

ΓΕΡΗΥΡΑ

DOĐU AKDENİZ BÖLGESİ ESKİÇAĐ TARIĐI VE KÜLTÜRLERİNİ ARAŐTIRMA DERĐİSİ
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Matilde SERANGELI*

Il cosiddetto «Ciprominoico 2»: Una decifrazione possibile?¹

Abstract: At the current state of the studies concerning the decipherment of the so-called «Cypro-Minoan», it can be justly claimed that a syllabic writing system was used in Late Bronze Age Cyprus to express probably three different languages. The signs of the syllabary therefore show evident similarities with the signs of the other Aegean Linear writing systems. Many decipherment proposals brought forward in the last few decades have led to no other certain conclusion. The use of the combinatorial method based on the analysis of the *binary frequencies* – how often a sign is followed or preceded by each of the other signs – and of the *distance* between the signs – whether the similarity/difference between the signs at the left/right of two signs reveals any similarity/difference between the signs themselves – could determine whether or not said hypotheses are reliable. Already tested on Linears B and A as well as on the Classical Cypriot Syllabary by C. Consani and M. Federighi, this method is used in this article to identify the *glide* in the Cm 2. The result obtained from this first test reveals how each sign's phonetic value, at least that of the Cm 2, now seems to be ascertainable. Consequently, Cm 2 could have been an «adaptation writing», as has been demonstrated in respect of Linear B.

Keywords: Cyprus; Cypro-Minoan; Linear writing; decipherment; combinatorial method.

Il rischio più grosso cui si va incontro in una possibile decifrazione è l'applicazione di metodi non compatibili con la materia in esame. Troppo spesso ad esempio il metodo etimologico è stato utilizzato come strumento di ricerca piuttosto che come approfondimento di dati scientificamente provati, portando ad evidenti insuccessi.² Nonostante sia considerato poco attendibile nel caso in cui venga a mancare un abbondante materiale epigrafico, il metodo combinatorio rimane la base fondante di qualsiasi tipo di approccio scientifico alla decifrazione di una lingua sconosciuta; solo in un secondo momento può essere applicata ad esso l'analisi etimologica contestualizzata, secondo il *metodo dei testi paralleli*.³

Per quanto riguarda il ciprominoico i tentativi si sono per lo più concentrati sulle scritture che offrono i testi più ampi, il Cm 2 e 3 – scelta molto comprensibile calcolando l'esiguità del Cm 1.

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² Mi riferisco alla quasi totalità dei tentativi di decifrazione della Lineare B che precedettero M. Ventris ed a quelli della Lineare A che diedero una parziale attenzione all'analisi contestuale non etimologica ed alla valutazione dei valori fonetici.

³ Il metodo etimologico è infatti utilissimo quando ormai si è determinata grosso modo la sfera semantica di appartenenza di un vocabolo e si cerchi di precisarne il senso attraverso il confronto con altre lingue. Cfr. ad esempio il minoico *sa-sa-me* seguito da un valore numerico con il miceneo *sa-sa-ma* in elenchi di spezie di Micene, in cui le lingue appartengono ad uno stesso periodo e ad una stessa area geografica con strutture economiche, sistemi grafici e procedimenti contabili affini (Peruzzi 1959, 106).

1. Proposte di decifrazione

Il Cm 2 è stato oggetto di numerosi tentativi di decifrazione. E. Sittig ed H. Ephron⁴ hanno proposto una lettura greca, S. Davis⁵ vi legge una variante del cuneiforme ittita, J. C. Billigmeier un dialetto del sud-ovest anatolico ed E. Masson, infine, opta per una soluzione hurrita⁶.

L'ipotesi di decifrazione in lingua greca ad opera di E. Sittig, ripresa ed ampliata in seguito da H. D. Ephron, è basata sul carattere intuitivo ed indirizzata *a priori* verso l'Egeo. Per questo motivo non è stata ben accolta in passato e vi accenno appena in questa sede. Propongo invece un esame più accurato delle altre due ipotesi.

a. L'ipotesi luvio-ittita

Nel 1967, dopo il tentativo di tradurre la lineare A ed il minoico pittografico in ittito, S. Davis propose una lettura ittita anche per il Cm 2, basandosi sull'analisi della tavoletta #208. ENKO Atab 003.A,⁷ scoperta da Dikaios nel 1953 ad Enkomi. Comparando i risultati del precedente tentativo di decifrazione del minoico pittografico e della lineare A da egli stesso operata con i segni del Cm 2, propose una decifrazione della tavoletta,⁸ ipotizzando si trattasse di una maledizione.

L'ipotesi anatolica di S. Davis fu poi accantonata fino al 1979, quando J. C. Billigmeier la ripropose, aggiungendo all'analisi paleografica anche un approccio statistico e giungendo ad identificare il ciprominoico come un dialetto sud-anatolico imparentato con l'ittito e soprattutto con il luvio.⁹ Ad esempio, lo studioso propose un valore *-zi* per il segno 054 ipotizzando esso fosse da identificare talvolta con l'enclitica micenea *-qe* talvolta con la prima persona singolare del preterito, esattamente come avviene nel luvio e nel geroglifico ittita, dove *-ha* mantiene questo duplice valore, cfr. *a-ja-ha ta-nu-wi-ha*: «io ho fatto ed io erigerò». A favore di una relazione stretta tra il ciprominoico ed il luvio prende poi in esame la radice *ta-nu* con le sue varie estensioni: *ta-nu-wa-na*, *ta-nu-wi-^{*}54*. *Ta-nu-wa* (1° persona sg. Pres.), presente nel geroglifico ittita,¹⁰ corrispondente al luvio **ta-nu-wi*, da cui è possibile postulare un imperativo **ta-nu*. Per quanto riguarda *ta-nu-wa-na* è evidente la comparazione con l'infinito ittita in *-anna*.¹¹ Infine, anche le testimonianze storiche (riguardanti il periodo esattamente precedente alla distruzione di Enkomi) sembrano rivelare una stretta correlazione tra il ciprominoico, il luvio e l'ittito.¹²

⁴ Sittig 1956; Ephron 1961.

⁵ Davis, Linear A, 312–327.

⁶ Masson, Cyprominoica.

⁷ In questo articolo si segue la numerazione di Olivier, Édition holistique.

⁸ 21 i valori fonetici identificati dei 58 segni noti fino ad allora (Dikaios, 1953, 236 fig. 3).

⁹ Cfr. Billigmeier 1979, 421.

¹⁰ Meriggi, Hierogl.–heth., 119.

¹¹ Laroche, Dict. louv., 137 sgg. Sebbene ancora non dimostrata da altri esempi linguistici, interessante la lettura del segno 082 con valore *wa₂* nel termine *a-^{*}082-na* (B 7) corrispondente al geroglifico *a-wa-na* «poi» (cfr. Meriggi, Hierogl.–heth., 451); allora B 15 *a-ha-ja-wa₂* = *Abhiyawā* (se accettiamo hitt. *lijal* = Cm 2 *lajal*).

¹² Il re Suppiluliuma II (posto come *terminus ante quem* l'ascesa al trono intorno al 1200 a.C.) narra di una conquista del paese di Alashia (Kbo XII 38). In molti ritengono però si sia trattato soltanto di sporadici attacchi senza mai mutarsi realmente in una occupazione territoriale. Sugli ultimi giorni di Hattusa prima della distruzione cfr. Astour 1965. Alashia subisce inoltre razzie da parte dei lici (EA 38 Amenophi IV/III). A favore di un collegamento del ceppo linguistico anatolico con il ciprominoico si è pronunciato anche Masson 1968, 425. Per i rapporti politici ed i riferimenti storici del periodo in questione cfr. inoltre Saporetti 1976.

b. L'ipotesi hurrita

Partendo dall'analisi dei valori fonetici basata sulla ripetitività di alcune strutture all'interno delle iscrizioni in Cm 3 ed in particolare della tavoletta RS 20.25 (= RASH Atab 004.A)¹³ e ricavandone una prima lettura onomastica, E. Masson formula nel 1974 l'interpretazione hurrita del Cm 2. Difatti, seppur la decifrazione del Cm 3 sembri essere altamente affidabile, per ottenere dei risultati importanti occorre dimostrare l'applicazione dei valori fonetici ad un'altra scrittura ciprominoica,¹⁴ non offrendo il Cm 3 alcun indizio rilevante riguardo alla struttura linguistica del sillabario.

A favore dell'ipotesi hurrita sono da tenere presenti i seguenti punti. Innanzitutto la presenza di questo popolo a Cipro agli inizi del XIII secolo è plausibile.¹⁵ In secondo luogo il fatto che la lingua hurrita abbia conosciuto molteplici dialetti, che i documenti ritrovati provengano da fonti molto diverse tra loro e soprattutto che la massima difficoltà nel campo degli studi hurriti risieda nell'assenza di un proprio sistema di scrittura, rende questo popolo un perfetto veicolo di trasmissione culturale. Non sarebbe dunque strano se, una volta giunti sull'isola, avessero utilizzato il sillabario locale; la struttura del testo inoltre e la fattura della tavoletta rivelano una composizione di tipo religioso e magico, una tipologia molto comune nei testi hurriti.¹⁶ Dal punto di vista paleografico poi i segni del Cm 2 hanno perduto quell'aspetto lineare ed elegante che caratterizza le scritture egee ed anche l'incisione è diversa, più orientalizzante. L'assenza infine sulle tavolette di ideogrammi o determinativi, che distinguono i documenti hurriti dagli altri testi redatti in cuneiforme sillabico, è ugualmente significativa.

Una forte somiglianza tra alcuni segni del Cm 2 e 3 (051; 087; 095; 102) potrebbe indicare un'influenza di quest'ultima sulla terraferma forse tramite l'insediamento di un nuovo gruppo

¹³ La studiosa francese identifica in alcune sequenze possibili termini di legami di parentela; la forma maggiormente ripetuta che diede avvio alla decifrazione fonetica dei segni fu la ormai quasi comunemente accettata $\aleph \hat{\imath}$, semitico occidentale *bn*, forma sillabica *bi-nu*, «figlio», inserito nello schema «il tale, figlio del tale»; a volte sostituito da un etnico oppure da un altro probabile nome di parentela. Per una lettura differente cfr. Nahm 1981, 59. Il termine appare spesso in nomi composti come *bin-ili*. L'identificazione poi del termine *ba al* nella forma sillabica *ba-li* ed il ritrovamento di questo nella forma *i-li-ba-li* su di una pallina iscritta in Cm 1 proveniente da Enkomi sembrarono confermare l'ipotesi di decifrazione precedente (è inoltre attestato ad Ugarit, vedi Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, 96, 117, 369). Per l'instabilità della *ayin* a partire dal II millennio a giustificazione dell'assenza di questa nella trascrizione ciprominoica e greco-ciproclassica vedi Masson 1973, 48–50, e le correzioni in Masson, *Cyprominoica*, 40. Dall'analisi vocalica – grazie alla comparazione con i valori in lineare B e nel cipriota classico e grazie alla frequenza dei segni in posizione iniziale – identifica poi le vocali *a*, *i*, *u*, che corrisponderebbero alle tre *aleph* dell'ugaritico (cfr. Gordon 1965, 18–19). Alcuni sillabogrammi acquisiscono perciò il valore fonetico dei corrispondenti segni in lineare B: *da*, *pa/ba*, *ti*. Cfr. Meriggi 1973.

¹⁴ È stato preso in considerazione il Cm 2 poiché il Cm 1 non ha rivelato altro se non alcuni antroponomi sulle palline provenienti da Enkomi: *i-li-ba-li*, *si-pa-ri* (< acc. *sibāru*), *nu-ga-ru* (< *ngry*), *a-ki-ta* di origine hurrita (Masson, *Étude*, 12 sgg.; Gelb, *Personal Names*, 17).

¹⁵ A partire dai primi insediamenti a noi noti (metà del III millennio) a Urkiš (Tišari) nella parte alta del Tigri, il popolo hurrita si spostò in modo per lo più pacifico progressivamente ad ovest fino a raggiungere la propria acme nella seconda metà del II millennio con la creazione del regno di Mitanni (dove era presente anche un nucleo di origine indoaria). All'inizio della seconda metà del millennio giunsero ad occupare probabilmente la zona compresa tra Tarso e la parte meridionale del regno di Amurru sulla costa siriana, cioè esattamente la zona costiera davanti all'isola di Cipro. Inoltre le tavolette orientali che nominano in questo periodo il regno di Alashia riportano numerosi antroponomi di origine hurrita, per i quali vedi soprattutto Carruba 1968 e Vincentelli 1976. L'onomastica rimane comunque non un vero e proprio indizio di appartenenza linguistica soprattutto nel bacino egeo-anatolico, dove i frequenti spostamenti di popolazioni tendono a riscrivere in continuazione i rapporti tra culture.

¹⁶ Cfr. le iscrizioni da Mari, Ras-Shamra e Bogazköy in Masson, *Cyprominoica*, 49.

etnico. L'autonomia della lingua espressa però risulta sicura dalla presenza di alcuni segni esclusivi del Cm 2. Rispetto al Cm 1 ad esempio, troviamo il segno 079, il quale per la frequente attestazione in posizione iniziale potrebbe essere identificato con un quarto valore vocalico /e/, il quale gioca un ruolo centrale nel sistema fonetico hurrita (al contrario del Cm 1 dove le vocali sembrano essere soltanto tre: *a, i, u*).¹⁷ Passando alla decifrazione delle consonanti la studiosa ha notato degli adattamenti della scrittura cipriota all'ipotetica lingua hurrita. In primo luogo ha associato la presenza di almeno tre segni – che si trovano sempre in posizione mediana – alla consonante *r* hurrita che non compare mai in posizione iniziale di parola. Negli altri casi non iniziali i sillabogrammi ricorrono soprattutto in posizione finale; per questo la Masson tenta una decifrazione di questi in chiave suffissale, considerando inoltre il carattere agglutinante dell'hurrico.

Per quanto riguarda le labiali, il Cm 2 possiederebbe così una sola serie di segni per le occlusive, probabilmente modificata alla lettura a seconda della posizione all'interno di parola:¹⁸ *pa-ba* «montagna», *pa-ba-hilha* «oriente», *he-ba-ta* «Hebat». Avendo il segno 051 sia nel sillabario cuneiforme sia in quello alfabetico un'alternanza di valore tra la labiale sonora spirante ed occlusiva *w/b*, anche nel Cm 2 potrebbe aver mantenuto questa oscillazione, che spiegherebbe perché questo carattere non sia mai attestato in posizione iniziale mentre sia così diffuso in posizione finale. *We/bi* rappresenta infatti frequentemente sia una parte terminale radicale hurrita sia la desinenza del genitivo singolare,¹⁹ ad esempio il termine *hilha-ri-we* o *hilha-ri-bi* genitivo di *ha-ri*.

Il segno 095 traduce probabilmente il valore *wa*, in linea con il corrispondente segno in lineare B²⁰ e con il ruolo grammaticale di questa sillaba in hurrita (desinenza nominale per il dativo singolare, ad esempio *a-la-wa* < *allai* «donna»).²¹

Per quanto riguarda le dentali sembra esserci una certa confusione tra sorde e sonore.²² L'individuazione infine della particella determinativa *-ni/na* e del caso ergativo *-š/zuš* in termini come *e-ni* «dio», *u-šše*²³ e la loro posizione all'interno di frase sembrano confermare ancora una volta secondo

¹⁷ Le tavolette di Enkomi subiscono l'influsso del sistema grafico di Ras Shamra, in cui le vocali isolate vengono notate solo in posizione iniziale.

¹⁸ Allo stesso modo infatti nei sillabari in cuneiforme il carattere sonoro o sordo delle occlusive è rappresentato dalla diversa posizione di uno stesso fonema: in posizione intervocalica *p* si sonorizza, mentre la sorda nella stessa posizione raddoppia – carattere che sarebbe probabilmente estraneo alle scritture egee –; ad inizio di parola invece la lettura è solo sorda. Nei documenti alfabetici di Ras Shamra queste differenze nella pronuncia sono marcate. La decifrazione come labiale del segno *W* fu suggerita dalla sequenza *bi-nu* del Cm 3 e dall'effettiva presenza di *bi* come desinenza hurrita (Masson, *Cyprominoica*, 50).

¹⁹ Sembra però azzardata l'ipotesi di assegnare al sillabogramma anche un valore *-iv-* sulla base del carattere intrinseco del sistema grafico egeo: «étant donné l'absence de syllabes fermées dans les systèmes graphiques égéens, le même signe pourrait correspondre dans certains cas au suffixe *-iv-* indiquant la deuxième personne du singulier du pronom possessif» (Masson, *Cyprominoica*, 51).

²⁰ Il segno L B: 54 è in realtà utilizzato come una semivocale, ma l'utilizzo come spirante labiale nel Cm 2 potrebbe essere del tutto normale, se si accetta che nel cuneiforme la labiale semivocalica è marcata normalmente da *w* (Masson, *Cyprominoica*, n.184). Attestato già nella tavoletta ##001, deriva con ogni probabilità direttamente dal sillabario minoico.

²¹ Per la lettura invece come elemento verbale in *-ewa* vedi Masson, *Cyprominoica*, 51.

²² Infatti il segno 008 identificato con *ta* tradurrebbe piuttosto *da* sulle tavolette d'Enkomi. Esso gioca probabilmente un ruolo suffissale e non si trova mai ad inizio parola (rappresenta forse il caso direttivo singolare); al contrario il segno 004 *da* non si trova mai in posizione finale.

²³ Compare a più riprese ma non se ne conosce ancora il significato: KUB XXVII 29, IV 20 e XXXI 3, I 4: *u-uš-še*; Kbo XIX 145, IV 44: *uš-še-e-eb-wa*; KUB VII 51, vo.18: *uš-ši-bi-ya* (dativo locativo in *-ya* di un aggettivo in *hi*

la Masson l'ipotesi di una lettura hurrta del testo.

In questa sede non si intende ovviamente «decifrare» il Cm 2; fino a quando non si determinerà una discriminante che possa rendere una ed una sola ipotesi quella giusta, una vera e propria decifrazione sembra impossibile. L'intento è piuttosto quello di offrire un metodo di approccio alla scrittura svincolato da supposizioni riguardo alla lingua celata dietro i segni ciprominoici – almeno inizialmente – che possa essere la base di future ricerche nel campo per determinare con sempre più precisione innanzitutto il valore fonetico attribuibile ad ogni sillabogramma e successivamente il ramo linguistico di appartenenza. Solo allora sarà possibile effettuare studi maggiormente incentrati sulla tipologia linguistica e sulla vicinanza o meno alle altre lingue del tempo. A questo scopo ci serviremo di due tipi di analisi già proposti e testati: l'analisi comparativa in campo paleografico e statistico.

2. Un nuovo approccio statistico alla decifrazione

Gli studi sulla lineare A e sulla scrittura lineare cipriota si trovano attualmente in una posizione di stallo. Una lettura dei segni in sistema di queste scritture sulla base del valore fonetico dei segni omomorfi della lineare B non è infatti affatto dimostrata, nonostante la maggior parte dei segni di queste due scritture possano essere formalmente confrontabili con quelli della lineare B.²⁴

A tal proposito, all'inizio degli anni '80 C. Consani e M. Federighi si sono interrogati sulla possibilità o meno di arrivare, «attraverso uno studio tassonomico e contrastivo delle due scritture lineari, ad una legittimazione o a una definitiva invalidazione della procedura molto diffusa di leggere la lineare A sulla base della comparazione formale dei suoi segni con quelli della lineare B» (Consani – Federighi 1984, 19).²⁵ Il metodo, testato in primo luogo su scritture note come la lineare B ed il sillabario cipriota classico ed attraverso esse ampiamente migliorato, ha dato risultati sufficienti per pensare ad un impiego soddisfacente anche in campo euristico. Il metodo è basato infatti esclusivamente sull'osservazione dei dati numerici e prescinde da qualsiasi considerazione che possa essere eventualmente fornita dalla conoscenza della lingua notata dalla scrittura in esame.²⁶

Da allora il problema sembra essere stato accantonato per quanto riguarda la lineare C, probabilmente a causa della scarsità di materiale uniforme, mentre è stato portato avanti con successo negli studi sulla lineare A.

Ritengo invece opportuno riconsiderare adeguatamente il metodo anche nel caso del ciprominoico, soprattutto a causa delle numerose teorie di decifrazione parziale proposte negli ultimi quarant'anni,

derivato da *ušše-?*).

²⁴ Sulla possibilità di leggere la lineare A sulla base dei valori fonetici della lineare B vedi Godart 1976; sulla parentela formale tra le scritture lineari vedi Godart 1979. Riguardo ai tentativi di lettura del ciprominoico sulla base della somiglianza aspettuale con la lineare B vedi Nahm 1981 e Saporetti 1976.

²⁵ In questo modo si inserisce nel campo di ricerca inaugurato per la lineare B da Olivier 1965, il quale ebbe il merito di organizzare elettronicamente il materiale miceneo sulla base del *Mycenaeae Grecitatis Lexicon* di A. Morpurgo-Davies. Per quanto riguarda gli studi statistici sulla Lineare A vedi invece le teorie precedenti avanzate da Kamm 1965, e Packard 1971.

²⁶ Per il metodo applicato alla lineare B ed al sillabario cipriota classico vedi Consani–Federighi 1984 e 1986. I risultati hanno dimostrato come il tipo di convenzioni grafiche adottate siano l'elemento fondamentale nel determinare la funzionalità di una scrittura sillabica. La Lineare B ad esempio sviluppa una precisa funzione burocratico-amministrativa che ne influenza profondamente la struttura (Consani 1996). Per un quadro generale delle regole grafiche nel Mediterraneo antico ed in particolare del mondo miceneo vedi Morpurgo-Davies 1986 e 1987.

che non hanno ancora trovato accordo tra gli studiosi né sembrano promettere una soluzione vicina. L'applicazione del metodo fornirebbe un punto di partenza oggettivo per verificare l'attendibilità delle ipotesi di lavoro avanzate a proposito del valore fonetico dei sillabogrammi della cosiddetta lineare C.

Grazie ad alcune migliorie dovute all'evoluzione computeristica degli ultimi vent'anni ed attraverso l'adattamento del metodo ai problemi specifici del materiale ciprominoico, si potrà avvalorare scientificamente la proposta di decifrazione di alcuni segni o sciogliere le discussioni venutesi a creare rispetto ad altri.

L'innovazione alla base del metodo Consani–Federighi fu l'analisi delle *frequenze binarie*, ovvero quante volte un segno è seguito o preceduto da ciascuno degli altri segni,²⁷ superando dunque i concetti di frequenza assoluta e relativa precedenti (quante volte questo sillabogramma compare nel campione di scrittura esaminato ed in quale percentuale rispetto agli altri segni del sistema scrittorio).²⁸ La domanda sottostante a tale tipo di esame è se la somiglianza o diversità tra ciò che si trova a destra o a sinistra di due segni implichi o meno una qualche somiglianza o differenza tra i segni stessi.²⁹

Il metodo Consani–Federighi è concettualmente molto semplice ed efficace. È utile riportarlo qui in breve.³⁰

Dopo aver considerato i sillabogrammi in un ordine fisso li disponiamo sui lati orizzontale e verticale di una tabella (che chiameremo *matrice*), dotata di un numero di righe e di colonne uguale al numero dei sillabogrammi.

Sia posto che:

j = sillabogramma registrato sul rigo della matrice ($j_1, j_2, j_3 \dots$)

k = sillabogramma registrato sulla colonna della matrice ($k_1, k_2, k_3 \dots$)

La frequenza con cui un sillabogramma j precede il sillabogramma k viene scritta sotto forma di puntini (dove ogni punto rappresenta un'attestazione) nel quadrato in cui il valore di j si incontra con quello di k (metodo dei *minimi quadrati*). La somma dei puntini contenuti nel rigo corrispondente ad un dato sillabogramma equivarrà alla frequenza assoluta di questo sillabogramma nel campione preso in esame. Per indicare inoltre la frequenza binaria in posizione iniziale e finale si aggiungeranno un rigo ed una colonna finale.

Tale metodo permette di ottenere per ciascun sillabogramma due serie di valori relativi alla frequenza con cui il segno in questione è seguito o preceduto da ciascuno degli altri (*spettri di frequenza*).

Successivamente si potrà procedere all'analisi quantitativa della somiglianza o differenza (*distanza*) tra i segni. Una distanza numerica tra due sillabogrammi può essere definita in modo tale che, nel caso in cui entrambi gli spettri di frequenza (a destra ed a sinistra del segno) siano simili, tale distanza abbia un valore minimo. Le distanze saranno due (sinistra e destra), poichè due sono gli spettri di frequenza.

²⁷ Come già suggeriva Koskeniemi – Parpola – Parpola 1970.

²⁸ Oltre ai lavori precedentemente citati cfr. anche Setatos 1970.

²⁹ In realtà già Olivier ha offerto una tavola dei segni del ciprominoico basata su questo principio sebbene abbia svolto il lavoro in modo manuale data la scarsità di attestazioni (Olivier, *Édition holistique*, 428).

³⁰ Consani – Federighi 1984.

La distanza tra due segni potrà dunque essere rappresentata dalla seguente formula:³¹

$$D_{ij} = \frac{\sqrt{\sum_k (F_{ik} - F_{jk})^2}}{\sqrt{\sum_k (F_{ik} + F_{jk})^2}}$$

dove:

D_{ij} = distanza destra tra i sillabogrammi i e j

\sum_k = sommatoria dei valori di k

F_{ik} = frequenza con cui il sillabogramma i è seguito dal sillabogramma k

Per ottenere la distanza sinistra occorrerà semplicemente scambiare tra loro i valori i/k e j/k .

Poiché il numeratore è sempre più piccolo del denominatore, le distanze sono rappresentate da numeri compresi tra 0 ed 1. Questo comporta che quanto maggiormente la differenza si avvicini al valore 0 tanto più i segni saranno simili. Due le situazioni particolarmente marcate:

se	Allora	Spettri di freq. / sillab.
$F_{ik} - F_{jk} = 0$	$D_{ij} = 0$	identici
$F_{ik} - F_{jk} = \pm (F_{ik} + F_{jk})^*$	$D_{ij} = 1$	completamente diversi

*si calcoli per tutti i valori di k

Tab. 1

A questo punto si otterrà il grado di somiglianza o differenza d'uso tra i sillabogrammi all'interno di uno stesso sistema grafico senza però aver definito ancora nessun altro tipo di rapporto. Tale risultato è sufficiente nel caso in cui si intenda analizzare una lingua nota e decifrata, il cui studio possa confermare i caratteri intrinseci alla lingua stessa (lineare B): la matrice può individuare infatti proprietà topografiche e statistiche corrispondenti a precise regole grafiche.

Nel caso di una lingua indecifrata, invece, una volta calcolata la *frequenza binaria* dei sillabogrammi e la *distanza* tra di essi, si potrà avere soltanto una prima parziale idea dell'esistenza o meno di determinate *strutture*.

Posto lo *status quaestionis* e forti del successo dell'applicazione del metodo alla lineare A, si proponga ora un possibile approccio al Cm 2.³²

Da una tale analisi binaria è probabile si evinca:³³

- a. la presenza di strutture riconducibili a regole di funzionamento che potrebbero confermare il valore fonetico dei segni appartenenti a queste strutture;
- b. l'assenza di strutture grafiche note. La scrittura in esame (in questo caso per il Cm 2, limitate dunque finora al sito di Enkomi) potrebbe essersi adeguata completamente alla notazione della lingua sottostante grazie ad una nuova distribuzione dei segni.

³¹ L'introduzione del denominatore è dovuta al fatto che, se le frequenze ik e jk sono piccole (cioè se i campioni presi in considerazione sono molto rari) la differenza $F_{ik} - F_{jk}$ e la distanza stessa risulteranno piccole. Il denominatore offre dunque una piccola correzione che permette di effettuare i calcoli all'interno di numeri primi. Si segnali che gli stessi risultati si possono raggiungere anche mediante il confronto di istogrammi delle frequenze binarie relative, come mostra Consani – Federighi 1984, 176 fig. 2.

³² In questo articolo mi attengo alla finora comunemente accettata suddivisione in Cm 1, 2 e 3. Il metodo qui proposto non perderebbe però in validità nel caso in cui in futuro questa suddivisione non dovesse più risultare attendibile.

³³ Allo stesso modo Consani – Federighi riguardo all'applicazione del metodo alla lineare B ed al CC. In questa sede i criteri di analisi, pur seguendo il modello originario, sono chiaramente adattati alla lineare C.

Per ottenere dall'analisi della lineare C risultati che offrano uno stesso grado di attendibilità rispetto a quelli ricavati dall'applicazione del metodo alla lineare B ed A e perchè i valori siano confrontabili, sarebbe stato preferibile selezionare un campione C del tutto analogo ai precedenti, composto cioè di circa 1700 sillabogrammi. La scarsità di materiale epigrafico ha portato invece all'analisi di soli 1310 sillabogrammi. Certamente questo numero potrebbe salire se venissero inglobate anche le occorrenze del Cm 1 e 3: ciò innalzerebbe di certo il valore statistico del procedimento, ma ne abbasserebbe l'utilità di analisi linguistica e fonetica nonché comparativa, essendo molto probabilmente il Cm 1, 2 e 3 tre lingue differenti tra loro. Il numero ridotto di sillabogrammi riduce dunque enormemente la selezione delle forme da prendere in esame. Il problema più grande a cui si va incontro in un simile studio è determinato principalmente dall'ignorare tanto la struttura fonologica quanto i procedimenti morfologici del «ciprominoico», fatto che rende impossibile spesso giudicare correttamente anche i casi più semplici.³⁴

Un tentativo di lemmatizzazione della lineare C attraverso indizi contestuali e criteri generali potrebbe essere attuabile – il testo delle tavolette appare infatti molto ripetitivo, identificabile probabilmente con un testo magico-rituale o legislativo –, ma potrebbe risultare fuorviante ai fini dell'analisi, poiché troppi sarebbero gli elementi ipotetici presi in considerazione.³⁵

Per aggirare questi problemi bisognerà adattare il metodo quanto più possibile alle esigenze della lingua in questione – senza naturalmente rischiare di creare un metodo *ad hoc* che perda di valore scientifico.

Per questo motivo includiamo nel repertorio analizzato non solo i segni di dubbia lettura – quando sia però supportata dalla maggior parte degli studiosi –, ma anche i termini incompleti. Sebbene il metodo ne perda in qualche modo in precisione, la sua validità non viene assolutamente inficiata; ne è prova l'applicazione alla lineare A, per la quale ugualmente si è dovuti ricorrere all'uso di termini inizialmente scartati secondo criteri filologici di attendibilità³⁶ per poter creare un *corpus* di base interessante per la valutazione statistica e comparativa.

Considerando dunque le tavolette nella loro interezza e non potendo scartare *a priori* alcun elemento – proprio per le necessità intrinseche del *corpus* –, il materiale preso in esame comprenderà anche:³⁷

a. sillabogrammi presenti in parole a contatto con una lacuna (]-a-b-c e a-b-c[);³⁸ in questo caso -a e -c non saranno considerate come sillabe finali di parola e confluiranno in una colonna *k* destinata ai sillabogrammi che seguono o precedono una lacuna.

³⁴ Per la lineare B si è operata una selezione ovviamente più rigida: essendo ormai noti non solo il valore fonetico dei segni in sistema ma anche aspetti fonologici e morfologici, molti lessemi appartenenti ad una stessa radice – sebbene con elementi grafici magari assai differenti – vennero esclusi (cfr. Consani – Federighi 1986, 19).

³⁵ Per la lineare B fu fatta una selezione accurata che dividesse i testi in antroponomi, teonimi, boonimi, toponimi, etnici, elementi lessicali generici ed elementi onomastici dalla natura imprecisata – basati sul *Lexicon* della Morpurgo del 1963 (Consani – Federighi 1986, 19–20).

³⁶ I criteri filologici applicati al repertorio GORILA di Godart e Olivier scartavano inizialmente tutte le forme con lacuna in qualsiasi posizione nella parola o anche un solo segno di incerta lettura. In secondo luogo nella lista di parole termini uguali o omoradicali dovevano comparire un'unica volta. A tale scopo ci si è attenuti a criteri di natura probabilistica in base alla lunghezza media delle parole (le parole di lunghezza superiore alla media avevano una maggiore probabilità di appartenere ad un medesimo lemma). Per il processo di lemmatizzazione del minoico nel dettaglio vedi Consani – Federighi 1986, 21–24.

³⁷ Vedi nota 35.

³⁸ Le lettere minuscole simboleggiano un sillabogramma.

b. sillabogrammi presenti in parole in cui compare un segno di incerta identificazione (a-[.]b): in questo caso essi verranno trattati come precedenti o seguenti lacuna. Essendo però interni alla parola, confluiranno nella colonna dei sillabogrammi ad inizio ed in fine di parola – identificati dal programma come frequenze binarie con il segno \emptyset .

Allo stesso modo vengono registrate tutte le possibili alternanze:³⁹

a. alternanze in forme del tipo $a-b - a-b-x$; la possibilità di somiglianza radicale casuale diminuisce nei lemmi più lunghi ($a-b-c - a-b-c-x$).

b. alternanze di tipo «flessionale» ($a-b-x - a-b-y$ come anche $a-b-c-x - a-b-c-y$). A questo gruppo appartengono anche le alternanze finali $a-b-x - a-b-y-z$ (in questo caso bisognerà mostrare un altro esempio in cui una radice diversa da $a-b$ abbia un'alternanza finale $-x - -y-z$).

c. la presenza di bisillabi ($a-x - a-y$) non può determinare alcuna reale alternanza.⁴⁰

Il calcolo delle frequenze binarie e della distanza (sinistra e destra) tra i sillabogrammi è stato effettuato su computer con l'ausilio di un programma di database MySQL e del linguaggio di programmazione applicato PHP.⁴¹ In esso i lemmi sono stati introdotti sotto forma di notazione numerica ed ordinati secondo la numerazione di Olivier, Édition holistique 2007, basata esclusivamente sulla presenza dei segni sulle tavolette e svincolata da rapporti aspettuali con le lineari A e B.⁴²

Il campione si presenta in questo modo come un'unica sequenza ininterrotta di numeri (sempre gruppi di tre cifre separati da uno spazio; un trattino separa le parole; un punto e virgola determina la fine del rigo) che identificano non solo i sillabogrammi ma anche la spaziatura tra di essi, le parti illeggibili e le possibili integrazioni della tavoletta.

Delle 4096 «posizioni disponibili in matrice» (ovvero le sequenze di due sillabogrammi) solo 697 risultano popolate, pari al 17.02% del totale: in un sistema linguistico è normale che solo una piccola parte delle combinazioni teoricamente possibili di suoni (e quindi di grafemi) si realizzi.⁴³ Una volta ottenuta la frequenza binaria risulta opportuno stabilire una soglia di popolazione che evidenzii le zone della matrice più popolate e quindi statisticamente più significative; nel caso specifico è stata utilizzata una soglia del ≥ 4 uguale a quella proposta per il sillabario A e B.⁴⁴

³⁹ Vedi nota 35 e 39.

⁴⁰ Soltanto analogie contestuali potrebbero indicare un collegamento tra i termini, come è accaduto per l'analisi minoica.

⁴¹ Database basato sul linguaggio SQL, particolarmente adatto alla ricerca in questione ed al linguaggio PHP. Assolutamente più agevole rispetto all'ultimo programma (Basic) utilizzato da Consani.

⁴² Di questi sarà utile servirsi soltanto in un secondo momento, per spiegare le strutture ritrovate in sistema e per trovare smentita o conferma alle proposte precedenti alle analisi statistiche computerizzate.

⁴³ Rari sono inoltre valori assoluti di popolazione molto alti, soprattutto se confrontati con i valori delle posizioni iniziale e finale.

⁴⁴ Nel caso di un confronto futuro tra le tabelle occorrerebbe probabilmente abbassare la soglia o aumentare il materiale epigrafico per rendere valido il confronto. Al momento l'utilità di lasciare la soglia a 4 consiste nel rendere la percentuale delle posizioni popolate importanti. La scelta di questa soglia è stata testata sulla lineare B ed A nei quali casi ha riportato una notevole riduzione del materiale da prendere in esame (nel caso della Lineare A si tratta soltanto di 28 sequenze binarie utili). Non si è ritenuto di dover cambiare il valore della soglia di popolazione poiché, a causa della scarsità del materiale e del carattere a volte dubbio di alcuni segni, si è preferito rendere più selettivo il carattere statistico di frequenza.

La distribuzione delle posizioni popolate così ottenute è la seguente:

	< 4	≥ 4
Caselle popolate	614	83
% caselle popolate	88.09 %	11.91 %
Media dei valori rappresentati	1.37	7.75

Tab. 2

Si menzionino perciò esclusivamente le frequenze binarie utili:

Sillabe	Frequenza	Percentuale
079 – 037	11	0.48%
033 – 070	10	0.43%
030 – 044	10	0.43%
044 – 033	10	0.43%
037 – 107	10	0.43%
038 – 064	10	0.43%
102 – 075	10	0.43%
004 – 075	9	0.39%
006 – 006	8	0.35%
102 – 035	7	0.3%
006 – 082	6	0.26%
097 – 017	6	0.26%
025 – 075	6	0.26%
028 – 095	6	0.26%
060 – 059	6	0.26%
009 – 069	5	0.22%
038 – 033	5	0.22%
068 – 025	5	0.22%
025 – 006	5	0.22%
027 – 069	5	0.22%
051 – 013	5	0.22%

Tab. 3

Notevoli sono anche le frequenze al limite della soglia:

030 – 070	4	0.17%
110 – 078	4	0.17%
030 – 021	4	0.17%
068 – 082	4	0.17%
054 – 064	4	0.17%
052 – 030	4	0.17%
082 – 028	4	0.17%

Tab. 4

Le zone più densamente popolate danno luogo a *strutture* – la rappresentazione quantitativa di regole grafiche e proprietà linguistiche – la cui analisi potrebbe dimostrare o confutare le ipotesi riguardanti il ciprominoico finora proposte.

La presenza o meno di regole scritte può essere ovviamente anche analizzata o ipotizzata prima dell'analisi statistica, come del resto è stato finora effettuato per ogni studio sul ciprominoico.

Analizziamo ora una delle strutture rilevabili dal testo a titolo esemplificativo, per dimostrare la validità ed attendibilità del metodo fin qui proposto. Ancora una volta il metodo potrà essere sfruttato come *conferma* o come *ricerca*.

Come già W. Nahm propose all'inizio degli anni '80,⁴⁵ sulla scia delle ricerche di E. Masson, prendiamo in considerazione la presenza o meno delle semivocali /y/ e /w/ nella funzione di *glide*, del tipo Ci-yV, Ce-yV; Cu-wV, Co-wV. Per il confronto con la lineare B lo studioso tedesco identifica il segno 072 con *ya* e con la variante 069 e Cm 3 071.⁴⁶ La combinazione dei segni sembrava già allora confermare l'ipotesi di lettura fonetica micenea:

Cm 2: *i* (1x), *li* (4x), *si* (6x), *ti* (1x), *re* (1x), *la* (1x), *lo* (1x), *ko* (1x), 𐀀 (1x), *ri?* 𐀁 (3x), *te?* 𐀂 (3x), *le?* 𐀃 (1x)⁴⁷ 𐀄 (1x), 𐀅 (1x), 𐀆 (1x), 𐀇 (1x)⁴⁸

Se però confrontiamo questi risultati con i dati ottenuti dalla nostra tabella, pur avendo sostanzialmente una conferma delle proposte di Nahm, si noteranno alcuni piccoli cambiamenti.

I risultati *sopra soglia* infatti si ridurranno a due con una frequenza leggermente diversa rispetto a quella proposta da Nahm:

009 – 069 li-ya*	5 (< 6 Nahm)
027 – 069 si-ya*	5 (> 4 Nahm)

⁴⁵ Nahm 1981 e 1984.

⁴⁶ Cfr. Meriggi 1973. Non accettando la trasposizione dei valori della Lineare B alla C è ipotizzabile anche un discorso inverso, osservando quale segno normalmente segua i sillabogrammi Ci e Ce. Nel Cm 2 è stato ipotizzato possa essere il segno 𐀈 (Nahm 1981, 58). Per una lettura come spirante sorda interdentale del segno 𐀉 vedi Masson, *Cyprominoica*, 42.

