâhın Masikyos Dağı üzerinden geçtiği yönünde verilen ek açıklama Bonda Tepesi'nin dik yamaçlarını tırmanan bu kıvrımlarda anlam kazanmaktadır. T. Marksteiner'in de belirttiği gibi, bu yol araba taşımacılığı için pek uygun değildir. Bu nedenle taşımacılık için başka bir güzergâh seçeneğinin bulunduğu düşünülmelidir. Kullanımı en azından İ.S. 6. yüzyıldan itibaren artmış gözükten alternatif güzergâh için Vita Nikolai Sionitae'da yer alan iki ayrı anlatım temel oluşturmaktadır: a) Nikolaos Kutsal Topraklar'dan geri

dönüşünde, Myra teritoryumundaki manastırına gidebilmek için Limyra'nın limanı Phoiniks'te (modern Finike) karaya çıkmak ister; b) Myra'dan manastırına giderken yolu üzerinde Stratiotes olarak bilinen (Haritada 15 numaralı kulenin yakınlarında olmalı) mevkide çocuk sahibi olabilmek için onun duasını dileyen bir çiftle karşılaşır.

Tragalassos'a (Muskar?) bağlı Pharroa Köyü (Karabel) yakınlarında bulunan manastırının (Hagios Sion) Alacahisar'daki kiliseyle özdeşleştirilmesi yanında modern araştırmalar sayesinde elde edilen bilgilerle Nikolaos'un izleyebileceği olası güzergâh saptanabilmektedir. Buna göre, söz konusu güzergâh Gülmez Dağı'nın kuzeydoğu eteklerini takip ederek Asarönü üzerinden Alacadağ Köyü civarına ulaşmaktadır. Daha sonra güneybatıya yönelerek Alakilise üzerinden Muskar'a (Tragalassos?) ulaşan antik yol (Haritada Route II) burada bir kavşak oluşturmaktadır. Bir güzergâh Nikolaos'un manastırı ile özdeşlenen Alacahisar'daki kiliseye ve oradan da Çağman (Plakoma) istikametine doğru devam ederken (Haritada Route III) diğer güzergâh da Gödene üzerinden Myra'ya ulaşmaktadır. Yol boyundaki birçok kule ve kilise onun uzun süreli kullanımına ışık tutmaktadır.

Yazıtların Çevirisi:

1. Limyra Yakınındaki Mil Taşı:

a. *“Lykia halkının seçkin metropolis'i Limyra'nın yurttaşları dindar ve bahtiyar Augustus'lar C. Aur. Val. Diokletianus ve M. Aur. Val. Maksimianus ile şanlı Kaiser'lar Fl. Val. Konstantius ve Gal. Val. Maksimianus için (bu mil taşı diktiler).”*

b. *“(Lykia halkının seçkin metropolis'i Limyra'nın yurttaşları) Fl. Arkadius, Fl. Honorius ve Genç Fl. Theodosius'u (onurlandırdılar).”*

2. Nikolaos Kilisesi'ndeki Mil Taşı:

a. *“Myra halkının metropolis'i tanrısal ve şanlı Kaiser Gal. Val. Maksimianus'u (onurlandırdı).”*

b. *“Myra halkının metropolis'i ve seçkin efendimiz Secundus Cassius tanrıların pek sevdiği Augustus'lar Valentinianus, Valens ve Gratianus'u (onurlandırdı).”*

c. *“(Myra halkının metropolis'i) Augustus'lar Fl. Gratianus, Fl. Valentinianus, Fl. Arkadius ve Fl. Honorius'u sonsuz Augustus'lar olarak (onurlandırdı).”*

