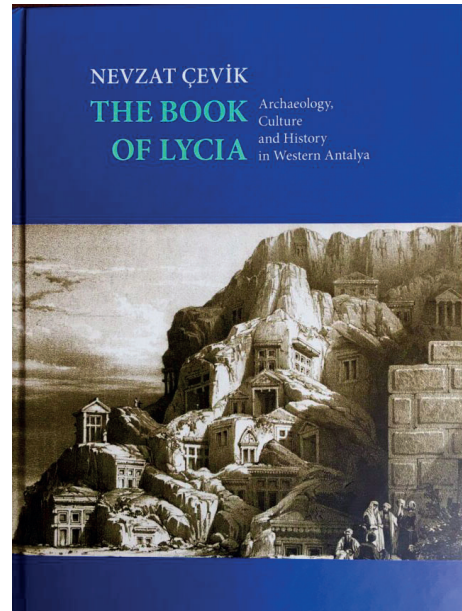


**Çevik, Nevzat.**  
*The Book of Lycia: Archaeology, Culture and History in  
 Western Antalya.*  
 Trans. Peter Klemper.  
 Istanbul, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2022

Review by: **Terrance M. P. Duggan**<sup>1</sup>

Nevzat Hoca, whom I have known and worked with since the 1990s, asked me to undertake the redaction of the English text of the translation by Peter Klemper of this book, which was first published in Turkish entitled, *Lykia Kitabı*, in 2015 (576 pages).<sup>2</sup> To review this monumental volume, a marker in the modern twenty first century understanding of Lycia as a whole, written by an archaeologist who has worked in Lycia for decades, a book rich in images and text, has taken some time and parts require expertise in areas that I do not possess. In consequence, this is not a standard review, but nor is it simply a notice of publication; it is largely a matter of some possible additions for any second edition to the text that was first published in Turkish in 2015. The purpose is firstly, to provide in English some indication, both of the published knowledge of Lycia and the Lycians in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in the period prior to the first study of the *in situ* remains, when Lycia was only known as an



abstract, ancient literature-based reality. Secondly, to point to the importance of the late eighteenth century exploration of Lycia in communicating to the public through the published visual record of some of the remarkable remains surviving in coastal Lycia. At that time, Lycian sites caught the public imagination (and still do), and in consequence, this interest resulted in the further exploration of Lycia, its antiquities, cultures and its languages from the start of the nineteenth century on into the present day. Lycia has obtained more than a scholarly interest; this review hopes to offer some observations and, almost inevitably for a book of more than six hundred pages, a few corrections.

The book itself, with hardcovers weighing 2.1 kg, is divided into two parts: the first addresses in the Lycian context, *History, Culture, Art, Nature and Life*, pages 3–198; the second, entitled,

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<sup>2</sup> Nevzat Çevik, *Lykia Kitabı* (Istanbul: Suna ve İnan Kırac Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi (AKMED), 2015).

*Cities and Settlements*, pages 199–556, is followed on pages 577–585 by the 360 notes to the text, and a total of 503 academic articles and books are listed in the selected bibliography. There is no index, but the table of contents provides page numbers to the sections forming part one, and to the named individual settlements and cities, shipwrecks off the coast, etc. forming part two of the book.

The named places in the *cities and settlements* part of the table of contents are arranged in geographical order from West to East across Lycia. Starting from the west is chronologically sound as the centre of Lycia was for centuries in the Xanthus valley, geographically in the west of Lycian territory. Perhaps with the intention of clearly showing the reader the age/date of establishment of individual cities and settlements, the settlement toponyms are listed in their known historical order, which can initially be confusing. For example, as one looks for Fethiye-Telmessos, among the first names of places in western Lycia, one cannot find it, as the required entry reads: *Quvalpasa – Telebehi – Telmessos – Meğri – Fethiye*. Likewise, in looking for Xanthos, one finds it in second place, after *Arñna – Xanthos – Kınık*. However, I think this is a considered readjustment from the long-established prioritisation of the Greco-Roman toponyms, and a reminder that there is history and culture, both long before, and long after, the Greco-Roman age. However the variety of post-antique toponyms<sup>3</sup> could perhaps also have found a place—the Turkish former riverine port town lying below the site of the ancient city of Xanthos, today named Kınık, has been identified by a variety of toponyms since the seventeenth century including: *Eksenide, Axenide, Exsenite, Essenite, Etchen*, being on the Eşen çayı, and also: *Koinooky, Koenik, Koonik, Kunik* and, *Gunik*, indicating, *Kınık*, so perhaps, *Arñna-Xanthos-Eksenide-Kınık*?

Not since George E. Bean's 198 page *Lycian Turkey*, (posthumously completed and published in 1978<sup>4</sup>), has such a work been produced in English encapsulating Lycia as known at the time of publication. George Bean's work was published just sixteen years after the first official excavations in Lycia had begun, by the French at Xanthus-Ksanthos-Xanthos and the Letoon-Letoum, and a year later in 1963 by Machteld Mellink at Karataş-Semayük. Excavations began at Limyra-Limura in 1969, at Arycanda in 1971, at Myra in the 1970s briefly,<sup>5</sup> (systematic excavations from 2009 led by the author of this volume); at Phaselis 1981–1985, and at Patara from 1988 onwards. At the time, the orchestra of the theatre was buried in sand and the colonnaded street was a marsh, with some columns rising from the reeds and vegetation, as had been the case for centuries. There were also initial excavations during the 1990s at Cyanaeae-Kuaneai, and by the Antalya Museum at Olympos and then excavations at Olympos from 2000 onwards; at Tlos, excavations began in 2005, and at Rhodiapolis in 2006. At adjacent Kibyra, from 1988–1989 and 2001–2002 excavations were conducted by the Burdur Museum and then again from 2006 onwards.

In 1993, the Patara Lycia Roads Monument of 43 CE was accidentally found when a fire exposed some of the inscribed re-used blocks that had originally formed the pillar of the monument. Over the past three decades of related research, study and surveys these blocks, inscribed on three sides, have obtained a most significant place in the understanding of the Roman incorporation of Lycia, not only of the road connections between Lycian cities, but in understanding in part at least, the extent of a Lycian city's own territory, at that time. The borders of a polis' territory, the Lycian League's territory in relation to its neighbours, and the borders of the Roman province of Lycia, were alive, changing over the course of time, expanding and contracting, moving from a settlement to a polis, losing polis status, at times being absorbed into another's territory,

<sup>3</sup> For some examples of the post-antique toponyms of some Lycian ports, see below, fn. 21–29.

<sup>4</sup> George E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* (London: Ernest Benn, 1978; reprinted London: John Murray, 1989).

<sup>5</sup> Bean, *Lycian*, 6.

by consent or otherwise, grouping together, incorporating to form a sympolity, a symmachia, or, a homonoia, or, a synoikismos, for a time, etc., like a living breathing, meaningful, but largely in the physical world invisible, human construction of networks of boundaries and divisions and associations, extending across the physical landscape of Lycia.

In consequence of excavations and surveys, finds and related research, archaeological, epigraphic, linguistic, archaeometric, geophysical, geological, botanical and in other related fields, the quantity of publications concerning Lycia since Bean's 1978 book has increased by orders of magnitude. For example, the recent understanding of sea level change over the past 10,000 years and of coastal change brought about by riverine deposition over the past 7,000 years has led to the better understanding of the areas of possible prehistoric settlement in Lycia: some are below today's sea level while the alluvial plains on the Lycian coastline of today did not exist before the second millennium BCE (Çevik 2022, 27–30). To collect, sift through, comprehend and condense the material and knowledge and experience current in 2015 concerning Lycia down to a single illustrated volume of six hundred pages is quite simply a remarkable achievement. Clearly, for any reader aiming to obtain a more complete understanding of Lycia over the passage of time, this book is a key work.