⁴⁷ Ipotesi comparativa di E. Masson: 𐀁 con il CC 𐀁 , 𐀂 con il CC 𐀂 , 𐀃 con il segno *le* del sillabario classico di Pafo e con la Lineare A Ψ .

⁴⁸ Per il valore fonetico vedi Nahm 1981, fig. 1–2–3.

Per gli altri valori – concernenti l’incontro con altri sillabogrammi –, è necessario ricorrere invece alle posizioni popolate sotto la soglia:

069–017 ya-no?	2
096–069 ri?-ya*	2 (< 3 Nahm)
064–069 o?/te?-ya*	2 (< 3Nahm)
056–069 ?-ya*	1
069–051 ya- ?	1
104–069 i-ya*	1
024–069 le?-ya*	1
069–059 ya-?	1
091–069 mi-ya*	1
023–069 ti-ya*	1
069–027 ya-si*	1
021–069 ko-ya*	1
069–070 ya-ki?*	1
069–036 ya-?	1
069–064 ya-?	1
069–082 ya-?	1
069–009 ya-?	1
090–069 ?-ya*	1

*Confermano i dati di Nahm 1981

Tab.5

In questo caso le oscillazioni sono ancora maggiori: i sillabogrammi 033 (Nahm: *re*), 087 (Nahm: *la*), 005 (Nahm: *lo*), 002 (Nahm: *ne*), 035 (Nahm: *me*), 037 (?) non risultano neanche presenti nelle frequenze binarie. Inoltre il sillabogramma *ya* risulta combinato con altri segni ed in 9 casi non assolve la funzione di *glide*. E' necessario comunque sottolineare come spesso esso si trovi prima di una lacuna, celando altre possibili occorrenze o una frequenza differente delle stesse.

Per il Cm 2 sembra molto probabile anche la presenza del gruppo Cu-wV. Davanti al segno 096 (:wa?) e 001 (:we?) infatti compaiono segni differenti rispetto a quelli davanti a 069, 072:

la (1x), *ka* (1x), 𐎠 (1x), *su?* 𐎡 (3x), *ku?* 𐎢 (2x), *u?* 𐎣 (3x), *tu?* 𐎤 (2x), *pu?* 𐎥 (4x), *ro?* 𐎦 (2x), *nu?* 𐎧 (1x).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Per le proposte di lettura offerte da Masson e Saporetto cfr. Nahm 1981, 58.

Dai dati dell'analisi binaria risultano per il segno 096 (:wa?) le seguenti attestazioni:

035-096	me?-wa	3
021-096	ko?-wa	2
096-069	wa- ya	2
096-062	wa- ?	2
102-096	a?-wa	1
096-035	wa-?	1
072-096	~069: ya?-wa	1
030-096	tu?-wa*	1(<2 Nahm)
096-013	wa-na?	1
096-044	wa-se?	1
075-096	ra?-wa	1
068-096	nu?-wa*	1
078-096	to?-wa*	1
096-080	wa- ?	1
097-096	ro?-wa	1
062-096	?-wa	1
047-096	su?-wa*	1 (< 3 Nahm)
096-027	wa-si?	1
038-096	?-wa	1

Tab. 6

Allo stesso modo per il segno 001 (:we?):

079-001	e?**-we	2 (< 3 Nahm)
001-059	we-?	1
076-001	?-we*	1
001-028	we-ru?*	1 (< 2 Nahm)

**Masson, *Cyprinoica*, 49. Cfr. però Nahm 1984, 166.

Tab. 7

Assenti i seguenti segni citati da Nahm: 087 (*la?*), 025 (*ka?*), 061 (*pu?*), 110 (*ku?*). Si noterà come siano significative le nuove occorrenze rispetto al precedente modello.

Lo stesso discorso può essere fatto per quanto riguarda l'incontro *muta cum liquida* che sembra rispecchiare le regole grafiche note per i sillabari a sillaba aperta; in Cm II ritroviamo: *ka-ra* (3x), *ta-ra* (6x), *ka-la* (1x), *ta-la* (1x), *pa-la* (1x), *te-le* (1x), *ti-li* (4x), *ko-lo* (2x), *to-lo* (1x).

Nel caso del ciprominoico è sembrato opportuno effettuare un'analisi anche per quanto riguarda le frequenze ternarie, ovvero non solo per il rapporto tra due segni, ma per stabilire quantitativamente gruppi di tre segni. I risultati non sembrano però offrire ancora un qualche indizio importante:

Precedente	Centrale	Seguente	Frequenza	Percentuale
079	037	107	10	0.47%
030	044	033	10	0.47%
044	033	070	10	0.47%

Tab. 8

Una volta analizzati gli elementi fin qui riportati si potrà procedere allo studio delle *distanze* tra segni, la cui importanza a carattere soprattutto dimostrativo è stata illustrata precedentemente.

La *distanza* ha dato molti risultati rilevanti; per quanto detto finora sembrano però essere utili principalmente i seguenti esempi:

Categoria fonetica*	Segni	D sinistra	D destra
Dentali	004 <i>ta</i> – 030 <i>tu</i>	0.31	0.84
	023 <i>ti</i> – 004 <i>ta</i>	0.33	0.59
	023 <i>ti</i> – 030 <i>tu</i>	0.32	0.84
Velari	021 <i>ko</i> – 025 <i>ka</i>	0.44	0.57
	021 <i>ki</i> – 110 <i>ku</i>	0.32	0.57
Liquide	024 <i>le</i> – 005 <i>lo</i>	0.71	0.69
	024 <i>le</i> – 087 <i>la</i>	0.51	0.42
	024 <i>le</i> – 009 <i>li</i>	0.8	0.44
	024 <i>le</i> – 075 <i>ra</i>	0.94	0.55
	024 <i>le</i> – 033 <i>re</i>	0.83	0.72
	024 <i>le</i> – 097 <i>ro</i>	0.86	0.39
Semivocali	069 <i>ya</i> – 096 <i>wa</i>	0.87	0.41
	069 <i>ya</i> – 001 <i>we</i>	0.97	0.6
Sibilanti	044 <i>se</i> – 027 <i>si</i>	0.62	0.99
	044 <i>se</i> – 082 <i>sa</i>	0.67	0.84

Tab. 9 – *tutti i valori fonetici seguono l'ipotesi di Nahm 1981; le labiali non sono state inserite a causa dei risultati poco rilevanti offerti dall'analisi.

Appare evidente la differenza tra le distanze: quella sinistra può determinare la parte consonantica del sillabogramma, mentre quella destra può differire per lo più a seconda delle vocali o della consonante iniziale della sillaba seguente. Il valore alto della distanza sinistra delle semivocali ad esempio potrebbe supportare l'ipotesi di decifrazione fonetica con funzione di *glide* mentre la distanza destra, inferiore rispetto alla prima, potrebbe confermarne la vocale finale del sillabogramma. Allo stesso modo l'ipotesi di decifrazione delle dentali e delle velari sembra essere possibile grazie al basso valore di distanza sinistra, mentre quella delle sibilanti risulta senz'altro più alterata. Soltanto nel caso delle liquide ci troviamo davanti ad un caso in cui tutti i valori della distanza sinistra sono maggiori rispetto a quelli della distanza destra, mostrando un'incongruenza rispetto agli altri segni – inoltre la distanza è sempre molto alta, superiore in media allo 0.50.

Dopo aver calcolato ed analizzato ogni frequenza binaria utile e le distanze ad esse relative, si avrà

un'idea generale della struttura fonetica della lingua in esame. Dopodichè sarà possibile avanzare un'ulteriore ipotesi di ricerca. Essendo il problema principale degli studi ciprominoici non solo il carattere intrinseco della scrittura stessa, ma anche le numerose e diverse proposte di decifrazione avanzate nel secolo scorso, lo scopo principale di qualsiasi futuro studio di ricerca nel campo dovrà incentrarsi su una valutazione scientifica che possa rendere una delle ipotesi più probabile rispetto alle altre. Per raggiungere tale scopo, una soluzione potrebbe essere la seguente, concettualmente molto semplice. Quasi tutte le ipotesi suggerite sono orientate verso una lingua orientale, giuntaci in scrittura cuneiforme. Attraverso la creazione di un algoritmo che tenga conto di tutte le variabili del caso e l'ausilio di un computer è possibile creare un metodo di confronto valido tra la struttura linguistica del ciprominoico e quella del cuneiforme – personalizzando ovviamente il criterio a seconda della lingua espressa. A livello pratico ciò significherebbe: applicare il metodo delle frequenze binarie fin qui proposto anche ad una delle lingue suggerite, ad esempio l'hurrita⁵⁰. Il risultato comprenderà: H_f, H_d, H_s.⁵¹ Successivamente, attraverso lo scambio delle colonne della matrice ottenuta, si confronteranno i risultati con quelli ottenuti per il ciprominoico (C_f, C_d, C_s). Qualora il confronto dovesse dare risultati positivi si passerà a tentare la decifrazione della lingua, sostituendo i caratteri del ciprominoico con quelli dell'hurrita o viceversa.⁵²

Il metodo fin qui presentato sembra dunque, sebbene ancora ad una prima analisi e destinato ad ulteriori miglioramenti, essere valido anche per il ciprominoico.⁵³ Nonostante non sia stato infatti ancora applicato in modo approfondito perché possa fornire solidi e consistenti risultati, credo sia evidente l'importanza dei dati qui proposti.

3. Una scrittura di «adattamento»

I risultati ottenuti dall'analisi delle semivocali mostrano delle differenze se applicati alle altre scritture ciprominoiche. Mentre infatti nel Cm 2 il segno *ya* sembra essere utilizzato anche per altri valori, nel Cm 1 appare solo come *glide* e nel Cm 3 è quasi assente:

Cm 1: *i* (2x), *li* (4x), *si* (2x), *ti* (6x), *mi* (1x), **W** (1x)

Cm 3: *ti* (1x), *li* (1x), *ne* (1x), *ta* (1x)

Anche per la semivocale bilabiale nel Cm 1 e 3 non è stata rilevata una grande presenza. Se questa interpretazione dei valori fonetici è corretta, è evidente nell'attestazione del segno *ya* della semivocale bilabiale una resa grafica specifica soprattutto del Cm 2,⁵⁴ seppur all'interno di una convenzione (il *glide*) non assente nelle altre scritture ciprominoiche.

Attraverso le frequenze binarie analizzate, a prescindere dalla veridicità o meno della resa fonetica ipotizzata, è possibile determinare se il ciprominoico sia una «scrittura di adattamento» oppure una «scrittura locale», che segue regole grafiche e fonetiche proprie – il valore del metodo infatti, lo

⁵⁰ Dagli anni '80 è già in corso la preparazione di un'elaborazione informatica dei testi in lingua hurrita che faciliterebbe la fase di catalogazione del materiale (Parmegiani 2000).

⁵¹ Dove H= Hurrita; f = frequenze binarie; d = distanza destra; s = distanza sinistra.

⁵² Il problema maggiore di adattamento tra le due lingue risulterebbe chiaramente dalla struttura stessa delle due scritture, molto diverse l'una dall'altra. Si potrebbe adattare il programma informatico ad esempio a valutare il segno del cuneiforme PRA come corrispettivo del ciprominoico *pa-ra* /*pe-ra*.

⁵³ Qualora i risultati finali ne confermassero la validità, il metodo potrebbe essere adattato a qualsiasi tipo di lingua.

⁵⁴ La presenza del fenomeno in tutte e tre le scritture ciprominoiche per quanto riguarda la semivocale palatale, lascia comunque supporre che la scoperta di nuove epigrafi possa modificare i dati.

ripetiamo, è indipendente dalla decifrazione della lingua notata dalla scrittura in esame. I risultati del metodo applicato alla lineare A e B nel 1986 da Consani e Federighi dimostrano infatti il carattere di adattamento della lineare B e del sillabario cipriota classico, mentre la registrazione nella Lineare A dell'assenza di strutture corrispondenti a regole grafiche note confermò la validità del metodo anche per l'applicazione a lingue indecifrate. Poiché le regole grafiche prese in esame – scioglimento di gruppi consonantici o particolari usi scrittori – si riferiscono uniformemente a tutte le scritture sillabiche, sono state prese in considerazione anche riguardo alla Lineare C – come si è accennato precedentemente. Matematicamente si potrebbe parlare di una proporzione a due incognite per le quali si ipotizzi che il secondo termine della proporzione riguardi due strutture interne alla Lineare C: $LA : LB = x \text{ (Cm 1?)} : y \text{ (Cm 2?)}$.

Per quanto riguarda il ciprominoico possono essere effettuate in realtà tre differenti analisi giungendo a diverse conclusioni. Converrà anche in questo caso partire dal Cm 2 per poi, in base ai risultati ottenuti, indirizzarsi verso gli altri sillabari. Le tavolette provenienti da Enkomi sembrano condividere con la Lineare B alcuni punti essenziali. Innanzitutto il Cm 2 sembra riflettere un'esigenza precisa, quella di scrivere esclusivamente su tavolette di argilla un testo esteso organizzato – probabilmente – in paragrafi; allo stesso modo la Lineare B si riduce al campo amministrativo. Inoltre la scrittura sembra essere più evoluta rispetto al modello (verosimilmente Cm 1)⁵⁵ e le tavolette sono organizzate in modo quasi standardizzato;⁵⁶ è stato notato più volte come il perfezionamento della Lineare B e la sua standardizzazione riflettano l'adattamento alla lingua espressa e la specificità del suo utilizzo.⁵⁷ La delimitazione dello spazio scrittorio per mezzo di linee di divisione e la disposizione dei lemmi all'interno di una stessa linea indicano infine una maggiore padronanza del sistema e del supporto scrittorio.⁵⁸ In linea generale è chiaro infine come la diffusione geografica, la molteplicità dei supporti e la varietà delle funzioni che caratterizzano l'impiego della lineare A e del Cm 1 rispetto alla lineare B ed al Cm 2 (circoscritte rispettivamente ai maggiori siti palaziali ed al sito di Enkomi e limitate a scopi amministrativi e – forse – letterari) rivelino come non possa trattarsi semplicemente di una meccanica evoluzione di una determinata acquisizione tecnica, ma investa aspetti culturali ben più vasti.

Alla luce di ciò è possibile proporre di ridurre le incognite ad una soltanto, semplificando notevolmente il procedimento: $LA : LB = Cm 1 : x \text{ (Cm 2?)}$.

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Billigmeier 1979	J. C. Billigmeier, <i>A contribution toward identification of the language contained in the cypro-minoan II inscriptions from Enkomi</i> , in: <i>Colloquium Mycenaeanum. Actes du sixième colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13</i>

⁵⁵ Nahm 1981, 52.

⁵⁶ Nahm 1984, 168 sg.

⁵⁷ Nel caso del miceneo si pensi soprattutto alla creazione dell'imponente repertorio ideografico notevolmente mutato ed arricchito rispetto a quello minoico (creazione di sematogrammi). Per il carattere approssimativo del greco miceneo – contrariamente al CC – dettato dalla funzionalità strettamente amministrativa vedi Consani 1996, 233 e Palaima 1987.

⁵⁸ Per quanto riguarda il Cm 2 però la divisione per mezzo di linee si riduce ad oggi alla tavoletta ENKO Atab.004, riproducendo piuttosto modelli del Vicino Oriente (cfr. Consani 1984, 231).

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Özet

Geç Tunç Çağ Kıbrıs Yazı Sisteminin Çözümlemesi Mümkün mü?

“Kıbrıs–Minos” olarak adlandırılan sistemin çözümlemesine ilişkin güncel çalışmalar doğrultusunda, bir hece yazısı sisteminin Kıbrıs Geç Bronz döneminde büyük olasılıkla üç farklı dili ifade etmek için kullanıldığı haklı olarak iddia edilebilir. Bu nedenle hecelemede kullanılan işaretler diğer Ege Linear yazım sistemlerinde kullanılan işaretlerle belirgin benzerlikler gösterir. Son yirmi–otuz yıldır ileri sürülen birçok çözümleme önerisi, farklı kesin sonuçlara götürmemiştir. “İkili sıklıklar” (binary frequencies) – bir işaretin ne sıklıkla her bir diğer işaretin ardında ya da önünde durduğu – ve işaretler arasındaki aralık – iki işaretin sol/sağında bulunan işaretler arasındaki benzerlik/farklılık, bu işaretlerin kendileri arasında herhangi bir benzerlik/farklılık gösterip göstermedikleri – analizine dayalı tümleşik yöntem kullanımı, söylenen hipotezlerin güvenilir olup olmadıklarını saptayabilir. C. Consani ve M. Federighi tarafından Klasik Kıbrıs Hece Yazısı üzerinde denenmiş olan bu yöntem, bu makalede Cm 2’deki kayma’yı tanımlamak için kullanılmıştır. Bu ilk testten elde edilen sonuç, her bir işaretin, en azından Cm 2’ye ait olanlarının, ses değerinin tespitinin artık nasıl mümkün görüldüğünü ortaya koyar. Sonuç olarak, Cm 2, zaten Linear B ile ilişkili gösterildiği üzere, bir “uyarlama yazı” olmalıdır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kıbrıs; Kypro–Minos; Linear Yazım; çözümleme; tümleşik yöntem.

Peter THONEMANN*

Eumenes II and Apollonioucharax

Abstract: This article presents a revised edition of an important new Hellenistic document from Lydia, first published by P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Inscriptions from Lydia* (2007), 49–58 no. 32. The inscription concerns a series of privileges granted by the Attalid monarch Eumenes II to the settlers at the military *katoikia* of Apollonioucharax, the site of which is thereby fixed at or near the modern village of Taşkuyucak, in the Keçi Dağı mountain range north of Lake Koloe/Gygaia (Marmara Gölü). The new document offers significant new evidence for our understanding of land tenure and the management of royal land in the second-century Attalid kingdom.

Keywords: Eumenes II; Apollonioucharax; Lydia; *katoikia*; land tenure.

Taşkuyucak (Manisa). Lower part of a marble stele, inscribed on both sides. Now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 7935). H. 1.18; W. 0.65; Th. 0.105; letters 0.012–0.015 (A), 0.010 (B). Publ. P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Inscriptions from Lydia* (Vienna 2007), 49–58 no. 32.

Face A

[- - - ca.15 - - -]ΠΙ[- - - ca.8 - - - ἀπο]δείξεις ἐν [τῶι πο]-
λέμωι Κουρνοβευδος· τῶν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῶι τό-
πωι κατοικοῦντας Μυσοὺς [ἐπενόου]ν εἰς Καστωλ-
λὸμ μετάγειν, ἐπεὶ και[νὴ γῆ (?) παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει
5 ἐκεῖ περισσὴ· ἐντυχόντων δ' ἐ[μοὶ e.g. τῶν ἀπὸ] τοῦ Ἄπ[ολ]-
λωνιουχάρακος καὶ φασ[κόντων ἐπὶ (?) - ca.4 -]δ[- ca.4 -] τῆς χ[ώ]-
ρας εὐχαριστεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ κατοικ[οῦντες ἐν τῶι Κ[ουρ]-
νουβευδει Μυσοὶ κατ[- - - ca.9 - - -]καὶ γεγόνασιν α[ὑ]-
τοῖς συνήθεις, βούλεσθ[αι - - - ca.10 - - -]αὶ ὅπως ἄ[ν]
10 δι' ἑαυτοὺς δοκῶσιν· ἐγὼ ? καὶ [- - - ca.12 - - -]ν ἀπ[ο]-
δεξάμενος τὴν εὐγνωμοσύ[νην καὶ με[τρι]ότ[η]τα α[ὑ]-
τῶν, τοῦτο μὲν συνεχώρησα ὡς ἠξίουσαν, Λυκίνωι δ[ὲ]
τῶι γεωδότηι συνετάξαμεν [φροντίζ]ειν ὅθεν δ[υ]-
ναίμεθα χώραμ προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]-
15 μένοι πέρυσι ὑπὸ τῶμ πολεμίων πολλῆς προμη[θεί]-

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I am indebted to Riet van Bremen and Nikolaos Papazarkadas for criticism and advice. For a full discussion of land-tenure in the second-century Attalid kingdom, see P. Thonemann, 'The Attalid State, 188–133 BC', in id. (ed.), *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State* (Oxford, forthcoming).

ας ἄξιοι εἰσίν, συγχωρῶ πρὸς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσα-
 μεμ πένθ' ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλων
 πέντε, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καδοοῖς Μυσοῖς συν[ε]-
 χωρήσαμεγ, καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν τήν καταγραφὴν γ[ί]-
 20 γνεσθαι· ὅταγ γὰρ ἀναγκαιοτέρα χρεῖα γίνητα[ι],
 αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴμ προθυμίαν καὶ εὐνοίαν οἶδ' ὅτι δῶσ[ου]-
 σιν πλείονας σ(τ)ρατιώτας· καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἔτους δεκ[α]-
 τείας παρεθήτωσαμ πάντες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
 οἷς τὰ εἴσφορα ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρί-
 25 ου οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς]
 ὠμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν. *vac.* Γ *vac.*

"... Kournoubeudos ... [made] demonstrations [sc. of their loyalty] in the war; [I was intending] to move the Mysians living in this place to Kastollos, since fresh land certainly exists there in an uncultivated condition. But [ambassadors] from Apollonioucharax came to meet me, and said that they were grateful for the [...] of their territory; they also said that, since the Mysian settlers at Kournoubeudos [were...] and had become well-acquainted/friendly with them, they wished to [...], in whatever way they might decide among themselves. And so, in recognition of their good sense and moderation, I have granted this just as they have requested. I have also ordered Lykinos the land-distributor to [take thought] whence we might be able to add a further stretch of land to their territory. Since they deserve great consideration, having been destroyed last year by the enemy, I grant another five years' exemption from customs-dues in addition to the five years granted previously, just as I have done for the Mysians at Kadooi. Registration for compulsory military service will fall only on one man in three, for I know that if some emergency occurs, they will provide more soldiers of their own accord because of their eagerness and goodwill. They shall all be exempted from the collection of the tithe on produce for the current year, and those on whom poll-taxes (?) are levied are also exempted for the current year. Since they are making a start on the rebuilding of the settlement, I have also agreed to provide masons for them."

Line 1: [ἐπ]ιδείξεις ? H(errmann) and M(alay). Line 3: [ἔδοξε]ν, [ἔδεδε]σε]ν or [ἐτάξαμε]ν H/M. Line 4: ἐπεὶ καὶ χῶ[ρα] (?) H/M. Lines 5–8: ἐντυχόντων δὲ[- - 8–10 - -] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Χάρακος καὶ ΦΑΝ[- - ca.12 - -]δ[ε] ἐ[πὶ ?] τῆς χ[ώ]ρα εὐχαριστεῖν ΕΝΕΔ[- - ca.10 - -] ἐν τῷ Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει Μυσοὶ H/M. Line 9: ὅπως Ν[...] H/M. Line 12: ο[.3..]ουσαν H/M. Line 13: [ἐξετάζ]ειν or [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν H/M.

Face B

[- - 10 - -]ΠΕ[- - 12 - -]το]ύτων δὲ τῶν ΑΝ[- - 12 - -]
 [.]δρῖαι ἐπιγέγραπ[ται . . 3-4 . . ὑ]πάρχειν τὰ φιλόανθρωπ[α - - 8 - -]
 νας τῶν συναναφερομένων λιποστρατήσαι ἐν τῷ β' καὶ λ' ἔτει περι-
 ελεῖν, ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις· τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 5 Στρατίου ὑπάρχειν, ἀντὶ τῶν προσυνκεχωρημένων σταδίων
 ἑπτὰ ἔσται ἐπὶ στάδια δέκα· καὶ ἵνα Βάκχιος ὁ ἱερεὺς ποῆι στέφα-
 νον χρυσοῦν, τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικὰ ἢ σι-

10 τικὰ ἕως τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους ἀπολύσαι, εἰ μή τινες πράξαντές
 τινὰ αὐτοὶ κατεισχῆκασι· περὶ τῶν ἐνπευρισμένων καὶ κα-
 15 θειλκυσμένων οἰκίων ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ προνοηθῆναι, ἴν', ἐπει
 δημόται ἐσμέν, μεταδοθῆ τι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν· Σι-
 βλοην κώμην τὴν πρότερον οὔσαν ἡμετέραν, περὶ ἧς γέγρα-
 πται, ἴνα διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν τιμὴν Μελεάγρωι τῷ
 ἡγορακότι αὐτὴν δραχμῶν ^{vac.} ΥΜΗ – C ἀποδοθῆ, κομί-
 20 σασθαι νῦν ἄνευ τιμῆς, ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς
 πρόσοδοι εἰς τε τὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στρατίου καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑ-
 μῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ διαμένη ἡμῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής·
 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῷ Μελεά-
 γρωι· εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις καὶ προσδομ(ήμ)ασιν δο-
 25 θῆναι κώμας· ἐπ(ε)ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀ-
 ποκατεστάθησαν ὄν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις, παραδει-
 ξαι Θίλευδον καὶ Πλαζειρα κατοικίας κυνηγῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐν
 τούτοις μετὰγειν εἰς ἃς ἂν κρίνη κατοικίας Λυκίνος ὁ γεωδό-
 τής. – συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδειξαι.

“... of these ... registered ... (we request that) these privileges should persist, and (we request that you) annul the [punishments?] of those reported as having deserted from the army in Year 32 (166/5 BC), and that they should have the same (privileges) as the others. (We request that) there should be inviolability for Zeus Stratios, and instead of the seven stadia previously granted, it should extend to ten stadia. In order that the priest Bacchios might make a golden wreath, (we request that) our registered debts, both in silver and grain, should be remitted until the third year, unless anyone has already exacted and sequestered them. Concerning the houses in the suburb (of Apollonioucharax) which were burned and pulled down, (we request that you) take care that, because we are poor, some grant be given for their reconstruction. (We request that) the village of Sibloë, which was formerly ours – concerning which it is written that “it will be restored when we repay to Meleagros the price at which he bought it, [.]448 drachmae, 1.5 obols” – that we should now receive this village without repayment, in order that the revenues from it might be used for the sacrifices we perform for Zeus Stratios and on your behalf, and that we might retain it sacred and free from taxation; (we request that) the money to pay for the village should be given to Meleagros from the royal treasury. (We request that) villages should be granted to meet the shortfall of klēroi and associated buildings. Since those (villages) which were previously taken from us have not been restored in the way in which you promised, (we request that you) mark out for this purpose Thileudos and Plazeira as hunters’ settlements, and move the inhabitants of these villages to whatever settlements Lykinos the land-distributor may decide.’ (Royal official) – ‘For we have ordered him to look into the matter and mark them out.’”

Lines 16–17: <ή>|μῶν H/M. Line 19: προσδόμασιν H/M.

Commentary

Face A: The date of the inscription is furnished by a reference to ‘those who deserted from the army in Year 32’ (B3), combined with a reference to the destruction of a settlement by a hostile army ‘last

year' (A14–15). Assuming that the military desertion and the destruction of the settlement took place in the same year, the inscription would date to a regnal Year 33. If the monarch concerned was the Attalid king Eumenes II, then Year 33 = 165/4 BC, assuming that Eumenes Year 1 = 197/6, Year 40 (ultimo) = 158/7.¹ This dating is supported by two independent arguments. (1) The years 168–166 BC saw a devastating Galatian invasion of the Attalid territories in western Asia Minor.² We know that Sardeis was threatened during this campaign (OGIS 305. 10–11, from Delphi), and it would not be surprising if a settlement just to the north of Sardeis had been destroyed in 166/5 BC (Eumenes Year 32). (2) The land-distributor Lykinos, mentioned twice in the new text (A12–13, B23–4), reappears on a votive monument set up in 162/1 BC by a group of Mysian settlers near Saittai in eastern Lydia (SEG 40, 1062: Encekler), βασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου | ἔτους ἔκτου κ[α]ὶ τριακοστοῦ, | μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου· οἱ ἐκ Εμοδδῖ | Μυσοὶ ὑπέ[ρ] Ἀ]ρκίν[ο]υ Ἡγησίου | (5) γεωδότη[υ] εὐεργ]εσίας ἔνεκεν | καὶ εὐνοίας [τῆς] εἰς ἑαυτοῦς | Διὶ Βευδηνώ. The reading [Λ]ρκίν[ο]υ in line 4 of the Encekler inscription ([.]YM...Y, ed. pr.) is clear on the photograph published by H. Malay.³

A1–2: In line A1, Herrmann and Malay suggest restoring [ἐπ]ιδείξεις. The sense here must be that the inhabitants of Kournoubeudos have made a 'demonstration' of their loyalty during the recent war with the Galatians (ἐν [τῷ] πολέμῳ). For the sense, cf. e.g. Syll.³ 694 (Pergamon), lines 11–16: [ἐπεὶ ὁ δῆ]μος ἡμῶν... [πολλὰς καὶ μεγά]λας ἐν τοῖς [ἀναγκα]ιο[τά]τοις κ[α]ιροῖς τῆς προαιρέσεως [ἀποδε]ίξεις πεπό[ηται, ὁμ]οίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ] πολέμῳ τῷ π[ρὸς Ἀρ]ιστόνικον κτλ.; IGR IV 293 (decree for Diodoros Paspargos), II lines 48–50: πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας δεδωκότος ἀποδείξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καὶ κατεπείγουσιν καιροῖς τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα φιλοδοξίας τε καὶ εὐνοίας. The noun ἀπόδειξις is more common than ἐπίδειξις in this sense.⁴ I have tentatively assumed that the nominative Κορνοβευδος in line A2 is the subject of the preceding clause (δέδωκε ἀποδείξεις... Κορνοβευδος vel sim.), but the phrasing is extremely odd; one would have expected οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Κ., as in lines A7–8.

A2–5: Herrmann and Malay suggest restoring the lacuna in line A3 [ἔδοξε]ν, [ἔδεξε]ν or [ἔτάξαμε]ν. However, the sense required is that Eumenes 'intended' or 'was planning' to relocate the Mysians at Kournoubeudos to Kastollos, until the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax persuaded him otherwise. Hence we need a verb such as [ἔμελλο]ν or [ἔπενόου]ν; cf. e.g. Welles, RC 31 (Antiochos III to Magnesia), πρόκειται τε ἡμῖν συναύξειν ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς τε παρακαλήτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπινοῶμεν; I.Iasos 4.28–9 (Laodike to Iasos), πειράσομαι καὶ ἄλλα ἃ ἂν ἐπινοῶ συν[κα]τασκευάζειν. In lines A4–5, the sense is clear: there exists 'surplus' (περισσὴ),⁵ i.e. uncultivated land at Kastollos. However, as Riet van Bremen points out to me, the phraseology of Herrmann and Malay's suggested restoration in line A4 is awkward (what is the force of the καὶ in the phrase ἐπεὶ καὶ χῶ[ρα παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει ἐκεῖ περισσὴ?). I therefore tentatively suggest ἐπεὶ καὶ [νῆ γῆ παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει | ἐκεῖ περισσὴ, 'since fresh land certainly exists there in an uncultivated condition'.

A5–6: The participle ἐντυχόντων in line A5 must mark the beginning of a genitive absolute. The

¹ Petzl 1978, 264–7.

² Thonemann, Maeander Valley 172–3.

³ Malay 1990, 65–8.

⁴ See the examples collected by Holleaux, Études d'épigraphie III, 92–4.

⁵ For περισσός in the sense 'uncultivated', cf. Chanotis, Verträge 333–7 no. 57a (Itanos), line 19: τὴν χώραν περισσὴν οὖσαν ἔτεσι εἴκοσι ὀκτώ.

verb ἐντυγχάνειν has the technical sense of ‘to come before someone with a request’.⁶ Herrmann and Malay did not recognise the toponym Apollonioucharax in lines A5–6 (τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνιουχάρακος), taking it instead as a personal name (‘son of Apollonios Charax’). The settlement of Apollonioucharax is otherwise attested only in the Flavian conventus–list I.Ephesos 13 I.13, where the Ἀπολλωνιαχαρακεῖται (sic) are listed under the conventus of Sardeis, immediately after the Χαρακηνοί (Charakipolis, at Karayakup).⁷ The form of the toponym (‘fort of Apollonios’) is well–paralleled: cf. e.g. Πύρρου χάραξ in Lakonia (Polybius 5.19.4), Πατρόκλου χάραξ on the south coast of Attica (Pausanias 1.1.1), Σπασίνου χάραξ at the head of the Persian gulf; see L. Robert, OMS VI 649 no. 12; Schuler, Ländliche Siedlungen 126. The town was presumably an Attalid or Seleukid military katoikia.⁸ Assuming the new inscription was discovered *in situ*, the location of Apollonioucharax is thereby fixed at or near Taşkuyucak, a hill–village situated in the westernmost extension of the Keçi Dağı mountain–range, 10 km WNW of Daldis (near Nardı), 10 km due east of Iulia–Maibozanoi (Gölmarmara), and 8 km SW of Charakipolis (Karayakup). The site enjoys a magnificent view over the ancient lake Gygaia/Koloe (Marmara gölü) and the plain of Sardeis from the north.⁹ The exact wording in line A5 is not certain; my restoration ἐντυχόντων δ’ ἐ[μοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνιουχάρακος is merely intended to give the sense (ἐκ is as likely as ἀπό). There seems not to be sufficient space for a specific term for ‘ambassadors’ or ‘representatives’, e.g. πρεσβευτῶν or ἀνδρῶν (for the latter, cf. I.Sultan Dağı 393 [Toriaion], lines 3–5: οἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἄνδρες... οὓς ἐπέμψατε συνησθησομένους μὲν ἡμῖν κτλ.). The definite article τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνιουχάρακος is surprising, but compare I.Tralleis 18 (letter of Attalos III concerning the inhabitants of Hierakome near Tralleis), ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Κώμῃ, and lines A7–8 below, οἱ κατοικ]οῦντες ἐν τῷ Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει Μυσοὶ. A6–7: Herrmann and Malay read καὶ ΦΑΝ[- - ca.12 - -]δ[ε] ἐ[πι ?] τῆς χ[ώ]ρας εὐχαριστεῖν. Their photo, however, makes it clear that the correct reading at the start of the clause is καὶ φασ[κόντων] (with a sigma not a nu), which provides us with a grammatical construction for the infinitive εὐχαριστεῖν in line A7 (‘saying that they were grateful’).¹⁰ I assume that the sense here is that the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax ‘were grateful for the [recovery/ preservation/ augmentation] of their territory’, i.e. καὶ φασ[κόντων ἐπὶ dative] τῆς χ[ώ]ρας εὐχαριστεῖν; for the construction εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ τινι, see SEG 41, 1003 IV (letter of Antiochos III to Teos), lines 5–6, ἐγγράφειτε εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς δεδομένοις ὑμῖν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν φιλ]ανθρώποις.

A7–10: In lines A7–8, Herrmann and Malay read ΕΝΕΔ[- - ca.10 - -] ἐν τῷ Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει Μυσοὶ. However, on their photograph the reading ἐπεὶ δὲ seems more likely, which would give us the beginning of a new clause, ‘and since...’. I believe that I can make out the traces of the phrase οἱ κατοικ]οῦντες in the following lacuna. I understand lines A7–9 to be expressing the circumstances lying behind the positive request (βούλεσθ[α]) in lines A9–10 (‘since *x* is the case... they therefore [say that they] wish *y* to occur’). If I interpret the structure here correctly, the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax would be claiming (lines A7–9) that they are on good terms with the Mysians at Kournoubeudos, and hence they wish (lines A9–10) for the Mysians to ‘remain where they are’ ([διαμεῖν]α) or ‘enjoy the status of isopoliteia with them’ ([ισοπολιτεύεσθ]α) or something of the kind. The practical arrangements for this are to be made ‘in whatever way they [i.e. the inhabitants

⁶ Wörle, Stadt und Fest 165 no. 76.

⁷ See further Habicht 1975, 74.

⁸ On Hellenistic military katoikiai in Lydia, see now Daubner 2011.

⁹ For the geography of this part of Lydia, see Robert, Documents 296–335.

¹⁰ For the centrality of the notion of εὐχαριστία to king–city relations, see Ma, Antiochos III, 185.

of Apollonioucharax and the Mysians] might decide among themselves' (ὅπως ἄ[ν] δι' ἑαυτοῦς δοκῶσιν).

A12–14: In line A12, I owe the reading ὡς ἠξίουσαν to Charles Crowther (apparently the result of hesitation between the aorist ἠξίωσαν and the imperfect ἠξίουν). In line A13, I should prefer [φροντίζ]ειν to Herrmann and Malay's [ἐξετάζ]ειν or [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν, but the sense is not affected one way or the other. Lykinos is instructed to seek out a parcel of royal land which can be attached to the territory of Apollonioucharax (perhaps specifically in order to accommodate the Mysians at Kournoubeudos?). The verb προσορίσαι is (pace Herrmann and Malay, p.50) a technical term signifying the extension of the 'boundaries' of a town's dependent territory by the attachment of a parcel of former royal land.¹¹ This need not imply that Apollonioucharax enjoyed polis–status already in the 160s BC, since a military katoikia also possessed its own dependent chōra; cf. e.g. the land bought by the military katoikoi at Kardakōn kōmē near Telmessos from the dynast Ptolemaios.¹² As noted by Herrmann and Malay, the land–distributor Lykinos is also named on a votive monument set up on his behalf three years later, in 162/1 BC, by 'the Mysians at Emoddi' near Saittai in eastern Lydia (SEG 40, 1062). Presumably this monument was set up in response to a comparable grant of royal land to the Mysians at Emoddi.

A19–20: In the clause ἀπὸ τριῶν τῆγ καταγραφὴν γ[ί]γνεσθαι, the term καταγραφή ought to refer to conscription or military enrolment (Polybius 4.29.1), and Herrmann and Malay plausibly suggest that the phrase refers to 'the reduction of the enrolment rate to one third' (of able–bodied males? Or the entire population?).¹³ Herrmann and Malay consider and reject the view of M. R. Errington that the phrase refers to three years' blanket exemption from military service (Herrmann and Malay, p. 54 no. 51; cf. Hdt. 3.67, ὁ μάγος... προεἶπε ἀτελεῖην εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία).

A22–4: For the passive of παρήμι in the sense 'be exempted from' (A23, παρεθήτωσαμ), cf. SEG 29, 1516 (Telmessos), τοῦ χειρωναξίου παρεθήσονται οἱ μεταπορευ[όμε]νοι τεχνῆται. It is very difficult to say exactly what kind of financial contribution τὰ εἴσφορα might be. ἡ εἴσφορα normally refers to a poll–tax, exacted either at a flat rate or in proportion to the individual's wealth.¹⁴ However, the term is also attested in quite different senses; e.g. at Termessos near Oinoanda, ἡ εἴσφορα was used of a 20% rent payable in kind on sharecropped agricultural land.¹⁵ It is, however, clear that not all the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax were liable for τὰ εἴσφορα (οἷς... ἐπιγέγραπται, A24), and hence it is possible that we are dealing with a tax only levied on the wealthier inhabitants of the town (as in the case of the Classical Athenian eisphora); cf. SEG 38, 1476 (Xanthos), lines 55–7, οἱ τε δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν μεγάλας εἰσφορὰς πεποιημένοι προσφάτως διὰ τοὺς περιστάνας καιρ[ούς].

Face B: Herrmann and Malay translate and interpret Face B as an account of the privileges being granted by the king to the community concerned ('a report on decisions or measures taken', p.58): they translate lines B2–3, for example, as 'the privileges shall be conceded. [The - -] of those registered as having deserted from the army in the year 32, shall be cancelled'. This is syntactically per-

¹¹ See Thonemann 2009, 375; Thonemann, Maeander Valley 248.

¹² Segre 1938, lines 7–9.

¹³ See further Müller 2010, 436 no. 36. For enrolment rates in the late–third century Antigonid army, see Hatzopoulos, Organisation 109–118.

¹⁴ Gauthier 1991, 67 no. 93.

¹⁵ Rousset, Lycie en Cabalide 145–152 no. 6, lines A13–14, τῆς ὀφειλομένης τοῖς Λυκίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρελη[λυθότος χρόνου - -] πέμπτου μέρους τῶν καρπῶν εἴσφορᾶς.

factly possible, since all of the infinitive clauses on Face B could follow an introductory *συνχωροῦμεν* or *οἴομεθα δεῖν* or *συνετάξαμεν* ('we grant that', 'we think it right that', 'we have ordered that'). However, these infinitives could equally well follow an introductory *ἄξιούμεν* ('we request that'). As already suggested by M. Wörrle,¹⁶ Face B ought to be read as a series of requests from the petitioning community to the king, which are 'answered' by the concrete decisions on Face A. The second person verbs and prepositions in lines B16–17 (*τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας*, 'the sacrifices performed on your behalf', emended by Herrmann and Malay to *κῆμῶν*) and B21 (*συνεκεχωρήσεις*, the villages which 'you have conceded') thus refer to Eumenes, and the first person plural verbs and prepositions in B7, 11–13, 17 and 20 to the *katoikoi* at Apollonioucharax. Several of the clauses on Face B make a lot more sense on this interpretation (see the commentary below); the decisive argument is the clause in B10–11, *ἐπεὶ δημόται ἐσμέν*, implausibly translated 'since we are concerned about the people' by Herrmann and Malay, which now has its natural meaning 'since we are (poor) villagers' (see commentary below). Whether Face B was intended to be read before Face A, as Wörrle suggests, is not certain; the town's petition could as easily have been quoted after Eumenes' decisions (A12–26) as before them.

B2–4: Herrmann and Malay translate the clause *ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις* as 'The same (?) shall be conceded to the others'. I prefer to understand the clause as referring to the same group of deserters discussed in the previous clause, i.e. *ὑπάρχειν δὲ* [sc. *αὐτοῖς*] *ταῦτά* [sc. *φιλόνηρωπα*] *τοῖς ἄλλοις*, 'they should have the same (privileges) as the others'. For the syntax, cf. Walser, Bauern und Zinsnehmer 25–36 (Ephesian debtors' law), lines 93–94, *μετέχειν αὐτοῦς τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου κατὰ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

B6–7: Herrmann and Malay translate 'And the priest Bacchios shall furnish a golden wreath'. As noted by M. Wörrle,¹⁷ the *ἵνα* clause more naturally depends on *ἀπολῦσαι* in line B8; the proposed remission of debts is specifically in order to permit the purchase of a gold crown for the priest of Zeus Stratios, just as in lines B11–19 the proposed reclamation of the village of Sibloë is specifically in order to pay for sacrifices to Zeus Stratios.

B9–11: The *προάστιον* is not, as Herrmann and Malay suppose, a 'suburb' of Sardeis, but part of the town of Apollonioucharax. The term *προάστιον* refers to that part of a settlement outside of the settlement's wall-circuit (*τὰ ἔξω τειχῶν, ἢ ἔξω πόλις*).¹⁸ Here, then, the *προάστιον* would be that part of the settlement of Apollonioucharax which lay outside the eponymous charax. The Seleukid military *katoikia* at Toriaion (near modern Zaferiye) similarly consisted of a compact fortification, measuring a mere 70x60 m, with the greater part of the settlement dispersed on the lower slopes of Kale Tepesi along the east bank of the Bulusan Çayı.¹⁹ The military *katoikia* at Kardakōn kōmē near Telmessos was clustered around a ruined *πυργίον*.²⁰ As already noted by Wörrle,²¹ *ἐπεὶ δημόται ἐσμέν* (lines B10–11) must mean 'since we are (poor) villagers'. Clauses of this kind are predictably common in petitions of villages and other small communities to kings and emperors: cf. e.g. SEG 16, 754 (Sülmenli), lines 7–8, *ἡμεῖς τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀμορείου καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀνκύρας ἐρχόμενα πάντα*

¹⁶ Wörrle 2009, 427 no. 76.

¹⁷ Wörrle 2009, 427 no. 76.

¹⁸ See Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen* 105–7; and cf. SEG 37, 917 (a list of land-sales at Erythrai), referring to a plot of land 'outside the fort' (B8–10: *γῆ ... ὅση ἔξω τοῦ [χαρὰ]κώματος*).

¹⁹ See Thonemann 2008, 46–47.

²⁰ Segre 1938, lines 17–19.

²¹ Wörrle 2009, 427 no. 76.

[εἰσδεχόμεθα (?), καίτοι πέ]νητές ἐσμεν; I.Scythiae Minoris I (Histria) 378 (petition of Chora Dagei), C3–8, δεόμ[εθα]...ἐλεῆσε (i.e. ἐλεῆσαι) ἡμ[ᾶς ἀνθ]ρώπους πένητ[ας λιτο]υργούς; SEG 19, 718 (Güllüköy), [κακ]ὰ πάσχουσιν οἱ τὴν προηλουμέν[ην κώμην κατοικοῦντες]... πένητε[ς ὑπάρχοντες]. The inhabitants of Apollonioucharax do not make a specific proposal to the king here, but simply ask that ‘some help’ be given (μεταδοθῆ τι, line B11). The last two and a half lines of Face A (A24–26) represent Eumenes’ response to this request: ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς] ὁμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν, ‘Since they are making a start on the rebuilding of the settlement, I have also agreed to provide masons for them’.

B11–19: As a result of their incorrect attribution of the text on Face B, Herrmann and Malay did not understand the character of the transactions here. The village of Sibloë originally formed part of the dependent territory of Apollonioucharax. Under financial pressure, the settlers had sold the usufruct of the village of Sibloë to a certain Meleagros, subject to redemption by the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax on repayment of the capital. The identity of Meleagros is unknown; the name (which has a Macedonian colour) is common. The sum which Meleagros paid for the village is read by Herrmann and Malay as 448 dr., 1.5 obols (δραχμῶν *vac.* YMH – C). However, this sum seems remarkably small: in the third century BC, the Lydian villages of Tobalmoura and Periasasostra, mortgaged by a certain Mnesimachos to the temple of Artemis at Sardeis (Sardis VII 1, 1), paid an annual tribute of 50 and 57 gold staters respectively, implying capital values of 12,000 and 13,680 drachmae. Hence I suspect that a numeral representing a certain number of ‘thousands’ has dropped out after the word δραχμῶν.

The crucial clause of the contract is quoted verbatim at lines B13–14: ‘it will be restored (ἀποδοθῆ) when we repay (διορθωσαμένων) to Meleagros the price (τὴν τιμὴν) at which he bought it (ἡγορακότι)’. The contract was in theory terminable at the will of the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax, but their continuing financial difficulties rendered it practically impossible to redeem the village. Hence they ask Eumenes to furnish the required [.]448 dr., 1.5 ob., from the royal treasury (τὸ βασιλικόν, line B18). In recognition of this subvention, Sibloë would henceforth be considered as ‘sacred’ and its revenues would be used for cultic purposes only.²² The contract between Apollonioucharax and Meleagros appears to be effectively identical to the third-century contract between Mnesimachos and the temple of Artemis at Sardeis (Sardis VII 1, 1). Mnesimachos was the emphyteutic lease-holder of a former Achaemenid domain in the plain of Sardeis, granted to him by Antigonos Monophthalmos. He took out a cash loan at 100% of the value of the estate (1325 gold staters) from the temple of Artemis; when he proved unable to repay the loan, the estate became forfeit to the temple of Artemis. Nonetheless, Mnesimachos retained the right to redeem (ἀπολύσασθαι) the estate in future on repayment of the capital. A similar situation is also attested at Dura in the early second century BC (P.Dura 15), where a defaulted cash loan is settled by means of a conveyance of land, subject to redemption, from the debtor to the creditor (ἀπέδοτο λύσιμα).²³ What is particularly striking and novel about the circumstances at Apollonioucharax is the character of the two parties to the contract. Here, for the first time to my knowledge, we have unambiguous evidence for a katoikia conveying a parcel of its territory to a private individual (Meleagros) in return for a sum of cash, and subsequently proving to be incapable of redeeming the land without extraordinary royal assistance. I have argued elsewhere, on the basis of royal grants and sales of klēroi in the lower Maeander valley, that the third and early second centuries BC saw a large-scale concent-

²² Wörrle 2009, 429 no. 81 with parallels.

²³ On both of these contracts, see Thonemann 2009, 385–386.

ration of real estate in the hands of a small propertied class in western Asia Minor.²⁴ The new document provides precious evidence for one poorly-attested aspect of this crucial phase of primitive accumulation, namely the annexation of lands formerly belonging to poleis or katoikiai which had been pledged as security for loans. Few towns, we must assume, were lucky enough to have Eumenes bail them out at the royal treasury's expense. The settlers at Apollonioucharax have evidently been in financial trouble for some time – aside from this passage, see also A16–18, where it is indicated that they have already been granted five years' tax-exemption – and they appear to have successfully used the damage caused by the Galatians in 166 as an excuse to set their finances on a new footing.

B19–20: The phraseology in line B19 is difficult. I assume that the phrase εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις κτλ. means 'to meet the shortfall of *klēroi*'. For τὸ ἐλλείπον/τὰ ἐλλείποντα used impersonally ('the shortfall'), compare the Delian hiera syngraphe (ID 503), lines 33–4, εἰὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπει τοῦ μισθώματος... [ἀπ]οδόσθων πρὸς τὸ ἐλλείπον τοὺς βοῦς [κα]ὶ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ ἀνδράπ[οδα]; I.Sestos 1 (honours for Menas), lines 33–5, κατεσκεύασεν δὲ τὸν τε λουτρῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐφ[ε]ξῆς οἶκον, ἀνέθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου, τὰ τε ἐλλείποντα καὶ ὄντα ἀναγκαῖα προσκατεσκεύασεν. For the dative of the thing in which there is a shortfall, cf. e.g. Polybius 15.3.5, Ἀννίβας ἐλλείπων τοῖς ἵππικοῖς. At the end of line B19, the stone carries *προσδομασιν; the word is unattested elsewhere and the formation is implausible. We ought perhaps to read προσδομ(ή)ασιν, also unattested elsewhere, but regularly formed from δέμω (as the common οἰκοδόμημα); the term would signify 'the buildings (-δομήματα) associated with (προσ-) the *klēroi*'. For the association (προσ-) of buildings with particular *klēroi*, cf. Sardis VII 1, 1 (Mnesimachos conveyance), col. I line 11, ἐκ τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν οἰκοπέδων προσκυρόντων; SGDI 5533d–e (grants of *klēroi* to Macedonian benefactors at Zeleia), δοῦνα[ι πολιτεία]α[v], κλήρον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, οἰκίην, κήπον κτλ. The Jewish katoikoi settled by Antiochos III in Phrygia and Lydia were each granted a house-plot along with their agricultural *klēros*: Josephus, AJ 12.151, εἷς τ' οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἐκάστῳ καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτείαν ἀμπέλων.

B20–24: The request that Thileudos and Plazeira should be designated as 'huntsmen's villages' (the phrase κατοικίας κυνηγῶν is clearly predicative, not attributive, *pace* Herrmann and Malay) differs in kind from the request for the restoral of Sibloë. The point here is apparently not that the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax are seeking the revenues from these two villages, but rather that they wish to occupy and divide up the dependent land of these villages for new *klēroi*; hence the proposed relocation of the former inhabitants of Thileudos and Plazeira. I see no way of telling what circumstances lie behind the claim that 'those villages which were previously taken from us have not been restored in the way in which you (Eumenes) promised'. In line B24, the text finishes with the words συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδεῖξαι, 'For we have ordered him (Lykinos the land-distributor) to look into the matter and mark them out'. The infinitive παραδεῖξαι, 'mark them out', picks up the request at lines B21–2 for Eumenes to 'mark out' (παραδεῖξαι) Thileudos and Plazeira as huntsmen's villages, and the verb συντετάχαμεν 'we have ordered' does not seem appropriate for the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax (the citizens of a katoikia cannot order around royal officials). It therefore seems that this final clause is an addendum by a third party, indicating that he has seen to the last item of the petition as requested. Most likely we are dealing with an intermediate royal official, perhaps the local Attalid regional στρατηγός, whom Eumenes has empowered to implement the requests of the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax.

²⁴ See Thonemann, Maeander Valley 242–249.

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Özet

Eumenes II ve Apollonioukharaks

Thonemann, Lydia’da ele geçen ve daha önce P. Herrmann ile H. Malay (New Inscriptions from Lydia, Viyana 2007, 49–58 no. 32.) tarafından yayınlanan yeni ve önemli Hellenistik bir belgeyi burada tekrar ele alarak farklı okumalar ve yorumlar sunmaktadır. Söz konusu yazıt Pergamon kralı II. Eumenes tarafından askeri bir yerleşim (*katoikia*) olan Apollonioukharaks’ın sakinlerine verilmiş olan bir dizi imtiyazları içermektedir. Bu yeni belge arazi kullanım hakkı ve kraliyet topraklarının yönetimi hakkında sahip olduğumuz bilgilere katkı olarak dikkate değer yeni veriler sunmaktadır. Toprak paylaşımı görevini üstlenen Lykinos’un isminin 162/1 yılına tarihlenen Encekler yazıtında

(SEG 40 1062) aynı işleviyle geçmesinden ve yeni yazıtı verilen *era*'dan dolayı İ.Ö. 165/4 yılına tarihlemek mümkün olmaktadır.

İlk editörler tarafından şahıs ismi olarak tanımlanan Apollonioukharaks aslında bir yer ismidir. “Kale” anlamına gelen kharaks sözcüğü birçok kez başka isimlerle birleşmiş halde yer ismi olarak belgelenmiştir. Apollonioukharaks ise Flaviuslar dönemine ait bir yazıtta Sardis *conventusuna* bağlı bir yerleşim olarak ethnikon haliyle Efes'ten bir yazıtta (IEphesos 13 I.13) bir kez daha karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Apollonioukharaks yerleşimi Keçi Dağ silsilesinin batı eteklerinde Sardis Ovası'nın kuzey ucunda, yazıtın bulunduğu Taşkuyucak köyü yakınlarında aranmalıdır.

B yüzünde yer alan metin; Herrmann ve Malay'ın önerdiği gibi Kral Eumenes'in aldığı kararlar ve imtiyazların devamını değil, aksine Apollonioukharaks sakinlerinin Bergama hanedanlığına sundukları talep dilekçesini içermektedir. Savaş sonrası maddi sıkıntı çeken Apollonioukharaklılar kendi himayelerinde olan Sibloë köyüne ait kamu arazilerinin bir kısmını Meleagros adında özel bir şahsa satmak zorunda kalmışlardır. Belli bir süre sonra Apollonioukharaklılar bu arazileri geri satın almak için Meleagros ile anlaşma sağlamışlar ve gereken parayı kral Eumenes'ten istemişlerdir. Kral bu konuda da cömertçe davranmış ve Apollonioukharaklılara tanıdığı vergi muafiyetini beş yıldan on yıla uzattığı gibi kraliyet kasasından arazilerin geri satın alınmasını da sağlamıştır. Apollonioukharaklılar kraldan ayrıca ellerinden alınan bazı köylerin sınırlarının yeniden tespit edilmesini ve bu arazilerin kendilerine geri verilmesini talep etmişlerdir. Yapılan yeni tamamlama önerileri ve okumalar doğrultusunda yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

A Yüzü: “*Kournoubeudoslular, savaşta (sadakatini) gösterdiler; Bu yerde ikamet eden Mysialıları Kastolos'a göndermeyi (düşünüyordum) zira orada işlenmemiş durumda yeni topraklar mevcuttur. Ancak Apollonioukharaks'tan (elçiler) benimle görüşmeye geldiler ve arazilerin [...] memnun olduklarını ve ayrıca Kournoubeudostaki Mysialıların [...] oldukları için dost olduklarını ve her ne şekilde olursa olsun kendi aralarında karar verebileceklerini söylediler. Sağduyulu ve ılımlı olmaları bakımından böylelikle ben de bu [...] hakkı tanıdım. Ve ayrıca toprak dağıtıcı Lykinos'a onların teritoryumlarını daha da genişletmek için nereden (toprak) ekleyebileceğimizi (düşünmesini) emrettim. Büyük bir ilgiyi hak ettikleri için, geçen yıl düşman tarafından talan edilmiş olmalarından dolayı onlara daha önceden tanıdığım beş yıllık vergi muafiyeti hakkını – , tıpkı Kadooi'daki Mysialılara yapmış olduğum gibi – bir beş yıl daha uzatıyorum. Zorunlu askerlik hizmeti üçte bire düşün, ancak biliyorum ki herhangi bir acil durum oluşursa istekliliklerinden ve iyi niyetliliklerinden ötürü kendi aralarında çok daha fazla asker sağlayacaklardır. Ürün üzerinden alınacak olan Onluk vergiden bu yıl muaf tutulabilirler ve aynı şekilde kelle vergisi alınan kimseler de bu yıl muaf olsunlar. Yerleşimin yeniden inşasına başladıkları için onlara ayrıca taş ustaları sağlamayı uygun buldum.*”

B Yüzü: “...bunların... kayıtlı... (talep ediyoruz) bu imtiyazlar devam etsin ve 32 yılında (166/5 BC.) ordudan kaçanlar olarak kayda geçmiş kişilerin [cezasının?] kaldırılmasını ve onların diğerleri gibi aynı (imtiyazlara) sahip olmalarını (sizden talep ediyoruz). Zeus Stratios (kutsal alanı) için dokunulmazlık hakkı ve daha önceden yedi stadion olarak belirlenmiş hakkın on stadiona genişletilmesini (talep ediyoruz). Bakkhios rahibi altından bir çelenk yapsın. Hem gümüş hem de hububat olarak kaydedilmiş borçlarımızdan henüz alınamamış ve el konamamış miktarların üçüncü yıla kadar uzatılmasını (talep ediyoruz). (Apollonioukharaks'in) sur dışında bulunan yakılmış ve yerle bir edilmiş evleriyle ilgilenmenizi ve fakir olduğumuz için bunların yeniden inşası için destek sağlamanızı (talep ediyoruz). Vaktiyle bizim olan Sibloë köyünü – ki buraya ilişkili olarak şu yazılmıştır: “Meleagros'un satın aldığı [.]448 drakhme ve 1,5 obollük fiyatı geri ödediğimiz takdirde burası iade edilecektir.” – buradan elde edilecek gelirlerden Zeus Stratios ve sizin adınıza kurban kesiminde kullanılabilsin diye şimdi bu köyü geri ödeme yapmaksızın almayı ve buranın kutsal olarak ve vergiden muaf kalmasını (talep ediyoruz). Köy için ödenecek

paranın Meleagros'a kraliyet hazinesinden verilmesini (talep ediyoruz). Köylerin arazi ve yapılarla ilgili eksikliğini karşılanmasını (talep ediyoruz). Zira daha önceden bizden alınan bu yerlerin (köylerin) sizin söz verdiğiniz şekilde yeniden onarılmadığı için Thileudos, Plazeira ve avcuların yerleşimlerinin tarafınızca yeniden belirlenmesini ve oranın sakinlerinin toprak dağıtıcı Lykios'un karar vereceği yere taşınmalarının sağlanmasını (sizden talep ediyoruz). (Kraliyet Görevlisi) – Konuyu incelemesi ve oraların sınırlarının belirlenmesi için ona talimat verdik.”

Anahtar Sözcükler: Eumenes II; Apollonioukharaks; Lidya; *katoikia*; mülkiyet hakkı.

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Three new sarcophagi from Kios (Gemlik)

Abstract: Three sarcophagi (fig. 2) dated to the Roman Imperial Period were recently unearthed in Gemlik (ancient Kios) (fig. 1) in a rescue excavation conducted by Bursa Museum's Directorate. Several small objects found in these sarcophagi, grave goods, were delivered to the Archaeological Museum of Bursa, while the sarcophagi are today in the garden of the Directorate of Technical Works (Fen İşleri Müdürlüğü) in Gemlik. The sarcophagi resemble each other in their iconography and stylistically. Upon the *tabulae ansatae* there are three inscriptions, two are on the façade of the chests of two of these sarcophagi, the other is on the long side of the lid of the third. Amongst the finds from the first sarcophagus was a gold coin dated to the reign of Valerianus I and Gallienus. An intaglio carrying a depiction of Isis and Sarapis was found in the second sarcophagus which was carved on behalf of Marcus Iulius Aelianus Iulianus for Kladaios, both his friend and doctor, and for his freedman Harmodios. The inscription on the lid of the third sarcophagus records the owner as Aurelius Numerius and that he was a councillor in the city, providing the first attestation of a βουλευτής in Kios. The high penalty of 100,000 denarii for tomb violation is not commonly found in the inscriptions.

Keywords: Bithynia; Kios; sarcophagus; Gemlik; small finds; intaglio; Isis; Sarapis; Valerianus I; gold coin.

In May 2009, the Museum's Directorate of Bursa unearthed (fig. 2)¹ during a rescue excavation three sarcophagi from the Roman Imperial Period in the ancient city of Kios.² The excavation area is on the west side of the Gemlik–Kumla (fig. 1) main road and is surrounded by modern buildings to both the south and the west. The sarcophagi of differing sizes were placed side by side, all orientated in an east–west direction; in sequence, the largest (no. 1) to the northwest, the smallest (no. 3) in the middle, and the other (no. 2) to the northeast. All these sarcophagi are marble, and two of them carry inscriptions in *tabulae ansatae* on one of the short faces, while the other has an inscrip-

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¹ These sarcophagi were noticed by the building workers who intended to construct an apartment precisely in this place: Osmaniye Mah. Yeşildağ Sk. 5. 01 pafta, 797 ada, 28 parsel. After rescue work was completed, these sarcophagi were moved into the garden of the Directorate of Technical Works in Gemlik where they stand today.

² For the city of Kios, see RE XI 1 col. 486–488; Cramer, *Asia Minor* 174–176; Perrot et al., *Exploration* 12; Ehrhardt, *Milet* 47–49; Bondoux 2003, 391–392; Avram 2004, 982–983. The inscriptions of the city have already been collected by T. Corsten, see *IKios*. See also Corsten 1991, 90–97 nos. 4–8; Tanrıver 1994, 119–120.

tion on the lid. It is worth mentioning that a gold coin from the time of Valerianus I and an intaglio carrying a depiction of Isis and Sarapis were found inside these sarcophagi, in addition to many skeletons and other small objects including a ring, a bone pin, a pair of dice, a jar, pendant and weight, showing these sarcophagi had not been opened and the contents robbed. These grave goods indicate that the deceased would need these possessions in their life to come or they were placed in these tombs as grave gifts. Three more soundings were taken in order to determine if any further sarcophagi existed in the excavation area. Even though remains of a wall were uncovered at the first sounding taken on the west side of the first sarcophagus, work ceased due to the absence of archaeological finds from the other two soundings.³

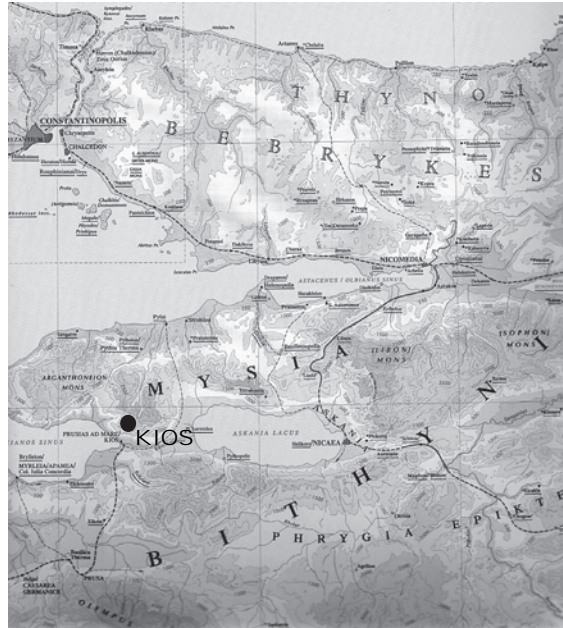


Fig. 1. Kios and its surroundings (Barrington Atlas, Map 52).

To date no systematic research has been conducted in the Bithynian city of Kios, located at the head of the Gulf of Gemlik, which functioned as the port of Nikaia. It was founded by Milesians as an emporium⁴ in ca. 626/5 B. C. and was an important settlement in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman imperial times. However, not many remains have survived to the present day from this city; only parts of the acropolis and necropolis areas and some parts of the city walls are visible today.⁵ To date three necropoleis belonging to Kios and its territory have been reported.⁶ The first lies 2–3 km east of Gemlik, on the road to Nikaia⁷; the second is thought to be around Küçükçukur mevki,

³ However, these three sarcophagi arranged in linear manner suggest the existence of a wide necropolis area lying beneath the modern buildings.

⁴ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* V. 144: Postea sinus in quo flumen Ascanium, oppidum Bryalium, amnes Hylas et Cios cum oppido eiusdem nominis, quod fuit emporium non procul accolentis Phrygiae, a Milesiis quidem conditum, in loco tamen qui Ascania Phrygiae vocabatur... For the emporia of Asia Minor, see; INikaia II 1071; Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 74–76; Ruffing 2006, 123–150.

⁵ Texier, *Asie Mineure* 112–113; Perrot et al., *Exploration* 12; RE XI 1 col. 487.

⁶ For the necropoleis of Kios, see IKios, p. 11–13.

⁷ Corsten (IKios, p. 13) reports that ca. 15 m. of this road could be seen behind the modern town in the direction of Nikaia. This road leading to Kios from the direction of Nikaia following the south shore of Lake Askania is mentioned by S. Şahin (INikaia II 1, p. 50) and is apparently connected to Apameia Myrleia and Prusa ad Olym-

which is ca. 2.5 km southwest of Gemlik on the road to Bursa⁸. On the basis of oral reports from the residents and city mayor, T. Corsten conjectures upon another necropolis located to the north of the city, in the direction of the village of Küçükkumla, though he indicates that precise information is missing and this area might have been engulfed by the sea.



Fig. 2. The sarcophagi in the course of their excavation.

It is well known that the region of Bithynia is very rich in respect to sarcophagi⁹, but this is not the case for Kios. Corsten reports¹⁰ only two sarcophagi (one inscribed, the other uninscribed) and two cinerary chests preserved in the first necropolis area of Kios; one prefabricated garland sarcophagus belonging to Aur. Theodosius Rufus and his family¹¹ in the second area and one chamber room¹² close to this same area. The stylistic and iconographic features of this group of sarcophagi closely resemble each other. They all comprise a rectangular chest and a lid. The long sides of the chests are decorated with *tabulae ansatae*, in which Greek funerary inscriptions are carved. None of the chests have other decoration or ornament. The lids are in the form of a pitched roof with cornered acroteria and pediments. In Kios and its territory, not many sarcophagi are known to us¹³ as mentioned above. Most of them were quite simple and this has led Corsten to comment that the east necropo-

pum. For the milestones which establish these connections, see INikaia II 13; IKios 14; French 1981, 150; 21; AE 2003 1650. For the detailed road system of the region, see INikaia II 1, p. 50–66; Marek, Pontus 56–59 Map V.

⁸ IKios, p. 12.

⁹ Akyürek Şahin 2011, 353. As she rightly observes, more detailed research is required on the Bithynian cinerary chests and sarcophagi in respect to their typology and iconography. For general information concerning the sarcophagi of Bithynia, see Dörner, Bithynien 20–26; Koch – Sichtermann, Sarkophag 509–514 Fig. 494–498; Koch, Sarkophag 169–171 Fig. 98; Koch, Lahitler 20–21 Fig. 32–36.

¹⁰ IKios, p. 11–12.

¹¹ IKios 39.

¹² For a detailed description of this chamber room, see Mansel 1974, 181–189.

¹³ Apart from the prefabricated garland sarcophagus cited above, some garland chests and lids of sarcophagi from the IV./V. century A. D. are known to have been destroyed after an illegal excavation at the road junction of Ulubey, a small town ca. 3 km south–west of Gemlik, see Yalman 1993, 362–363 Fig. 2–3. They are likely to have belonged to the south–west necropolis given their proximity to this area.

lis, where these sarcophagi were found, must have been for the lower-classes of the society.¹⁴

1. Grave of Rascanius Longinus and Flavianus Arkesilaos (figs. 3–11)

Marble sarcophagus. H: 140 cm (chest), 93 cm (lid); W: 254 cm (chest), 261 cm (lid); D: 144 cm (chest), 157 cm (lid); LH: 3,5 – 4 cm; Inv. no.: Gemlik 2009/1¹⁵

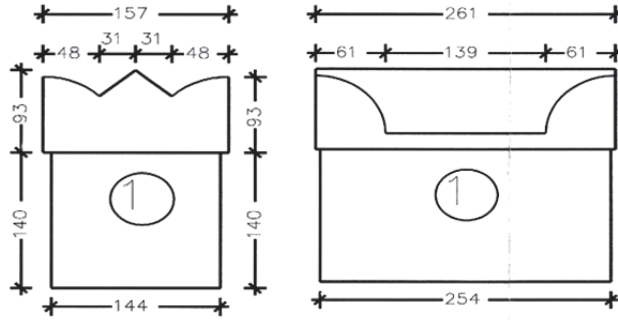


Fig. 3. Drawings of sarcophagus 1.

The sarcophagus consists of a chest and a roof-shaped lid, which has acroteria on all four corners and pediments. The lid has some small chips and cracks on the acroteria and pediment, and some scratches to the surface. The chest does not have feet and its surface is smoothly finished. On the long side of the chest there is a rectangular tabula ansata¹⁶, carrying an inscription of eleven carefully carved and neatly designed lines.



Fig. 4. Frontal view of sarcophagus 1.

¹⁴ IKios, p. 12. Since this type of undecorated sarcophagi is typical for the region of Bithynia, it is quite difficult to justify this comment. In addition, it is highly probable that this recently unearthed cemetery area extended as far as the east necropolis on the road to Nikaia. That a city councillor and some other Roman citizens built tombs for themselves and their family members (see nos. 1–3) is another argument against this opinion.

¹⁵ The sarcophagi have not been given permanent inventory numbers as yet.

¹⁶ For the classification of the tabula ansata types of Asia Minor, see Asgari – Fıratlı 1978, 37–38. It is interesting that type 3 closely resembles our three sarcophagi, although interestingly they mention that this type has mostly the features of those found in southwest and inland Asia Minor. Cf. Rodenwalt 1942, 218–219; Koch, Sarcophagi 169–170.

- Ῥασκανία Σατουρνεῖνα Ῥασκα-
 2 νίῳ Λογγεῖνῳ τῷ ἑαυτῆς πα-
 τρὶ καὶ Φλαουιανῷ Ἀρκεσι- Ϝ
 4 λάῳ τῷ ἑξαδέλφῳ καὶ ἐκ
 παρθενεῖας ἀνδρὶ γενομέ-
 6 νῳ τὸ σκεῦδος ἔθηκα· ὅς δ' ἂν
 ἕτερον ἐπιβαλῆ, δώσει προσ-
 8 τεῖμου τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ
 Ϟ ,ε χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τι ὁ υἱός μου Ϝ
 10 Φλαουιανὸς Λογγεῖνος αὐτὸς
 ἐθελήσει τεθῆναι πρὸς αὐτούς.



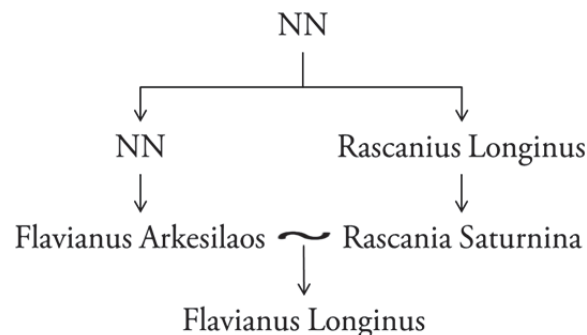
“I, Rascania Saturnina, set up this container (sarcophagus) for my own father Rascanius Longinus and my cousin and husband Flavianus Arkesilaos from virginity. Whoever puts another body (into it), will pay to the most sacred treasury 5,000 denarii as punishment, except that if my son Flavianus Longinus himself wishes to be buried by them.”

L. 1–2: The Latin names Rascania and Rascanius, of Etruscan origin, are not widely found in inscriptions, but they have already been documented on a stele found in the Bithynian city of Apameia–Myrleia, see IApameia 22 = AE 1991, 1463. Cf. Schulze, Eigennamen 92; 113; 396.

L. 4: Another instance of marriage between cousins is known in the genealogical inscription of the Licinnii, see IGR III 500, col. II 9–10 and 42. Cf. Adak 1996, 136–137.

Date: Presumably from the late 2nd or early 3rd century A. D. from the style of lettering employed and the high penalty recorded in l. 9. Thus it can be concluded that this tomb was re-used, either by the next generation of the family or it was exposed to violation, since it contained seven skeletons instead of three and the coin found inside the sarcophagus dates to the reign of Valerianus I (see below).

The genealogy of this family must be as follows:



L. 4–5: It is understood that Rascania Saturnina was virgin when she married her husband Flavianus Arkesilasos and it is emphasized she remained married to her husband until his death. In his *Onomasticon* (3.39), the Graeco–Roman rhetorician Julius Pollux terms these women *πρωτόποσις*. Cf. LSJ. The expression ἐκ παρθενεῖας seen also as ἀπὸ παρθενεῖας, is not commonly found in inscrip-

tions. It has been attested in Pompeiopolis, a city in Paphlagonia, see Marek, Stadt 145, no. 31. Also cf. TAM II, 1 328; SEG 32, 612; Syll.³ 983.

Small objects found inside the sarcophagus:

1.1. Gold coin¹⁷ (fig. 5)

Aur.; Valerianus I (A. D. 253 – 260)

Wt: 2,60 g; Diam.: 0,21 cm; Inv. no.: 2009/462.

Obverse: IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS P. F.

AVG = Bust of the emperor facing right.

Reverse: FELICITAS AVGG=Felicitas standing left, holding long caduceus and cornucopiae.¹⁸

In RIC V 1, (p. 32) it is asserted that the titles “Pi-

us and Felix” were not used until A. D. 255 by either Valerianus I himself or his son and joint emperor Gallienus. Taking this into account, we can date this coin, and accordingly some of the burials in this sarcophagus to between A. D. 255 and 260, since the inscription “Augustorum” on the reverse side of coin makes it clear that Valerianus was still alive when it was minted.¹⁹ After the death of Valerianus, the title Augustus on the coins consequently changed to AVG instead of AVGG.²⁰



Fig. 5

1.2. Terracotta jar (fig. 6)

Mouth Diam.: 4 cm; Basis Diam: 2,9 cm; Shaft Diam: 13 cm; Inv. no.: 2009/173.

Jar with single handle; high base; circular mouth; spheroid shaft; cylindrical neck; made of red clay. From the neck down to the basis is covered with thick wheel made ridges.



Fig. 6

1.3. Bone Hair Pin (fig. 7)

H: 6,8 cm; D: 0,4 – 0,6 cm; Inv. no: 2009/174.

Consisting of a shaft and an ovoid-conical head. Beneath the head lies a reel. The shaft narrows towards the tip, and the end of the pin has been broken and is missing.



Fig. 7

¹⁷ The actual dimension of the coin is not reproduced in this photograph.

¹⁸ There are other examples of these types of coins carrying the same depictions on both faces minted in both Rome and Asia Minor, see RIC V 1 no. 34 and 282.

¹⁹ Valerianus I and his son Gallienus were co-emperors from A. D. 253 to 260 until the death of Valerianus I, who was defeated at the battle of Edessa in A. D. 258 and was taken prisoner by the Persian king Shapur I. For the details of his humiliation and death, see Lact. *Mor. Pers.* V.

²⁰ RIC V 1, p. 33. Corsten (IKios, p. 44) claims that the mint in Kios ended in the 2nd half of 3rd century because of the general imperial ban on local coin minting for the cities of Asia Minor and due to the attacks of the Goths. The last known coin from Kios was minted in the reign of emperors Gallienus and his son Salonius. Cf. Waddington et al., *Asie Mineure* 331–332.

1.4. Beads (fig. 8)

The beads are of differing dimensions and probably once formed a necklace.



Fig. 8

2. The Grave of Kladaios and Iulius Harmodios (figs. 9–17)

Marble sarcophagus. H: 90 cm (chest), 60 cm (lid); W: 214 cm (chest), 230 cm (lid); D: 95 cm (chest), 109 cm (lid); LH: 1,5 – 2 cm; Inv. no.: Gemlik 2009/2.



Fig. 10. The finds inside the chest

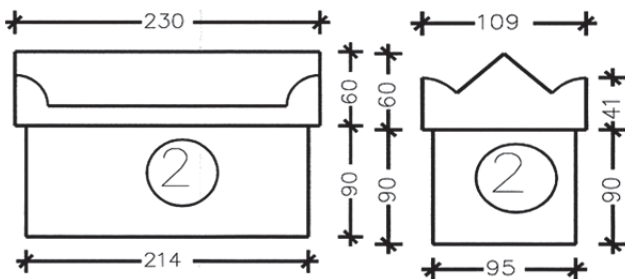


Fig. 9. Drawings of sarcophagus 2.

The sarcophagus consists of a chest and a roof-shaped lid which has acroteria at all four corners and pediments. Some small scratches and breaks are observable. The chest, of rectangular form, has no feet, its surface was smoothed and it contained seven skeletons. Along all four sides of the chest there is a horizontal scratch. On the long side of the lid is a tabula ansata, in which an inscription of two lines was carved.

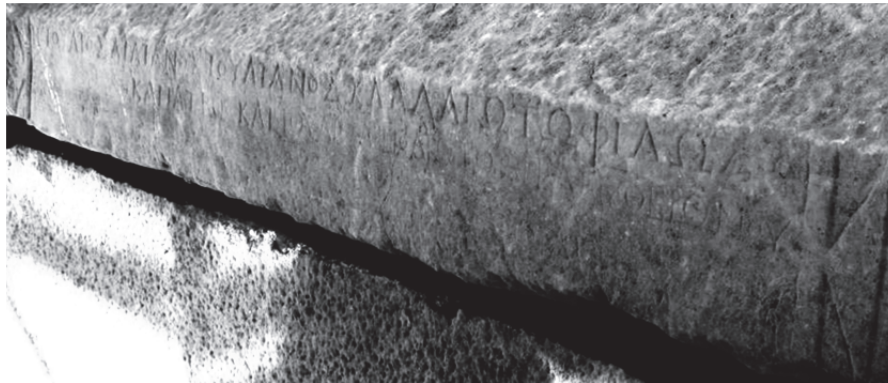


Fig. 11. The inscription on the sarcophagus lid.

Μ(ἄρκος) Ἰούλιος Αἰλιανὸς Ἰουλιανὸς Κλαδαίω τῷ φίλῳ Ϝ
 2 Ϝ καὶ ἰατρῷ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Ἄρμωδίῳ τῷ ἀπελευθέρῳ μου.

“I, Marcus Iulius Aelianus Iulianus, (made this sarcophagus) for Kladaios, my friend and physician and for Iulius Harmodios, my freedman.”

L. 1: For the name of Kladaios, see LGPN VA 246.

L. 2: Physicians were often chosen from amongst the slaves or freedmen in the Roman world, and

they were also considered as friends amongst the Romans, see CIL XIV 3030 = ILS II, 2 7788. Cf. Scarborough 1970, 299. M. Iulius Aelianus Iulianus apparently constructed this tomb for his slaves. Considering the fact that Iulius Harmodios's social status – of a freedman – was emphasized, while that of Kladaios was not, it can be inferred that Kladaios remained a slave. For another instance of a *servus medicus* attested as friend of a free citizen, see Prakken 1954, 321= AE 1955, 1. Cf. Kudlien, *Stellung des Arztes* 101 and 117.

Date: The style of lettering employed indicates a late 2nd or early 3rd century A. D.

The small objects found inside the sarcophagus:

2.1. Intaglio of Isis and Sarapis²¹ (fig. 12)

W: 1,2 cm; D: 3 cm; H: 1,4 cm; Inv. no.: 2009/178.

The intaglio is made of red carnelian and on its face depicts two busts (one male and one female) in profile, side by side and facing left. The bearded male figure is apparently the god Sarapis from the kalathos on his head, and the female head is Isis, depicted wearing her crown with horns.²² On the left-bottom of the intaglio is carved a sistrum (rattle), another of the important attributes of Isis.



Fig. 12

2.2. Gold Pendant (fig. 13)

H: 1,5 cm; Wt: 0,94 g; Diam: 0,8 mm; Inv. no.: 2009/179.

This pendant from a necklace has a soldered loop on its upper part, through which the string of the necklace passed. The pendant has the form of a globular vase decorated with flutes with a pointed base ending in a ball.



Fig. 13

2.3. A pair of gold earrings (fig. 14)

H: 1,1–1,3 cm; Wt: 0,175 – 0,331 g; Inv. no.: 2009/177.