### On the Knowledge of Lycia, or Bricquia<sup>6</sup>, to the late 18<sup>th</sup> c.

Almost nothing was known of Lycia and the Lycians until the late eighteenth century except what was recorded by Homer in the *Iliad*, which tells of the Lycian warriors led by Sarpedon with Glaucos, Amisodarus and Pandaros fighting alongside the Trojans at Troy. Mentions of these warriors and their homeland survive in other works of mythology, history and literature from Antiquity include tales of Apollo at Patara, Apollo, Leto and Artemis at the Letoon-Latoum, Bellepheron, the Chimera, Harpagus and the coming of Persian rule, the passage of Alexander the Great, the Lycian League, the pirates and the Romans, P. Servilius Isauricus, Metellus Nepos, and Pompey. This information continues with the mention by name of its port-cities in the Holy Bible and Apocrypha, Patara (Acts 21:1), Myra (Acts 27:5), and Phaselis (Maccabees I, 15:23); and of Patara and Myra in the entangled legends surrounding the early Christian Saint, Nicholas, as in accounts of other saints, martyrs, and monks associated with, or born in, Lycia; in those ecclesiastical records where

<sup>6</sup> In *The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace*, translated by David Watson (London: for J. Oswald, 1745), 93, in *Lycia, a Country in Asia the less, now called Bricquia by some, by others Aldinelli, situated between Caria and Pamphylia*. As earlier in 1688, the modern name of Lycia in the Lesser Asia was recorded as: Bricquia, Edmund Bohun, *A Geographical Dictionary, Representing the Present and Ancient Names of all the Countries, Provinces, Remarkable Cities, Universities, Ports, Towns, Mountains, Seas, Streights, Fountains, and Rivers of the whole World: Their Distances, Longitudes, and Latitudes* (London: for Charles Brome, 1688) n.p.n. s.v. "Bricquia," This was presumably derived from Francis Holyoake, *Dictionarium Etymologicum Latinum (etc.) Or, a Dictionarie Declaring the Etymologies, the Originall and Derivation of All Words Used in Any Latine Authors* (London: for Felix Kingston, 1639), s.v. "Lycia," *Lycia, A certaine country in Asia the lesse, now called Bricquia, by others Aldinelli*. This was presumably taken from the Latin of Abraham Ortelius, Abrahami Ortelii, *Antverpiani Synonymia geographica, sive: Popvlorum, Regionvm, Insularvm, Vrbiwm, Oppidorum, Montium appellationes & nomina, Ex officina Christophori Plantini* (Antwerp, 1578) npn. s.v. "Bricquia," *Bricquia, Lycia*; or from, Claudius Ptolemaeus (Alexandrinus), *Geographiae universae tum veteris, tum novae absolutissimum opus, duobus voluminibus distinctum, in quorum priore habentur*, Vol. 1, Petrus Keschedt, Coloniensis, 1597, npn. Index, s.v. "bricquia," *bricquia, olim Lycia*; hence, in Hugo Sempilius S.J., *Hugonis Sempilii, Mathematicis Disciplinis libr duodecim, ... 1635, Asiae minori assident Licia, nunc Bricquia, in qua urbes olim Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Olympus, Myrrha, Lymira & Telmessus*: It occurs earlier, e. g. *Il Martirologio Romano: Secondo la nuoua forma del Calendario, y la verita dell' Ecclesiastica Historia, corretto, y publicato per ordine Di Gregorio XIII. Tradotto in Italiano*, Francesco Ziletti, Venetia, 1537, npn. s.v. "Licia," *Licia, provincia d'Asia, Bricquia*.

the names of Bishops in Lycia and their sees are recorded, and brief accounts of the Roman Emperor Constans II. and the Battle of the Masts in 655 CE *where the Agarenes (Muslims) came flying upon him into Phenice in Lycia, and overcame him in a great battaile by Sea.*<sup>7</sup> There was also mention of Swane (Sweyn Godwinson), son of Earl Godwin (Godwine) of Wessex, who was said by John of Worcester to have died of sickness in Lycia, returning from his barefoot pilgrimage to Jerusalem (29 September 1052). In the relating of Modern History, Lycia is mentioned in sixteenth and seventeenth century herbals for its Cedar trees, for Olibanum from its Junipers, and for its *Boxe Thorn* and *Cypres*, *Cumin* and *Great Centorie*. Repeatedly in publications from the seventeenth century onwards, Lycia is mentioned in connection with the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, as in D. Bouhours, 1679, *The Life of the Renowned Peter D'Aubusson Grand Master of Rhodes: Containing Those Two Remarkable Sieges of Rhodes by Mahomet the Great and Solyman the Magnificent, Being Lately Added to Compleat the Story Adorn'd with the Choicest Occurences in the Turkish Empire at that Time*. More information can be found about the Knights and Rhodians raiding the Lycian coast, of Prince Cem leaving from Lycia for Hospitaller Rhodes, recorded in the eighteenth century by Mons. l'abbé Vertot from his first volume onwards, in his multi-volume work, *The History of the Knights of Malta*, from the arrival of the Grand Master Fulk de Villaret and the invasion fleet of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Macri (Fethiye), immediately prior to the Hospitaller Knight's invasion of Rhodes and capture of Rhodes city in 1310 (sic.).

Peter Heylyn described Lycia in his *Microcosmus* of 1621, employing Herodotus as a source, and wrote these three sentences: "*On the West side of Pamphilia is Lycia, watered with the river Xanthos, of which the people hereabout were called Xanthi, who being too weake for Harpagus the Persian kings Leitenant, first burned their wives, children, servants, and riches, and then made a sallie against Harpagus, who put them all to the sword. They were called Lycii afterward from Lycus, sonne of Pandion. Before the Roman conquest this Province was governed by a common councill of 23 men, culled out of their 23 Citties, of which the chiefe now is Patras (Patara);*"<sup>8</sup> and he mentions the hill of the Chimera and the monster tamed by Bellerophon, citing Stephanus.<sup>9</sup>

In the eighteenth century, for example, in 1709 the chief towns of Lycia, in antiquity are recorded as: Telmessus, Patara, Xanthus, Myra, Olympius, Phaselis, Pinaria,<sup>10</sup> in 1712: "*The chief towns 1. Patara, 2. Andriaca lay on the same coast about 25 miles from Patara. 3. Telmessus on the borders of lycia about 70 miles N.W. of Patara, 4. Xanthus, stood near the mouth of that river, about 25 miles from Telmessus. 5. Limyra, now Mari, or Myra, lay on the river Limyra, about 22 miles N.E. of Andriaca (sic.). Also, Olympus, about 30 miles from Andriaca over against the Chelidonia Insulae. Phaselis, on the borders of Pamphylia, 32 miles S.E. from Andriaca. It was first inhabited by Pirates.*"<sup>11</sup> The conflation of the cities of Myra and Limyra, and the rivers Myros and

7 Thomas Brightman, *The Revelation of Saint John, Illustrated with Analysis and Scholions wherein the Sence is Opened by the Scripture and the Event of Things Foretold, Shewed by Histories* (Amsterdam: Thomas Stafford, 1644), 310.

8 Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus, Or, A Little Description of the Great World: A Treatise Historicall, Geographically, Politically, Theologicall* (Oxford: Ihon Licfield and James Short, 1621), 285.

9 Heylyn, *Microcosmus*, 294.

10 *Thesaurus geographicus, or, The compleat geographer, part the second: being the chorography, to topography and history of Asia, Africa and America faithfully extracted from the best modern travellers and most esteem'd historians and illustrated with maps*, Vol. 2 (London: for A. and J. Churchill, T. Childe, 1709), 5.

11 *Atlas Geographus: Or, A Compleat System of Geography, Ancient and Modern Asia is One Volume, with Thirty One Maps, Sanson's Tables, &c. as May be Seen in the Catalogue Thereof Annex'd to the Preface*, Vol. 3 (London: John Nutt, 1712), 28.