These earrings are circular hoops consisting of spirally twisted wires, one is forming a loop ending in three coils (two coils end the other earring). The pendant is partially missing from one of these earrings.



Fig. 14

²¹ For epigraphical evidence of the cult of Isis and Sarapis in Bithynia, see IPrusa ad Olympon I 48. For Anubis in Kios, see IKios 21 (= Merkelbach – Stauber, *Steinepigramme II* 135–136 no. 09/01/02); Also cf. IKios 22 and 23.

²² We have been able to find precise parallels for these intaglios in respect to both iconography and style, see LIMC V 1 nos. 136; 138; 145; 148; LIMC VII 1 col. 680 no. 131a.; Zwierlein-Diehl, *Gemmen*, no. 203. For other depictions of Isis and Serapis, see LIMC V I col. 771–773 nos. 130–162; LIMC VII 1 nos. 121–148; Spier, *Gems*, no. 336. In Asia Minor, two similar depictions of Isis carved on intaglios are documented, see Konuk – Arslan, *Gems* 116–118 nos. 93–94. In her unpublished MA thesis, Uygun introduces another similar type of ring and intaglio from Patara, on which Isis is depicted which dates from the second half of the second century B. C., see Uygun, *Takılar* 40–43 Fig. 9 a–b (Y10). Cf. Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 161–167; Boardman – Scarisbrick, *Finger Rings* 32 no. 45.

2.4. 15 pieces of game stones (fig. 15)

Diam: 2,5x2,4 – 2,3x2,2 cm; D: 0,7–0,6 cm; Inv. no. 2009/176.

The stones, which are round and made of glass, have different dimensions and on their surfaces are seen colours such as green, blue and beige. During conservation, nine of these stones which were broken were joined back together again by the museum staff.

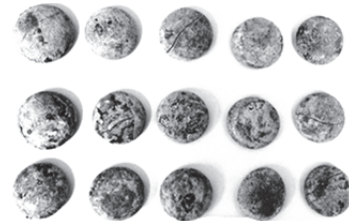


Fig. 15

2.5. A pair of bone dice (fig. 16)

Diam. (1): 0,6–8,8 mm; Diam. (2): 0,7–0,8 mm; Inv. no. 2009/175.

These brown bone dice are of typical Roman style, namely they are of cubic shape and are indicated by dots numbered from 1 to 6 and, as is typical of this type of Roman dice, when the dots on the uppermost face are added to those on the lowermost face, seven is always the sum of these two faces.²³



Fig. 16

2.6. Marble weight (?) (fig. 17)

H: 7,2 cm; W: 12 cm; D: 0,7 cm; Wt.: 148,8 gr; Inv. no. 2009/180.

A thin tablet of polished green marble which may have been used as a weight.

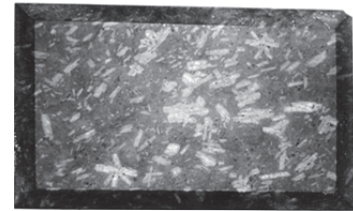


Fig. 17

3. Grave of Aurelius Numerius and his children (fig. 18–24)

Marble sarcophagus. H: 115 cm (chest), 66 cm (lid); W: 254 cm (chest), 270 cm (lid); D: 135 cm (chest), 144 cm (lid). LH: 2,8 – 3 cm; Inv. no.: Gemlik 2009/3.

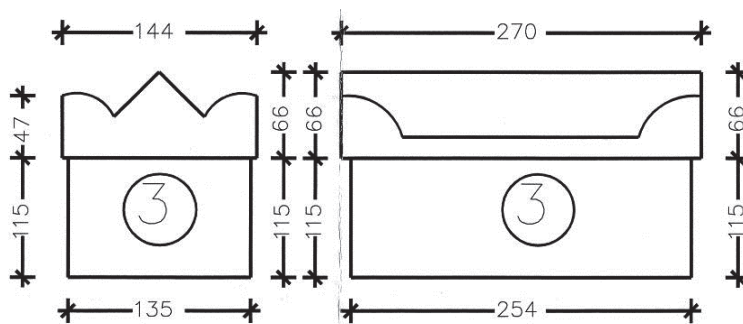
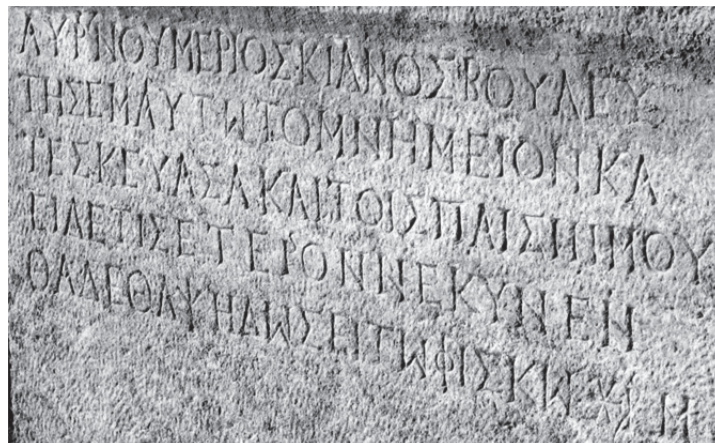


Fig. 18. Drawings of the Sarcophagus 3.

The sarcophagus consists of a rectangular chest a roof-shaped lid with four acroteria and pediments closely resemble nos. 1 and 2. Traces of mortar remain visible at the intersection of the lid and the chest. Both chest and lid are generally well preserved, except for some small cracks. The chest contained seven skeletons as was the case with the other sarcophagi described above (nos. 1–2). On the front side of the chest there is a tabula ansata containing a neatly carved Greek inscription of five lines.

²³ For detailed information concerning dice and games with dice, see Rieche, *Gesellschaftsspiele* 16–17; Ineichen, *Würfel* 40–61. Cf. Backe-Dahme, *Kinder* 48–56.

*Fig. 19. Sarcophagus 3.**Fig. 20. The Inscription on the sarcophagus.**Fig. 21. Detail from the inscription.*

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νουμέριος Κιανὸς βουλευ-
 2 τῆς ἑμαυτῶ τὸ μνημεῖον κα-
 τεσκεύασα καὶ τοῖς παισίν μου·
 4 Εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον νέκυν ἐν-
 θάδε θάψῃ, δώσει τῶ φύσκῳ Ἣ ιμ'.

“I, Aurelius Numerius, the citizen of Kios, the councillor, built this tomb for myself and my own children. If anyone buries another corpse, they will pay to the fiscus 100,000 denarii.”

L. 1: Aurelius Numerius: No councillor has been attested in the inscriptions of Kios to date, and likewise to our knowledge, no other Numerius has been documented in Bithynia, however this name is known from some other inscriptions in Asia Minor, see ISmyrna I 198; 234; 704; IEphesos VI 2256. 1; IEphesos V 1573; SEG XIX 847; Körte 1899, p. 3.

L. 4: For a very similar statement, see IKios 77. Cf. TAM IV 249.

L. 5: δηναρίων δέκα μυριάδας. A fine of a similar amount is attested in the Pisidian city of Termessos, see TAM III 318. Cf. IKyzikos I 49, 113 and 109. The reason for this astronomical amount might relate to the financial crisis of the age when this inscription was carved. In addition, Cormack specifies some other possible reasons for such high penalties, see Cormack, Death 130–131. In Kios itself there is recorded a funerary inscription, which has a penalty of 120, 000 denaria, but it accords with 20 *solidi*, dating this inscription to the fourth century A. D. as Corsten rightly points out.²⁴

Date: After A. D. 212 on account of the name Aurelius and the high penalty amount mentioned in l. 5.

Small objects found inside the sarcophagus:

3.1. Gold ring (fig. 22)

Wt: 2,896 g; Diam: 1,6 cm; Inv. no.: 2009/181.

It is composed of seven elliptic rings attached to each other. Inside the circles were placed blue-coloured glass beads, one of them is missing.



Fig. 22

3.2. A pair of golden earrings (fig. 23)

Wt: 1,26 g; Diam.: 1,4 cm; D: 0,1 cm (for both of them); Inv. no. 2009/182.

This pair of earrings consists each of a hollow ring, the ends of which are connected by twisting one around the other.



Fig. 23

3.3. Spindle whorl (fig. 24)

H: 0,9 cm; Diam.: 2,3 cm; Inv. no: 2009/183.

This whorl made of green glass, is of a circular shape with a central hole. Its function was to spin the thread.

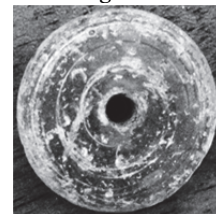


Fig. 24

²⁴ IKios 77. Cf. IParion 44.

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Özet

Kios'dan (Gemlik) Üç Yeni Lahit

Bu makalede, 2009 yılında Bursa'nın Gemlik (antik Kios kenti) ilçesinde bir inşaat yapımı sırasında fark edilen ve Bursa Arkeoloji Müze Müdürlüğü tarafından yapılan kurtarma kazıları sonucu gün yüzüne çıkarılan Roma İmparatorluk Dönemine ait üç lahit ve lahitlere mezar armağanları olarak konulan küçük objeler tanıtılmaktadır. İkonografik ve stilistik açıdan birbirlerine benzeyen lahitler üzerinde herhangi bir kabartma ya da bezeme bulunmamaktadır. İki tekne üzerinde, diğeri ise kapığın yan uzun yüzünde bulunan tabula ansalarda özenle yazılmış Yunanca mezar yazıtları mevcuttur. İlk lahit içerisinde ele geçen buluntular arasında imparator Valerianus I ve ortak imparator Gallienus devrine ait altın bir sikke dikkat çekmektedir. Marcus Iulius Aelianus Iulianus tarafından

doktoru ve azatlı kölesi için yaptırılan ikinci lahitten çıkartılan bir yüzük kaşı üzerinde Isis ve Serapis büstleri bulunmaktadır. Üçüncü lahdi kendisi ve ailesi için yaptıran Aurelius Numerius, Kios kentinden şu ana kadar bilinen ilk meclis üyesi olma özelliğini taşımaktadır. Bu lahde yapılacak başka bir gömü için belirlenen cezanın 100,000 dinar gibi yüksek bir meblağ olması yazıtlarda sıkça görülen bir durum değildir. Yazıtların çevirileri ise şöyledir:

1. Lahit = Rascanius Longinus ve Flavianus Arkesilaos'un mezarı:

“Ben, Rascania Saturneina, babam Rascanius Longinus için, kuzenim ve genç kızlığımdan (bakireliğimden) kocam olan Flavianus Arkesilaos'a bu lahdi yaptırdım. Eğer birisi buraya başka bir (cesedi) gömersen, kutsal kasaya ağırlaştırılmış (ceza olan) beş bin denaria verecektir! Ve oğlum Flavianus Longinus bunun dışında kalacak ve (eğer) kendisi isterse onların yanına gömülebilecektir!”

2. Lahit = Doktor Kladaios'un ve azat edilmiş kişi Iulius Harmodios'un Mezarı:

“Ben, M(arcus) Iulius Aelianus Iulianus, hekim dostum Kladaios ve azatlım Iulius Harmodios için (bu mezarı yaptırdım).”

3. Lahit = Kioslu Aurelius Numerius ve çocuklarının mezarı:

“Ben, Kioslu meclis üyesi Aurelius Numerius bu mezarı kendim ve çocuklarım için yaptırdım. Eğer birisi buraya başka bir cesedi gömecek olursa, kent kasasına 100,000 denaria verecektir (ceza ödeyecektir)!”

Anahtar Sözcükler: Bithynia; Kios; lahit; Gemlik; küçük objeler; Isis; Sarapis; yüzük kaşı; I. Valerianus; altın sikke.

Konrad STAUNER*

The funerary inscription of Gaius Tarquitiu

Abstract: This article presents a fragmentary inscription of a Roman soldier named Gaius Tarquitiu who served probably as an ordinary soldier or as a middle-ranking officer at best in what presumably was an auxiliary cohort. Perhaps of Bithynian extraction, Gaius Tarquitiu or one of his forebears may have received Roman citizenship through the patronage of Marcus Tarquitiu Priscus, proconsul of *Bithynia et Pontus* in the reign of Nero.

Keywords: Roman army; auxiliary cohort; virgane grant of Roman citizenship; governor; Bithynia; Nikomedeia.

Slab of light-coloured marble, broken into several joining pieces; it perhaps originally formed one of the two longitudinal faces of a sarcophagus (πύελος) and was apparently sawn off on the left-hand side for some secondary use, a practice frequently encountered in Nikomedeia; most of the top as well as the right-hand and bottom sides are missing. The rear side of the slab is worked rough. As can be learned from the text (l. 4), the burial site comprised said sarcophagus and at least one other item.

The fine and very carefully carved lettering is typical of the High Empire, with fine apices, spacers and one extant ligature (line 7). Carved probably towards the end of the 1st or in the early 2nd century CE (roughly between 75 and 125 CE), the inscription was recorded in the Archaeological Museum of İzmit (Kocaeli) in 2003 and revised in 2007; its place of discovery is not known, but it is most probably İzmit/Nikomedeia.¹ Dimensions: H.: 0.97 m; W.: 1.50 m; D.: 0.16 m; H. of letters: 0.065–0.07 m.

The inscription is in a rather fragmentary state, which hampers its reconstruction. However, as far as the left-hand edge is preserved, the text seems to be intact. Making sense of what is left is compounded by the uncertainty as to the length of the missing portion of the inscription. The name Tarquitiu is mentioned in the fragments three times (lines 1, 4 and 5), but unfortunately the name's ending is missing in each case, making it impossible to reconstruct with certainty the case in which the name stood in each instance. Interestingly, only the Tarquitiu in line 1 bears a *praenomen*, while the Tarquiti in the lines 4 and 5 do not. They seem to have been related to Gaius Tarquitiu.

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¹ I extend my thanks to my very dear friend and colleague Mustafa Adak for ceding to me the right to publish this inscription. I am also indebted to Christian Marek and Eckhard Meyer-Zwiffelhofer for discussing with me the inscription and giving me valuable suggestions. I also thank Anthony Birley for his comments! Any errors are, of course, my own.



- Γ. Ταρκύτι[ος + cognomen? + military title? + στρατευσάμενος?]
 2 ἐν σπείρη [+ number + name of unit? + years of service? + ζήσας?]
 ἀμέμπτως ἔτη[+ number of years + verb + τὸν βωμόν?]
 4 καὶ τὴν πύελον Ταρκυτί[ο[υ? + cognomen? + καὶ Ταρκυτίου?]
 Κρατέρου καὶ Ταρκυτί[ο[υ? + cognomen? + sons/brothers? + ?αὐ-]
 6 τοῦ καὶ κληρονόμ[ων? + ἕτερος δὲ ἐν τῇ πυέλῳ?]
 μὴ βληθήσεται ἐ[άν δέ τις τολμήσῃ + verb?]
 8 [ἤ? κακο]υργήσαι τ[ι?]
-

Line-to-line commentary

Lines 1–2: The words ἐν σπείρη at the beginning of line 2 strongly suggest that line 1 ended with the participle στρατευσάμενος indicating that the deceased served *in a cohort*. This may have been followed by his number of years of service.² Whether or not a military title, perhaps in abbreviated fashion³, stood behind Tarquitiu's name cannot be said.⁴ Since we have no further information about the military service of Gaius Tarquitiu, all we can say is that he served in an auxiliary cohort.

² *Studia Pontica* III: 34, 70; *IKlaudiupolis* 162. The «στρατευσάμενος ἐν + name of unit» construction was used by both ordinary soldiers and officers (*INikaia* II.2, 1250; *TAM* IV.1, 285).

³ Marek, *EA* 28, 1997, 81: στρατευσάμενον PX (= ἐκατόνταρχον); *Studia Pontica* III 49; *AE* 1915, 49.

⁴ Cf. *IGR* III 1396 = *IPrusa ad Olympum* 145; *TAM* IV.1.203.

As far as I can see, «ἐν σπείρη» has hitherto been unattested.

Lines 2–3: The words ἀμέπτως ἔτη at the beginning of line 3 suggest that line 2 ended with a word like ζήσας.⁵ The inscription proclaims Gaius Tarquitius to have led an irreproachable life for so and so many years. This is a fairly sure indication that the inscription is funerary and that our Tarquitius is in all likelihood the deceased person. It is unclear, though, whether he died while an active soldier or after retirement. Apart from a 2–digit figure indicating the number of years Tarquitius had lived, line 3 must also have accommodated a word for an object set up together with the sarcophagus, as is shown by the continuation of the wording in line 4 (καὶ τὴν πύελον). Comparison with other funerary inscriptions from Nikomedeia suggests that this object may have been an «altar-shaped platform»⁶ or βωμός⁷ on which stood the πύελος, a word characteristic of Bithynia in general and of Nikomedeia and its environs in particular (Fig. 1).⁸ Line 3 may also have provided room for a verb like κατασκευάζειν, ποιεῖν or τίθημι⁹ indicating that C. Tarquitius and/or his relatives and heirs had set up the funerary monument with the concomitant inscription.



Fig. 1: a πύελος on top of a βωμός¹⁰

Lines 4–6: Interestingly, unlike the Tarquitius in line 1 the two Tarquiti in lines 4 and 5 do not bear a *praenomen*. This may be an indication that the Tarquiti in hand are not genuine Romans but Greeks with Roman citizenship, since, as Box remarks, the «omission of the *praenomen* from the style of Greeks possessing the citizenship of Rome is very common. [...] When Greeks acquired Roman citizenship they tended to treat their *praenomina* as though they were hereditary, like their gentile names, and not to use *cognomina* at all. Two results followed. First, the *praenomen* remained identical from generation to generation. Secondly, the Greek name, appearing in the third place after the nomen, bears a superficial resemblance to a *cognomen*, but is really the personal name of the man mentioned. To this last the father's Greek name is added in the genitive case in a complete formula. The *praenomen*, therefore, did not serve among the Greeks to distinguish different members of the same family. Its function was performed by the third, or Greek, name, with or without patronymic. It is not surprising, then, that the *praenomen*, being invariable in the family pedigree,

⁵ TAM IV.1: 121, 263.

⁶ Coulton 2005, 140. Dörner 1941, 23: «Die Sarkophage in Bithynien haben die Eigentümlichkeit der Aufstellung auf einem Unterbau ...».

⁷ For the use of βωμοί as platforms see Kubinska 1968, 73–9.

⁸ TAM IV.1: 231, 293; IScM II 204; cf. Kubinska 1968, 48–9; Marek 2003, 134; idem 2010, 564–8.

⁹ TAM IV.1: 171, 236–8.

¹⁰ Dörner 1941, Table 4.3.

and affording no means of identification, was frequently omitted in the styles of Greek bearers of Roman citizenship.»¹¹

The fact that, first, at least one of the persons (Krateros) in lines 4–5 is given in the genitive and, second, «κληρονόμ.» in line 6 is not preceded by an article – which suggests a paratactic construction¹², probably with a previously mentioned relationship indicator like ..., *his sons / brothers and heirs* (τῶν υἱῶν or ἀδελφῶν ἀνδρῶν)/τοῦ καὶ κληρονόμ[ων], of which τοῦ at the beginning of line 6 is still extant – makes it probable that all persons in these lines stood in the genitive. Perhaps the lines 3–6 contained a genitive absolute phrase saying that the men mentioned in these lines built the funerary monument.¹³ Owing to the uncertainty as to the overall width of the slab, it is impossible to say without further information how many men we are dealing with, whether it is two or three; if two, then the Tarquiti in line 4 likely bore two (Greek) cognomina since it can be ruled out that this line ended right after the Latin nomen gentilicium, and so a further name must have stood between «Tarquiti» and the Greek cognomen Krateros in line 5. On the assumption of a parallel construction in the indication of names¹⁴, the Tarquiti in line 5 would then also have had to bear two (Greek) cognomina.¹⁵ If it was three men, then each one of them could have been mentioned with his Latin name Tarquiti plus a (Greek) cognomen, whereby in line 4 the cognomen of the first Tarquiti and the Latin name of the second Tarquiti would be missing; only the latter's Greek cognomen would be preserved (Krateros). Conversely, in line 5 the Latin name of the third Tarquiti would be preserved, but not his (Greek) cognomen. If this is correct, a reading with three sons or brothers is preferable to one with only two, as the latter solution means that two cognomina plus a relationship indicator would have to be accommodated in line 5, which would probably render it (much) longer than line 4. The whole phrase in lines 3–6 may have read as follows: ... κατασκευασάντων τὸν βωμὸν / καὶ τὴν πύελον Ταρκυτίου + (Greek) cognomen καὶ Ταρκυτίου / Κρατέρου καὶ Ταρκυτίου + (Greek) cognomen, τῶν υἱῶν or ἀδελφῶν ἀνδρῶν/τοῦ καὶ κληρονόμ[ων]...¹⁶

Line 7: The fact that μὴ is written in ligature and the relatively narrow spacing between the next few letters may indicate that this line contained much text. I have not encountered another funerary inscription with identical wording, though some phrases come pretty close.¹⁷ Yet, the message is quite clear: The words μὴ βληθήσεται (...will or shall not be buried [in the sarcophagus]) suggest a provision to the effect that nobody else shall be entombed in the sarcophagus – whether to the exception

¹¹ Box 1932, 180; cf. Fernoux 2004, 214–8.

¹² I am grateful to Professor Marek for drawing my attention to this possibility.

¹³ Cf. *IPrusa ad Olympum* 83; *AE* 2006, 1420.

¹⁴ Parallel indications of names, either with a Greek cognomen alone (e.g. *AE* 2004, 1455) or with the Latin nomen and a Greek cognomen (e.g. *AE* 2004, 1456), are not unusual.

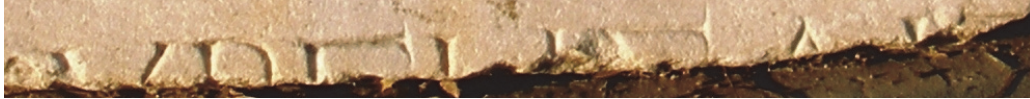
¹⁵ Cf. *IKlaudiupolis* 53. The chances that «Κρατέρου» is a patronymic are, in my opinion, rather slim, as the abovementioned paratactic construction would call for a relationship indicator applicable to all men in lines 4–5 in the same way (*his ... and heirs*). Different degrees of relationship would make a parallel construction difficult, if not impossible. Although it is theoretically possible that the Tarquiti in lines 4–5 are the sons or brothers not of Gaius Tarquiti, but of different fathers, it is not very likely. I have not found an inscription that would support such a reconstruction.

¹⁶ Cf. *TAM* V.1.604; *AE* 1930, 107; *SEG* 41, 1364. Numerous inscriptions, also from *Bithynia et Pontus*, show similar father–son–brother burial constellations, e.g. *Studia Pontica* III 49: Antonius Crispus and Antonius Calvinus erected a tomb for their father L. Antonius Valens, a *centurio legionis*, and their brother M. Antonius Aelianus.

¹⁷ *TAM* IV.1: 185; 231.

or inclusion of certain persons cannot be said.¹⁸ The word following βληθήσεται begins with an E which is unlikely to have belonged to the preposition εις (in a phrase like εις ταύτην τήν πύελον or εις ἡν¹⁹) since in this case one would expect to see the top of the iota (I) (unless there was an inordinately wide gap between the E and the I, which is unlikely²⁰). What could have followed is an A; in this case the distance between the E and the apex of the A is wide enough for the apex not to be visible because it lay just beyond the fracture line.²¹ E and A could be expanded into ἔαν as part of the phrase ἔαν δέ τις τολμήσῃ (if someone dares to...).²² Comparison with other such provisions suggests that the one in hand also contained a stipulation warning against infringement and threatening pecuniary punishment for trespassers.²³

Line 8: The tops of seven letters are clearly visible: Y P Γ (or E?) Η Σ Α (or Λ?) Ι. If these letters formed part of one and not of different words, the sequence ΥΡΓΗΣΛΙ or ΥΡΕΗΣΛΙ cannot be expanded into any meaningful (part of a) word, while ΥΡΓΗΣΑΙ looks much more promising. Its last three letters may be an aorist infinitive ending (-σαι). The Η immediately preceding the possible infinitive ending suggests that the verb in question is a contract verb that changes its ε to η in the aorist (ποιεῖν > ποιῆσαι). The Υ is not unlikely to have been preceded by an Ο, so that we may have to look for a verb ending in -ουργεῖν in the present tense infinitive. As said above, lines 6 and 7 probably contained a provision about who was allowed to be interred in the sarcophagus and about how to deal with trespassers or vandalisers of the burial site. Potential malefactors may therefore have been addressed in line 8. A suitable verb for acts of vandalism or malice would be κακουργεῖν, which means «do evil, work wickedness»²⁴. As in line 7, the narrow spacing between the letters suggests that this line contained much text, too.



Line 3: T in ΑΜΕΜΠΙΤΩΣ



Fig. 2: Left half of transverse hasta of a T is visible after top of iota; cf. T in l. 3.

On close inspection, even what looks like the left half of a transverse hasta of a T is visible after the top of the iota (I) mentioned above, so that, if I surmise correctly, we have the discernible remains of a total of eight letters ΥΡΓΗΣΑΙΤ in line 8. If the first seven of them belong together and have perhaps formed part of the verb κακουργῆσαι, the T perhaps belonged to a word like τι.²⁵ The line may have contained (part of) a sentence along the lines of *if somebody dares to (... or) inflict damage to any part of the burial site he shall pay ... to...* – and may in Greek perhaps have read ἔαν

¹⁸ Exclusion of others: *ISmyrna* 211.11–3; partial exclusion: *IEphesos* 2424.

¹⁹ Cf. *TAM* IV.1: 243, 293.

²⁰ Cf. the distance between E and I in σπεῖρη, line 2. For the same reason, «εἰ» as in the phrase «εἰ δέ τις τολμήσῃ» seems improbable.

²¹ Cf. the distance between the E and Λ in πύελον in line 4.

²² *TAM* IV.1: 215; cf. 236, 237, 238.

²³ Torchia 1970, 288; Cormack 1997, 149–50; Marek 2003, 132–3; idem 2010, 567–8.

²⁴ *LSJ*, p. 864 s. v. κακουργέω.

²⁵ *IEphesos* 2211; cf. *TAM* IV.1.220; Cass. Dio 40.45.2. However, a restoration like τ[ὴν σορόν] is equally possible (cf. *TAM* IV.1: 263, 267, 334).

δέ τις τολμήσῃ (... ἦ) κακουργήσαί τι, δώσει ... ✕ ...²⁶ The four letters KAKO could easily be accommodated at the beginning of this line.

Gaius Tarquitiuſ and his Roman citizenship

The above elaborations have shown that it is not unlikely that Gaius Tarquitiuſ had a Greek background and perhaps hailed from Nikomedeia. Yet, he appears to have been a bearer of the Roman citizenship. If this appearance is not deceptive, how did he come by it? Perhaps through military service in the Roman army, as so many others of his fellow countrymen did. However, one should also consider another possibility for him or one of his forebears to have acquired the citizenship of Rome. Under Nero there was a proconsul of *Bithynia et Pontus*, Marcus Tarquitiuſ Priscus, whose full name is known from provincial coins.²⁷ If this identity in name is not a mere coincidence, the name in our inscription may attest to a viritane grant of Roman citizenship by the homonymous governor.

Without further information it is impossible to say whether Gaius Tarquitiuſ (perhaps together with one or all of the other men mentioned²⁸) or a common forebear received Roman citizenship through the patronage of the governor M. Tarquitiuſ Priscus and handed it down to his children. Be that as it may. If the grant was indeed viritane, what does this tell us about the social standing of Gaius Tarquitiuſ (or his forebear)? A viritane grant connotes connections to (a) high-ranking person(s) close to the emperor, in our case to the provincial governor. Gaius Tarquitiuſ (or his forebear) must have somehow won the governor's attention, which would have been easiest if he was a provincial notable, i.e. a member of the local elite, perhaps in Nikomedeia, the seat of the Bithynian *koinon* and of a temple for the imperial cult. These institutions could have provided occasions for a notable to meet, socialise with and become a friend of the governor. A man like M. Tarquitiuſ Priscus was certainly accessible and amenable to a notable with the necessary wherewithal and a desire to become a Roman.²⁹ As a member of a local elite family endowed with the Roman citizenship, Gaius Tarquitiuſ could have embarked on a career as an officer (*centurio*) in an auxiliary unit.³⁰ However, Gaius Tarquitiuſ (or his forebear) was in all likelihood not a member of the *equester ordo*, because one would then expect him to have entered on a career in the *equestris militia*, which he did not (see below).³¹ It is equally possible that Gaius Tarquitiuſ was just an auxiliary soldier who

²⁶ TAM IV.1: 256, 265, 267.

²⁷ PIR² T 25. M. Tarquitiuſ Priscus was charged by the Bithynians with extortion (*repetunda*) and convicted (Tac. *Ann.* 14.46; cf. *Ann.* 12.59). For an overview of governors of this province prosecuted for *repetunda*, see Brunt 1961, 224–7; see also Rémy 1988, 47.

²⁸ Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 10.106–7: The *centurio* P. Accius Aquila of the *cohors VI equestris* in Bithynia «petitioned Pliny to request citizenship for his daughter from Trajan» (Saddington 2000, 174). According to Torchia (1970, 73), Aquila appears to have «received Roman citizenship under conditions which left his daughter a peregrina (x, 106). This was not an ordinary grant; normally, he and his family would receive citizenship at his discharge. But this letter further illustrates the native, non-Roman composition of the army in Bithynia.»

²⁹ Jacques/Scheid (1998, 236) assume that acquiring the citizenship was a time-consuming process involving official fees and bribes. Cf. Acts 22.28; Cass. Dio 60.17.6–8; Sherwin-White ²1973, 246.

³⁰ Alföldy 2000, 39. For Roman army officers with Greek names, see Devijver 1986. The earliest and only officer from Bithynia attested with certainty for the early first century (cf. Table on p. 200) is ...tilius Longus from Apamea (Neronian; *CIL* III 335 = *IApameia und Pylai* 2; Fernoux 2004, 416 no. 1).

³¹ Alföldy 2000, 39. Devijver (1986, 145) believes that the «new citizens of an emperor did not always enter the *ordo equester* right away. I have the impression that only a small group was made citizens and *eques* simultaneously; most had to wait 1 to 3 generations to attain equestrian status.»

somehow won the governor's support for a viritane grant. Strictly speaking, it cannot even be ruled out that Gaius Tarquitiu was the son of a former slave who was manumitted by M. Tarquitiu Priscus and adopted his former master's *nomen*.³² Be that as it may, all we can say with relative confidence is that if the excellent workmanship of the slab fragments and the impeccable execution of the extant inscription are indicative of the financial resources of Gaius Tarquitiu, he must have been a man of means, able to have a nice burial site set up for himself and his relatives.

The soldier Gaius Tarquitiu

The name Tarquitiu is a rarity at best amongst Roman soldiers under the Empire. Spaul does not list a single soldier with this *nomen*; consultation of *CIL* III furnishes the meagre result of a single Tarquitiu³³, who, however, does not seem to have been a soldier, and even the compendious *CIL* VIII volumes include but a single man of this name.³⁴ Devijver lists only one officer of Italian origin by this name.³⁵ In addition, a legionary centurion named (Quintus) Tarquitiu Restitutus and a *legatus Augusti* Q(uintus) Tarquitiu Catulus are known from Cologne.³⁶ No Tarquitiu has hitherto been known from Bithynia.

If Gaius Tarquitiu was a Roman citizen prior to his military service, one would normally expect him as a soldier to have served in the legions. However, he could also have served in a *cohors civium Romanorum*.³⁷ Even service in a peregrine cohort is possible. Epigraphic evidence suggests that Roman citizens served in auxiliary units right from the time of Augustus.³⁸ Though initially low, their numbers seem to have strongly increased around the middle of the 2nd century CE. Holder adduces several reasons why Roman citizens served in auxiliary units: Citizen-soldiers may have been transferred from a legion to an auxiliary unit.³⁹ Another reason could be non-compliance with the physical requirements for service in the legions.⁴⁰ A third possibility is that an auxiliary soldier received a viritane grant of citizenship: «This would have happened through the recommendation of a person

³² For example, on L. Calpurnius L. f. Ser(gia) Frugi of *Antiochia Pisidiae* (*CIL* III 6831; *PME* C 54) who served, amongst other things, as *praefectus alae Augustae Germanicianae* Devijver (1986, 175) remarks that he «may be a new citizen of L. Calpurnius Piso, leg. Aug. pro praetore (ca. a. 14–13 BC; Sherk 1980 [*ANRW* II.7.2]: 964b), or a descendant of a freedman of this governor?» On *liberti* in this context, see also Dessau 1910, 25; Devijver 1986, 146–7. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.27.

³³ *CIL* III, p. 2371 s. v. Tarquitiu.

³⁴ *CIL* VIII 2569.6. The *AE* indices for 1931–40, 1941–50 and 1961–80 do not contain an entry for a Tarquitiu, either.

³⁵ *CIL* XI 3801. *PME* T 3; cf. Holder 1980, 247 E 55.

³⁶ Q.T.R.: *CIL* XIII 12048 = *ILS* 9241 = *AE* 1910, 61; cf. *CIL* XIII 12041. Q.T.C.: *CIL* XIII 8170. See also *OPEL* IV p. 108 s.v. Tarquitiu.

³⁷ For a list of *cohortes civium Romanorum*, see Spaul 2000, 19–20.

³⁸ *CIL* IX 733 (Augustan); cf. Speidel 1980. *CIL* III 12347 (Tiberian); cf. Holder 1980, 49 with fn. 4. *AE* 1969/70, 583 (Domitian); cf. Saddington 2000, 169–71.

³⁹ The *pridianum cohortis I Augustae praetoriae Lusitanorum equitatae* (*RMR* 64, col. II.13–21; 31st Aug. 156 CE) lists two soldiers as having been transferred from the *legio II Traiana* to this cohort. The entry does not suggest that this was an act of demotion. Holder (1980, 49) assumes that it was a «simple transfer», but also says that there is «no definite evidence of such transfers earlier than this».

⁴⁰ Vegetius (*mil.* 1.5) writes that a height of six feet or at least five feet ten inches was required for service in the cavalry or in the first cohort of a legion. According to Holder (1980, 50), such «standards were probably less severe for service in auxiliary cohorts. Thus, if a citizen recruit was physically fit although not tall enough for the legions, it is conceivable he would have been drafted into an auxiliary cohort rather than have been rejected.»

of influence, as for example the provincial governor. In such cases the man would not assume an imperial gentilicium, making him difficult to recognise.»⁴¹ It could also be that a man was drafted into an auxiliary unit to meet an emergency.⁴²

The extant fragments tell us nothing directly about Gaius Tarquitiu's rank. If he made a career for himself in the army, he presumably did not mention the various rungs he had climbed but indicated only the last post he held. And he probably served only in the auxiliary cohort mentioned in line 2, since there was probably not enough room left in this line to accommodate yet another unit with its (full) name. If he was an officer, he cannot have been more than a middle-ranking one, perhaps a *centurio*. As such he may have indicated himself as having served *in a cohort*. As the unit's commanding officer he would most certainly have used a genitive construction to identify himself as commander *of the cohort* (ἑπαρχος σπειρης/*praefectus cohortis*).⁴³ This also tells us that our Tarquitiu was not a member of the *equester ordo* because as such he would have served as the commander of the cohort.

A comparison of the length of information about Tarquitiu's military service, which took up a line or two at most, and that of what follows (indication of elements of the burial site, naming of relatives and heirs plus a more or less elaborate provision about the future use of the grave) shows that the emphasis was obviously not on Tarquitiu's military service or career.⁴⁴ This is quite telling, as inscriptions provided an excellent opportunity to make one's achievements or social advancement known to a wider public and therefore constituted a social asset that also enhanced the prestige of the deceased's relatives. Perhaps there was not much to advertise. At all events, the extant wording does not suggest that Tarquitiu was a man with an awesome career in the army.

I am therefore inclined to see in Gaius Tarquitiu a first- or second-generation bearer of Roman citizenship who perhaps hailed from Nikomedeia and served in an auxiliary cohort as an ordinary soldier, a non-commissioned officer or, at best, a middle-ranking officer.

Abbreviated Literature

The abbreviations used in this article are generally those listed in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World New Pauly*, Vol. I (Leiden/ Boston, 2006). All other abbreviations are indicated below.

Alföldy 2000	G. Alföldy, Das Heer in der Sozialstruktur des Römischen Kaiserreiches, in: G. Alföldy / B. Dobson / W. Eck (eds.), <i>Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley</i> (Stuttgart 2000) 33–57.
Box 1932	H. Box, Roman Citizenship in Laconia, Part II, <i>JRS</i> 22.2, 1932, 165–83.
Brunt 1961	P. A. Brunt, Charges of Provincial Maladministration under the Early Principate, <i>Historia</i> 10, 1961, 189–227.
Cormack 1997	S. Cormack, Funerary Monuments and Mortuary Practice in Roman Asia Minor, in: S. E. Alcock, <i>The Early Roman Empire in the East</i> (Oxford 1997) 137–56.
Coulton 2005	J. J. Coulton, Pedestals as 'altars' in Roman Asia Minor, <i>AS</i> 55, 2005,

⁴¹ Holder 1980, 50; cf. Saddington 2000, 173–4.

⁴² Cf. Mann (1983, 52–3) for emergency recruitment into legions; by analogy, the same system may have applied to auxiliary units.

⁴³ E.g. *IEphesos* 680.

⁴⁴ In numerous inscriptions in this province, protective provisions concerning the use of the burial site and warning against infringement take up more than half of the text; cf. Marek (s. fn. 23).

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- IApameia und Pylai* *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai (IK 32)*, ed. by Th. Corsten (Bonn 1987).
- IEphesos* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*
– nos. 600–1000 (IK 13), ed. by H. Engelmann / D. Knibbe / R. Merkelbach (Bonn 1980).
– nos. 2001–2958 (IK 16), ed. by R. Merkelbach / J. Nollé (Bonn 1980).
- IKlaudiupolis* *Die Inschriften von Klaudiupolis (IK 31)*, ed. by F. Becker-Bertau (Bonn 1986).
- INikaia* *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*, Part II.2 (nos. 1230–1597): *Entfernte Umgebung der Stadt (IK 10.2)*, ed. by S. Şahin (Bonn 1982).
- IPrusa ad Olympum* *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum*, Vol. I (IK 39), ed. by Th. Corsten (Bonn 1991).
- IScM* *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* (Bucharest 1980–).
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Özet

Gaius Tarquitiu'sun Mezar Yazıtı

Makalede Nikomedeia kentinde ele geçen ve Kocaeli Müzesi'nde korunan kırık bir lahit parçasının üzerindeki yazıt yorumlanmaktadır. Lahit; Roma ordusunda orta derece bir subay ya da sıradan bir asker olarak hizmet vermiş olan Gaius Tarquitiu (Krateros)'a aittir. Mezar sahibinin Bithynia kökenli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Kendisi veya atalarından birisi Roma vatandaşlığı hakkını almayı başarmıştır. Vatandaşlık büyük ihtimalle Nero Dönemi'nde *Bithynia et Pontus* valisi olan Marcus Tarquitiu Priscus vesilesiyle verilmiştir. Gaius Tarquitiu muhtemelen Bithynia'da konuşlanmış olan bir yardımcı birlikte görev yapmış olabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Roma ordusu; yardımcı birlikler; Roma vatandaşlığı; vali; Bitinya; Nikomedeia.

Sencer ŞAHİN*

Parerga zum Stadiasmus Patarensis (5): STR 59 und Daseia von Bonda

Abstract: The road between Myra and Limyra (STR 59) was not built along the coast, but in the arduous Masikyotos terrain, as the coast was marked by rugged cliffs. Another consideration for this choice of route was probably the important settlements on the Bonda massif. Consequently, in Antiquity goods would be shipped from Myra to Limyra by sea. A decree of the people of Myra from Roman imperial times mentions, in east-to-west sequence, three moorings for freight ships, lying within the territory of Myra: Daseia, Stoma tēs Limnes and Andriake. While Stoma has been firmly identified as the entry to the lagoon to the east of Myra and Andriake as the famous port to the south of it, the location and importance of Daseia within the topography of Lycia have to date remained obscure. In this article the author proposes that the meaning of the word Daseia be understood not from the vegetative, but from the geomorphological character of the tongue of land of Bonda, whose coastline shows very many twists and turns. In this sense, Daseia means, in Lycia's toponymy, a coastal territory with numerous bays.