Limyra, frequently occur in the historical-geographic works of the time. Thomas Salmon in 1759 wrote: “*Lycia, now called Montreseli, has Phrygia Major and Pamphylia on the North and East, the Mediterranean Sea on the South, and Caria on the West; surrounded on every side by mountains, except on the Sea Coast. The Chief Towns are, 1. Mira, or Limira, the Capital, an inland Town on a River of the same Name (sic.). 2. Telmessus, situate on a Bay of the Sea, on the Western Part of this Province; and, 3. Xanthus, situate within Land on a River of the same Name.*”<sup>12</sup> A decade later, Tobias Smollett in his seventh volume of *Geography* carried three sentences on Lycia: “*Patara, one the metropolis of the province of Lycia, but now an inconsiderable town, near the mouth of the Xanthus, between the gulphs of Satalia and Macri. Myrra or Myra, formerly a large city in Lycia, but now a poor place, not many miles from the mouth of the Limyras, and about twenty-two miles (sic.)<sup>13</sup> north east of Patara. The Turks call it Strumita.*”<sup>14</sup>

In, *A General History of the World* of 1764 Lycia was described: “*This country was at first called Mylias, or Tremile, from the Mylia, a people of Crete who settled here, and afterwards Lycia, from Licus the son of Pandion king of Athens. The proper Lycia; was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean, on the north by Phrygia Major and part of Pamphilia, by Caria on the west, and Pamphilia on the east. The most remarkable cities on the sea-coasts are Telmessus; Patara, afterwards called Arsinoe by Ptolemy Philadelphus, after his wife, and famous for the oracle of Apollo, who is said to have resided here the six winter months in the year; Myra, which was the metropolis of Lycia; when a Roman province, and consequently in the christian times an archbishop’s see; Olympus; Phaselis, which city, in the time of the Romans, was an infamous nest of pyrates, and all swift vessels were denominated from them Phaseli. In midland Lycia, Strabo reckons the following towns: Pinara, Cragus, Tlos, Simena, etc. The people in this part of the country were called Xanthians, from the chief river Xanthus. Besides the famous mountain Taurus, which begins in this province and extends to the eastern ocean, there was also in Lycia the mountain Chimera which vomited flames. The soil of the country is very fruitful, and the air is reckoned very wholesome.*”<sup>15</sup>

While William Fordyce Mavor wrote slightly less in 1785: “*Lycia, now called Mentiseli (Menteşeli), is bounded on the north and east by Phrygia Major and Pamphylia; on the south, by the Mediterranean; and, on the west by Caria. It is surrounded on three sides by mountains branching out of Mount Tarus, and on the fourth by the sea; and the Xanthus divides it into two parts, several smaller streams running across, once rendered it rich and fertile, but at present this country is entirely neglected.*

*About six miles (10 km, sic.) from the sea is a remarkable mountain, called Chimera, cele-*

12 Thomas Salmon, *The Universal Traveller Or a Compleat Description of the Several Foreign Nations of the World*, Vol. 1 (London: Richard Baldwin, 1759), 352. Largely from this is Carver in 1779, *Lycia, now called Montreseli, has Phrygia Major and Pamphylia on the north and east, the Mediterranean Sea on the south, and Caria on the west; surrounded on every side by mountains, except on the seacoast. It has three towns of considerable note, one of which is Mira, or Limira, the capital, situated on a river of the same name. Another is Telmessus, one of the six towns allotted by Alexander to the city of Halicarnassus; and the last is Xanthus, which stands on a cognominal river.* Johnathan Carver, *The New Universal Traveller: Containing a Full and Distinct Account of All the Empires, Kingdoms, and States, in the Known World* (London: Robinson, 1779), 101.

13 22 miles is about 34 km. In fact, the straight-line distance is about 34 miles/54 km and by modern road about 80 km.

14 Tobias Smollett, *The Present State of All Nations: Containing a Geographical, Natural, Commercial, and Political History of All the Countries in the Known World*, Vol. 7 (London: R. Baldwin, W. Johnston, S. Crowder, and Robertson and Roberts, 1769), 389.

15 William Guthrie and John Gray, *A General History of the World, From the Creation to the Present Time*, Vol. 2 (London: for J. Newberry, R. Baldwin, S. Crowder, 1764), 78.

brated by Virgil for its Volcano;<sup>16</sup> near which the Lycians formerly built a city called Hephestae, which they dedicated to Vulcan: and, it is said, from the circumstances of this mountain's containing lions at the top, goats about the middle, and snakes at the bottom, the poets fabled the monster Chimera, which they describe as composed of the head, body, and hind parts, of those animals.

This country anciently contained several eminent cities, there are, however, but few remains of its former importance."<sup>17</sup>

In 1785, Vicesimus Knox wrote: "Lycia is famous for the burning mount Chimera,<sup>18</sup> which gave rise to the story of the monster with three bodies. The chief city is Patara, whence one of the names of Apollo was Patareus."<sup>19</sup>

The French Royal geographer and renowned cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville's *Mémoire et abrégé de géographie ancienne et générale* of 1768 was translated into English as, *A Compendium of Ancient Geography* in 1791, which records the main Lycian cities and provides their approximate locations: *Telmessus-Macri, Xanthus-Eksenide, Pinare, Tlos, Patara, Myra, Limyra, Olympus, Phaselis-Fionda* and in its vicinity the *Vulcani templum-Hephaestium*.<sup>20</sup>

Beyond the coastline with its ports including *Telmessus-Macri-Fethiye*,<sup>21</sup> *Megiste-Castel Rosso-Meis*<sup>22</sup>, *Antiphellos-Kaş, Kekova*<sup>23</sup>, *Andriake-Andriaca*<sup>24</sup> and *Myra*,<sup>25</sup> all recorded as vis-

16 It is not a volcano. The nearest active volcano above sea level in the region is the island of Nisyros 50 km off the Bodrum peninsula.

17 William Fordyce Mavor, *The Geographical Magazine; or A New, Copious, Compleat, and Universal System of Geography*, Vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Co., 1785), 116.

18 The location of the Chimera was confused, at times recorded by Phaselis; at times, about 6 miles from the sea, North of Telmessus; Andrew Brice, *The Grand Gazetteer; or, Topographic Dictionary, both General and Special, and Ancient as well as Modern*, Vol. 1 (Exeter, 1759), 325.

19 Vicesimus Knox, *Elegant Extracts: Or, Useful and Entertaining Passages in Prose Selected [by V. Knox] for the Improvement of Scholars at Classical & Other Schools in the Art of Speaking, in Reading, Thinking, Composing and in the Conduct of Life. To this Edition is Added a Short System of Geography from Sharpes Translation of Holbergs Introduction to Universal History and a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries & Inventions* (London: P. Byrne, 1785), 504.

20 Monsieur d'Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon, *Compendium of Ancient Geography by... ; translated from the French ; illustrated with maps, carefully reduced from those of the Paris Atlas, in imperial folio; with a map of Roman Britain from ... John Horsely [sic] ... ; and with prolegomena and notes by the translator: designed for private libraries, as well as for the use of schools*, Vol. 1 (London: for R. Faulder, 1791), 338–40.

21 Toponyms that have been employed include: Méi, Meio-Mei-Mecari- Makrin-Macari/Lamagra/Macra/Macry/ Meis/Macri/Macre/Meğri/Mekri/Makre/ Macry-Makry-Makri/Mácry/Mais/Megri Mékri/Mei/Méiss/Mais/ Fethiya/Fethiye/Telmissos/Telmessus

22 Meis ada, aka: Megiste, Megisthe, Cistene, Insuli Castri Rozi, castrum rubrum nominabat; nunc Castello rosso, Cast Rubeum, Castellum Ruge, Castrum rubeum, Castilrojo, Castel Rog, Casteloigi, Castrongo, Castle Rhodzi, Rhoge, Castrum Razo, Castrum Rozo, Casteyl roys, al-Qashtil al-Rūj, Rauda Kastala, Castel Alfonsi, Château Roux, Chateau Roux, Castro Rosso, Castel Rosso, Castel Oroso, Cassel Orasso, Castel Orizo, Castelryzo, Château-Rouge, I. Arcis Rubea, I. de C. Roxo Kastoicino, Kastellirizo, Castello Rosso, Castel Rozzo, Rosa Island, Castilrojo, Castell Russ, Castelrozzo, Castellorizzo, Castellorizon, Castelryzo, Kastelorigo, Kasteloryzo, Knteloryzo, Kasterlorizo, Kastelórizo, Kastellorizzo, Kızılhisar (Sometimes confused with Castel Rosso/Kızılhisar = Carystos/Karystos Carystus, Carysto, on the island of Euboea/Eğriboz), Rosa Island, Red Castle Island, Meyisti, Meyis, Mais.

23 Sometimes employed for just Kekova I., at other times for Myra-Andriake-Simena-Tristomon, etc: Mogroniasi, Makronisi of St Mary, Al-Quaiqab, Crachous, Cake, Ckakoiiis, Karkois, Karkoiis, Civitas Cacabum, Cacabo, Caccabus, Caccobus, Cachavo, Caccous; Cacom, Cacquau, Cacabou, Chiudiceria, Chiuchiua, Cachama, Cacamo, El Cacamo, Al Cacamo, Caccamo, Caccaldi, Cacano, Cacava, Cacove, Cacova, Checova, Caravola, Kakava, Kakawa, Karava, Kēkyova, Kekylla, Kokavo, Kékoba, Kékioba, Kakabo, Karavola, Kekova, Kekowa, etc.

24 And, Goranto-Andriaca-Gatopoli

25 Toponyms that have been employed include: Mara, Marca, Marka, Marrea, Mirreorum, Myrrheam, Maretta, Mirea, Mirra, el-Myra, al-Mira, Lamyra, Saurinia, Miera, Mire, Mirra, Mirre, Mure, Miros, Mirrhia, Mirrensis, Maira, Myrensis, Myrra, Myrrea, Myrrha, Myrre, Miru, Micra, Mirul, Maurensis, in old French, Mauronne, etc.

ited in the eighteenth century, by Western Europeans, except for: Patara-Patera,<sup>26</sup> Limyra-Lymira-Limira, Phoenix-Finike,<sup>27</sup> Phaselis-Fionda,<sup>28</sup> and S. Nicolo de Sta Myra-Strumita-Taşdıbi,<sup>29</sup> and the note made of timber exports from Lycia;<sup>30</sup> a coastline which had been charted by the French hydrographic expedition, Joseph Bernard, Marquis de Chabert in 1776, eastwards, only as far as the Gulf of Makri-Glaucus; (the entire Lycian coastline was charted by Captain Francis Beaufort in 1811–1812), until 1836, inland Lycia was untrodden territory for western Europeans. It was a blank area of the map, deformed in its cartographic representation, scattered with the speculated upon location of place names recorded in the ancient sources, the existence of which was confirmed in part from finds of coins struck in Lycia that reached collectors,<sup>31</sup> but quite unvisited, remote, sparsely populated, mountainous and wild. The actual location of Arñna-Xanthus-Xanthos-Xantus, the most important city of pre-Roman Lycia, located thirteen km inland, up the Xanthos-Esen river valley from Patara and the Mediterranean Sea, was unknown to Western European geographers, antiquarians, proto-archaeologists, and, proto-epigraphers interested in the surviving remains of antiquity, until led by his unmentioned but essential Ottoman guide/interpreter, it was visited in person by Charles Fellows in 1836. After which date, what William Fordyce Mavor had written fifty years earlier: “*there are, however, but few remains of its former importance,*” began to be understood as a statement of a most considerable error.

### Early Research in Lycia

To the perhaps rather brief section in this book entitled: *A Selection of Early Researches in Lycia*; pages 3–11, I think it is worth noting at a somewhat greater length those who researched and recorded the remains and the antiquities of Lycia in the period before the start of the nineteenth century, as it was these very few who laid the foundations for the understanding of Lycia in antiquity. The contradictions in the ancient geographers Strabo and Ptolemy’s accounts of Lycia, of the question of which truths were to be understood or interpreted from within the mythological accounts and from the later surviving mentions of Lycia in the Greek and Roman histories, raised questions concerning Lycia and the Lycians, some of which could only be settled by actually

26 Also known by the toponyms: Paterane, Pateran, Pathera, Patura, Patere, Paterea, Pattara, Patera, Patora, Patara, Patarae, Patava, at times Patra and, Patras, Paterea Castaldo, Catara, Patira, Patazza, Patora, Patosa, Llamose, Arsinoe, Sataros, Patareis, Panthera, etc. One also finds reference in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. to Lycian Patara, as being located in Syria, for reasons best known to the authors, such as: Benjamin Winkles, *Winkles’s Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales: Salisbury cathedral, Canterbury cathedral, York cathedral, St. Paul’s cathedral, Wells cathedral, Rochester cathedral, Winchester cathedral*, Drawings by Robert Garland, Architect, Descriptions by Thomas Moule, Vol. I. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1836) 131, *represent passages in the life of Saint Nicolas, bishop of Myra, in Syria, who lived in the fourth century after Christ, and was the patron of children.*

27 Finiga-Finicho-Fineka-Foiniki/Feenekeh/Phineka/Phenice, at times for some, the twelfth century Porto Pisano, etc.

28 Geronda-Faselis-Faselide-Govatte-Flonda, Gironda

29 Also known as: Stamirra, Saurinia, Strumita, Estrumeta, Stramita, Stremita, Strumeta, Stunica, Strumira. Strumica, Port d’Yeronda, Pirgo, etc.

30 Claude Étienne Savary, *Letters on Greece; Being the Sequel of Letters on Egypt. Illustrated with a Map of the Grecian Islands in the Archipelago, and of Part of Asia Minor; and with a Draught of the Cretan Labyrinth*, trans. for C. Elliot and T. Kay (London: C. Elliot, 1788), 25, Letter VIII.

31 By 1789 examples of known Lycian minted coins included those attributed to: *Antiphellos, Apyre, Aricanda, Cydna, Doliclis, Kragus, Limyra, Massicytes, Olympus, Patara, and Phaselis*, from sites in coastal Lycia, see: John Pinkerton, *An Essay on Medals: Or, An Introduction To The Knowledge Of Ancient And Modern Coins And Medals: Especially Those of Greece, Rome, And Britain*, Vol. 2 (London: for J. Edwards and J. Johnson, 1789).

going, looking, recording and attempting to relate the written record with any surviving visible remains, rather than by citing from authority, from the ancient, imaginary, conflicting, duplicated, corrupted, inaccurate sources.