Keywords: Bonda; Daseia; Lagoon; Claudian road; smuggle; Myra; Limyra.

Im Stadiasmus Patarensis wird die Strecke zwischen Myra und Limyra nicht der Küste entlang, sondern auf steilem Weg quer durch den Bonda Tepesi geführt:

STR 59 ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰς Λίμ[υρ]ᾶ δ[ι]ὰ τοῦ Μασικύτου σ[τά]δια . . .'

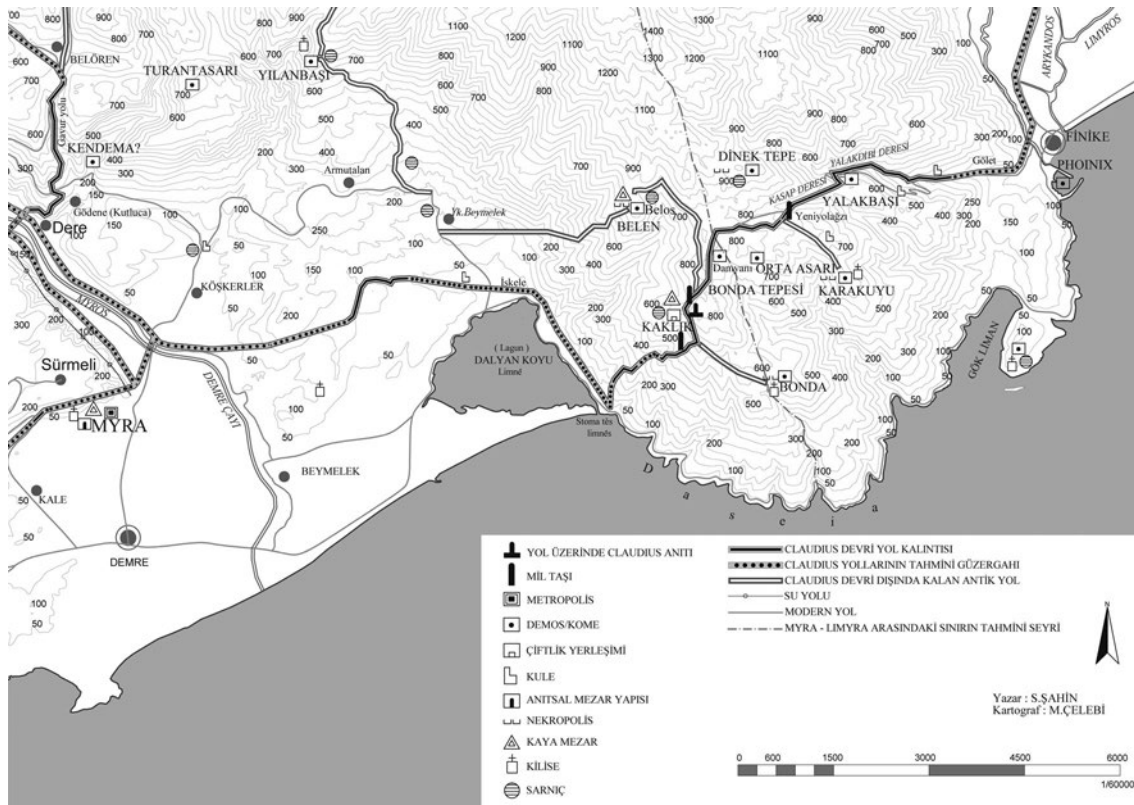
Der hier genannte Masikyotos ist allerdings nur ein Vorsprung des eigentlichen Masikyotos, der der Gesamtheit der Beydağları entspricht. Am westlichen Rand des Arykandos Potamos löst sich das Bergmassiv Mancarlı von der Hauptmasse der Beydağları (Masikyotos) und erstreckt sich in südlicher Richtung über Alacadağ und Gülmez Dağı–Bonda Tepesi, so daß zwischen Myra und Limyra eine felsige, steil ins Meer abfallende Landzunge (Bonda Burnu) entsteht (s. die Luftbilder, Abb. 2 und 4). Das auffälligste Charakteristikum dieser halbkreisförmigen Landzunge besteht darin, daß ihre sonst sehr zerklüftete Küstenlinie ungewöhnlich zahlreiche Biegungen hat, so daß zwischen der Lagune (Abb. 1 und 2) und dem Gök Liman (s. Karte 1) etwas südlich von Finike viele kleine Einbuchtungen zwischen steilen Felsabhängen entstanden sind (s. Abb. 2 und 5). Die Entfernung von der Einfahrt in die Lagune von Demre bis zum Hafen von Finike¹ quer durch die Halbinsel beträgt in Luftlinie etwa 7,8 km. Nach unseren Messungen beträgt die Entfernung von der Einfahrt in die Lagune, wo der Aufstieg des Römerweges auf den Bonda Tepesi in vielen Serpentinaen (s. Karte 2 und Abb. 3) seinen Anfang hat, bis zum Meilenstein (Abb. 4) bei dem Claudius–Monument auf

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¹ TK 1: 200 000 Kaş 36 II h.

dem Westhang des Berggipfels (763 m über dem Meeresniveau) 4,167 km und von dort über Bonda Tepesi und durch den Kasap Deresi, durch welchen auch die claudische Straße geführt wurde (διὰ τοῦ Μασικύτου), bis zum Hafen von Finike 7,677 km, also insgesamt 11,844 km. Hätte man den antiken Verkehrsweg entlang der Küste angelegt, so hätte seine Länge von der Einfahrt der Lagune bis zum Hafen von Finike 15,390 km betragen, d.h. man sparte durch die Führung der Trasse über den Berg nur ca. 3,5 km. Weil wegen der geologischen Formation des Küstenbereiches die Anlegung einer Straße entlang der Küste zwischen Dalyan und Finike äußerst schwierig zu bewerkstelligen gewesen wäre, haben die römischen Ingenieure die Alternative vorgezogen, den Verkehrsweg zwischen den beiden Orten quer durch den steil hochragenden Bonda Tepesi zu leiten. Bei dieser Entscheidung dürfte auch die Existenz zahlreicher Siedlungen auf dem Bonda-Massiv, wie Belos, Dinek, Bonda und Karakuyu etc.² eine Rolle gespielt haben. An dem Punkt unmittelbar vor der Einfahrt in die Lagune, wo der steile Aufstieg auf den Bonda Tepesi seinen Anfang nimmt, mußte sich ein Lasttierreiber entscheiden, ob er über die Landstraße δ[ι]ὰ το[ῦ] Μασικύτου in Richtung nach Limyra weiterziehen oder sein Gepäck in einen vor dem στόμα τῆς λίμνης (s. unten) geankerten Schiff umladen und seine Reise über den Seeweg fortsetzen wollte.



Karte 1: Verlauf der STR 59 (Myra – Limyra) und die antike Siedlungssituation auf dem Bonda Tepesi

Auffällig ist auch, daß man den Aufstieg der claudischen Straße zum Bonda Tepesi nicht an einem Punkt etwa bei der heutigen Ortschaft İskele (s. die Karte) am nördlichsten Ende der Lagune angelegt hat, von wo aus die Steigerung sicherlich viel sanfter verlaufen wäre, sondern direkt bei der Einfahrt der Lagune, von wo aus ein extrem steiler Serpentinweg zum Bonda notwendig wurde. Offenbar lag hier in der Antike direkt vor der Lagune ein kleiner Hafen, weil Schiffsverkehr im flachen

² Zu diesen Siedlungen s. demnächst die türkische Ausgabe des Stadiasmus Patavensis (Monographie 2 zu Gephyra), s.v. STR (GZR) 59.

Wasser der Lagune nicht möglich war. Anscheinend wurde die Landstraße bis zu diesem Punkt entlang der Ostküste der Lagune ausgebaut, um diesen kleinen Hafen für die Reisenden erreichbar zu machen. Dadurch erhielten jene, die in Richtung nach Osten reisen wollten, direkt vor dem Aufstieg des steilen Hanges des Bonda Tepesi die Möglichkeit, ihre Reise gegebenenfalls per Schiff fortzusetzen. Diese Alternative war wegen des unbequemereren Aufstiegs zum Bonda für den Reiseverkehr sicherlich wichtig.

Weil die Reise διὰ τοῦ Μασικότου mit vielen Strapazen verbunden war, wurde in der Antike besonders für den Warentransport von Myra nach Limyra offenbar der Seeweg bevorzugt. Ein seit längerem bekannter kaiserzeitlicher Volksbeschluss aus Myra nennt zur Regelung des verpachteten Frachtschiffbetriebs (ἡ ἐπὶ Λίμυρα πορθμικὴ ὤνῃ)³ von Osten nach Westen drei Anlegestellen, nämlich ἀπὸ τῆς Δασ[ε]ίας,⁴ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τῆς λίμνης und ἀπὸ Ἀνδριακῆς. Während στόμα τῆς λίμνης mit der Einfahrt in die Lagune ca. 5 km östlich von Myra (s. die Karte 1 und Abb.1/2) zu identifizieren und Andriake die bekannte Hafenstadt von Myra ist, blieb die Bedeutung und Lage der Δασεῖα in der Topographie der Gegend bisher unklar.

Mit Daseia dürfte die Landzunge (Bonda Burnu) zwischen Myra und Finike insgesamt gemeint sein. Das Toponym bezieht sich entweder auf ein vegetatives oder geophysikalisches Charakteristikum der Halbinsel bzw. ihrer Küste. Vorwiegend bezeichnete man mit δασύς, -εῖα, -ύ im Gegensatz zu ψιλός einen dichtgedrängten Bewuchs mit Bäumen oder Pflanzen.⁵ Wenn wir Δασεῖα in diesem Sinn für die Topographie der Bondahalbinsel zu erklären versuchen, stoßen wir aber auf Schwierigkeiten, weil diese Halbinsel, vor allem aber ihr Küstenbereich mit Bäumen bzw. mit Machia nur locker bewachsen ist (s. unten die Luftbilder) und wegen ihrer äußerst felsigen Natur auch in der Antike kaum mehr Waldbestand zu erwarten sein wird. Der ganze Berg besteht beinahe aus einem riesigen Steinhauften, was eine üppige Vegetation verhindert. Die nicht türkisch klingenden Orts- und Bergnamen wie Belos, Bonda oder Boldağ auf der Halbinsel gehen sicherlich auf eine antike Tradition zurück. Die Frage, ob zwischen diesen Ortsnamen und der felsigen Natur der Halbinsel eine volksetymologische Beziehung besteht, kann man nicht mit Sicherheit nachweisen.⁶

Vielmehr dürfte das Wort Daseia mit einer Eigenschaft der Küstenformation der Landzunge in Beziehung stehen, weil sie in der oben genannten Inschrift im Zusammenhang mit dem Schiffsfahrtsbetrieb von dieser Küste aus erwähnt wird. Daraus erklärt sich, daß Δασεῖα lediglich eine Eigenschaft der Felsküste der Bonda Burnu bezeichnet. Wie oben betont, weist die Küste dieser Halbinsel eine große Anzahl an Windungen oder Biegungen auf, so daß zwischen der Lagune im Westen und Gök Liman⁷ im Osten eine mit Buchten besetzte Küste entsteht. Wenn wir berücksichtigen, daß δασύς auch im Gegensatz von λείος (glatt, geebnet) gebraucht wird, so kann das Wort in der

³ Le Bas – Waddington, Inscriptions grecques Nr. 1311 = OGIS, Nr. 572; über den Inhalt der Inschrift vgl. Robert, Documents 52; ders., Noms indigènes 35 ff.; Zimmermann, Zentrallykien 233–235; Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 561; Takmer 2004, 112.

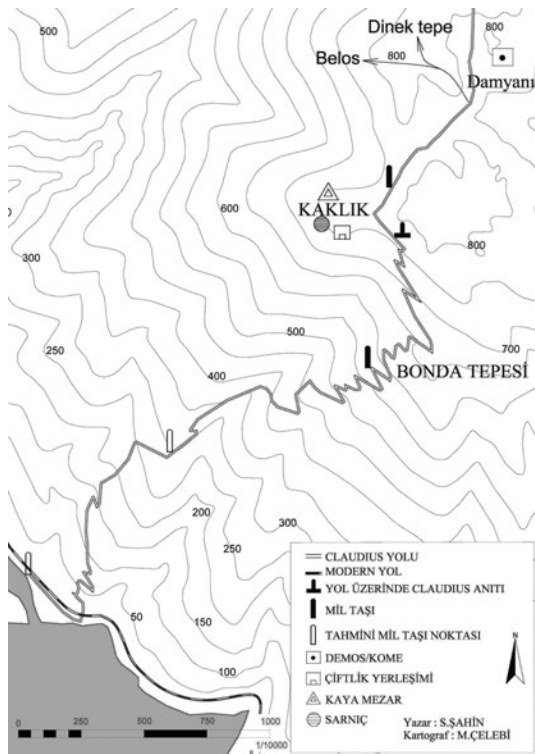
⁴ Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 561 Anm. 55 schlagen Δασ[ι]α statt Δασ[ε]ία vor.

⁵ Zu dieser Bedeutung des Wortes in der Toponymie vgl. die in Anm. 2 angegebenen Arbeiten von Robert sowie Schuler, Ländliche Siedlungen 122–123.

⁶ Zu vergleichen sind aber Βολεοὶ λίθων (SEG XI [1954] 377 Z. 16), die an der Grenze zwischen Hermione und Epidaurus lagen. Nach „Steinhauften“ ist auch die kretische Stadt Ὀλοῦς benannt (Wilhelm 1948, 73–74), deren älteres Ethnikon βολόεις, Βολοέντιοι, Βολόντιοι lautete. Ein Toponym Βολοῦς kommt auch in Astypalaia (I. G. XII, 3 Nr. 180 Z. 4) vor. Weiteres zum Thema s. Robert, Noms indigènes 33–34.

⁷ Nach Borchhardt, Steine von Zémuri 40 war der Gök Liman in der hellenistischen Zeit Kriegshafen von Limyra.

geologischen Formation der felsigen Küstenlinie auf eine dichte Hintereinanderreihung von Windungen deuten, was zwischen der Lagune und dem Gök Liman in der Tat der Fall ist (s. die Luftbilder). Obwohl dafür, soweit ich sehe, ein direkter Beleg fehlt, möchte ich $\Delta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ der oben zitierten Inschrift aus Myra als “Buchtenland” bzw. “Buchtenküste” verstehen. In diesem Fall dürfte Daseia sich nicht auf eine bestimmte Lokalität beziehen, sondern bezeichnet die Gesamtheit der Buchten zwischen der Lagune und Gök Liman, von denen mehrere als kleinere Anlegestellen geeignet sind.



Karte 2. Verlauf der claudischen Straße (STR 59) auf der Westseite des Bonda Tepesi

Auch in diesem Fall bleibt natürlich die Frage offen, welche Art von $\rho\alpha\rho\theta\mu\iota\kappa\eta\ \acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ von diesen Anlegestellen in Daseia in Richtung nach Limyra getrieben wurde. Personen- oder Warentransport von Andriake oder von der Lagune aus nach Osten ist zwar verständlich, da sie beide von dichten Siedlungen umgeben waren. Dagegen bleibt ein solcher Fährbetrieb aus dem Küstenbereich zwischen der Lagune und dem Gök Liman rätselhaft, weil in dieser öden Landschaft entlang der Küste wie heute auch in der Antike keine Niederlassungen zu finden sind. Die einzige Ausnahme stellt die bislang unentdeckt gebliebene Siedlung an der Kapspitze südlich des Gök Liman direkt gegenüber der kleinen Insel Güvercin Ada dar. Diese vom Land nur äußerst schwer erreichbare Hafensiedlung war nach Ausweis von gut zwei Dutzend Bauten von der hellenistischen Zeit bis in das späte Mittelalter hinein bewohnt. Bei der noch gut erhaltenen Basilika am Ostrand der Siedlung dürfte es sich um die in den mittelalterlichen Portulanan erwähnte Kirche des Heiligen Stephanos handeln.⁸

Die Einrichtung von Anlegestellen im Küstenbereich der Daseia wurde sicherlich auch nicht aufgrund der Transportbedürfnisse der Gebirgsbevölkerung der Bonda-Halbinsel bzw. ihrer Landesprodukte notwendig. Denn diese kleinen Ortschaften Belos, Dinek, Bonda und Karakuyu lagen in der nächsten Umgebung der STR 59, die sowohl nach Westen als auch nach Osten bergab durch das Gebiet führte, so daß Limyra über diese Strecke viel einfacher und bequemer zu erreichen war als über den Seeweg in der tief an der unwegsamen Küste gelegenen Daseia. Zudem ist diese wasserarme, felsige Berglandschaft für eine exportorientierte Landwirtschaft nur wenig geeignet. Daß diese Ortschaften, nach dem Umfang der erhaltenen Baureste aus der Kaiserzeit zu urteilen, dennoch über einen gewissen Wohlstand verfügten, steht vielleicht auch damit in Zusammenhang, daß die Anlegestellen in der Daseia von diesen Bergbewohnern betrieben wurden. Sie haben diese Anlagen nicht nur für die in der oben zitierten Inschrift geschilderten gesetzwidrigen Transporte, sondern wohl auch für Schmuggelgeschäfte mit den über See gebrachten Waren benutzt. Solche Geschäfte waren für Handelsschiffe trotz der damit verbundenen Risiken sicherlich sehr lukrativ, weil auf diese Weise Zölle und Hafengebühren umgangen

⁸ Quellennachweis bei Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 545, s.v. Geronta.

wurden, die in Andriake bzw. Myra entrichtet worden wären. Eine verlockende Rolle für das Schmuggelgeschäft spielte neben der schwer kontrollierbaren Topographie der Daseia auch der Umstand, daß solche Geschäfte meist in nächtlichen Stunden unternommen wurden.⁹

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Özet

Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (5): GZR 59 ve Daseia

Myra ile Limyra arasındaki Claudius devri Roma yolu olağanüstü kayalık ve girintili–çıkıntılı olan sahil boyunca değil, sarp yamaçlı Bonda Tepesi üzerinden geçirilerek inşa edilmiş ve böylece mesafe, çok meşakkatli bir tırmanışı gerektirmesi yanı sıra ancak 3.5 km kadar kısaltılmıştır. Bonda Tepesi güzergâhının (*GZR 59*: ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰς Λίμυρα δὲ ἰὰ τοῦ Μᾶσικύτου στάδια . . .) bu durumu

⁹ Vgl. z. B. das Zollgesetz von Andriake. § 7 Z. 48–50: ἀναπόγραφον τῶν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὑποτελῶν ὄντων μηδὲ [ν φορτί]ον μήτε [ε] ἐντιθέσθω, μηδεὶς μήτε ἀνα]λανβανέτω μήτε εισαγέτω ἢ εἰς [κ]ομιζέ[ε]τω μήτε ἐξαγέ[ω] ἢ ἐκκομιζέ[ε]τω μήτε [ν]υκτὸς φο[ρ]τιζέ[ε]σθω μήτε ἐξω τῶν ὄρων ἀναλανβανέτω [μή]τε ἐξορμιζέ[ε]τω κτλ. (“kein undeklariertes Frachtgut von Gegenständen, die gemäß diesem Gesetz zollpflichtig sind, soll weder (ins Schiff) befrachtet werden, noch jemand es (als solches) annehmen und einführen bzw. bei sich hinein oder hinaus führen, weder nachts ins Schiff beladen noch es über die Grenze hinaus (als Fracht) annehmen oder (aus dem Hafen) hinaus schiffen”); das Zollgesetz von Ephesos, § 22 Z. 53–55: ἀναπόγραφον μηδεὶς ἐμβαλλέσθω μηδὲ ἐξαιρείσθω μηδὲ ἐξαγέτω μήτε μὴν νυκτὸς ἐμβαλλέσθω μηδὲ [ἡμέρας, μήτε ἐκτὸς] τῶν προγεγραμμένων τόπων ἐμβαλλέσθω μηδὲ ἐξαιρείσθω μηδὲ ἐξαγέτω μηδὲ κατὰ γῆν εισβαλλέτω μηδὲ ἐκβαλλέτω μηδὲ [κτλ. (“undeklarierte Ware soll niemand einladen noch ausladen noch ausführen, weder bei Nacht soll er (sie) einladen noch bei [Tag; noch soll er (sie) außerhalb] der vorgeschriebenen Orte einladen noch ausladen noch ausführen noch soll er zu Land einführen noch ausführen noch [etc.]”). Für den Hinweis danke ich Herrn B. Takmer, der das Dokument von Andriake zur Veröffentlichung vorbereitet.

nedeniyle, Myra ile Limyra arasında, özellikle yük taşımacılığında rahatlığı nedeniyle deniz yolu tercih edilmiştir. Claudius yolunun neden örneğin Yukarı Beymelek üzerinden hafif bir yokuşla Bonda Tepesi'ne bağlanmadığı, tam tersine Dalyan'ın giriş yeri noktasına kadar deniz seviyesinde getirilip, buradan 800 m yüksekliğe dik bir tırmanışla çıkarıldığı da anlam kazanmaktadır. Zira Myra ve çevresinden kara yoluyla buraya kadar gelen yolcular yükleriyle birlikte iki seçenek karşısında kalmaktaydılar: ya zahmetli bir tırmanışı göze alarak Bonda Tepesi'ni aşıp Limyra istikametinde yollarına kara yoluyla devam edecekler, ya da Dalyan girişinde bekleyen bir gemiye binip deniz yoluyla aynı istikamete seyahat edeceklerdi. Roma İmparatorluk Çağına ait bir halk meclisi kararında doğuya (Limyra'ya) yapılacak yük ve insan taşımacılığı için üç liman ismi verilmektedir. Bunlardan en doğudaki Daseia, ortadaki Stoma tēs Limnēs (Dalyan'ın girişi) ve Andriake (ἀπὸ τῆς Δασ[εί]ας, ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τῆς λίμνης ve ἀπὸ Ἀνδριακῆς) olup, bu mevkiilerdeki iskelelerden Limyra'ya yapılacak izinsiz taşımacılık yapanlara ceza uygulamalarını öngörmektedir. Bu üç limandan Daseia'nın ne yeri ve ne de topografide taşıdığı anlamı açıklanabilmiştir. Sözlük anlamında ya bir sıklığı, yoğunluğu ya da düz olmayan, pürüzlü durumları ifade eden sözcük, toponym olarak kullanıldığında genellikle sık ağaçlık yerler için kullanılmaktadır. Ancak bu durum, Bonda Burnunun bitki örtüsüne uygun bir durumu kesinlikle yansıtmamaktadır. Zira olağanüstü kayalık ve taşlık olan arazi sık bir bitki örtüsünün, bugün olduğu gibi antik çağda da, oluşmasına engel olarak görülmektedir. Bu nedenle sözcüğün bu coğrafyada diğer anlamda, yani pürüzlü, engebeli, girintili çıkıntılı, eğri-büğrü bir arazi yapısını göstermek için kullanılmış olması daha olasıdır. Zira Dalyan ile Finike'nin az güneyindeki Gök Liman arasındaki tamamen kayalık sahil şeridi olağanüstü girintili ve çıkıntılı bir yapıya sahip olup, birçok iskelenin kurulmasına elverişli koylara da sahiptir. Kıyı şeridinin ve kuzeyinde yükselen Bonda Tepesi'nin bu özelliği bugün olduğu gibi antik çağda da insan yerleşimini engellemiştir. Tamamen ıssız ve hiç bir yol bağlantısının bulunmadığı bu sahil boyunca büyük bir olasılıkla tekneler aracılığıyla kaçakçılık ve kaçak taşımacılık, Myra şehir meclisinin müdahalesine yol açacak kadar ilerlemiş ve sorun haline gelmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Bonda; Daseia; Dalyan; Claudius yolu; kaçakçılık; Myra; Limyra.



Abb. 1: Myra, Myrostal und Lagune aus der Höhe des Bonda Tepesi (Luftbild).

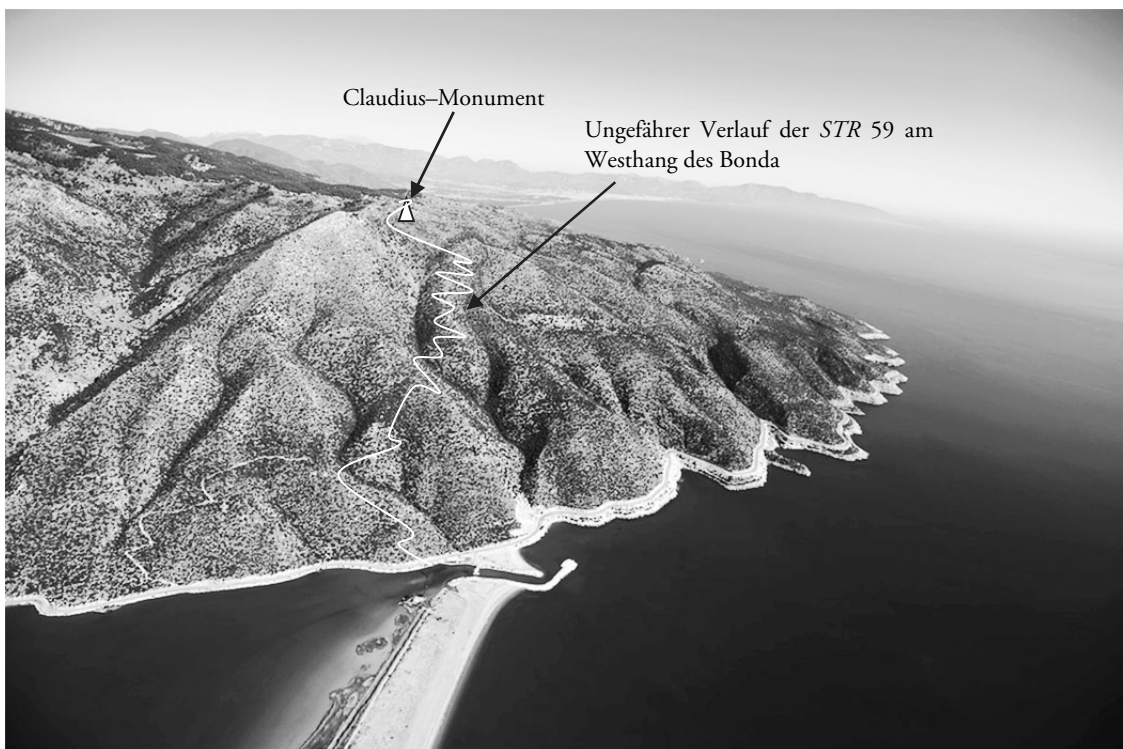


Abb. 2: Einfahrt in die Lagune mit Bonda Burnu und Buchtenküste (Daseia) [Luftbild].



Abb. 3: Serpentinien der claudischen Straße auf dem Hang des Bonda Tepesi.

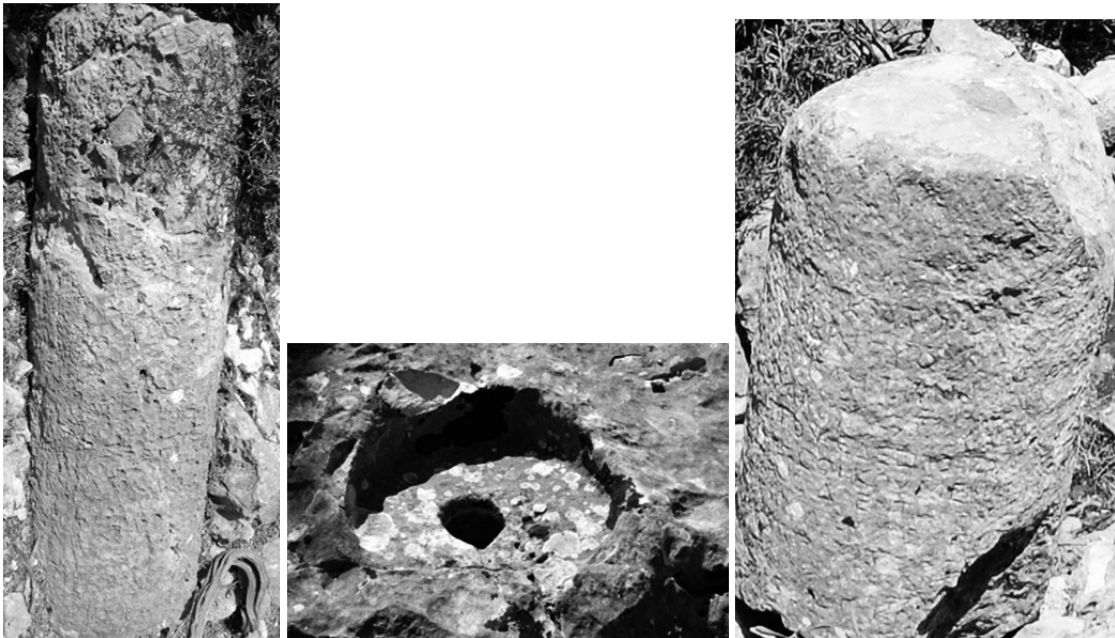


Abb. 4: Meilensteine am Westhang des Bonda Tepesi und Höhlung im Felsen mit dem Befestigungsloch des Meilensteines.



Abb. 5: Küstenlandschaft zwischen der Lagune und dem Gök Liman.



Abb. 6: Gök Liman bei Finike.

Fatih ONUR* – Mehmet ALKAN**

Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (6): Route 54 (Patara – Phellos) and new inscriptions

Abstract: In the field survey of the Stadiasmus Patarensis (SP) in 2009, the route between Patara and Phellos was investigated. The distance between Patara and Phellos in the SP was restored as 240 stadia (45–46 km) by the editors. The route reaches Phellos via the Kısık pass – Akbel – Sarnıçbaşı – Uçova – Bezirgân – Sarıbelen/Sidek – Gökçeören/Seyret – Yeniköy – Çukurbağ and Pınarbaşı. There seems to have been another road following the water canal up to Akbel, but this must have been employed in a later period. No trace relating to the ancient road from Akbel to İslamlar could be found, nevertheless an inscription (no. 1) on a tomb on the upper levels of the waterway in the Öz neighbourhood of İslamlar confirms that the western slopes of Mount Kışla of this region was within the territory of Patara. The ancient road to Phellos reaches Sarnıçbaşı 2 km southwest of Kalkan via Yeşilköy/Fırnaz and Akbel. Then it climbs up to the Bezirgân Plain over a pass near “Ambararası”. This pass was controlled by the settlement on Hisartepe which rises to the south of the pass and has many ancient remains on its summit. An inscription from where the road meets the plain records a certain Euelthon from Patara, who fulfilled many services for his fatherland and was buried in that place, indicating that at least the southern parts of the Bezirgân Plain, including Hisartepe and its surroundings, were within the territorial control of Patara. When Bezirgan Plain, the southern end of which is 11 m lower in elevation, was a lake, the road passage was impossible. The tunnel at the southern end of the plain was probably cut by the time of Claudius, to empty the water from the lake, after which, the road led directly across the plain. A secondary road running from the western side of the plain should have connected the main roads of Patara–Phellos and Xanthos–Neisa, and two passages at the ends of this road, the Alacaışık pass (in the north, under the control of Xanthos) and the Hisartepe pass (in the south, under the control of Patara) were most probably the control and change points on these main roads. From Hisartepe the road continues to Gökçeören/Seyret via Sarıbelen/Sidek and Döşeme, near where some traces of ancient road pavement can be seen. A secondary road to the south from Sidek to Seyret via Üçkuyu, where there is a sarcophagus with inscription (No. 3) revealing the extension of the territory of Patara to these lands. Another inscription on a sarcophagus amongst the remains on Gökçeören hill does not provide information concerning a place name, though it can perhaps be suggested that this settlement on Gökçeören administratively belonged to Patara. After Gökçeören, the ancient route should have passed Çağlarca, Pınarbaşı, Yeniköy, Çukurbağ and Pınarbaşı to reach Phellos.

Keywords: Lycia; Roman roads; Patara; Phellos; Xanthos; Claudius.

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Map 1: The route 54 and its connections

The investigation of Route (RT) 54 (from Patara to Phellos) formed one of the objectives of the 2009 campaign of the field survey of the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* (SP). Although the block recording the distance is lost, this section was restored as 240 stadia (45–46 km) by Şahin and Adak, from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the modern distance between Patara and Kaş¹. This route leads from Patara to Phellos, via Akbel – Sarnıçbaşı – Uçova – Bezirgân – Sarıbelen/Sidek – Gökçeören/Seyret – Yeniköy – Çukurbağ and Pınarbaşı.

From Patara to Akbel

Although the initial part of the route from Patara to Phellos could not be determined, due to obstruction from the Patara Excavation Directorate, some suggestions can still be made. In the SP, there are two routes from Patara, one leading to Xanthos (RT 1) and the other one to Phellos (RT 54). The route to Xanthos reaches its destination via Ova Gelemiş, passing through the Kısık defile. The route to Phellos follows the same path probably until somewhere after the outlet of the Kısık Boğazı, and then it leads to Yeşilköy/Fırnaz. There may also be a secondary mountain route reaching Yeşilköy/Fırnaz via Delikkemer, which was constructed by the time of Nero and Vespasian, as is recorded on two inscriptions². These inscriptions are placed near the doors of the aquaduct; one is on the right of the door on the north–eastern side, the other above the door on the south–western side. This indicates the existence of ancient pathways, which do not belong to the Claudian road system. Thus Şahin expressed the view that the route to Phellos was identical until somewhere after the Kısık defile in its original Claudian construction, but there should have been another route parallel to the water canal reaching Akbel more rapidly, that was built somewhat later between 50 and 54 AD, or at least following the Vesapasianic repair of the aquaduct in 69 AD³.

A funerary inscription of Tiberius Claudius Capitolinus, citizen of both Rome and Patara, may also indicate a road connection nearby⁴. But in any case, both paths unite in Yeşilköy/Fırnaz and should continue to Akbel in the direction of Kalkan as a single road, since there is no trace relating to a road connection in antiquity between Akbel and İslamlar, where the water sources of Patara were located. A tomb on the upper levels of the ancient water canal in Öz Mahallesi of İslamlar shows the district was within the territory of Patara.

No.1) The Tomb of Apollonides (figs. 3–4)

A funerary chamber cut in the bedrock. The front face of the chamber is walled with large blocks, leaving an opening for the entrance. The wall is partially damaged. On the blocks above and next to the opening there is a Greek inscription of 9 lines.

Chamber: L.: 2.50 m; H.: 2.01 m; Wall: D.: 0.41 m; Lh.: 2–2.5 cm.

¹ Şahin – Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarensis*, 252: “Denn auf der *Tabula Peutingeriana* X 2 ist dieselbe Strecke angeführt: *Pataras XXX Antifillon LIII Coridallo XXVIII Phaselis*. 30 römische Meilen (etwa 44,5 km) entsprechen ungefähr der heutigen Entfernung (ca. 46 km) zwischen Patara und Kaş. Die ausgefallene Stadienzahl dürfte also etwa um 240 gelegen haben.”; Şahin, *Roma Yolları* 24–25 (GZR. 54).

² Şahin 2007; İşkan-Işık – Eck – Engelmann 2008, 115–118; Jones 2008; Şahin 2009, 336–343; Şahin 2008, 9–18.

³ Şahin 2010b, 142.

⁴ Şahin 2007, 100, dn.12 (Taf. XIV): Τιβ. Κλαύδιος [Καπετω]λείνος Ῥωμαί[ος καί] | Παταρεὺς κατεσ[κεύ]ασεν τὸ ἡρώων ἑαυτῶ | καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις | καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἄλλ[λ]ω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω.

[Ἀπολλ]ωνίδης Μηνοφίλο{φίλο}υ
κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ
γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις·
4 μηδεὶνὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ τεθῆναι, ἐπὶ ὁ-
φειλέτω
τῆ πόλι τῆ Πα-
δηνάρι- ταρέων
8 α πεντα-
κόσια.

*“[Apoll]onides, son of Me-
nophilos built this monument
for himself, his wife, his chil-
dren and his descendents. No
one else (is permitted) to en-
tomb, otherwise (the transpass-
er) shall pay a fine of five hun-
dred denaria to the city of
Patarans.”*

l.1: Μηνοφίλο{φίλο}υ: The letters -φίλο- are repeated incorrectly; l.4: ἐπὶ = ἐπεὶ

The location of the grave is near to the Pataran water canal, 3.5 km north of Kalkan, 1.7 km to the south of İslamlar. This place is also 3 km south–southwest of the ruins of Mount Kışla (Köybaşı), within the territory of Xanthos. That the fine for tomb violation was to be paid to Patara reveals that the region from the headwaters of the Patara waterway, namely from the north of İslamlar, lying on the western slopes of Köybaşı, was an area attached to the territory of Patara in the Roman imperial period.⁵ The remains of the ancient road leading to Akbel via Yeşilköy/Fırnaz were found during our field surveys in the region.

From Akbel to “Ambarlar” pass at Bezirgân

The main ancient road leading east from Akbel most probably follows a path parallel to the old modern road to Kalkan. A part of this ancient route still exists 1.5 km to the east of Fırnaz next to the old modern road before Kalkan.⁶ This remaining part is 3.5m in length, cut into the bedrock and lined with blocks along its sides. No other remains from this ancient route could be traced until Sarnıçbaşı, since most of the ancient path was most probably lost during the construction of the old modern road. From Sarnıçbaşı, where there is a large Ottoman cistern (fig. 5), the ancient route does not continue to the east where the deep valleys render passage almost impossible, but instead leads in a weaving route north to the Bezirgân plain, ca. 400 m higher than Sarnıçbaşı (figs. 6–7).

This road is mostly preserved, although damaged in many sections, and it was constructed mostly by paving stones and through cutting into the bedrock. This route was in use up until recent times, so in many sections repairs and additional shortcuts can be found. The road reaches the top at a plain called Uçova. In the southern part of this plain, there are remains of a colonnaded basilical structure dating from the Early Byzantine Period, which was considered a monastery complex or a pilgrimage resort by Hellenkemper and Hild⁷. They describe it as 18.50 m in length, consisting of three naves

⁵ Şahin – Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarensis* 133; Schuler (2010), in an article based upon an inscription from the Köybaşı settlement, claims that these ruins of Kışla Dağı/Köybaşı should have been within the territory of Patara. However, Şahin (2010a, 144; 2010b, 143) expressed the impossibility of this claim, by putting forward the evidence from the road network of the *Stadiasmus* providing the existence of the sole connection from Xanthos (on the route to Neisa) but not from Patara. Hence, in terms of administration, the settlement on Köybaşı evidently must have been associated only with Xanthos.

⁶ Şahin – Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarensis* 253.

⁷ Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 485–486, s.v. Bezirgân.

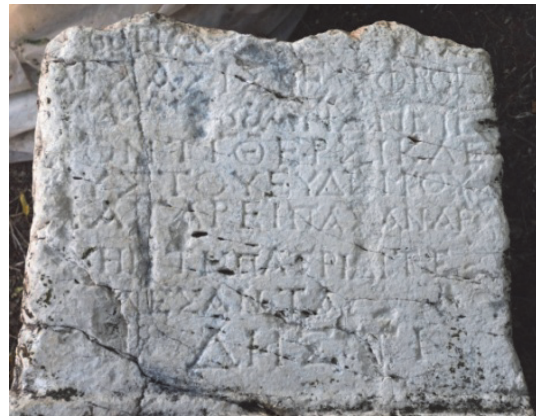
and without a narthex (fig. 8). Near to this, a smaller church and ancient cisterns were observed. At the top of Hisartepe rising to the south of the area where the ancient road meets the Bezirgân Plain, there are the remains of many pre-Roman and Roman buildings surrounded by a circular unmortered fortification wall, which was mentioned by Spratt and Forbes with disappointment⁸. The ancient road reaches the west side of the Bezirgân Plain, where there are ca. 90 small granaries of the Lycian type, through the pass between Hisartepe and Mount Kışla (figs. 9–10). The distance to this spot from Sarnıçbaşı is ca. 4 km. During our investigations in this area an inscription was found (probably the one mentioned by Hellenkemper and Hild, see the reference above).

No. 2) Dedication of Arsasis for her husband Euelthon

A base, the upper half of which is lost. Locals stated that it was brought from the top of Hisartepe and the other half was left in its original place. However, our search for the upper half found no success. The stone is in front of the house of Yusuf Ecek, opposite the small granaries.

H.: 68 cm; L.: 54–70 cm; D.: 56–59 cm; Lh.: 2.5–3 cm.

 ΩΠΑ- - - - - ἡ κα[ι]
 2 Ἄρσασις ^{vac.} Ε[ὐ]φρο{γ}<σ>-
 [ύνου] τῷ ἀνδρὶ Εὐέ[λ]-
 4 [θ]οντι Θερσικλέ-
 ους τοῦ Εὐδήμου
 6 Παταρεῖ πᾶσαν ἀρ-
 χὴν τῇ πατρίδι τε-
 8 λέσαντ{α}<ι>



Διὶ ΣΤΙ

“... (So and so) *alias* Arsasis ... for her husband Euelthon of Patara, (who is) the son of Thersikles and grandson of Eudemos, and (who) accomplished every official duty towards his motherland (to Zeus ... ?).”

l. 1–3: It is not known if there was another personal name or an institution recorded in the lost first part of this inscription. Although the personal name Ἄρσασις is peculiar to Lycia, here it seems to be a nickname. At the end of the second line, the name of her father or an ethnicon or perhaps a profession can be expected. The surviving letters of Ε . ΦΡΟΓ, which do not provide a proper sense, should be understood in this context. The last letter of the line is almost certainly a gamma; since elsewhere in the inscription the sigmas are all four-barred (Σ), it is unlikely that we have a square sigma (◻) here. It is conceivable that a name such as Ἀφρογένης could be restored here, but the patronym Εὐφρόσυνος (suggested by P. Thonemann) fits the lacuna perfectly and gives the expected sense, although it does require the assumption of a mason's error (gamma for sigma).

l. 4–5: The personal name Θερσικλῆς has not been attested in Asia Minor prior to this inscription. Beyond Asia Minor only the genitive form Θερσικλέος has been reported from Delphi⁹.

⁸ Spratt – Forbes, *Travels* I 56–57.

⁹ CID II 120 and 122; FD III 5.92 and 5.93; LGPN IIIA, 207, s.v. Θερσικλῆς; cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 207.

l. 9: Perhaps Δῖ Σ(ω)τ(ῆρ)ι: Though there is no sample of this use, it was abbreviated twice in an inscription from Athens, see IG II² 2449: ...Δῖ Σ(ωτῆρι) ...

Euelthon was a Pataran, who probably had lands on the southern part of the Bezirgan Plain and Uçova and fulfilled many services for his homeland. This inscription is a definite indication that at least the southern part of the Bezirgân Plain including Hisartepé and its surroundings belonged to Patara¹⁰ and the ruins on Hisartepé (figs. 11–12), which is the reputed origin of this inscription according to the local population, should be identified as the structures of a small settlement that was primarily built for the control of the road¹¹ and of the passage into the plain.

It is clear that the territorial rights of the cities seem to have been taken into account during the preparation of the route system recorded on the SP¹². A general remarkable feature concerning the routes of the SP is that the roads are usually between the neighbouring cities. If the road enters into the territory of a city other than those of the origin and the destination, the SP informs us of this through the formulation “διὰ + place name (without article)”. That is to say, essentially, that the roads always remained in the territories of the settlements given in their routes. So, since the route between Patara and Phellos was given directly, this road must have run only within the territories of Patara and Phellos. Then the road led in the direction of Saribelen/Sidek via the Bezirgân Plain, without entering the southern territory of Xanthos (e.g. the area north of İslamlar and Köybaşı).

From “Ambarlar” to Gökçeören/Seyret

Bezirgân plain is actually a former lake bed and so when there was a lake, it was impossible to cross the water. How this problem was overcome was understood due to an ancient water drainage channel cut into the southern end of the plain (figs. 13–14)¹³. According to Şahin this channel kept the plain dry and it was cut by Roman engineers in order to make the direct route passable from “Ambarlar” to opposite slope across the bed of the former lake¹⁴. This channel is ca. 400 m in length, 2–2.5 m in height and 1–1.5 m wide. Although it was largely cut in bedrock, there is also masonry employed at the entrance and exit. The channel is still in use today to drain the water from the plain. The water flowing from this channel pours down from Düdenbaşı and reaches “Sarnıçbaşı”, where the large Ottoman cistern is, and then leading to the northwest, it flows into the sea at Zeytin Kayası on the eastern shores of Kalkan.

But there are some points that need to be considered concerning the matter of the road passing Bezirgân. If passage was not possible across the Bezirgân plain when it was a lake, travellers from the direction of Patara must have used a different route prior to the construction of the Claudian road. Some possibilities can be taken into consideration: 1– The road did not go up to Bezirgân and there was another route leading to the east, to the valley of Saribelen/Sidek after Kalkan; but in this case it is hard to answer the question as to why the Claudian engineers did not use this, but preferred to build a new road up to the high Bezirgân plain, and then emptied the water of this plain through a channel 400 m long cut into the bedrock and make the road’s route direct to the opposite slope. 2– The channel was already built and the route was already in use before the road was constructed at the time of Claudius. 3– The passengers from Patara to Phellos were using a path on the western

¹⁰ Zimmermann, *Zentrallykien* 57; Şahin 2010b, 141 (where he also mentioned this inscription).

¹¹ Spratt – Forbes, *Travels* I 57.

¹² Şahin (2010b, 143) notes this consideration concerning the borders of the cities in SP.

¹³ Büyükyıldırım, *Su Yapıları* 62–66.

¹⁴ Şahin 2010, 141.

side of the Bezirgân plain when it was a lake passing in the direction of Köybaşı, meaning that the path was entering the territory of Xanthos, dating to before the SP.

The last option is the most sensible one, since the existence of an ancient connection between the coast and inland is indispensable. This connection between Hisartepe and Köybaşı is the only path that can make this possible in the region. As a matter of fact, the remains of this ancient path, leading from “Ambarlar” to the north, remains visible behind the houses in north near to the small granaries. The customs pass points, which according to Şahin¹⁵ can be extracted from the routes recorded in the SP, are remarkable in this respect. It is possible that the Hisartepe pass, where Euelthon of Patara was commemorated, could have been employed as the customs point of Patara for traders from the north. For example, once those coming from Neisa reached the mountain pass of Alacaşık (below Köybaşı), if they continued to the west they would arrive at Xanthos, but if they continued to the south they would arrive at Patara. Similarly, those journeying from Patara to Neisa would exit from the main road at the Hisartepe pass and continue to Alacaşık to join the main road from Xanthos to Neisa. The same procedure may be applied to those who wished to journey from Phellos to Xanthos. If this is the case, it shows that the cities still preserved the right to benefit from the main roads lying within their territory at the time of Claudius. Considering these arrangements, the reason for the direct passage of the road from “Ambarlar” to Yumrutepe can also be understood in the context of the territorial adjustments concerning Xanthos and Patara which occurred in the reign of Claudius and have been stated by Şahin¹⁶. Namely, after the plain was emptied of water, in the reign of Claudius, the road crossed without entering the Xanthian territory and the territorial rights according to these new adjustments could be protected. Then perhaps most and maybe all of the land that was formerly covered by the lake was given to Patara or shared with Xanthos.

Though the exact place where the road passed the plain could not be determined, the road called “Orta Yol” (Middle Road) by the locals seems suitable for the pass. The ancient path reaches up to the Yumrutepe mountain pass (fig. 15) and should then be combined with the modern road at the altitude of 890 m. The elders of the region narrated that they were using this mountain pass to arrive in Bezirgân in times past. From this point, to the south the ancient road again becomes visible, weaving down to the plain of Sarıbelen/Sidek (fig. 16), then it should have crossed the plain, most probably following the modern road up to the neighbourhood of Ambararası.

In this plain and in the area until Döşeme, a neighbourhood of Sarıbelen on the way to Gökçeören/Seyret, no trace of the ancient road could be found. As can be expected from the name Döşeme (Eng. *Pavement*), here there once was the pavement of an ancient road and, in fact, this route is the only suitable geographical option for a road that would continue towards the east (in the direction of Gökçeören/Seyret). 1–1.5 km east of Döşeme, there are the remains of the pavement of an ancient road (fig. 17) and, although the cart-rut traces mentioned by Ross¹⁷ could not be found today, it was concluded that this road reaches Gökçeören/Seyret (fig. 18) along the course of the modern road. There is another ancient path reaching Gökçeören/Seyret from Ambararası, marked as the “Lycian Way” by Clow¹⁸ and employed by countrymen in past times. Although this path goes down to Şahin Tepesi from Ambararası and reaches Gökçeören via Tarlalı and Kuruovadüzü, it is a side road arriving in ancient remains along the way.

¹⁵ Şahin 2011, 38.

¹⁶ Şahin 2010b, 143.

¹⁷ Ross, Kleinasien 43.

¹⁸ Clow, Lycian Way 59.

There are three hills called Şahin Kayası lying to the south of Ambararsı and the Döşeme neighbourhood. On the most southerly of these hills there is an acropolis of a settlement, encircled by fortified ramparts. The walls of this acropolis, first visited by Benndorf and Niemann¹⁹, include polygonal masonry. There are more than 30 building foundations in this settlement, which most probably dates from the Classical period. A rock-cut tomb of the Lycian type was constructed on the western slope of the hill and the Lycian inscription of the tomb recorded in TL 52 has been recently destroyed. Furthermore, the sarcophagi that are mentioned by Benndorf and Niemann have not survived. Sidek, which is the old name of the village of Sarıbelen and which is still employed by countrymen, has been identified²⁰ with the Sidake recorded as a city of Lycia (Σιδάκη, πόλις Λυκίας) by Stephanos Byzantinos²¹. The resemblance of these names can be easily accepted, and additionally, it is reasonable to locate Sidake on the acropolis 1.2 km east of the present village of Sarıbelen/Sidek.

1.5 km south of the side road mentioned above there is another side path which is parallel to the sea. This path can be followed to the Üçkuyu neighbourhood of Sarıbelen/Sidek, 4.5 km south of Gökçeören/Seyret. According to French²², this road is connected to the ancient road that leads from Antiphellos to Yeniköy. In the Üçkuyu neighbourhood there are ancient remains including a Hellenistic tower (fig. 19), cisterns (fig. 20), an inscribed sarcophagus and the foundations of various buildings (seen by French in 1994, see fn. 22). The inscription recorded on the sarcophagus shows that the territory of Patara included this settlement.

No.3) The Grave of Soterikhos and Hoplon

Sarcophagus with podium; Üçkuyu neighbourhood – Sidek Sehili (of Sarıbelen); 1 km east of the Baldıran district. The lid is lost. Spratt – Forbes and Davies, who formerly saw the sarcophagus, recorded the name of the district as Sidek–Sehili²³.



Fig. 1: Sidek–Sehili. Sarcophagus.



Fig. 2 Sidek–Sehili. Sarcophagus. Inscription.

¹⁹ Benndorf – Niemann, *Reisen*, 128.

²⁰ Kalinka 1900, 61; Ruge 1923, 2208; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 845, s.v. Sidakē.

²¹ Steph. Byz. 565.5–7: Σιδάκη, πόλις Λυκίας, ἀπὸ Σιδάκης τῆς Ἀμισωδάρου. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σιδακηνός καὶ Σιδακηνή [καὶ Σιδακηνόν], καὶ Σιδακεὺς τῶ τῆς χώρας ἔθει· χαίρουσι γὰρ τῶ τύπῳ; Zgusta, *Ortsnamen*, 565.

²² French 1996, 3.

²³ Spratt – Forbes, *Travels* I 59; Davies 1895, 107.

Davies 1895, 107, no. 16:

ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΙΩ
 ΤΗΡΙΧΟΣΚΑΙΟΜ
 ΠΙΝΑ . ΙΣΛΟ . ΙΤΛΙ
 ΗΝΠΟΠΛΙΟ . . Λ
 5 ΙΠΠΟΛΟΧΟΥΠΑΤΑ . ΙΙΙΙΣΙ
 ΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΙΙΙΙ

Zimmermann 1992, 57–58 (partial):

... δούλοι τῶν ἀξιολοωτάτων κληρονόμων
 Ποπλίου καὶ Λεονντίου τῶν Ἴππολόχου
 Παταρέων ...

Davies suggests Σωτήριχος for the name at the end of lines one and two and, Ἴππόλοχος for the beginning of line five. Furthermore he conjectures that the beginning of line three is Πιναρίς as an ethnicon, similarly the end of line five as Παταρίς²⁴. Re-examination of the inscription gave the conclusions below.

H.: 128 cm; L.: 247 cm; D.:75 cm; Lh.: 2.5–3 cm.

τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασαν Σω-
 2 τήριχος καὶ Ὀπλῶν δούλοι
 τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων [κ]ληρονό-
 4 μων Ποπλίου καὶ Λεοννάτου
 Ἴππολόχου Πατα[ρ]έων ἑαυτοῖς
 6 [κ]αὶ γυν[αιξί κ]αὶ τέκνοις αὐτῶν.

“Soterikhos and Hoplon, slaves of the most excellent heirs in possession, Publius and Leonnatos, sons of Hippolokhos, of Patara, built this tomb for themselves, their wives, and their children.”

L. 2–3: δούλοι and ἀξιολογωτάτων: the closest example in Lycia is from Aperlai: ... δούλω τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων Λυσάνδρου καὶ Διοφάντου.²⁵ The designation of ἀξιολογώτατος clearly indicates that they were amongst the notables of Patara. Soterikhos and Hoplon, their slaves, lived in this place providing a special service, most probably tasked of controlling the lands of their owners²⁶. The slaves or freedmen performing such tasks are mentioned in inscriptions as πραγματευτής (*Lat.* actor), which can be translated as “steward, business representative, agent, attorney” etc.²⁷

This sarcophagus is located ca. 18 km east of Patara and, ca. 14 km west of Phellos and Anthipellos. It is ca. 4 km southeast of the ruins at Gökçeören/Seyret. To the west of this sarcophagus there is also known to be another colossal sarcophagus, approximately halfway between Sidek–Yayla and Sidek–Sehili, that records that the fine for tomb violation should be paid to Patara²⁸. So given this case, the territory of Patara seems to have extended at least to these lands in the east. Publius and Leonnatos, prominent men of Patara, should have possessed field(s) around Üçkuyu and entrusted

²⁴ Davies 1895, 108.

²⁵ Gardner 1885, 357 no.122.

²⁶ Zimmermann, *Zentrallykien* 58 fn. 20.

²⁷ It is observed that the masters of such persons sometimes appertained to the senatorial class, e.g. ITeos 164 = CIG 3104 = IGR IV 1576 (Teos): Διονύσιος, δ(οῦλος) πραγματευτής Φλ(αβίας) Δημητρίας Φλακίλλης ὑπατικῆς; TAM V,2 1213 = SEG XIX 705 (Apollonis, Lydia): ... Εὐτυχιανὸς Φλ(αβίας) Πωλλίττης ὑπατικῆς δ(οῦλος) πραγματευτής; ITral. 194 (Tralleis): ... Δαδούχου, Γ(αίου) Ἰου(λίου) Φιλίππου συγκλητικοῦ δούλου πραγματευτοῦ ...

²⁸ Benndorf – Niemann, *Reisen* 129, no. 102: τὴν [σω]ματο[θή]κ[ην] κατε[σκευ]ασεν [ὁ δεῖνα ἑαυτῶ | κ]αὶ γυν[αι]κί Αὐρ[η]λίᾳ? | καὶ τῶ]ιου Παταρεῖ [καὶ αὐτ]ῶ κα[ὶ | γ]υν[αι]κ[ί] αὐτοῦ Ἐνθούση | καὶ τέκ[νοι]ς αὐτῶν | ἄλλω δὲ οὐδεν[ὶ ἐξ]ἑσ[τ]ῶ ἐνκηδεῦσα[ὶ τ]ίνα | - - - - - | τῇ Παταρέων πόλει | - - - - - πεντακ[ὶ]όσια]; Davies 1895, 108: “About half-way between Sidek Yayla and Sidek–Sehili a sarcophagus above the road has been discovered by the Austrians”.

their property to their slaves, Soterikhos and Hoplon²⁹.

The Claudian road coming from Sarıbelen–Döşeme following the modern road reaches the north of Gökçeören/Seyret hill, upon which are the ruins of most probably ancient Seroia or Seroiata³⁰. The road here passes the rockcut tombs and a Lycian pillar tomb upon a rectangular construction on the northern side of the hill. Since the ancient site of Gökçeören was on the main road of Patara – Phellos of the SP, it requires that the site must have subjected to either Patara or Phellos (like the Köybaşı settlement on the way from Xanthos to Neisa) It can be suggested that the ancient settlement on Gökçeören/Seyret might have been associated with Patara, the territory of which extends nearby as mentioned above. An inscription on a sarcophagus amongst the ruins on the hill of Gökçeören/Seyret had partially been published. This inscription was re–investigated in our researches, but no information concerning any place name was acquired.

No. 4) The Sarcophagus of M. Aur. Hippolokhos

The sarcophagus is on a podium; it is damaged in several places. On its front is an inscription largely rubbed off, the letters are shallow and have become almost illegible. Publication: IGR III 686, only last five lines.

H.: vessel – 127 cm, podium – 83 cm; D.: vessel – 204 cm, lid – 51 cm; L.: 204 cm; Lh.: 2.5 – 3 cm; Tabula: 60 x 60 cm, with ansata L.: 101 cm.

τὸ ἡρώων κατεσκεύα-
 σεν Μ. Αὐρ. Ἴππολόχος
 Πάππου ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ
 4 γυναικί μου Φλαβία ..-
 ..Υ καὶ τέκνοις. ἐτέ-
 ρω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξῶν εἶ-
 ναι ἐνκηδεῦσαι τινα
 8 ἢ ἀποτείσει τῷ ἱερῶ-
 τάτῳ ταμείῳ Χ ,βφ´.



“(I) M. Aur. Hippolokhos, built this heroon for (my)self, my wife Flavia... and (my) children. No one else (is permitted) to entomb anyone, otherwise (the transgressor) shall pay a fine of 2500 denarii to the most sacred treasury.”

²⁹ Zimmermann, Zentrallykien 57–58: “Aus der Errichtung des Grabes in Sidek durch zwei δοῦλοι τῶν ἀξιολογώτατων κληρονόμων Ποπλίου καὶ Λεοντίου τῶν Ἴππολόχου Παταρέων die mithin als Verwalter eines Gutes von prominenten Bürgern Pataras im Bergland tätig gewesen sein dürften, läßt sich die Nutzung dieses Teils des zentrallykischen Berglandes durch die Polis Patara und wohl auch durch Xanthos als fruchtbare Sommerfrische und Wasserreservoir für die Kaiserzeit und ohne großes Risiko auch für hellenistische Zeit annehmen.”; Ehrhardt (1990, 186), emphasizes that three of the seven documents (see above fn. 27) that are from Lydia – Apollonis, Teos and Tralleis (Ehrhardt reported as Smyrna) remain in senatorial lands and he claims that another four documents (Telmessos, TAM II 59 = IGR III 544; Rome: IG XIV 2057; Philippi: Perdrizet 1990, 313, no. 5) should also be related to senatorial lands; See Lane 1962 for another similar sample from Laconia. Though there are documents relating to slaves, about whose masters it is not known if they had a senatorial connection, some of these slaves had masters connected to high provincial administrators such as Asiarchs, Thracharchs and Lykiarchs (Ehrhardt 1990, 187, with fn. 12, 13 and 14; for a similar occurrence in Lycia see Naour 1978, 11, no. 12.

³⁰ Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 840–841.

After AD 211 (Constitutio Antoniniana). Since the fine should be paid to the imperial treasury³¹ and there is neither ethnicon nor place-name, the name of the settlement or polis which it was associated with cannot today be determined.

From Gökçeören/Seyret to Phellos

There seems to have been three options to reach Phellos from Gökçeören/Seyret. Firstly, passing near Kabapınar on Mount Asas, then the northern slopes of Felen Mountain. There is no trace of a main road on this path, but it probably served as a secondary route for the mountainous regions. Secondly, to the south, following the modern road from the southern slopes of Mount Asas. This road today actually connects Gökçeören to Yeniköy. This road first goes down 2 km to the southwest of Gökçeören, then turns east from Seyret Çağılı passing over a rocky section at an alt. of 780 m, which was clearly employed in antiquity given the major construction work (fig. 21) to provide a route up the incline. There is no evidence for a similar construction for the second route, which is steeper. The route continues to the north of Çağlarca/Mumuda, which at its lowest point is about 80 m above the height of Çağlarca/Mumuda the road being at ca.580 m asl., and arrives at Pınarbaşı/İzne at an alt. of 710, parts of this road being somewhat obscured by the new stabilized road, from where it continues to Çukurbağ via Yeniköy (figs. 21–22). There is also another path for direct access to Yeniköy from Çağlarca, which continues on the same altitude with Çağlarca and leads by the sea, passing a cave called Deveini. This might also have been the part of the main route due to its altitude. The remains of this road, seen by French³² in 1994, was investigated, measured and recorded by our team in 2009. These remains represent a main road and most probably this formed a part of the main route between Patara and Phellos in the SP. French also discovered a road leading from Yeniköy to Antiphellos, parallel to the modern road³³. In our research, a tower was recorded on this road (fig. 23) and it was concluded that this road (fig. 24) would have joined the main Patara – Phellos route, near Yeniköy. No more traces of this ancient road were found from Yeniköy to Çukurbağ, though the road is thought to have provided the course of the modern road, and then it climbed up to Phellos via Pınarbaşı. The main road continues to Kyaneai from Pınarbaşı, and another road parting from the main road leads to Antiphellos, the final part of this road remains visible in the mountainous area lying to the north of Kaş.³⁴

Abbreviated Literature

Bechtel, Hist. Personennamen	F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, Toronto 1917.
Bendorf – Niemann, Reisen	O. Benndorf – G. Niemann, Reisen in Lykien und Karien, Vienna 1884 (= Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien I).
Büyükyıldırım, Su Yapıları	G. Büyükyıldırım, Antalya Bölgesi Tarihi Su Yapıları. Ankara 1994.
Clow, Lycian Way	K. Clow, The Lycian Way, Ankara 2000.
Davies 1895	G. Davies, Greek Inscriptions from Lycia, JHS 15, 1895, 100–115.

³¹ Robert (Hellenica X, 172) translates τὸ ἱερῶτατον ταμεῖον as “trésor impérial”. For the discussion of this issue see Rossi, 1975 (*passim*, esp. 127); Lombardi – Vismara 2005, 287.

³² French 1996, 3 and photo 1.

³³ French 1996, 2.

³⁴ For the road connections between Phellos and Anthiphellos and new inscriptions from nearby, see Uzunoglu – Taşdelen 2011.

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Şahin 2010b	S. Şahin, Parerga zum Stadiasmus Patarensis (3): Die Inschrift von Köybaşı in Zentrallykien, Gephyra 7, 2010, 137–152.
Şahin, Roma Yolları	S. Şahin, Stadiasmus Patarensis. Likya Eyaleti Roma Yolları. İstanbul 2011.
Şahin – Adak, Stadiasmus Patarensis	S. Şahin – M. Adak, Stadiasmus Patarensis. Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae, İstanbul 2007.
Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen 2011	H. Uzunoğlu – E. Taşdelen, Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (7): New inscriptions from the territory of Phellos, Gephyra 8, 2011, 81–90.
Zimmermann, Zentrallykien	M. Zimmermann, Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens, Bonn 1992.

Özet

Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (6): GZR 54 (Patara – Phellos) ve Yeni Yazıtlar

Bu çalışmada, Stadiasmus Patarensis (SP) 2009 yılı çalışmalarında incelenen Patara–Phellos güzergâhı, bu güzergâh üzerindeki antik kalıntılar ve yeni yazıtlar ele alınmıştır. SP’de Patara’dan çıkışlı, birisi Ksanthos’a (GZR 1) diğeri de Phellos’a (GZR 54) olmak üzere, iki güzergâh verilmektedir. Her iki güzergâh da Kısık boğazı çıkışından sonraki bir yere kadar beraber olmakla birlikte, Ksanthos yönüne giden Ova Gelemiş üzerinden hedefe ulaşmakta, Phellos’a giden ise Yeşilköy/Fırnaz üzerinden doğuya yönelmektedir. Güzergâhta mesafeyi içeren blok kayıp olsa da, Şahin ve Adak tarafından – Tabula Peutingeriana ve günümüz Patara–Kaş mesafesi temelinde – kayıp olan uzaklık 240 stadia (45–46 km) olarak tamamlanmıştır. Bu güzergâh Patara’dan Phellos’a, Akbel – Sarnıçbaşı – Uçova – Bezirgân – Sarıbelen/Sidek – Gökçeören/Seyret – Yeniköy – Çukurbağ – Pınarbaşı hattını takiben gitmektedir. Tiberius Claudius Capitolinus adlı Roma ve Patara vatandaşı olan birisinin mezar yazıtının bulunduğu Delikkemer hattından giden olası yol, daha geç kullanıma geçirilmiş olmalıdır. İslamlar yönüne çıkan bir Roma yolu izine rastlanılmamış olmakla birlikte, İslamlar’ın Öz Mahallesi’nde antik suyunun yukarı kotlarında bulunan bir mezar, bölgenin İmparatorluk döneminde Patara teritoryumunda bulunduğunu göstermektedir (no. 1). Patara’dan başlayan bu yol Yeşilköy/Fırnaz üzerinden Akbel’e ulaşır. Buradan, Kalkan’ın 2 km kadar güneydoğusunda bulunan Sarnıçbaşı mevkiine kadar yol izi olmamakla birlikte, Sarnıçbaşı’ndan itibaren ca. 400 m yüksekte bulunan Bezirgân ovasına (yak. 750m yükseklikte) zikzaklar yaparak çıkmaktadır. Yolun Bezirgân ovasına çıktığı yerin hemen güneyinde yükselen Hisartepe üzerinde irili ufaklı pek çok yapıları gözlemlenebilmektedir. Yol ise, Hisartepe ve Kışla Dağı arasındaki geçitten (figs. 14–15) Bezirgân Ovası’nın batı kenarındaki ambarların bulunduğu yere ulaşmaktadır. Burada bulunan bir yazıtta (no. 2) adı geçen Euelthon’un memleketi Patara olması da Bezirgân Ovası’nın en azından güney kısımlarının, Hisartepe ve hâkim olduğu alanı da içermek üzere, Patara denetiminde olduğunu göstermektedir. Kuzey ucuna nazaran güney ucu 11 m daha düşük olan Bezirgân Ovası vaktiyle gölken yol geçirilmesi imkânsızdı. Ova’nın güney ucunda muhtemelen Romalı mühendislerce açılan antik su tahliye tüneli (figs. 19–20) vasıtasıyla gölün kurutulmasıyla yol geçirildiği düşünülmüştür. Bezirgân Ovası’nın batı kıyısından ilerleyen bir başka antik yol ise, Patara–Phellos ve Ksanthos–Neisa anayollarını bağlıyor olup, büyük bir ihtimalle de bu yolun iki ucundaki Alacaışık Gediği (kuzeyde, Ksanthos kontrolünde) ve Hisartepe (güneyde, Patara kontrolünde) geçitleri bu ana yolların giriş–çıkış noktalarıydı. Yol buradan Sarıbelen/Sidek üzerinden modern yola paralel olarak Gökçeören/Seyret’e ulaşmaktadır. Daha güneyden giden bir başka eski yol üzerinde, Gökçeören’in 4,5 km güneybatısındaki Üçkuyu mevkiinde bulunan bir lahit üzerindeki yazıttan (no. 3) Patara etki alanının buralara kadar uzadığı anlaşılmıştır. Lahdin üzerinde bulunduğu eski yol Gökçeören’

ulaşmaktadır. Gökçeören’de bulunan bir lahit üzerindeki yazıt (no. 4) maalesef yer ismi ya da etnikon vermemektedir. Yazıtın, hüviyeti için veri sunmadığı ve diğer yazıtlar aracılığıyla çevresinin Patara teritoryumu içerisinde olduğunu anladığımız Gökçeören/Seyret (Seroia/ta?) antik yerleşiminin Patara sınırlarının doğu ucunda olduğu önerilebilir. Antik yol ise, Gökçeören/Seyret’ten Çağlarca, Pınarbaşı, Yeniköy, Çukurbağ ve Pınarbaşı üzerinden Phellos’a ulaşıyor olmalıydı.

Yazıtlar:

No. 1) “*Menophilos oğlu [Apoll]onides bu mezarı kendisi, karısı, çocukları ve torunları için yaptırmıştır. Başka birine defin (müsaadesi) yoktur, aksi olursa (yapan kişi) Pataralıların kentine 500 dinar ceza ödeyecektir.*”

No. 2) “*... Euprosynos kızı Arsasis diye de bilinen ... kocası, Eudemos oğlu Thersikles’in oğlu, memleketi yararına tam bir hizmet yerine getiren Pataralı Euelthon için ...*”

No. 3) “*Bu mezarı, Hippolokhos’un oğulları Patara efradından varisler olan pek belagatli Publius ve Leonnatos’un köleleri Soterikhos ve Hoplon, kendileri, karıları ve onların çocukları için yaptırıldılar.*”

No. 4) “*(Ben) Pappos oğlu M(arcus) Aur(elius) Hippolokhos, bu mezarı, kendi(m), eşim Flavia ... ve çocuklar(ım) için yaptırdı(m). Başka hiç kimseye birini gömmek müsaadeli değildir, aksi takdirde (buna uymayan) kutsal imparatorluk kasasına 2500 dinar ceza ödeyecektir.*”

Anahtar Sözcükler: Lykia; Roma yolları; Patara; Phellos; Ksanthos; Claudius



Fig. 3: The Tomb. İslamlar.



Fig. 4: The Tomb. İslamlar. Inscription in detail.



Fig. 5: Sarnıçbaşı. Ottoman cistern.



Fig. 6: Ancient road between Sarnıçbaşı–Bezirgân.



Fig. 7: Ancient road between Sarnıçbaşı and Bezirgân.



Fig. 8: Uçova. Remains of a church.



Fig. 9: The pass between Hisartepé and Kışla Dağı.



Fig. 10: Hisartepé, Bezirgân and “Ambarlar”.



Fig. 11: Hisartepe. Fortification walls.



Fig. 12: Hisartepe. View to Bezirgân



Fig. 13: Southern end of Bezirgân. Canal entrance.



Fig. 14: Bezirgân. Canal entrance.



Fig. 15: Yumrutepe Pass



Fig. 16: Sarıbelen/Sidek. View from the north.



Fig. 17: Pavement between Döşeme and Gökçeören.



Fig. 18: The Hill of Gökçeören/Seyret. View to south.



Fig. 19: Üçkuyu. Hellenistic tower.



Fig. 20: Üçkuyu. Cistern.



Fig. 21: Ancient road. Gökçeören/Seyret – Çağlarca.



Fig. 22: Ancient road. Gökçeören/Seyret – Çağlarca.



Fig. 23: Tower remains between Kaş and Yeniköy.



Fig. 24: The old road between Kaş and Yeniköy

Hüseyin UZUNOĞLU* – Erkan TAŞDELEN**

Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (7): New inscriptions from the territory of Phellos

Abstract: Some results of the 2010 survey conducted in Central Lycia within the framework of the Stadiasmus Patarensis are given here for the region east of Kaş. First we introduce the Roman road connecting Antiphellos with the Claudian coastal road, which is noteworthy for its meticulous engineering and for its fine state of preservation. This 3.7–5 m wide road, constructed to a high standard, underlines together with two other roads previously mentioned by French and Bean the importance of Antiphellos as the main port of the region. The settlements of Asargedığı and Asartepe near the village of Bayındır with ruins dating from the Classical and Hellenistic periods show that the route existed in Pre–Roman times. In Asargedığı and around the village of Bayındır we recorded six sarcophagi with inscriptions dating from the Imperial Period. They show that the territory belonged not to the very closeby polis of Antiphellos but rather to Phellos. From ethnica such as Ἀντιφελλείτης, Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Ἰσίνδων and Παταρεῖς mentioned in these inscriptions it is clear that the region was a center of migration even from the neighboring cities and possessed in antiquity a cosmopolitan structure.

Keywords: Central Lycia; Phellos; Antiphellos; Bayındır; Roman road; sarcophagus inscriptions; Asargedığı; Asartepe.

During the campaigns conducted with the permission of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture as a part of the Stadiasmus Patarensis research in 2009 and 2010, the parts of the Claudian coastal road, Patara – Phellos (Route 54), Phellos – Kyaneai (Route 56) and Kyaneai – Myra (Route 57) were investigated in detail. While we were concentrating on proving the existence of Route 56 in the field in 2010, the connection to Antiphellos (which is not mentioned in the Stadiasmus Patarensis), with the Claudian coastal road, also needed to be investigated, and consequently it was included in the survey programme in order to comprehend the totality of the relations of Antiphellos with its hinterland. This article presents the results of these investigations.

Antiphellos (Kaş) lies approximately 4–5 km due south of Phellos on Mount Felen, and functioned as the port for this city (Ps.–Skylax, Periplus 74: Φέλλος πόλις καὶ λιμὴν). It presumably gained its independence from Phellos in the early Hellenistic Period.¹ With its important coastal location as a

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port settlement, Antiphellos rapidly overshadowed during the Hellenistic Period its parent city Phellos located in the mountains inland.² A high quality Roman road connecting Antiphellos with the Claudian coastal road was discovered in 2010, further supporting the significance of this city.

The course of the Stadiasmus coastal road is at an altitude of ca. 500–600 m. This elevation was in order to connect the settlements located at an altitude of ca. 700 m in the highlands between Patara and Myra and major settlements such as Phellos and Kyaneai with rich land conditions and, at the same time, to enable these cities to have a transport connection to those ports along the coast with an arable land deficit via linking roads. Antiphellos, due to the elevation of this coastal road, is not mentioned in the Stadiasmus Patarensis.³ However, Phellos is not mentioned in the Tabula Peutingeriana (X, 2), instead the route “Patara XXX Antifillon” is recorded. The route 54 on the Stadiasmus Patarensis doubtless passed along the Çukurbağ terrace at an altitude of 500 m between Phellos and Antiphellos. When this road reaches the most southerly point of the terrace plain extending to the south of the modern settlement at Çukurbağ, the existence of an ancient road cut into the rock to form stairs (climax) descending to Antiphellos can be clearly seen today.⁴ This road is doubtless the route connecting Antiphellos to the Claudian road and thereby to Phellos.⁵

That Antiphellos had a further connection to the coastal road through a meticulously built minor road, was established during the course of our 2010 campaign. The first indications of this road, which extends from Antiphellos in an easterly direction, were observed in the Çatalca District, lying 1 km southwest of Bayındır village.⁶ This ancient road, 3.7–5 m wide, passes through two rock masses and



Fig. 1: Part of the road connecting Kaş to Route 54.

¹ Bean 1976, 64. However, Antiphellos began to mint her own coins, separate from those of Phellos, between 200–168 BC. Both cities are recorded as minting coins as members of the Lycian League between 168 BC. to 43 AD. and also during the reign of Gordian III (242–244 AD.), see Aulock, Münzprägung 37; Kirsten 1985, 27–28; Zimmermann, Untersuchungen 187; Troxell, Coinage 39 (Pl. 4, nos. 21–23; Pl. 13, nos. 71–74) Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 440–443.

² Antiphellos, obtained the maximum advantages of being a port city, although almost destitute of arable land or an extensive territory, due to the increasing volume of maritime trade in the Hellenistic Period, and became an important city in the region during the Roman Period, see Bean 1976, 64. Bean (Lykien 92) states timber obtained from Lycian forests was shipped from this port.

³ The Claudian coastal road leaving Patara went in the direction of Phellos – Kyaneai, see Şahin – Adak, Stadiasmus 252–256, Route 54–56. That this road from Patara goes eastwards in the direction of Kyaneai bypassing the lower altitude of Phellos became certain during the course of our 2010 campaign.

⁴ For the road connection between Phellos and its port of Antiphellos, cf. Bean 1958, 56 fn.25.

⁵ No route is recorded from an inland main city to a coastal city on the Stadiasmus Patarensis, cf. Şahin 2009, 103–104.

⁶ Another road leaving Antiphellos in a north–westerly direction has already been documented, see French

is raised above a stream bed via a paved layer of large flat stones, and it can be easily followed for ca. 300 m and can be characterised as the best preserved Roman Road discovered during the course of our surveys since 2009. The continuation of this road, which in part is of the same quality, can be followed for ca. 4 km starting from 1.5–2 km northeast of the Çatalca District and climbing in the direction of Başlıca (fig. 2). This ancient route, not employed in modern times, provides a fine example of how minor Roman roads were engineered and constructed to a very high standard indeed.

In 2010 campaign, the Bayındır village, around which there are fertile lands, and to its south, including the ancient settlement at Limanağzı (ancient Sebeda?, see fn. 11) were investigated in detail and, in consequence, Limanağzı was revisited and two small scale rural settlements, one located on the hill called Asargedığı on the west side of the ancient road mentioned above (see p. 82) and the other located on Asartepe to the southwest of Belenli village, have been recorded. In addition, six new sarcophagi with inscriptions were discovered, one at the end of the long, narrow plain extending to Limanağzı to the south, two on the slope of Asargedığı hill facing the ancient road, and three in the center of Bayındır village (fig. 2). All are typical Lycian sarcophagi with the same stylistic features. Even though the inscriptions numbered 1, 2, 5, and possibly 6 are unpublished, they were recorded by the Austrian researchers who visited the region at the end of the 19th century and there are squeezes of these inscriptions in the Asia Minor Commission's collection at Vienna.⁷

The Settlement on Asargedığı Hill (figs. 6–7)

It is situated on the northern end of a small plain, 1.5 km west of Bayındır village and around 500 m west of the remains of the ancient road of Çatalca. On the hill is a castle from the Classical Period which measures ca. 20 x 30 m. On the southern slope of the hill are the remains of a building dating from the Hellenistic Period, the entrance door and lintel remain in a well preserved state, two cisterns and two other building remains. On the slope of the hill facing east and the ancient road are eight Lycian sarcophagi, only two of which carry inscriptions (see inscriptions nos. 5–6). West of the sarcophagi some remains of a rural settlement are visible.

The settlement at Asartepe

It is a classical castle as was the case with Asargedığı Hill and surrounded by an outer wall, ca. 500 m south–west of Belenli village. In places the outer wall remains three meters high and the brickwork visible in some areas indicates it was repaired at some later date. The lintel of the entrance has fallen but the stairs remain firm. Within the castle with an internal area of ca. 250 m² there are some ruined buildings and a cistern.

The settlement at Limanağzı/Bayındır Limanı (figs. 8–9)

Francis Beaufort mapping the southern Anatolian coastline in 1811–2, provided the earliest notice of the port of Bayındır and the settlement on it, 2.5 km south–east of the bay of Kaş. It was preferred to the ports of Kaş and Bucak, as although it was small, it was a safe ancient harbour.⁸ The

1996, 2. This road might have connected to the Claudian coastal road in the Stadiasmus Patarensis, in the area of Yeniköy. For detailed information concerning the coastal road between Patara and Phellos, see Onur – Alkan 2011, 64–80.

⁷ Inscription no. 1 is mentioned by Zimmermann (Untersuchungen 65) and Zgusta (Kleinas. Personennamen §355–18), who also used the informations from the inscriptions no. 2 (§1382–2) and 5 (§1199–21).

⁸ Beaufort (Karamania, 13) mentions only the rock–cut tombs and many sarcophagi scattered on the hill and

settlement in later years was re-visited by many travellers. It was confused with Akroterion by Spratt and Forbes⁹ and mistaken for the city of Phellos by Benndorf,¹⁰ but Bean identified the settlement with the Sebeda mentioned by Stephanos Byzantios as a Lycian port.¹¹ The settlement is located on top of a steep cliff at an altitude of ca. 100 m above sea level and is enclosed by walls of polygonal masonry and many bastions.¹² On the highest point of the settlement, with a surface area of ca. 5400 m² established by Würster¹³ there stands a large castle, the remains of a few buildings, some cisterns and a house tomb surmounted by a Lycian sarcophagus dating from the 4th cent. BC. described in detail by Zahle.¹⁴ Although the fortress of Bayındır was a dynastic settlement in the Classical Period, it was then incorporated into the territory of Phellos and was a *Phourion* during the Hellenistic period.¹⁵

The territories of Antiphellos and Phellos (fig. 2)

The territory controlled by Antiphellos in the Roman Imperial Period was quite small with its western territory largely as today consisting of rocky slopes and therefore suitable only for olive and grape production, presumably meeting the borders of Patara and Phellos in the neighbourhood of Çağlarca (previously called Mumuda).¹⁶

says that there are no remains of buildings worthy of notice except for a square column. On this column, see Deltour-Levie, *Piliers Funéraires* 123–132.