In the late eighteenth century, the first, and one of the two most important in the creation of awareness of the importance and individuality of Lycia, its antiquities, and in particular the tombs, was the French hydrographic mission under the command of the Marquis de Chabert in 1776 that was charting and researching the Ottoman Aegean islands and coastline as part of the attempt to make an accurate chart of the Mediterranean Sea. This expedition reached the Gulf of Fethiye and the Lycian city of Telmessos-Macri-Fethiye. This official French mission, comprising scientists, scholars and artists, produced on publication in Paris in 1782 the first public realisation that the art of the ancient Lycians was different from that of Greece and Rome. For example, there was nothing like the rock-cut temple-tombs of the Amyntas type, and the parallel was drawn at the time with those rock-cut tombs newly known from Persia-Iran, as at Persopolis. The artist Jean-Baptiste Hilaire (1753–1822) produced in Telmessus-Fethiye at least three remarkable drawings from which the published engravings were made, Pl. 64, *Vue d'un chateau et de plusieurs tombeaux près des ruines de Telmissus*, Pl. 67, *Vue de la Montagne des Tombeaux Près de Telmissus*, and, Pl. 71, *Vue d'un Theatre de Telmissus*. Measured plans, elevations and sections were also made of Lycian sarcophagi, rock-cut tombs, and the theatre at Telmessus, published as the engravings: Pl. 63, *Sarcophages antiques trouvés près de Telmissus*, Pl. 66, *Sarcophage* (elevations, section, and a comparative rock-cut tomb facade at Perséopolis taken from P. Lucas). Pl. 68, *Elévation d'un des tombeaux taillés dans une montagne voisine de Telmissus* (of a rock-cut temple-tomb). Pl. 69, *Détails géométriques de ce même tombeau*. Pl. 70, *Suite des antiquités de Telmissus*, Pl. 72, *Détails d'un theatre de Telmissus*, all published as individual full plate engravings only six years later, in Gabriel Florent Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier's, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, J.-J. Blaise, Paris, 1782.

Compared to what had been known before of Lycian works of art, almost entirely numismatic, this publication was a revelation. Although only working in the westernmost part of coastal Lycia at Telmessos-Fethiye, this publication of 1782, in respect to Lycia, was the equivalent of the later French *Description de l'Égypte*. The published visual images opened the door to the reality of the object, distinct from, but related to, the surviving textual sources, to enable the development of a more holistic understanding of a culture and people of antiquity, rather than one derived solely from the surviving written sources and speculation uninformed by the *in situ* physical evidence. It also included a map, Pl. 73, that marked the *Golfe de Macri-Glaucus Sinus*, the *Glaucus*, *Telandria I.*, and the location is marked of the named Lycian cities of *Calynda* (Kozpınar), *Daedala*, and *Mey-Telmissus* (Fethiye). The Esen stream is marked *Essenide et Xanthus*, but the location of Xanthus is unmarked, while the depiction of the coastline towards *Patera et Patara* and further east, clearly indicates this area remained uncharted. Patara is shown as lying at the very end of a long narrow inlet from the sea extending eastwards parallel to the coast, off which are marked two displaced islands, one named, *I. du Serpent*, lying in fact to the East of Patara off the entrance to Kalkan and today named Çatal Islands; but it is nevertheless a considerable advance in its depiction of the Gulf of Macri upon other maps of the area published later, such as that published in 1784 in Venice<sup>32</sup> and by James Playfair in 1814 in London, entitled *Modern Asia Minor*, and where Patara is also shown as lying at the very end of a long narrow inlet from the sea extending eastwards parallel to the coast.

32 *Atlas Universel dressé sur des Meilleures Cartes Modernes 1784*. A Venise par P. Santini rue Ste. Justine, Chez M. Remondini, Venice, 1784, No. 62. Asia Minor @ <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~285887~90058403:62--Asia-Minor->



On the French expedition of 1776 was the young French scholar, antiquarian and painter, Louis François Cassas (1756–1827). In his subsequent eastern Mediterranean travels,<sup>33</sup> he returned to Lycia and was at Myra in 1786 and recorded the theatre, and possibly drew other Lycian subjects. Later in 1808 he painted another version of the Myra theatre.<sup>34</sup>

Later in terms of chronology but perhaps of an equal importance to the work produced by the French mission of 1776, was Luigi Mayer (Romano)'s work in bringing the remarkable coastal sites of central Lycia-Myra, Andriake, Kekova and Antiphellos, into public view, as well as a further depiction of Telmessos-Fethiye. He was employed by the British Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie and drew views in Ottoman territory for him. He recorded these Lycian coastal sites in Lycia in May and June 1792 in gouache—in colour, which fuelled European interest in Lycia through the publication of his depictions. Four of these drawings were first published in the *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. II, Society of the Dilettanti, London, in 1797, two engravings of his gouaches of the theatre at Myra (in publication mis-labelled Patara), and one of the theatre at Antiphellos (in publication mislabelled Castell Rosso) and one of Telmessus/Megri-Macri. These were then republished, together with others, but in the form of coloured aquatints at the start of the nineteenth century, made from his gouache depictions from 1792 in Lycia, making a large impact on public perception of Lycia, and depictions of the ruins were even reproduced on Spode pottery. The following were published in London in 1803: 1. *Principle Entrance of the Harbour of Cacamo* (Kekova, Simena, mod. Kaleköy), 2. *Colossal Sarcophagus near Castle Rosso* (at Antiphellos-Kaş), 3. *Ancient Granary at Cacamo* (Hadrian's Horrea at Andriake), 4. *An Ancient Bath at Cacamo in Caramania* (The subterranean reservoir in the plakoma at Andriake<sup>35</sup>), 5. *An ancient Theatre at Cacamo* (the Theatre at Myra), 6. *Necropolis or Cemetery of Cacamo*, 7. *Sarcophagi and Sepulchres at the Head of the Harbour of Cacamo*, 8. *Sepulchral Grotts at the Head of the Harbour at Cacamo*, 9. *A colossal Sarcophagus at Cacamo in Caramania*, 10. *Part of the Harbour at Macri* (Fethiye with the theatre), 11. *Ancient Sepulchre near Macri*, (Fethiye, Tomb of Amyntas, with its three roundels on the anta).<sup>36</sup> New editions, including examples of Luigi Mayer's work in Lycia from 1792 were published in 1804, in 1810, two editions in 1811, again in 1812, and which, together with the variety of drawings made in Fethiye and published as engravings in Choiseul-Gouffier's, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, in 1782, over the course of the half-century prior to the appearance of the first of Charles Fellows' publications, placed the visual record of surviving Lycian antiquities at Lycian coastal sites, rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, theatres, before the eyes and into the consciousness of influential members of the French, British, and German speaking populations of Europe.

The last of the later eighteenth century researchers of coastal Lycia in the mid-1790's named by the author (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 5), was Thomas Hope, (1769–1831), one of the most important designers of furniture, fittings and interiors. His wash drawings were finished in

33 Louis François Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phoenicie, de la Palaestine et de la Basse Aegypte* (Paris: An. VII/ 1799/1800).

34 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O142327/theatre-of-myra-now-demre-watercolour-cassas-louis-francois/theatre-of-myra-now-demre-watercolour-cassas-louis-fran%C3%A7ois/>

35 Described as *an elegant reservoir*, Luigi Mayer, *Views in the Ottoman Empire, Chiefly in Caramania, a Part of Asia Minor hitherto Unexplored; with Some Curious Selections from the Islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and the Celebrated Cities of Corinth, Carthage, and Tripoli; from the Original Drawings in the Possession of Sir R. Ainslie, Taken during his Embassy to Constantinople, with Historical Observations and Incidental Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of the Country* (London: R. Bowyer, 1803), 4.

36 Mayer, *Views in the Ottoman Empire*.

a manner that led them to be mistaken, at the Benaki Museum, Athens for a considerable time, to be published engravings, not original wash drawings. He drew the tombs at Antiphellus-Kaş and was deeply impressed by Lycian tombs, not least by the lid forms, writing: “on the now almost deserted coast of Lycia, the thousands of sepulchral monuments, of an era apparently preceding its conquest (sic.) by the Romans, and bearing Greek inscriptions, which, in the outline of their lids or roofs, equally composed of two segments of circles, uniting in a point, bear a perfectly Gothic countenance;”<sup>37</sup> and he designed a fireplace in the “Gothic” form of a Lycian rock-cut tomb that he had drawn at Antiphellos-Kaş<sup>38</sup> a tomb later drawn by others, as published in Spratt and Forbes 1847,<sup>39</sup> (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 303).

The author writes on page 3: “The studies in the first hundred years were done to pillage antiquities more than for discovery. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, museums in Europe were enriched with artifacts from Anatolia and Lycia. The period of protection only began following the publication of Osman Hamdi Bey’s regulations for Antiquities (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizâmname*).”<sup>40</sup> Only the second of these three sentences seem to this reviewer in 2022 to be correct. Firstly, research on *in situ* Lycian antiquities can be said to have begun by the French in 1786, rather than starting in the nineteenth century (as noted above). Concerning the antiquities removed from Lycia in the nineteenth century, it must be remembered that both those from Xanthus, selected by Charles Fellows (removed in British Admiralty ships to the British Museum in London), and the heroon from Trysa, (transported from Lycia to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, in 1883 by the Austrian navy) truly the only major nineteenth century losses of *in situ* Lycian antiquities in the nineteenth century, were, in fact, both removed legally from Ottoman territory, that is, with the permission for their removal officially granted by the Sultan, as gestures of friendship. The reasons for the granting of the requested permission for these removals by the respective sultans, by Abdülmecid with permission granted on 29 November 1841, for the removal of the “Zanthian Marbles,” and by Abdul Hamit II. in 1882 (as stated in Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 353), at those times can and should be researched, argued and understood so far as is possible, but the fact remains, these major *in situ* Lycian antiquities were removed with official Ottoman permission to London and Vienna, that is, legally removed rather than being pillaged or looted (the allegation of pillaging is repeated Çevik, *Lykia Kitabı*, 212; Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 220). The only possible example of such illegal removal, pillaging-looting of a significant monument from the nineteenth century Ottoman Lycia was from Andriake in

37 Thomas Hope, *A Historical Essay on Architecture, Illustrated from Drawings Made in Italy and Germany* (London: John Murray, 1835), 384.

38 Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration, Executed from Designs by Thomas Hope* (London: 1807), 43, Plate XLVI. no. 1. “Mantle-piece of black marble, copied from a facade of a sepulchral chamber, hewn in the solid body of a perpendicular rock, on the coast of ancient Lycia, and on the spot where formerly stood the city of Anti-phellos, mentioned by Strabo. It represents a facade or screen of rude and massy timber-work, in which may be discerned the upright posts, the transverse beams, the rafters, the wedges, and the bolts.” <https://archive.org/details/Householdfurnit00Hope>

39 Engraving page 72, caption, *Rock Tomb with a Lycian and Latin Inscription*. Described as: *Rock Tomb, with a Lycian and Latin Inscription, At Antiphellus. The inscriptions are, of course, of very different dates. This is one of the finest specimens of arch-lidded rock-tombs in Lycia.* T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyrtis: In Company with the Late Rev. E. T. Daniell*, Vol. 1 (London: J. Van Voorst, 1847), 20.

40 Çevik, *Lykia*, 3; “200 yılı aşkındır araştırılmaktadır Lykia. Bu zamanın ilk yarısında gerçekleştirilen çalışmalar, keşif amaçlı olmaktan çok, antik eser talanına yönelik araştırmalardır. 19. Yüzyıl boyunca Avrupa müzeleri, Anadolu ve de Lykia eserleriyle ziyadesiyle zenginleşmiştir. Osman Hamdi Bey’in Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi’nin ardından bir koruma dönemi başlamıştır.”

1813, presented in an article published after 2015, in 2018.<sup>41</sup>

While it seems evident that the research undertaken by Europeans in Lycia from 1786 to 1900 was in fact not undertaken to *pillage antiquities*, but to understand Lycia and its history<sup>42</sup> and culture in relation to the surviving *in situ* remains, in comparison with those known from antiquity elsewhere in the ancient world. Their goal was the production of knowledge, of understanding, albeit, as ever, imperfect, but, upon which foundations the edifice of Lycian scholarship, linguistic, epigraphic, archaeological, and art historical in all its artistic and cultural aspects, stands today. For example, Charles Fellows' stated his motivation in returning to Lycia in 1840 in his published diary entry dated, *Smyrna, February 14<sup>th</sup> 1840*, which was not to pillage Ottoman Lycia of its antiquities, but: "Nothing but an earnest desire of knowing more of the highly interesting monuments found in this country and of the natural features peculiar to it, together with the total absence whence I could obtain such information, would have induced me to wander thus far from the society of friends I so much value, and from the description of civilisation to which a European is habituated."

The third sentence, "the period of protection only began following the publication of Osman Hamdi Bey's regulations for Antiquities (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizâmname*)," is an often-repeated modern myth (repeated Çevik, *Lykia Kitabı*, 212; Çevik *The Book of Lycia*, 220) which has, since this book was first published in 2015, been brought into question. That the Ottoman state established on the continents of Eurasia and Africa from the sixteenth century onwards, a state of law with renowned administrative and bureaucratic practices, in the period prior to 13 February 1869 when the "Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizâmname," antiquities legislation came into force, had no interest in the legislative and customary protection of antiquities in Ottoman territory, is both odd of itself, and has been a much-repeated error. The facts of the matter are, there was Ottoman custom, administrative practice and law-*qânûn-emirname* in respect to antiquities and their removal from Ottoman territory, certainly from the seventeenth century onwards<sup>43</sup> into the period immediately prior to the enforcement of the 1869 legislation. This is recorded both by Europeans involved in the removal legally, that is with permission, and otherwise, of antiquities from Ottoman territory, and is likewise recorded in surviving Ottoman archive documents.<sup>44</sup> The 1869 and later Ottoman antiquities legislation was not created

41 T. M. P. Duggan, "The Andriake Marbles: record of 'a small ruined temple of very white marble' - a Roman 1st - 2nd century hilltop mausoleum and coastal navigational marker at Andriake, Lycia, that disappeared in the early 19th c." *Gephyra* 16 (2018): 91-142. Such can be read as implied in the Society of Dilettanti report of 1814, in respect to one at Cnidus, "and a small Corinthian Temple of white marble, which might be entirely rebuilt from its ruins." Henry Englefield, *Report of the Committee of the Society of Dilettanti, Appointed by the Society to Superintend the Expedition Lately Sent by them to Greece and Ionia; Containing an Abstract of the Voyage of the Mission, a List of the Materials Collected by them, and a Plan to Facilitate the Publication of those Materials, Society of Dilettanti* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1814), 3. And, if removed, where would it be rebuilt, *in situ* in Ottoman territory?

42 Charles Fellows, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia: Being a Journal Kept During a Second Excursion in Asia Minor* (London: John Murray, William Bulmer and Co., 1841), 1.

43 T. M. P. Duggan, "On Early Antiquarians in Asia Minor to the Start of the 19th Century," *Gephyra* 17 (2019): 126. Sir Thomas Roe, English Ambassador to the Porte 1621-1628, in a letter to the Earl of Arundel of May 1623, "On (the) Asia side, about Troy, Zizicum, and all the way to Aleppo, are innumerable pillars, statues, and tombstones of marble, with inscriptions in Greek; **these may be fetched at charge and secretly; but if we ask leave, it cannot be obtained**; therefore Mr. Markham will use **discretion**, rather than power, and so the Turks will bring." Thomas Roe, *The Negotiations of Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year. 1621-28 inclusive, Now First Publ. from the Originals, Society for the Promotion of Learning* (London: Samuel Richardfon, 1740), 154. There was no permission given to the ambassador to remove antiquities, secrecy was required for this illegal activity, while the word discretion, in this case, was evidently a euphemism for bribes.