⁹ Spratt – Forbes, *Travels II*, 270. Bean (1958, 51 fn. 7) localized Akroterion as Uluburun (Grand Cape) about 9 km southeast of Kaş. Also see RE XIX, col. 1952.

¹⁰ Benndorf 1892, 67. The localization of Phellos was discussed amongst scholars for a long time due to the contradictory information given in the ancient sources (Strab. XIV. 3. 7; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 5. 100; Ptol. 5. 3; Steph. Byz. Φελλός). It was localized to Seyret by Fellows (*Discoveries in Lycia*, 184–185), to Çukurbağ by Spratt – Forbes (*Travels I*, 73), to Çardaklı village by Petersen – Luschan (*Reisen II*, 27) and to the port of Bayındır by Benndorf. Finally it was localized to Mount Felen which rises to the North of Çukurbağ by Bean (1958, 49–58, especially 57) in 1958 and this has been accepted as the *communis opinio*. In the light of this localization, a survey of the ancient city has been lately conducted under the supervision of Zimmermann. On the results of this survey, see Zimmermann – Schuler 2005, 215–270.

¹¹ Steph. Byz.: Σεβεδά, λιμὴν Λυκίας, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν περίπλῳ. τὸ ἔθνικόν Σεβεδεύς. Stating that the port of Bayındır was named Sevedo until recently, Bean (Lykien, 98) identifies this as the ancient port Sebeda due to the resemblance between these two names. Zimmermann (*Untersuchungen* 190–191 fn. 67.) doubts this localisation as it was based solely on the resemblance between these two names. However, the localization by Bean seems to us quite a reasonable assumption given the frequently occurring continuity of place names over long periods of time eg. Attaleia, Attalia, Satalya, Adalya, Antalya etc.

¹² For detailed information about the settlement in the port of Bayındır see Beaufort, *Karamania* 13; Spratt – Forbes, *Travels I* 79; Benndorf 1892, 67; Bean 1958, 53; Bean, *Lykien* 98; Deltour-Levie, *Piliers Funéraires* 123–124; Bruns-Özgan, *Grabreliefs* 276; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 189–192; Marksteiner, *Limyra* 92–93; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 833; On the plan of the settlement see Würster 1993, 22 Fig. 14–15.

¹³ Würster 1993, 10.

¹⁴ Zahle 1979, 281–301 Fig. 20, 22–31. The famous sarcophagus, which dates to the Hellenistic Period and encouraged to the localization of Phellos to the Bayındır port settlement, due to the penalty of ten thousand drachmai (Diamantaras 1894, 326 no. 9; Schwyer, *Les lyciens* 232 no. 22) to be paid to the demos of Phellos, stands outside the city walls.

¹⁵ Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 65; Marksteiner, *Limyra* 93.

¹⁶ According to an inscription previously seen in the Üçkuyu district of Saribelen by Davies (1895, 107–108 no. 16) and re-examined by our team, Soterichos and Hoplon, the slaves of Publius and Leonnatos who are amongst the prominent citizens of Patara, built graves for themselves and their families, cf. Onur – Alkan 2011, 72

The mountain range lying to the north of Antiphellos, consisting of hills such as Kırdavlık (691 m), Bakıcakbaşı (540 m) and Erendağ (627 m) form a natural border between the city and Phellos. To date no piece of land in the eastern part has been established as belonging to Antiphellos. On the other hand Phellos, being one of the most important powers in the region in the Classical Period managed to preserve her significance into the Roman Period in consequence of possessing large areas of fertile land, even though she lost her port Antiphellos in the Hellenistic Period.¹⁷ These lands¹⁸ situated in the southeastern part of the city, around the Bayındır village, were populated not only by the citizens of Phellos, but also by the citizens of neighboring cities such as Isinda, Antiphellos and even Patara (see inscriptions nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6).

The territory of Phellos has been to a large extent established through some funerary inscriptions which record that the penalties for tomb violation must be paid to the demos of Phellos.¹⁹ Accordingly, the territory of Phellos in the Roman Imperial Period extends to the Üsüm and Fakdere landing stages and the Port of Bayındır and ancient settlement on it to the south and to Bağlıca and Kırandağı/Çardaklı to the east. Kırandağı and its neighborhood have been thoroughly investigated by the staff members of the Tübingen University Lycia Project under the leadership of F. Kolb and various ancient settlements in the region that were first recorded by Davies²⁰ in the late 1800s have now been published in detail.²¹ In these settlements many groups of sarcophagi were recorded and, through the destination of the penalty fine recorded on the sarcophagi, this region is known to have been within the territory of Phellos. According to Chr. Schuler, Karakuzgediği hill located north-northeast of Kapaklı Sarnıcı (Peripolion Tyinda²²) marked the border between the territories of Kyaneai and Phellos²³.

no. 3. In another inscription, published by Benndorf – Niemann (Reisen I 129, no. 102), and whose location was recorded as lying between Sidek–Yayla, Sidek–Sehili by Davies (1895, 108), the authorized city for obtaining the fine for grave violation was Patara, which indicates that the territory of Patara extended to this region and here presumably met the borders of the territories of Phellos and Antiphellos.

¹⁷ Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 66–67.

¹⁸ Such fertile arable land is found also to the north of Phellos, see Benndorf – Niemann, *Reisen* I 134; Aulock, *Münzprägung* 50. However, Zimmermann states (2005, 218) that there was no intensive settlement north of Phellos and that these lands were being used for forestry and pasture farming just like nowadays.

¹⁹ Bean 1958, 56–57 Fig. 3; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 61–65. On the inscriptions published from the territory of Phellos to date, see Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen* II, no. 33; Diamantaras 1894, 326 no. 9; Davies 1895, 108–110 nos. 17–19; Le Bas – Waddington, *Inscriptions*, 326 nos. 1271–1272; Behrwald et al. 1998, 201–202 no. 26; Schwyer, *Les Lyciens*, 232–235 nos. 22–23, 27–28; Schuler 2003, 166–186 nos. 1–8 (Pl. 27,3–29,3; 30, 3–4); Schuler 2006, 151–162 nos. 1–4, 7 (Pl. 44,1–5, 45,1–2).

²⁰ Davies 1895, 109–110.

²¹ Concerning Kırandağı (Çardaklı–Kapaklı) and the ancient settlements, see Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen* II 27; Davies 1895, 109–110; Zahle 1979, 258–267; Hailer 2000, 203–229; Höhfeld 2000, 231–243; Schuler 2003, 163–166; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 496.

²² On the peripolion of Tyinda (Kapaklı Sarnıcı), see RE 7A/2, col. 2557; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 80–83; Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen* 45–49; Wörrle 1999, 353–363; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 900; Schuler 2006, 151–165; Şanlı-Erler 2006, 89–34; Hülden 2006, 135–150; Kolb, *Burg* 203–07.

²³ Zimmermann examined the squeeze archive of the Asia Minor Commission in Vienna within the scope of his doctoral dissertation and saw two sarcophagi inscriptions recorded under the name Tyinda and in one of these inscriptions the penalty for tomb violation was to be paid to the Peripolion of Tyinda (Davies 1895, 109 no. 19; also Schuler 2006, 154–155 no. 2), while the other records payment was to be made to the demos of Kyaneai. He consequently included Tyinda in the territory of Kyaneai: see Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 81. However, Schuler

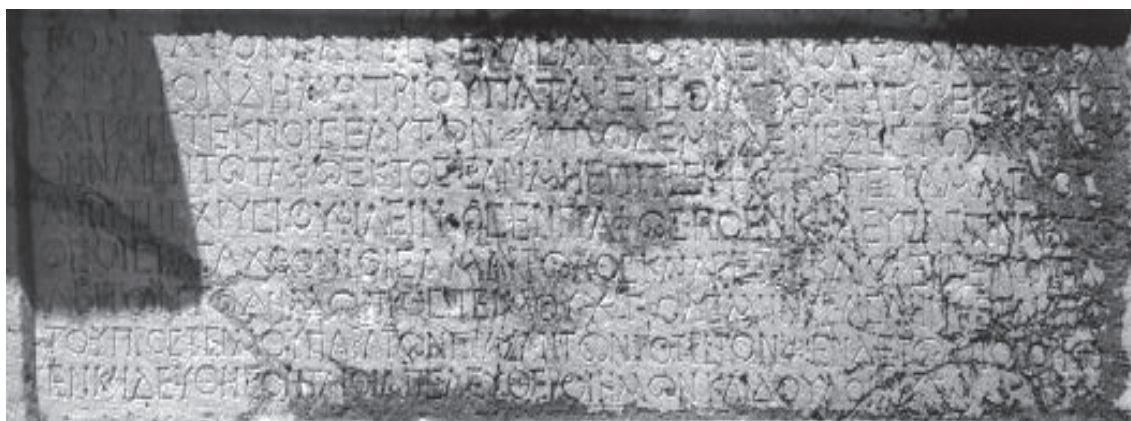
No data has been recorded from the north of Phellos to date, however the Hacıoğlu mevki, north of Dereköy, due to its natural position might have marked the border between the territories of Phellos and Kandyba.

Inscriptions

1. Sarcophagus of Phileinos, Chrysiion and their children (fig. 3)

The limestone sarcophagus was recorded at the most southern end of a narrow but long plain in a site called Bodrum Tepesi, lying directly upon the south side of the above mentioned ancient road 1 km southwest of Bayındır village. In its pedestal is a hyposorium and upon it is a rectangular sarcophagus chest, its lower edge carrying a profile. On the front face of the sarcophagus chest there is a tabula, with leaf ornament at both sides, carrying an elaborately carved nine line inscription. The front face has some small fractures and breaks, and upon the left hand narrow side is an unscribed empty square tabula.

H: 160 cm (chest), 140 cm (lid), 48 cm (tabula ansata); W: 255 cm (chest), 130 cm (tabula ansata); D: 147 cm (chest); LH: 3.5–4 cm.



- Τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσαντο Φιλείνος Ερμανδου καὶ
- 2 Χρυσίον Δημητρίου Παταρεῖς οἱ ἀγροκτῆτορες ἑαυτοῖς
καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἑαυτῶν· ἄλλω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω ἐνηδευ-
- 4 θῆναι ἐν τῷ τάφῳ, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ ὁ προγεγραμμένος
ἀνὴρ τῆς Χρυσίου Φιλείνος ἐνγράφως· ἢ ὁ ἐνηδεύσας τινα ἔστω
- 6 θεοῖς καταχθονίοις ἀμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ὀφειλέτω Φελ-
λειτῶν τῷ δήμῳ προστείμου Χ γ· ὁ δὲ μηνύσας λήνψεται ἀπὸ
- 8 τοῦ προστείμου παρὰ τῶν πραξάντων τὸ τρίτον· ρ ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορίῳ
ἐνηδευθήσονται οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι ἡμῶν καὶ δοῦλοι.

reported that the still unpublished sarcophagus inscription relating to Kyaneai could now not be found despite intensive research in the region and claims these two sarcophagi were not standing exactly in Tyinda (Kapaklı sarnıcı), and the inscription, in which the penalty was to be paid to Kyaneai and dated to the Hellenistic Period, must have been recorded around Karakuztepe or Karakuzgediği Hill to the north–north east of Tyinda. In this case, Tyinda would be included within the territory of Phellos and the border point of Kyaneai and Phellos should be located between Tyinda and Karakuzgediği Hill, see Schuler 2006, 162–164; Kolb, Burg 190–191.

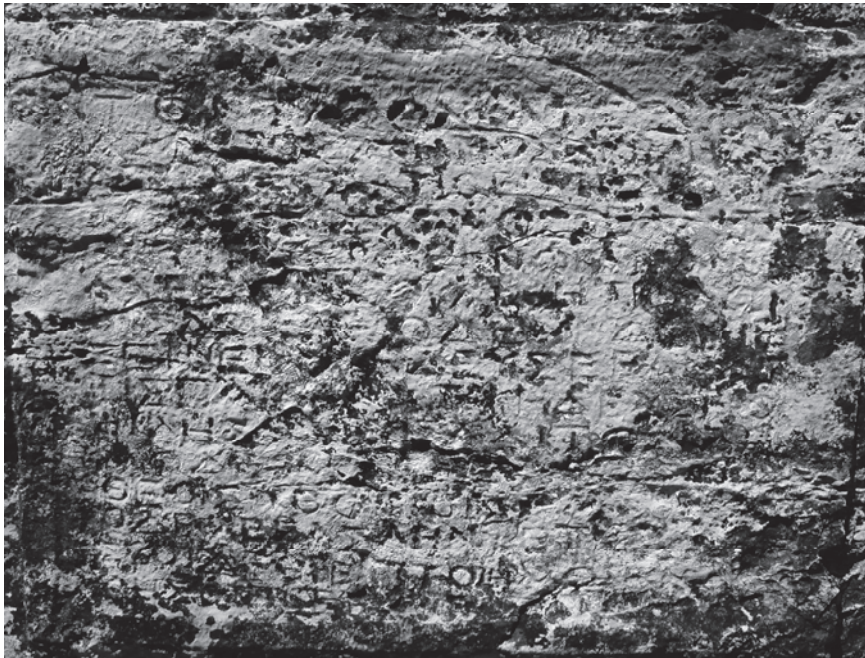
“The land-owners Phileinos, son of Ermandas and ChrySION, daughter of Demetrios, citizens of Patara set up this sarcophagus for themselves and for their children. Nobody is allowed to be buried in this sarcophagus unless Phileinos, the above-mentioned husband of ChrySION, permits this in writing. Otherwise, whoever buries (somebody), will be impious and a sinner against the gods of the underworld and shall pay to the demos of Phellos 3000 denarii. Whoever denounces (this sinner), will get one third of the amount of the fine which the offender(s) will have to pay. Our freedmen and slaves are to be buried in the hyposorium.”

L. 1: Ερμανδας: Even though this name is recorded by Zgusta (Kleinas. Personennamen §355– 18) as an indigenous Lycian name, it has also been documented in Samos (IG XII 6, 1 360). Cf. TAM II 119b and 119g.

L. 2: οἱ ἀγροκτῆτορες: As can be easily understood from the component parts of this compound word which has not been documented previously in any inscription, it was formed from (ἀγρός + κτήτωρ), Phileinos and ChrySION immigrated from Patara to Phellos in order to cultivate the fertile arable land of this region. According to Zimmermann (Untersuchungen 65), this expression not only indicates the building of a grave in a legally acquired estate within the scope of ἔγκτησις, but also gives an important indication concerning the pattern of settlement in late Hellenistic – early Roman Period. In his opinion, this family belonged to the upper classes of society, who chose to immigrate to this agricultural estate in the territory of Phellos, notwithstanding the prosperity of the port of their homeland.

Date: Probably late 2nd century AD. (from the forms of letters employed).

2. Sarcophagus of Satetios, Arsasis and their family (fig. 4)



This limestone sarcophagus was seen within scrub vegetation, 500 m to the north of Bayındır village and 20 m from the west-side of the village road. Directly upon the pedestal there is a hyposorium and a rectangular sarcophagus chest. On the front face of the sarcophagus chest which faces the village road there is an inscription of fifteen lines

carved on a tabula ansata. Some parts of the inscription are damaged and hardly legible. Over the surface of the sarcophagus some breaks and cracks can be observed.

H: 130 cm (chest), 130 cm (lid), 61 cm (tabula ansata); W: 217 cm (chest), 103 cm (tabula ansata); D: 108 cm (chest); LH: 2–2.5 cm.

	Τὸν τάφον κατε[σκ]ε[ύ]-	
2	άσαντο Σατητιος Διομήδο[υς]	<i>“Satetios, son of Diomedes, the citizen of Aperlai from Isinda, and Arsasis, daughter of Iason, citizen of Phellos (set up this sarcophagus) for themselves, their children, their son-in-law Alexandros and her mother Arsasis. No one is allowed to bury anyone else (in this tomb). Whoever transgresses by burying someone (else), will owe to the demos of Phellos ... denarii and be a sinner against the gods of the underworld! The denouncer (of this sinful practice) will obtain half (of the fine). Our threptoi are to be buried in the hyposorium.”</i>
	Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Εἰσίνδων κ[αὶ]	
4	Ἀρσα[σ]ίς Ἰάσονος Φελλίτις	
	[έαυ]το[ί]ς καὶ τέκνω καὶ γανβρωῶ	
6	Ἀλεξά[νδρω] καὶ μητρὶ αὐτῆς	
	Ἀρσασει[ι]· ἀλλῶ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐ-	
8	ξεῖνε ἐ[ν]κηδεύσε· ἐὰν δέ	
	τις παρὰ [τα]ῦτα κηδεύσει, ὁ-	
10	φιλήσ[ει] τῷ Φ]ελλιτῶν δῆ-	
	μω δη[ν]ά[ρια] ca. 2–3 καὶ ἔστω	
12	θεοῖς χθονίοις [ἀμαρτωλός]	
	ὁ δ’ ἐλέξας λήνψεται τὸ ἡμι]-	
14	σு· οἱ δὲ θρεπτοὶ ἡμῶν [κηδευ]-	
	θήσοντ[αι ἐν τῷ] ὑποσο[ρίω].	

L. 2: The name “Satetios” is only known from this inscription, see Zgusta, Kleinas. Personennamen §1382–2.

L. 3: Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Εἰσίνδων: Since Aperlai formed a sympolity with Apollonia, Isinda and Sime-na with Aperlai at the centre, the other citizens of the sympolity are called as Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Ἀπολλωνίας / Ἰσίνδων, for further examples see: Heberdey – Kalinka, Bericht I, 58; II, 36; 37; 40. For detailed information concerning this sympoliteia, see Zimmermann, Untersuchungen 129–141. Since the citizens of Isinda and Antiphellos possessed inadequate or insufficient agricultural lands, they immigrated into the territory of Phellos, see Zimmermann, Untersuchungen 65.

L. 7: Arsasis, a local Lycian name, was a popular feminine name used particularly in Central Lycia, see Zgusta (Kleinas. Personennamen §107–7). For an example of the dative case of the name (Ἀρσασει), see TAM II 1 234–245; TAM II 3 473.

L. 7–8: ἐξεῖνε = ἐξεῖναι/ἐπικηδεύσε = ἐπικηδεύσαι: Gignac, Grammar I, 192, cf. TAM II 1 111; TAM III 423 and 812.

L. 9–10: ὀφιλήσι = ὀφειλήσει: Gignac, Grammar I, 189–190, cf. TAM II 3 926–1044; Behrwald et al. 1998, 201–202 no. 26.

L.10: Φελλιτῶν = Φελλειτῶν.

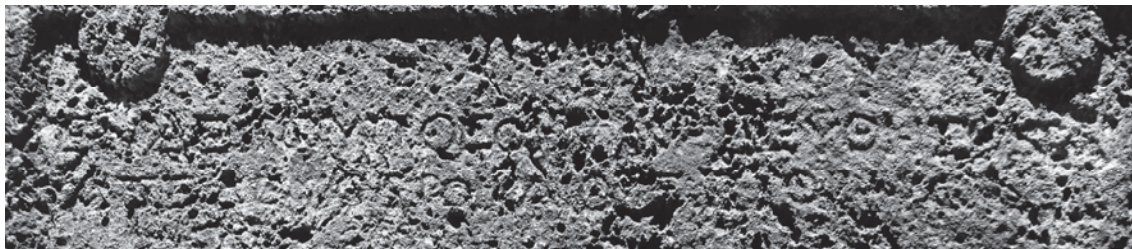
Date: 1st or 2nd century AD (from the forms of letters employed).

3. Regulations concerning burial in a hyposorium (fig. 5, no. 3)

250 m to the east of the Bayındır village mosque are four sarcophagi, only two of which are inscribed. The two inscribed sarcophagi join to form an L shape on a pedestal of two steps (see no. 4). The sarcophagus on the left from the village road has a hyposorium beneath a rectangular sarcophagus chest and lid of the typical gable type roof. Beneath the south face there is a square entry to the hyposorium. The left corner of the sarcophagus’s front face is missing and there is no legible inscription in the tabula ansata on this side, where the names of sarcophagi owners were presumably carved. However, on the decorated tabula ansata on the south facing narrow side of this sarcophagus

gus there is the following two line inscription.

H: 146 cm (chest), 161 cm (lid); W: 236 cm (chest); D: 138 cm (chest); LH: 3 cm.



ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορ[ίῳ κη]δευθήσονται
2 ἀπελεύθεροι καὶ θρεπτοὶ ἡμῶν.

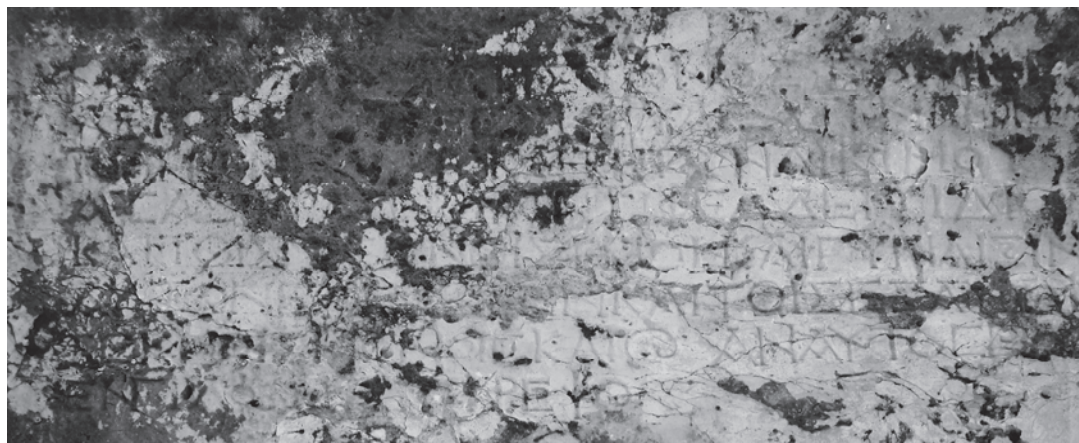
“Our freedmen and threptoi will be buried in the hyposorium.”

Date: 2nd century AD. (from the form of the letters employed).

4. Sarcophagus of Mausolus, his wife Arsasis and their family (fig. 5, no. 4)

This limestone sarcophagus is similar to the adjacent sarcophagus (no. 3) on the same podium and carries an inscription of eight lines on the tabula ansata facing north. On the narrow side facing east there is another tabula ansata on which no letters remain today. There are some small cracks and broken parts on this sarcophagus.

H: 160 cm (chest), 170 cm (lid); W: 260 cm (chest); D: 150 cm (chest); LH: 3 cm.



Μαύσωλος Ἀρίστωνος γ' Ἀντιφελ-
2 λείτης κατε{σ}σκεύασα τὴν σωμα-
τοθήκην ἐ[μαυ]τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου
4 Αρσασι Κρατέρου Ἀντιφελλείδι
καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν
6 αὐτῶν ἐ[ὑ]γέγεσσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν
τέκνοις μόνοις καὶ ὧ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐγ[ώ]
8 ἐνγράφως ἐπιτρέψω.

“I, Mausolos, the son of the 3rd Ariston, citizen of Antiphellos, set up this sarcophagus only for myself, my wife Arsasis, citizen of Antiphellos, the daughter of Krateros, my children and their wives of noble descent and their children (grandchildren) and the one whom I permit in writing (to be buried here).”

L. 1: For the local name Μαύσωλος, see Zgusta (Kleinas. Personennamen §885–4). For other examples of this name in Lycia, see TAM II 92 and 322; TAM II 550; TAM II 881. Another Mausolos with his father also named Mausolos, both known as citizens of Phellos and Antiphellos are attested from an honorific inscription found in the center of Phellos and this inscription records that the son Mausolos was the city councillor in both cities, namely Phellos and Antiphellos, see Zimmermann – Schuler 2005, 257–260, no. 3.

L. 1– 2: As was the case for the citizens of Patara and Isinda (see nos.), citizens of Antiphellos were also cultivating these fertile lands. In addition to having little and insufficient land for agriculture, the close relations between Phellos and Antiphellos from the Classical Period onwards played an important role, as in this case, see above p. 86. Cf. Zimmermann – Schuler 2005, 248–250.

L. 4: Ἀρσασι: Ἀρσασει, see no. 2.

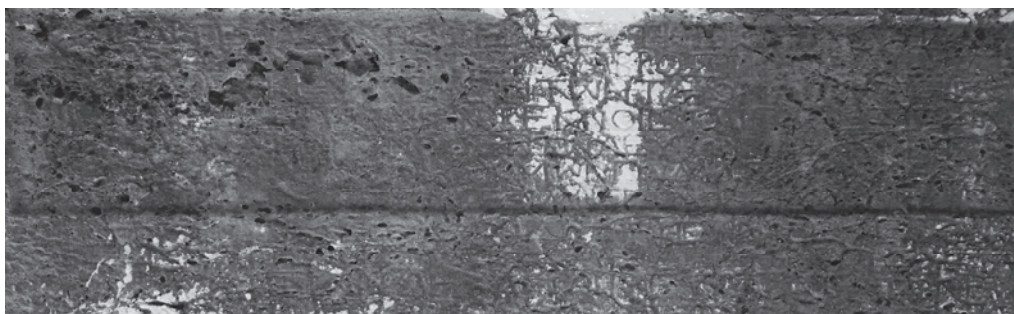
L. 6: Cf. TAM II, 905 XVII a: ἀνδρὶ εὐγενεστάτῳ.

Date: Second half of 2nd century AD. (from the form of lettering employed).

5. Sarcophagus of Pappis, Midas and their family

This limestone sarcophagus stands on the southern slope of Asargedigi hill. On the narrow side facing south there is a hyposorium whose lower part is partly damaged, and it has a small square-shaped entrance. On top of the hyposorium there is a rectangular sarcophagus chest, the bottom edge of which carries a profile. On the front side facing east there is a tabula carrying a carved eleven line inscription. The last 4 lines of this inscription were carved outside the border of the tabula. On the narrow side of the sarcophagus facing south there is another tabula, today without inscription.

H: 148 cm (chest), 110 cm (lid); W: 237 cm (chest); D: 122 cm (chest); LH: 3 cm.



- [Π]απισ Ἀρτεμιδ[ώρ]ου Φελλείτης καὶ Μίδας Ἀρ-
 2 [ταπ]ατου Φ[ελλε]ίτης γαμβρὸς Παπιτος καὶ
 [-- ca. 3-4- -] κατασ^{vac} κευάσασιν τ{ῶ}<ο>ν τάφον αἰαυτοῖς κ-
 4 αὶ γυνειξί αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνοις καὶ γυνειξί τῶν
 [τέκνων καὶ ἐ]γνόνοις· ἐν τῷ δὲ ὑποσορίῳ [ἐ]ν[κη]δ-
 6 [εὐθήσετ]αι [τ]ὰ [κ]τητικὰ ὑμῶν σώματα· [ἀλλῶ] δὲ οὐ-
 δὲνι ἐξὸν κηδεῦσε· εἰ μὴ ἔσται θεοῖς χθονίοις ἄ-



Τὸ μνημ[εῖον - - - ca.16–17- - -] Ἄντι[ιφ]ελλ[εῖτης - - ca.6–7] ΝΟΣ [-ca. 4–5-]
 2 [- - - - -ca. 17–18 - - - - -] ΔΕΝΙ [-ca. 4–5] ΑΝΤΙ [- - - -ca. 8–9 - - - -]
 [τ]έ[κνοις] μόνοις· ἄλλο δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέσθαι θά[ψ]α[ι] ἔτ[ε]ρ[όν] τινα
 4 [ἐάν] δέ τις θάψη[ι], ἄμαρτολὸς ἔστο θεοῖς χθονίοις κα[ι] ἀπο[δώ]-
 σ[ει] [τῷ] δήμῳ τῷ Φελλε[ιτῶ]ν δράχμας ἑξακισχίλια[ς] προσ-
 6 ἀ[νγελίας] οὔσ[ης] ὁ [βο]υλόμενος ἐπὶ τ[ῷ] ἡμίσει πρὸς τοὺς
 [- - ca. 13] οἱ [δὲ] θρεπτοὶ εἰς τὸ ὑποσόριον [κ]η[δευθήσοντ]αι

“(So and so), citizen of Antiphellos set up this tomb for and their children only. Nobody is allowed to bury anyone else here. If anyone buries (anybody else here), (that person) will be sinning against the gods of the underworld and will pay to the demos of Phellos six thousands denarii! And the denouncer (will) receive half of the fine. Our threptoi will be buried in the hyposorium.”

L. 1–2: Due to the indistinctness of these two lines the names of the owner to whom this sarcophagus belong could not be read. But the expression beginning – Ἄντι in the second line was probably employed as the wife’s ethnicon of a citizen of Antiphellos, whose name we could not read in the first line, cf. no. 4. In this case, it is probably to be completed as Ἄντιφελλείτης or Ἄντιφελλείτιδι.

L. 3: ἄλλο = ἄλλω.

L. 4: ἄμαρτολὸς ἔστο = ἄμαρτωλὸς ἔστω, see Gignac, Grammar I, 276–277.

L. 7: In this line, after the distinctly readable article οἱ, there is space for approximately 14–15 letters and since this must be completed as εἰς τὸ before the word ὑποσόριον, the rest of the missing letters should probably be completed to read δοῦλοι or θρεπτοί.

Date: End of the 2nd century AD. (from the form and style of lettering employed).

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- | | |
|----------------------|---|
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Özet

Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (7): Phellos Teritoryumundan Yeni Yazıtlar

Stadiasmus Patarensis çerçevesinde sürdürülen Orta Likya yüzey araştırmalarının ikinci yılında, özenli işçiliği ve çok iyi korunmuş olmasıyla dikkat çeken ve Antiphellos'u Claudius sahil yoluna bağlayan antik tali yol, bu yol boyunca yer alan iki adet küçük ölçekli yerleşim ve antik dönemde Phellos kenti teritoryumunda yer alan Bayındır köyü ve civarında araştırmalar sırasında tespit edilen altı adet yazıtlı lahit bu makalenin konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Hellenistik dönemle birlikte artan ticari hacmi sayesinde önemli bir liman kenti olan ve bu limanın avantajlarını etkin şekilde kullanmak isteyen Antiphellos hinterlandı ile çeşitli bağlantı yollarına sahipti. Makalede daha önce French ve Bean tarafından tanıtılan bu bağlantı yollarına ek olarak araştırmalarımız sırasında tespit edilen yeni bir tali yol tanıtılmıştır. Bu durum polis statüsüne sahip bir kent olan Antiphellos'un Roma dönemindeki önemini bir kez daha göstermesi bakımından dikkat çekicidir. Klasik Likya lahit grubundan olup stilistik açıdan hemen hemen aynı özellikleri taşıyan bu lahitler üzerinde yer alan yazıtlarda geçen ethnikon isimlerinden sözü edilen bölgenin elinde bulundurduğu verimli tarım arazileri sayesinde Isinda, Apollonia ve Antiphellos gibi komşu kentlerden yoğun bir göç almış olduğuna ve böylelikle Phellos kent teritoryumunun kozmopolit bir yapıya sahip olduğuna vurgu yapılmıştır.

Yazıtların çevirisi şu şekildedir:

1) “Bu mezarı Pataralı arazi sahipleri Ermandas oğlu Phileinos ve Demetrios kızı Khrysson kendileri ve çocukları için yaptırıldılar. Khrysson'un yukarıda adı geçen kocası Phileinos yazılı olarak izin vermediği sürece başka birinin bu mezara gömülmesine izin yoktur, aksi halde birini gömen kimse yeraltı tanrılarına karşı dinsiz ve imansız olsun ve Phellos demosuna yasal ceza olarak 3 bin denaria ödesin. Her kim ihbar ederse, bu cürümü işleyenlerin ödeyeceği ceza miktarının üçte birini alacaktır. Hyposoriona ise azatlılarımız ve kölelerimiz gömüleceklerdir.”

2) “Diomedes oğlu Isindalı Aperlai vatandaşı Satetios ve Iason kızı Phellos vatandaşı Arsasis bu mezarı kendileri, çocukları, damatları Aleksandros ve onun(Arsasis) annesi Arsasis için yaptırıldılar. Başka hiçkimseye defin yapmaya izin olmasın. Her kim bunlara karşı gelerek birisini gömürse, Phellos demosuna – – dinar ödesin ve yeraltı tanrılarına karşı günahkar olsun. Her kim de ihbar ederse (bu miktarın) yarısını alacaktır. Beslemelerimiz ise hyposoriona gömülecektir.”

3) “Hyposorium'a ise bizim azatlılarımız ve beslemelerimiz gömülecektir.”

4) “Ben, 3. Ariston oğlu Antiphelloslu Mausolos bu lahdi yalnızca kendim ve eşim Krateros kızı Antiphelloslu Arsasis ve çocuklarımız ve onların iyi soylu eşlerine ve onlardan olacak çocuklarımız (torunlarımız) için ve bizzat benim yazılı olarak müsaade edeceğim kişi için yaptırıldım.”

5) “Artemidoros oğlu Phelloslu Papis ve onu damadı Artapatos oğlu Phelloslu Midas bu mezarı kendilerine, eşlerine, çocuklarına ve onların eşlerine ve torunlarına yaptırıldılar. Size(!) ait olan köleler ise hyposoriona gömülecektir.hiç kimse buraya gömü yapmaya izinli değildir. Aksi takdirde, yeraltı tanrılarına karşı günahkâr olsun. Şayet her kim buna cüret ederse, Phellos kasasına — dinar ceza ödesin.....(Bunu ihbar eden de ceza miktarının üçte birini alacaktır).”

6) “Antiphellos vatandaşı falanca kişi (veya kişiler) bu mezarı yalnızca ve çocuklarına yaptırdı. Başka birini buraya gömmeye kimsenin izni yoktur. Eğer gömürse, yer altı tanrılarına karşı günahkâr olsun ve Phellos demosuna 6 bin denaria ödesin. İhbar eden kimse ise cezanın yarısını (alacaktır). Beslemelerimiz ise hyposoriona gömülecekler.”

Anahtar Sözcükler: Phellos; Antiphellos; Bayındır köyü; Roma yolu; Orta Likya; Limanağzı; yazıtlı lahitler; Asargedigi; Asartepe.

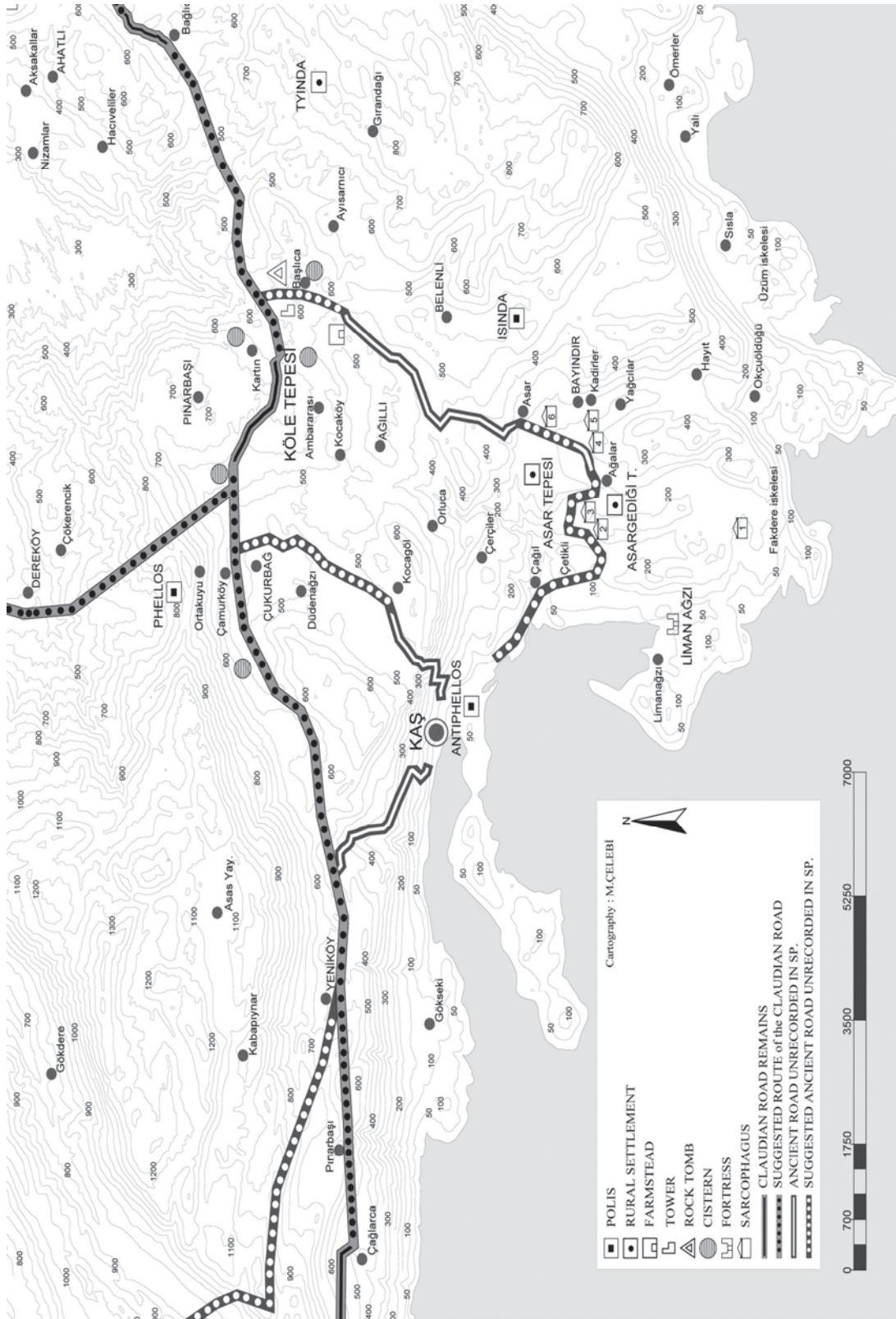


Fig. 2: The territories of Phellos and Antiphellos with their road connections



Fig. 3

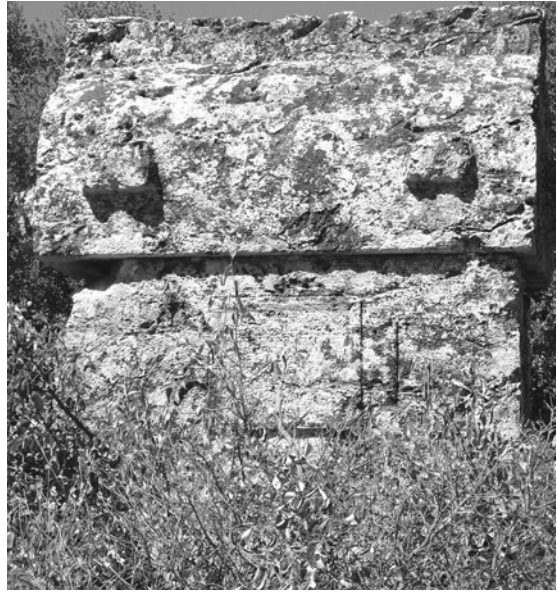


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 7: Hellenistic remains on Asargedığı.

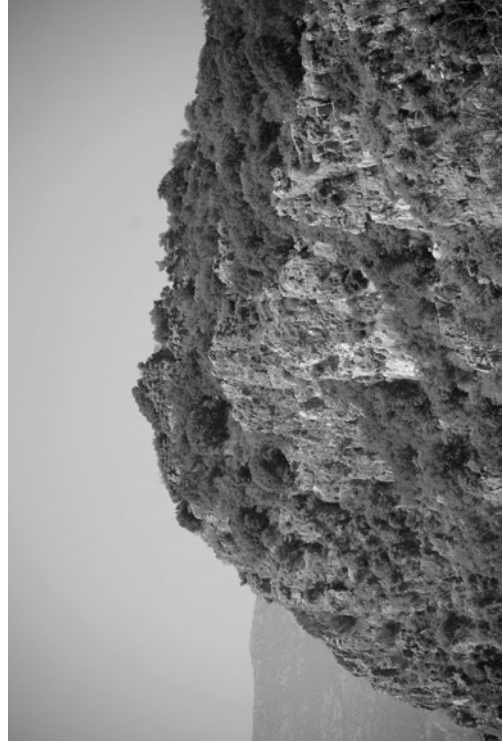


Fig. 9: Looking towards the settlement of Limanağzı from the southeast.



Fig. 6: Looking south from Asargedığı over the fertile plain.