44 Cemil Çelik, "Was There Antiquities Law And Regulations Before The *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizâmname* of 1869?" *Genel Türk Tarihi Araştırma Dergisi* 4, no. 7 (Ocak 2022): 167-88, <https://doi.org/10.53718/gttad.1038303>

*ex-nihilo*; it was legislation that was built upon the pre-existing Ottoman custom and administrative legislation, in the same way that the 1906 decree was maintained in full force and effect until 1973<sup>45</sup> with the modern Turkish antiquities law itself built in part upon the late Ottoman antiquities law. The pre-1869 practice in respect to antiquities in Ottoman territory included the forbidding of excavations without permission; the protection of historic monuments, being unique markers in the landscape, and the forbidding of the export of antiquities without permission, and for those with official permission, their passage through the Ottoman customs house and the payment of a duty at about 8% on the estimated value. Not that the pillaging of antiquities by Europeans in the vast extent of Ottoman territory was seriously restrained or prevented by the passage of Ottoman antiquities legislation—it was not. The smuggling of artefacts from Lycia, as from elsewhere in Turkey, occurs today, even though there is modern legislation and a modern Jandarma and perhaps a greater public awareness of the importance of cultural heritage,<sup>46</sup> if no longer of the talismanic and medicinal functions, healing of malaria etc., of the ancient inscribed stones leading to their protection by the local population. The implementation of law was, and remains, expensive. While there was also corruption, both secrecy and bribery were employed in the obtaining and smuggling of antiquities from Ottoman territory, as was recorded by the English Ambassador in Istanbul-Constantinople, Sir Thomas Roe himself in the seventeenth century.

However, the antiquities of mainland Lycia in the nineteenth century did not suffer the fate of the carved friezes and pediment sculptures of the temple of Aegina in 1811, nor that of Bassae in 1812. Both had their sculptures and reliefs removed illegally, looted-pillaged from Ottoman territory and sold. Also, the ransacking of vast numbers of antiquities from Cyprus, the Aegean islands, and Egypt in Ottoman territory, where burial sites were pillaged in illegal excavations and the finds smuggled out, or removed by consuls employing their diplomatic immunity, and were then auctioned or sold in the nineteenth century to fill museums and private collections in Western Europe and the United States. This was, in part, because Lycia, until the construction of modern roads, was relatively isolated, the terrain difficult. Also, the inhabitants and administrators were observant and suspicious of strangers interested in antiquities, who were regarded at times as secretly looking for buried treasure.<sup>47</sup> In coastal areas visible and accessible building material, from abandoned buildings and structures in ancient settlements adjacent to the harbour, including stone blocks and columns were often removed over the centuries by boat to provide construction material elsewhere. For example, stone blocks were removed from Patara and re-used in the city walls of Antalya, and the granite columns from abandoned Patara were re-used in 1835 in the construction of the church of Aghios Konstantinos and Aghia Eleni on Castel Rosso-Meis,<sup>48</sup> etc.

It could also be noted that the term *cultural heritage*, indicating the tangible and intangible

45 Sibel Özel, “Under the Turkish Blanket Legislation: The Recovery of Cultural Property Removed from Turkey,” *International Journal of Legal Information* 38, no. 2 (2010): 176–84. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/ijli/vol38/iss2/10>.

46 T. M. P. Duggan, “Due Diligence and the Treaty of 46 B.C.,” *Libri, Kitap Tanıtımı, Eleştiri ve Çeviri Dergisi* 1 (2015): 59–70; Sencer Şahin, *Stadiasmus Patarensis: Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae/Lykia Eyaleti Roma Yolları* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2014), 54, dn. 7 ‘...birkaç yıl önce yurt dışına çıkarılmıştır’: meaning, a few years ago it was smuggled abroad.

47 As stated by the Ağa of Tlos, Mehmet Ayan in 1844, to William James Muller, N. Neal Solly, *Memoir of the Life of William James Müller, a Native of Bristol, Landscape and Figure Painter, with Original Letters, an Account of His Travels and his Principle Works* (London: Virtur and Co., 1875), 357.

48 Although it seems most doubtful these granite columns were actually from the Temple of Apollo, such was alleged, Patrick Balfour, *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey* (London: John Murray, 1956), 48.

heritage assets of a group or society inherited from past generations, is a rather new term of modern usage that was only invented in the nineteenth century. The word *cultural* was first used in English in 1868;<sup>49</sup> that developed from the term *national heritage*, as likewise the expression, *world's heritage*, increasingly used from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, resulting more recently in the concept and term world heritage, (as used by Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 13) with, since 1988 the Xanthus-Letoon in Lycia, a UNESCO world heritage site (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 218). The word *heritage* is related to inheritance-patrimony, the latter, employed in the sense of *immaterial things handed down from the past*, dates in English usage from the 1580s. The word *heritage* was in use earlier, it is Middle English (1066–late fifteenth century),<sup>50</sup> often at that time seen in terms of *Christian Heritage*, as employed in the fourteenth century by Sir John Mandeville in the preface to his *Book of Travels*, to express the idea of regaining the territory of the Holy land regarded as Christian heritage<sup>51</sup> and as employed at times as such in the use of the nineteenth century expression *world's heritage*,<sup>52</sup> as also in the sense of the world's cultural heritage.<sup>53</sup>

### A note on colour and an unfortunate error

An aspect of the art and architecture of antiquity, in Lycia as elsewhere, was the use of colour applied to sculptures and sculptural reliefs,<sup>54</sup> and inside and on the exterior of works of architecture, and also within the incisions of inscribed inscriptions in Lycian, as likewise in Greek, Aramaean and inscriptions in other languages. The use of colour for exterior relief-work is also

49 Shorter Oxford Dictionary Vol. 1., 1969, s.v. *Cultural*

50 Shorter Oxford Dictionary Vol. 1., 1969, s.v. *heritage*, *that which has been or may be inherited, such as, the Church of God.*

51 John Mandeville, *The Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville, Knight: Wherein is Set Down the Way to the Holy Land, and to Hierusalem: as Also to the Lands of the Great Caan, and of Prestor John; to India, and Divers Other Countries: Together with Many and Strange Marvels Therein* (London: for R. Chiswell, B. Walford, M. Wotton and G. Conyers, 1705) npn. Preface. *For the which each good Christian Man that may, and hath wherewith, should strengthen him for to conquer his right Heritage, and purchase it out of evil Peoples hands; for we are called Christian Men of Christ our Father, and if we be the right Children of Christ, we ought to Challenge the Heritage that our Father left us, and take it out of strange Mens hands.*

52 E. g., Andrew Lynn, *Methodist Records: or, Selections from the Journal of Rev. Andrew Lynn*, ed. John Stokoe (London: J. B. Cooke, 1858), 178, *when the great Missionary bodies meet to stir up each other to bring about the period in which Christ's Gospel will be the world's heritage, and all nations Christ's subjects.* Charles Haddon Spurgeon, *The Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit, sermons preached and revised, During the Year 1874*, Vol. 20 (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1875), 358, *The next thing we should learn is indifference to this world's heritage;* Mandell Creighton (Bishop of Peterborough), *The Heritage of the Spirit: And Other Sermons* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1896), 164, *Men saw and marvelled while the little leaven worked its way, till the Christian life entered into the world's heritage, to carry on for ever its transforming influence.*

53 'Editorial,' *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 4 (Oct. 1894-June 1895): New Haven, Conn., 150, *The modern man...He is in peril of becoming a tool, keenly sharpened, but on one edge only, and for but one kind of work. He will become narrow while becoming efficient, will lose his rightful share of the world's heritage of knowledge and culture, and will become very much a mere means and very little an end.* Thomas Joseph Lawrence, *Principles of International Law* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1895), 38, *Roman Law of course remained, for it is part of the world's heritage for all time; but the portions of it that influenced the foundation of the new system were those which had been little used in the old.*

54 The last large visible traces of the original colouring on the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum were removed in 'cleaning' in 1938, "*the methods employed have in fact succeeded in removing the entire patina of the marble and the last remaining traces of the ancient colour;*" (London) Sunday Times, 21 May, 1939. A parliamentary question raised by Robert Byron, cited, J. Knox, *A Biography of Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2003), 412. However, fragments of *in situ* colour were found still adhering to the marble in 2009, including Egyptian Blue, <https://blog.britishmuseum.org/paint-and-the-parthenon-conservation-of-ancient-greek-sculpture/>

evident for example on Lydian ceramic relief plaques for exterior use.<sup>55</sup> The first two of these uses of applied colour, sculptural and architectural, are briefly mentioned by the author.

On the use of colour applied to stone carved relief sculpture in Lycia, the author notes of the Harpy Tomb: “*all of its reliefs, painted in red and blue are now housed in the British Museum*” (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 67). It can be noted that when the reliefs of the “Harpy Tomb” brought from Xanthus arrived in London, Mr. Edward Hawkins, the Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum (1826–1860), requested research on the remaining *in situ* colour that had been applied to the carved reliefs. They were a blue background to the relief figures, and also included a bright crimson red on a helmet, and a reddish brown on the chair. The chemical analysis conducted on the blue colouring in 1843 by Dr. Faraday showed: “*The substance is a mixture of wax with a pulverised blue smalt, coloured by cobalt, the smalt being in rather coarse patches; when the wax is charred away, each piece is seen by a moderate magnifier as a small fragment of glass.*”<sup>56</sup> Further, “*On these chairs there are perceptible traces of a brownish tint approaching red, showing that the ornament was indicated by colour, even without the outline being carved...Some brown colour was examined by Dr. Faraday, and found to consist of a ferruginous substance and a calcareous matter, without any wax or resin.*”<sup>57</sup> And the committee noted that the use of cobalt blue ground glass had also been found employed on Egyptian antiquities. In 2022 the British Museum collection online catalogue has the following entry by the curator regarding the colouring on these reliefs, which reads:

“*Colouring.*

*The ground of the reliefs was bright blue, which remains round the head and left hand of the youth on the right angle slab of the East side. A. H. Smith also detected this under the wrist of the first figure behind the throne on this side (Catalogue, 1892, p. 57). Birch saw scarlet on the crest of the helmet on the North side (Archaeologia, XXX, p. 192); Scharf observed traces of red in the hollow of the shields and upon sandals (Mus. of Class. Antiq., I, p. 252); while the tint can no longer be stated, patches of faded pigment are still to be seen in the soles of sandals. Elsewhere a stain on the marble indicates the former presence of paint. Considerable remains of this may be observed on the left angle slab of the North side, above the head, on the body between arms and talons and below the body of the ‘Harpy’. A palmette scroll is clearly visible in silhouette between the bars of the throne on the East side. A. H. Smith (l.c.) saw palmettes on the right throne of the West side, which are now hard to trace; but cushion and interspace of the left throne of the same side show clear traces of patterns, probably similar palmettes, while the side shows remains of incised guide-lines for maeander. There was a maeander on the top border and an egg and dart on the bottom curved moulding. The metal attachments on the East side have been noted above.”<sup>58</sup>*

It does seem quite extraordinary that the modern scientific analysis of the composition of the remaining traces *in situ* of colouring on the “Harpy Tomb” employing spectroscopy, as was employed by the British Museum for the Parthenon marbles in 2009, seems not to have been undertaken to date, to enable comparisons to be made between the colouring that has survived more

55 See for examples: K. Tarkan Kahya, “Düver Pişmiş Toprak Mimari Kaplama Levhaları ve Çatı Elemanları” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2012).

56 “Report on the Marbles from Lycia, Proceedings of Scientific Societies, Royal Institute of British Architects, Dec. 19,” *The Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal* 6 (February 1843): 67–68,

57 “Colours on Ancient Marbles,” *The Art Journal* 49 (February 1843): 44–45, the issue also contains an obituary for the Rev. E. T. Daniell.

58 [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1848-1020-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1848-1020-1)

than two millennia of exposure to the elements that was employed in Ancient Lycia—that which was employed on the Parthenon sculptures and is termed today *Egyptian Blue*—and that which was employed in ancient Egypt.

Concerning the Painted Tomb at Myra's eastern necropolis, the author writes: "*Remnants of the original red, blue and yellow paint are still visible today, its colorful style reflective of the Classical era.*" (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 69). While the caption to the coloured illustration from Fellows 1841 reads, "*Colored reconstruction of the reliefs of the painted Tomb, Myra (Fellows)*" (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 119), from, "*Myra. Resimli Mezar; kabartmaların renklendirilmiş rekonstrüksiyonu (Fellows)*" (Çevik, *Lykia Kitabı*, 113), which is an unfortunate error. The caption to the original illustration in the publication of 1841, which was cut off from the image published in 2015 and 2021, makes no mention whatsoever of any *Colored reconstruction*. These reliefs were drawn and then coloured by George Scharf Jnr., copying the *in situ* tint of the colours on these reliefs that were visible at that time, while the caption to the lithograph published in Fellows 1841, in fact reads, "*Coloured Bas-reliefs within the Portico of the Tomb at Myra.*"<sup>59</sup> and Charles Fellows explicitly states in his text: "*The bas-reliefs within the portico are represented in the coloured Plate, the tints of which are exactly those on almost every part of the marble.*"<sup>60</sup> There was no "*Colored reconstruction of the reliefs of the painted Tomb!*" I was responsible for the redaction of the English text before publication in 2022 and I should have noticed the error. My apologies to the reader, not least because in the course of several hours painting a copy in oils of the relief of the Lord holding his kantharos reclining on his couch in the interior of the tomb in August of 2011, slightly cooler than painting in the open air, I noticed the remarkable quality of the blue colour applied to the relief, to glitter and to be iridescent, reflecting the light in a markedly different way from the other colours that had been employed that remain *in situ*. There is the question of whether the term *Painted Tomb*, or *Coloured Tomb*, *Painted inscriptions* or *Coloured inscriptions* is the more accurate, in representing the technique employed. While in terms of the colouring that was applied to architecture there is but a single reference to this, the Ptolemaion at Limyra where the author notes: "*The architectural ornaments were originally painted*" (Çevik, *The Book of Lycia*, 71).

## Conclusions

All of the known Lycian mint cities including: Akalissos (Acalissus), Antiphellos (Antiphellus), Aperlai (Aperlae), Arneai (Arneae), Arykanda (Arycanda), Balbura, Bubon, Choma, Gagai (Gagae), Kalynda (Calynda), Kandyba (Candyba), Korydalla (Corydalla), Kragos (Cragus), Kyaneai (Cyanaeae), Limyra, Masikytes (Masicytes), Myra, Nisa, Oinoanda, Olympos (Olympus), Patara, Phaselis, Phellos (Phellus), Pinara, Podalia, Rhodiapolis, Telmessos (Telmessus), Termessos Minor (Termessus), Tlos, Trebenna, Xanthos (Xanthus), are represented in some detail, but there is so much in addition to these accounts of the Lycian cities themselves to be found in this volume. The cities are contextualised with the inhabitants over time, and the cities fit into the landscape with the smaller settlements, small finds, terraces, olive and grape presses, and roads. The book narrates in words and through a great variety of visual images what is now known in the twenty first century of the historical and prehistoric remains in Lycia within their complexity of geographical, historical, linguistic, religious, cultural and visual contexts. It pro-

<sup>59</sup> Fellows, *An account of*, List of Plates, to face page 198.

<sup>60</sup> Fellows, *An account of*, 199.

vides the reader with the distillation of decades of work by the author and of the many important discoveries that have been made, together with the incremental accumulation of knowledge over more than two centuries, and particularly over course of the past thirty years of ongoing work in Lycia by Turkish and foreign archaeologists, epigraphers, historians and linguists. All the settlement sites, the ruins of Lycia, recorded in the second part of this book, surveyed, some excavated to varying degrees, the remains documented and photographed, show that rather than there being in Lycia *but few remains of its former importance*, as was noted in the eighteenth century. In fact, the remains number more than 130 cities and settlements, from isolated tower-farms to minor and major cities, linked by roads, bridges, and watchtowers, milestone and *mansio*, set within a particularly remarkable landscape of contrasts and fascinations. It is little wonder that this Book of Lycia captures the heart and mind.



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