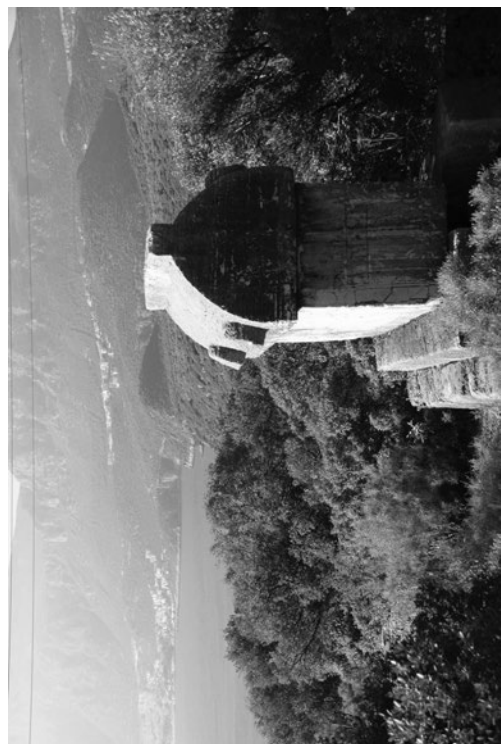


Fig. 8: Looking towards Kaş from the settlement of Limanağzı.

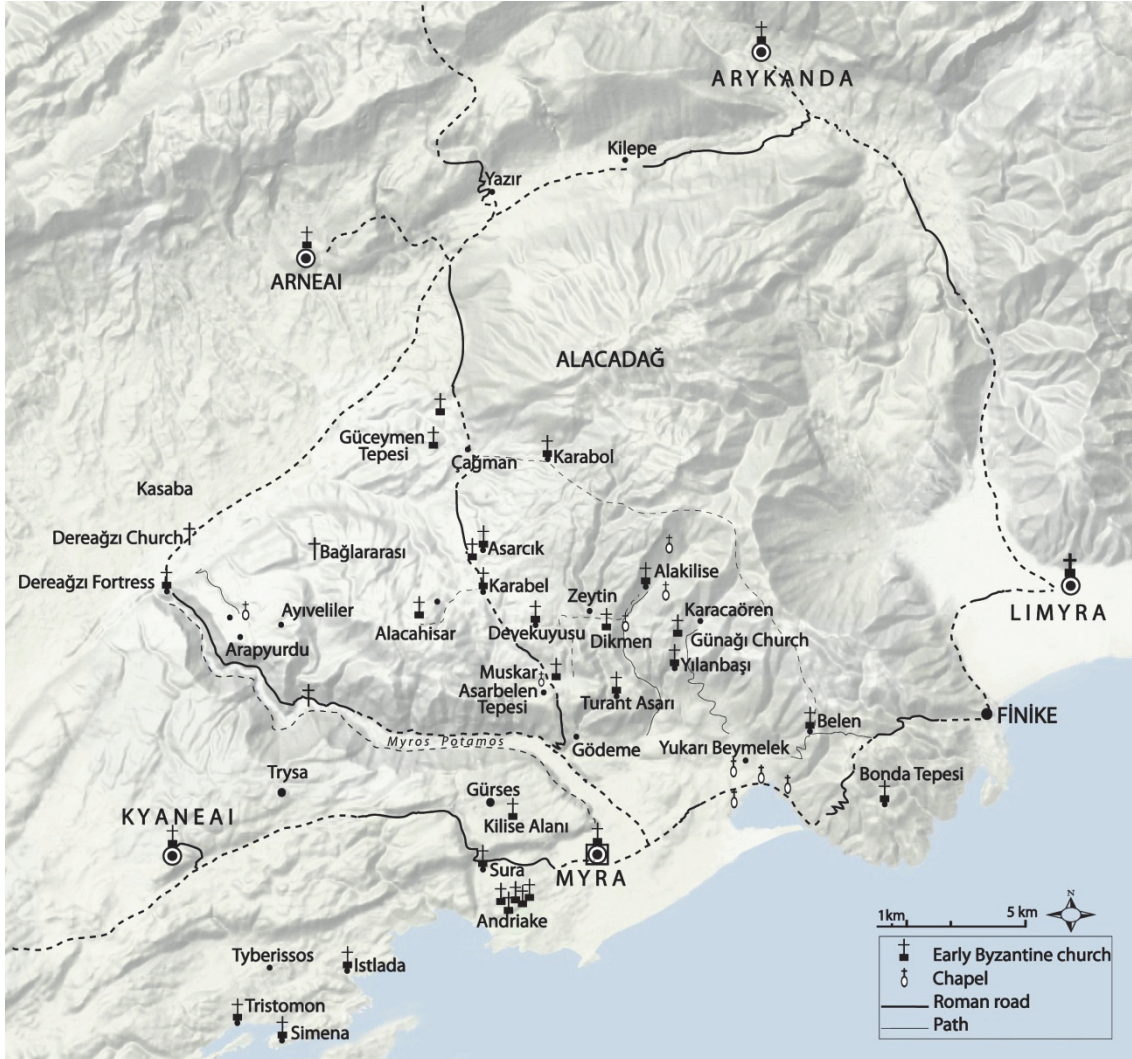
Mehmet ALKAN*

Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (8):
On the named places in the journeys of sacrifice
recorded in the Vita of Saint Nicholas of Holy Sion

Abstract. This paper aims to determine the route taken by Nicholas of Holy Sion in his journeys of sacrifice which are recorded in his Vita and in so doing, presents some suggestions as to the locations of Tragalassos and its territory and of the ten places with churches that were visited by him on the second long journey which lasted 25 days. The settlement of Arapyurdu is suggested as the location of Tragalassos. The hamlet of Pharroa, belonging to Tragalassos, is identified with a new settlement located 1 km to the northeast of Alacahisar church. The following are the places recorded in the course of this 25-day journey: Karkabo, Kausai, Nea Kome, Partaessos, Symbolon, Nautes, Serine, Trebendai, Kastellon and Hemalissoi. This journey began from the monastery of Holy Sion (probably to be identified as the Alacahisar church) and the first visit was to the shrine of Gabriel at Karkabo which is identified with the basilica at Alakilise through an inscription found in the Alakilise valley 7 km to the northeast of Myra (an identification already proposed by C. Foss). After Karkabo/Alakilise, Nicholas would have taken a route in a southerly direction to visit the extant sanctuaries around the Alakilise valley. The second destination, Kausai, might be Dikmen Tepesi, the closest settlement having an early Byzantine church 1 km south of the basilica at Alakilise. The next place Nea Kome can be localized at Karacaören–Günağı (the newly discovered settlement and an early Byzantine church are introduced in this paper) lying ca. 2 km southeast of Alakilise. The fourth station Partaessos was probably at Yılanbaşı ca. 3 km southeast of Alakilise and ca. 1 km southeast of the Günağı church. Nicholas went down from Partaessos to the fifth stop Symbolon, probably being the ancient name of the “Dalyan” lagoon, lying 4 km east of Myra. The next place visited, Nautes meaning “sailor”, must be near to the lagoon (Symbolon). After Symbolon and Nautes, Nicholas continued his route in a northerly direction to visit the remaining four places and to return to his monastery. Serine can be localized as Turant Asarı located 5 km to the northeast of Myra and 2 km east of Muskar/Belören. The next place Trebendai, which was an independent city during the Hellenistic period, should be localized as Muskar due to a previously unpublished inscription, published here, the contents of which have been employed in order to identify Trebendai as Muskar. The ninth stop, Kastellon, should be located between the monastery of H. Sion and Myra according to the Vita, and the last station Hemalissoi should be between Kastellon and the monastery of Sion. If the distribution of the churches in the area and Nicholas’s route are taken into consideration, Kastellon should be located in or around Devekuyusu, and Hemalissoi can be identified with the village of Karabel.

Keywords: Nicholas of Holy Sion; Early Byzantine churches; ancient roads; territory of Myra.

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Map 1: The Early Byzantine–ancient settlements with modern names on Alacadağ and adjacent areas, with the ancient main roads, paths, settlements and churches in the area traversed by Nicholas indicated.

Introduction

In this paper some new archaeological and epigraphic finds (a settlement at Karacaören, a church at Günağı near Karacaören, a Hellenistic inscription at Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi and some remains around Arapyurdu) in the mountainous area to the north of Myra are briefly introduced with some photographs and are discussed within the context of the journeys made by Nicholas of Holy Sion. These finds were made in 2010 – 2011 during the surveys conducted by Akdeniz University with the title “*Likya/Pamfilya Ulaşım Sistemlerinin Epigrafik ve Tarihi Coğrafik Açılardan Araştırılması*” and the permission granted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The courses of the ancient roads in the mountainous area lying to the north of Myra were recorded and the settlements in the area were visited during these surveys.

The Vita¹ of Saint Nicholas of Holy Sion written by one of his followers is an important source for

¹ This source was first edited and commented upon by G. Anrich in 1913 and 1917 (Nikolaos I–II). The text was subsequently translated into English by Ševčenko, Nicholas of Sion (1984), and into German with a commentary by Blum, Vita (1997). In this paper, the references to the text will be abbreviated as VNS.

the topography of Lycia, in addition to the material it provides concerning the religious and social life in Lycia during the lifetime of Nicholas in the sixth century. More than forty Lycian toponyms are recorded in the *Vita* and most have not as yet been localized². This means most of the churches mentioned as visited by Saint Nicholas have not as yet been identified with the known extant churches in the area near the monastery of Holy Sion, namely the rugged terrain between Myra and Arneai. The aim of this paper is therefore to provide suggestions as to the locations visited by Nicholas of Holy Sion during his journeys of sacrifice.

Saint Nicholas accomplished two recorded journeys in the region surrounding the monastery of H. Sion. The first journey took place immediately after the plague struck in Myra (in the mid sixth century), the other, a 25-day journey taken two years later. The reason for these journeys was religious, i.e. on the will of God, according to the *Vita*. Celebrating the apparent ending of the plague³ outbreak can be understood as being the reason for the first journey of sacrifice made by Nicholas. In addition, an underlying motivation of these visitations may well have been the continuation of the ancient tradition of “*euergesia*”, and the fact that Nicholas was a benefactor⁴. In consequence he was depicted as a charitable person in the *Vita*, which narrates the anecdotes of his numerous miracles and his financial assistance to the churches.

Tragalassos and its Territory

Nicholas began his first journey of sacrifice with a visit to Tragalassos, where he slaughtered a pair of oxen in thanksgiving to God. The chora of Tragalassos included the monastery of H. Sion with the hamlet of Pharroa, the birthplace of Saint Nicholas. That the starting point of the first journey was Tragalassos should be associated with his rescue from arrest due to the inhabitants of Tragalassos⁵, which was based upon a rumour spread about him after the plague arrived in Myra. The location of Tragalassos and its territory, the most important site in the *Vita*, has remained an unsolved problem, though there have also been some attempts at its localization.

The information concerning Tragalassos comes from one epigraphic document and from the *Vita* of Nicholas of Sion. According to an inscription⁶ from Arykanda, Tragalassos was an independent city during the Hellenistic period and was in *symmachia*⁷ with Arykanda at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century BC⁸. Tragalassos was a district (chora) placed between Myra and Arneai according to the *Vita* of Saint Nicholas in the sixth century AD. The hamlet of Pharroa, where Saint Nicholas was born and the monastery of H. Sion was built nearby, was within the territory of Tragalassos⁹. There is no certain evidence for the location of Tragalassos apart from the two sources mentioned above, but the archaeological remains scattered over the mountainous area of Alacadağ between Myra and Arneai may enable us to locate this city. As Tragalassos was an early Hellenistic or probably a Classical settlement in this area, as recorded in the inscription from Arykanda and, as there are four known settlements with archaeological remains dating from the Clas-

² For the toponyms see Anrich, Nikolaos II 527–542; Foss 1991, 330–334.

³ Foss 1991, 307.

⁴ Chronz, Nikolaos Sionites 63–64.

⁵ VNS 51–54.

⁶ IArykanda 1.

⁷ Wörrle 1996, 158.

⁸ IArykanda 1 p. 5.

⁹ VNS 1; Anrich, Nikolaos II 238–240 and 538.

sical and the Hellenistic periods between Myra and Arneai, namely: Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi, Karabel, Arapyurdu and Yılanbaşı, the identification of Tragalassos with one of these settlements seems probable. The last named can be disregarded as it is located too far from the monastery of Holy Sion.

Two of these have been proposed for the localization of Tragalassos; firstly Karabel by Şahin¹⁰, and, secondly Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi by Hellenkemper and Hild¹¹. However both of these suggestions would seem to be misplaced from a closer investigation of the probable historical and topographic position of Tragalassos.

The inscription from Arykanda mentioned above contains a political agreement “*symmachia*” between Arykanda and Tragalassos: the people of Tragalassos were accepted as allies by the city of Arykanda and some rights would be awarded them and also to soldiers from Tragalassos deployed in Syria upon their returning home. Şahin approached this document within the framework of the military operations of the Seleucid King Antiochos III against the Ptolemaic kingdom and considered the deployment of soldiers from Tragalassos and Arykanda in Syria as the Lycian support provided to Antiochos III in these operations, and concluded that there was an alliance between the city of Arykanda and the Seleucid kingdom¹².

As to the localization of Tragalassos at Karabel; according to the historical commentary on this inscription, Tragalassos, the ally of the city of Arykanda, should therefore be an important Hellenistic settlement located in a strategic place. However, Karabel seems rather to be a relatively late settlement and has no significant strategic location. There is only a farmstead tower dating from the Hellenistic period located to the west of the present village. The other remains of the settlement of Karabel date from the Byzantine period, not the Classical or Hellenistic periods¹³.

Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi has sufficient in situ remains¹⁴ dating from the Classical to the Byzantine period for it to be the localization of Tragalassos. However, the monastery of Holy Sion, no matter if it is to be located at Alacahisar or at Karabel–Asarcık, should lie within the *chora* of Tragalassos. So, it is therefore impossible to think that the territory belonging to the settlement on Muskar–Asarbelen had expanded to include the villages of Alacahisar and Karabel–Asarcık. Moreover, according to a new Hellenistic inscription¹⁵ (see below) from Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi and within the context of the 25–day journey taken by Nicholas of H. Sion, Trebendai should be localized to the settlement of Asarbelen Tepesi and Muskar, which therefore cannot be the location of Tragalassos.

The narrative of the arrest of Saint Nicholas in the Vita¹⁶ shows clearly that Tragalassos was not neighbouring the Holy Sion monastery and was not located between Myra and the monastery. This

¹⁰ IArykanda 1 p. 3.

¹¹ Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien 890–892 (Tragalassos)*.

¹² IArykanda 1 p. 4–6.

¹³ Harrison 1963, 131 no. 9; Grossmann – Severin, *Bauten* 57; Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 30; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 798 (Pharroa).

¹⁴ Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen* II 41; Bruns-Özgan, *Grabreliefs* 270–271; Marksteiner, *Limyra* 76; Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 10–12; Grossmann – Severin, *Bauten* 27–33; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 890–892 (Tragalassos).

¹⁵ The content of this inscription was mentioned with a commentary in Alkan 2011, 36; also contemporarily and independently in Öztürk 2010, 296, in a few sentences without comment.

¹⁶ VNS 53.

is because the Tragalassians were not informed that Nicholas would be arrested when the attendants came from Myra to the monastery of Holy Sion, and this event only became known in the village of Tragalassos later. If Tragalassos had been located close to the monastery or even on the way between the monastery and Myra, they would rapidly be informed of the incident. Therefore, in consequence of these indications it seems reasonable to surmise that Tragalassos was located in a place beyond the monastery and not adjacent to the monastery or on the direct route between Myra and the monastery.

The settlement of Arapyurdu, in which there is no modern village or settlement, can however be suggested as the location of Tragalassos, an alternative to the two localizations mentioned above. Arapyurdu, which is situated on a plateau ca. 700 m in elevation to the east of the Demre valley, ca. 3 km southeast of Dereağzı castle, and was first discovered by Morganstern and his team who published nine coins¹⁷, a grape press workshop and the remains of some building walls dated from the Hellenistic and Roman periods and the terrace walls surrounding the settlement¹⁸. In our research it was noted that there were many more foundations of buildings (some of them of polygonal masonry), two further workshops, two chamasoria and at least three cisterns amongst the remains of buildings and in the large area of terraced lands surrounding this settlement (fig. 1–3).

The area around Arapyurdu was not thoroughly surveyed by Morganstern. There is an acropolis of this settlement located on top of the hill on the steep southern edge of the plateau. Two large buildings probably dating to the Hellenistic period survived on this hill, and these buildings overlook the Demre/Myros valley. The larger one (47 m x 35 m), to the east, was probably a fortress during the Hellenistic period. This fortress was restored and buildings of at least two storeys were added to the inner side of the northern wall during the Byzantine period. The Byzantine buildings in the fortress are well preserved up to the top of doorframes and windows (fig. 4, 5), and these were probably public buildings during the Byzantine period. The other building, lying ca. 150 m to the west of the fortress, has a rectangular plan and only its foundations remain today. Furthermore, lying ca. 200 m to the east of this acropolis there is a polygonal masonry tower (probably from the Classical period) of an L shaped plan (fig. 6)¹⁹. The exterior walls of the classical tower consisting of three chambers are well preserved to a height of 2–3 m.

An ancient road rises up from Dereağzı towards Arapyurdu, along the valley opposite the church of Dereağzı (fig. 7). This road reaches a necropolis, including two chamasorions, a tomb lid, a rock-cut tomb (fig. 8) and a sarcophagus with a stepped podium on the north side, ca. 2 km north-northwest of Arapyurdu. 500 m southeast of this necropolis there is also a small settlement consisting of a chapel, some houses, three cisterns and a workshop, ca. 1200 m northwest of Arapyurdu.

In the modern village of Ayıveliler ca. 1 km east of Arapyurdu (see Map 2 below), a Hellenistic tower (fig. 9), in which there is a large and deep cistern, stands on a lower hill, 250 m west of the village houses at southern end of Ayıveliler. Furthermore there are some house-remains lying ca. 300 m southeast of the tower and there are two chamasoria near the houses of Ayıveliler.

All these remains indicate that there was an important settlement in the southwest corner of the

¹⁷ A total of nine coins were found and are as follows: 1 coin belonged to Perikle (380–360 BC) dynast of Limyra; 4 coins of the Lycian League (167 BC – 43 AD); 2 coins from the late Roman period (Theodosius, 383–392); 1 Byzantine period (Constantine II. 654/655) and a coin dated to the year 1539 (Venetus), see Gregory 1993b, 169–171.

¹⁸ Morganstern – Wurster 1993, 167–168, 172.

¹⁹ All of these three buildings on the acropolis are visible from Google earth.

mountainous area of Alacadağ, and the settlement of Arapyurdu containing considerable remains was in a central position in this complex of settlement.

The settlement of Arapyurdu, with sufficient in situ indications of settlement remains and with a clear strategic importance, can be proposed for the localization of Tragalassos, the strategic ally of Arykanda in the Hellenistic period, and which was a *chora* in the sixth century. The tower buildings standing in the area of Arapyurdu, the ancient road running from Dereağzı towards Arapyurdu (it was possibly connected to Gâvur Yolu, near Karabel, passing the Alacahisar church) and its coins²⁰ dating from the Classical period through to the 16th century clearly indicate the strategic importance of this settlement area. A larger number of coins with a similar time span were found around the Dereağzı fortress²¹. The coin finds (especially the coins of Perikle, dynast of Limyra, and Ptolemaios I–II) from the surrounding Dereağzı fortress and Arapyurdu clearly indicate that the dynasts dominating central Lycia, especially the kings of the Classical and Hellenistic period, employed these settlements as control points²². Therefore it can be suggested that Tragalassos was probably located at Arapyurdu and had a wide territory in this southwestern area of the mountainous Alacadağ.

The extent of the territory of Tragalassos, as also the precise location of the monastery of Holy Sion and of the hamlet of Pharroa in the territory of Tragalassos, as also the church and settlement at Akalissos, these are very important questions. The Sion monastery should be in the mountainous area (the west side of Alacadağ) north of Myra dependent upon the narratives in the *Vita*²³, but there is no consensus regarding which was the church extant in this area that can be identified as the monastery²⁴. Two suggestions have been proposed for the localization of the monastery of H. Sion. Firstly, the church at Asarcık, lying 1.2 km northwest of Karabel proposed by Harrison²⁵. This three-apsed basilica with a large triconch apse was built of limestone blocks and on the south of this structure there is a chapel in which there are three sarcophagi. The other suggested localization is the Alacahisar church which also has a triconch apse but its east end is cut entirely from the rock forming the hilltop of Çam Dağı 1200 m altitude at Alacahisar²⁶ ca. 3.5 km southwest of Karabel, firstly by Chronz²⁷ and then Hellenkemper and Hild²⁸ (fig. 10, 11). The first suggestion made by Harrison has been followed by some scholars²⁹. However the monastery of H. Sion should rather be identified with the Alacahisar church due to its topographic and architectural position as recorded in the *Vita*. The most obvious characteristic of the monastery in the *Vita* is that it was located on the hill of a mountain³⁰ and the structure was made entirely from a single stone (τὸ κτίσμα μόνολιθον)³¹ as noted by Chronz. If one remembers the initial situation when the church was excavated in part from the white limestone of the hilltop and the other stonework employed came from

²⁰ Gregory 1993a, 169–171.

²¹ Gregory 1993b, 140–154.

²² For comment on the strategic importance of this area, see Kolb – Tietz 2001, 398–399.

²³ Anrich, Nikolaos II 238–240.

²⁴ Ševčenko 1992, 50–51 expects that the monastery of Sion should be in the northern area of Arneai.

²⁵ Harrison 1963, 131–135, for the identification see *idem* 150.

²⁶ Harrison 1963, 136.

²⁷ Chronz, Nikolaos Sionites 73–77, especially 75.

²⁸ Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien 852–856* (H. Sion).

²⁹ Foss 1991, 309; Blum, *Vita* 12, 93.

³⁰ VNS 11, 13, 38: καὶ ἀνήλθεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῆς ἁγίας Σιῶν εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

³¹ VNS 11.

this location, the church on Çam Dağı at Alacahisar fits the description provided by the Vita, with the meaning alluded by the expression employed in the Vita clearly understandable: τὸ κτίσμα μονόλιθον καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὄρος λάμπον ἦν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος (*a structure made all of stone and the whole mountain shining like the sun*)³². For this reason the in part monolithic church at Alacahisar seems to be more reasonable identification as to the location of Holy Sion than the basilica at Asarcık.

Therefore the hamlet (chorion) of Pharroa should be searched for in the area surrounding Alacahisar. The village of Karabel was suggested for the localization of Pharroa by Hellenkemper and Hild³³, but, a newly discovered settlement located only 1 km northeast of the monolithic Alacahisar church (H. Sion) and ca. 2 km west of Karabel is more probably to be regarded as the site of the hamlet of Pharroa. This settlement includes about twenty houses, seven cisterns (one of them has a relief carved cross, fig. 12), two workshops and many terraced walls in the surrounding area. Some of these houses are well preserved to the top of the second floor (fig. 13, 14). A large farmstead house (probably Hellenistic) stands on a low hillock 150 m to the east of this settlement. There is a well preserved grape-press workshop in this farmstead. An unmettaled road from Karabel goes to the hilltop of Çam Dağı, upon which the monolithic church stands, passing south of this settlement. Probably this road was built following the broadening of the ancient path connecting the Alacahisar church with Karabel lying on the main road.

In short, this newly discovered settlement was probably the hamlet of Pharroa where Saint Nicholas of H. Sion was born, and the monolithic Alacahisar church on the hilltop of Çam Dağı was the monastery of H. Sion. The settlement of Karabel must have had a place name (possible Hemalissoi, see below) recorded in the Vita, but it seems not to have been Pharroa. The basilica at Asarcık should be understood as being the monastery of Sabbatios, the spiritual father of the elder Nicholas, uncle of Nicholas of Sion, and the settlement at Asarcık should be identified as Akalissos³⁴.

Akalissos and the Saint Johannes Monastery

After Tragalassos, Nicholas in this first journey went to the monastery of Saint Johannes at Akalissos and slaughtered five oxen there to glorify God³⁵. The monastery of Saint Johannes had an important place in the life of Nicholas. The elder Nicholas, uncle of Nicholas of H. Sion, and his spiritual father archimandrite Sabbatios who dwelt together in the monastery of Akalissos had a very important role in the foundation of the monastery of Holy Sion³⁶. The monastery of Saint Johannes at Akalissos has been identified with the three-naved basilica at Asarcık, which was suggested for the identification of Holy Sion by Harrison, 1.2 km of northwest of Karabel by Chronz³⁷ and by Hellenkemper and Hild³⁸. This identification seems more reasonable because the monastery of Saint Johannes was probably quite close to the monastery of H. Sion in accordance with the geographical position of Akalissos recorded in the Vita³⁹.

After leaving Akalissos, Nicholas visited all the holy churches near Holy Sion and slaughtered six-

³² VNS 11; the translation is quoted from Ševčenko, Nicholas of Sion 11.33.

³³ Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 798 (Pharroa).

³⁴ See notes 37, 38.

³⁵ VNS 1, 54.

³⁶ VNS 1, 10–15.

³⁷ Chronz, Nikolaos Sionites 75.

³⁸ Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 422–425 (Akalissos 2).

³⁹ Foss 1991, 319–320.

teen oxen⁴⁰. It is not possible to determine how many churches were visited by Nicholas in this trip because the text does not record any place names in this tour.

Plenion

After these visitations, in those days Nicholas visited in particular the shrine of Saint George at Plenion, where “there were two hundred place settings”⁴¹, and he offered in sacrifice seven oxen⁴². Plenion was a *kome* including the hamlet “chorion” of Rhabbamoussa⁴³. The location of Plenion is unknown today, but it can be understood that Plenion was not far distant from the monastery of H. Sion. At the end of this paper it is suggested that Plenion should be localized to the settlement of Belen, lying 10 km to the east of Myra.

The 25–day Journey of Sacrifice

Two years after this first journey, Nicholas made a journey that included visiting eleven churches located in ten named places⁴⁴, these names are recorded in the text, and at each church he slaughtered a pair of oxen (except at Karkabo, his first stop, where he slaughtered three) and he returned from this journey to his monastery after the passage of twenty–five days⁴⁵.

This last journey of sacrifice is one of the most important narrations in the Vita. Understanding the course of this 25–day journey made by the Saint will significantly contribute to some unsolved localization problems provided by the Vita. The attempt is made here to determine the route taken by Nicholas including his visits to eleven churches within 25 days and some localizations will be proposed for these churches.

In order these places were: Karkabo, Kausai, Nea Kome, Partaessos, Symbolon, Nautes, Serine, Trebendai, Kastellon and Hemalissoi. Following his visit to the last, Nicholas returned to the monastery of Holy Sion. The twenty–five days taken to complete this pilgrimage journey is not very long, as in addition to the physical journey Nicholas also sacrificed a pair of oxen and conducted certain rituals and feasted with crowds at each of the stations on his route. When these factors are taken into consideration, it can be understood that these churches would have been relatively close to each other and also relatively close to the monastery of Holy Sion⁴⁶. This was already indicated in the beginning of the passage narrating this journey with the use of the word παρακειμένος “lying beside”, that μετὰ δὲ χρόνους δύο πνεῦμα ἅγιον φαίνεται τῷ δούλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ Νικολάῳ ἐπὶ τὸ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τοὺς παρακειμένους εὐκτηρίους ἀγίους οἴκους καὶ ποιῆσαι καθ’ ἕκαστον ἀγίασμα θυσίας ἀπὸ ζυγῆς βοϊδίων καὶ δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν “Two years later, the Holy Spirit appeared to the servant of God Nicholas, (telling him) to visit the holy shrines nearby, and at each sanctuary to make a sacri-

⁴⁰ VNS, 54: ἔτι δὲ τῆ < τοῦ θεοῦ > χάριτι καὶ τῆ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος παρρησίᾳ φερόμενος εἰς πάσας τὰς παρακειμένας ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας θυσίας ἐπέδωκεν εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ βοΐδια δέκα ἕξ, “Furthermore, by the grace of (God) and by the boldness that the Holy Spirit (granted to him) he went to all the holy churches nearby, and gave thanks to God and offered up sixteen oxen...”; the translation is quoted from Ševčenko, Nicholas of Sion 54.87.

⁴¹ Ševčenko, Nicholas of Sion 55.87; Blum 1995, 58–59.

⁴² VNS 55.

⁴³ VNS 66.

⁴⁴ Two shrines are mentioned at the fifth stop, Symbolon, the other places have one each.

⁴⁵ VNS 56–57.

⁴⁶ Anrich, Nikolaos II 540 “Ausserdem ist zu beachten, dass die Ortschaften Karkabo ... Hemalissoi sich in ihrer Lage gegenseitig bedingen, da sie von Nikolaos in seiner grossen, von Kloster Sion ausgehenden und dahin zurückkehrenden Rundfahrt besucht werden”. See also Blum, Vita 116 Kapitel 56.

fiacial offering of a pair of oxen and to glorify God⁴⁷.

Nicholas began his journey by taking a sum of money (nomismata), seventy measures of wine and thirty *modii* of grain from the monastery of Holy Sion. As mentioned above this monastery should be identified with the monolithic church on Çam Dağı at Alacahisar.

Karkabo: The first stop made by Nicholas after leaving his monastery was at Karkabo in which there was the shrine of Archangel Gabriel mentioned for the first time in the Vita. The shrine of Archangel Gabriel has been identified⁴⁸ as the three-apsed basilica at Alakilise⁴⁹ lying 7 km north-east of Myra from an inscription⁵⁰ dating 812 found in the Alakilise valley. This localization of Karkabo to the village of Alakilise seems most plausible because this inscription records that the basilica of Alakilise was dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel. In this case the following question arises: why did Nicholas begin his visitations first at Karkabo/Alakilise despite the fact that there were some churches closer to the monastery of H. Sion and also along the road Nicholas took when passing from his monastery to Karkabo? There is no clear answer provided to this question in the Vita. But, starting this journey from Karkabo may have been because Nicholas gave priority to the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel as the representative of the Holy Spirit which had told him in his dream to undertake this journey. It should be noted that there was no distinction drawn between the size and population of the settlements visited in this trip and the offerings made, as the Holy Spirit had told Nicholas to make a sacrificial offering of a pair of oxen at each shrine, but Nicholas slaughtered three oxen at Karkabo, although he offered up a pair of oxen at all the other sanctuaries on this journey, probably for the reason mentioned above.

After Karkabo/Alakilise, the precise route which Nicholas followed is unclear, but he first descended in a southerly direction, indicated by the locations of the churches around the Alakilise valley. This is also expressed through the verb *κατελθεῖν* “to go down” employed when Nicholas descended to Symbolon, the fifth station.

Symbolon should be a place near to the sea, or a geographical name describing a natural formation. The use of a geographical designation employing a similar word *συμβολή* “meeting, joining, confluence of two rivers, etc.” can be found in a Hellenistic inscription⁵¹ from Xanthos. The word *symbolon* was probably employed to describe a natural feature such as a lagoon. The ancient name of the natural harbour of Balaklava (shaped like a lagoon) on the northern coast of the Black Sea was Symbolon⁵². The lagoon Ölüdeniz/Sipolo, 8 km south of the city of Telmessos/Fethiye in west Lycia, was also named Symbola/Σύμβολον⁵³. Another example from Caria, Çökertme Limanı is a

⁴⁷ VNS 56; the translation is quoted from Ševčenko, *Nicholas of Sion* 56.87–88.

⁴⁸ Chronz, *Nikolaos Sionites* 68; Foss 1991, 310–311; Blum 1995, 55; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 607–610 (Karkabo)

⁴⁹ Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 15–27; Grossmann – Severin, *Bauten* 33–49; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 607–610 (Karkabo).

⁵⁰ Petersen – Luschán, *Reisen* II 41.77.

⁵¹ This document includes a treaty between “the Termessians nearby Oinoanda” and the Lycian League, Rousset, *FdX X* p. 8, lines 45–55 twice with the propositions *μέχρι* and *κατά*; *μέχρι* τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς φάραγγος “as far as the confluence of the river and the canyon” (it is possible to find many examples in this sense in the work of Strabo). Although this meaning of the word *συμβολή* suggests that Symbolon would be the confluence of the rivers of Tokluca and Felen at Dereağzı at the beginning of Demre (Myros) valley, but it seems impossible to locate Symbolon at Dereağzı in the context of the 25-day journey.

⁵² Strab. 7. 4. 2; Plin. the Elder, 4. 86.

⁵³ Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 856 (Sipolo).

natural harbour resembling a lagoon, and it was also called Simbole/Simbule during the sixteenth century by sailors⁵⁴. As can be understood from these examples the place name Symbolon was probably commonly used when naming a lagoon or natural harbours having a lagoon-like form in antiquity. It can be understood that the Symbolon recorded in the Vita was probably the name given to the lagoon lying on the coast 4 km east of Myra. The next station visited by Nicholas after Symbolon, was Nautes, meaning “sailor”, and which most probably was located near to the coast or by the coastal lagoon. There is no Early Byzantine church in or near to the lagoon, but at least two or three sanctuaries around the lagoon in the Nicholas’s time (this issue concerning Symbolon and Nautes is discussed below).

In this way, it can be understood that the first part of this route extended from Alakilise in a southerly direction. Therefore, the three settlements (Kausai, Nea Kome and Partaessos) listed in the Vita after the first station of Karkabo should be located between Alakilise and the lagoon of Beymelek by Myra.

Following Nicholas breaking his journey at Alakilise/Karkabo, there are early Byzantine churches in places around the Alakilise valley having the modern Turkish names of Dikmen⁵⁵, Yılanbaşı⁵⁶, Turant Asarı⁵⁷, Muskar/Belören⁵⁸ and a newly discovered three-apsed church near Karacaören (see below), which lies within the region of the Alakilise valley which was, it seems evident, visited by Nicholas following his visit to Alakilise.

Kausai: In the chain of visits, the second station following that of Karkabo/Alakilise was the church of Saint Theodoros at Kausai (ὥστε ἀπὸ Καρκάβω ἀγαλλιώμενον τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ Νικόλαον ἀπελθεῖν ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδοῦρου εἰς Καύσαζ). There is no surviving evidence to localize Kausai at any specific location. Kausai was localized as Antiphellos/Kaş, the modern town about 40 km west of Myra, by Anrich⁵⁹. But this identification has not been accepted as it does not seem possible to fit Kaş into the itinerary of Nicholas within the context of the sequence of places visited within this 25-day journey⁶⁰. It is however possible to think that the shrine of Saint Theodoros could be localized at the church at Dikmen Tepesi, lying 1 km southwest of the basilica of Alakilise, it being the closest church to the basilica of the Archangel Gabriel.

Nea Kome: After Kausai Nicholas came to the shrine of the Archangel at Nea Kome (... ἀπ’ ἐκεῖθεν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν εὐκτήριον οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχαγγέλου εἰς Νέαν Κώμην). The place name, Nea Kome, meaning “New Village”, indicates a late settlement⁶¹ in this area of the Alakilise valley and its surroundings. Muskar and Yılanbaşı could not have been named Nea Kome as both settlements dated from the Classical period and had already existed for more than a thousand years. Turant Asarı also existed as a settlement during the Hellenistic period. However the settlement of Kara-

⁵⁴ Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 856 (Sipolo) refer to Piri Re’is, *Kitabı Bahriye*, İstanbul 1935, 788–789, 1655.

⁵⁵ Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 27; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 520 (Dikmen 1).

⁵⁶ Wurster 1975, 87–89; Grossmann – Severin, *Bauten* 54–57; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 921 (Yukarı Beymelek).

⁵⁷ Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 27–30; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 898 (Turant Asarı).

⁵⁸ Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 10–12; Grossmann – Severin, *Bauten* 27–33; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 890–892 (Tragalassos).

⁵⁹ Anrich, *Nikolaos II* 535.

⁶⁰ Foss 1991, 326; Blum 1995, 55; Blum, *Vita* 117.

⁶¹ Ševčenko, *Nicholas of Sion* 14.

caören, located ca. 2.5 km to the east of Dikmen Tepesi, has no remains that can be dated prior to the Roman period. The settlement of Karacaören is situated on a valley floor ca. 7.5 km to the northeast of Myra and 2 km to the southeast of the village of Alakilise. The foundations of a number of houses, 13 cisterns and surrounding terrace walls remain in the settlement area (fig. 15–17). There is part of a small structure with plastered interior walls, probably a workshop, and a cylindrical press stone with a diameter of 95 cm and a length of 105 cm (see fig. 18) at the edge of the modern forest road ca. 250 m south of the settlement of Karacaören. Press stones of a similar size were found at Karabel–Kızılleğen⁶² and at Arapyurdu.

The three-apsed church in the location named Günağı overlooking the sea (fig. 19–21), is ca. 600 m to the southwest of Karacaören, ca. 1.2 km north of Yılanbaşı and 2.5 km to the southeast of the village of Alakilise. The northern apse is plastered and traces of fresco colored red and blue can be seen on the wall (fig. 22). Seven faces were drawn within haloes and an inscription written in red paint between the haloes (the beginning of the inscription reads εὐχή [Νί]κολάου, the rest needs to be restored). Two columns carrying relief carved crosses are next to each other and some architrave blocs at the western end of the church would have formed part of the entrance to the church (fig. 23). The letters AC (15 cm high) are carved on a column near the entrance of the church (probably modern carving in the Latin alphabet although possibly the abbreviation of Ἁγία Σιών and carved in the 19th–20th c.). Some fragmentary inscriptions and column capitals remain in the area of the church (fig. 24, 25). This church can be dated to the first half of the sixth century from the inscription in the northern apse, or maybe earlier. At present we can call it Günağı church.

It is possible to suggest that the settlement area of Karacaören together with the church of Günağı was Nea Kome and, consequently, the church of Günağı was the location of the shrine of the Archangel visited by Nicholas.

Partaessos: Nicholas went from Nea Kome to Partaessos to visit the shrine of Saint Apphianos. Partaessos, which resembles the place name *Partana* derived from the element *parti-* in Luwian⁶³, was probably therefore a settlement dating from the Classical Lycian period. An ancient path extending from Karacaören, which also should lead to Alakilise and Dikmen, goes to Yılanbaşı passing near the Günağı church, ca. 1 km north of the Yılanbaşı settlement which has a Classical citadel that was renovated in the Byzantine period. Within this context, it is therefore possible to suggest Partaessos can be localized to the settlement of Yılanbaşı.

Symbolon and Nautes: This ancient path then descends in zigzags from Yılanbaşı to Yukarı Beymelek, north of the lagoon lying 4 km east of Myra. Nicholas went down from Partaessos to the shrine of the Archangel and of Saint Demetrios in Symbolon, the fifth station of this journey (ἀπ' ἐκεῖθεν κατήλθεν εἰς τὸ εὐκτήριον τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου ἐν τῷ Συμβόλῳ). As mentioned above, Symbolon should have been the name given to the lagoon because the same name was given to similar natural features.

After Symbolon, the next station Nautes should therefore also be located near to the lagoon as it derives from “ναύτης/sailor”, and is therefore not to be located in the mountainous area, the previous expected localization⁶⁴. In the mouth of the lagoon there was a pier–landing place known from an inscription⁶⁵ recording the legal arrangements taken by the demos to prevent the pirates preying

⁶² Grossmann – Severin, Bauten 58.

⁶³ Zgusta, Ortsnamen 473 §1014.

⁶⁴ Foss 1991, 332.

⁶⁵ LBW 1311; OGIS 572.

upon the maritime transport between Andriake and Limyra in the Roman period. The importance of the lagoon within the maritime transport of the region is obvious, and many ships and boats must have used the lagoon as a port, not just for passengers, but to transport cargoes of fish, because of the recorded fish requirements of monasteries, as also of the Christian population for fish on Fridays and fast days and these fish which were caught–trapped in the lagoon also reminded of the fisher of men. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that there was a place named Nautes located near to or by the lagoon.

If the above remarks concerning Symbolon and Nautes are correct then the question arises as to where the shrines of the Archangel and of Saint Demetrios at Symbolon and of the Virgin at Nautes that were visited by Nicholas were located within these places. There are only four small single naved, vaulted churches in the village of Yukarı Beymelek and near the lagoon but all of them have been dated to the 11th or 12th centuries⁶⁶. The question is what happened to the shrines that were visited by Nicholas in the first half of the sixth century, i. e., more than half a millennium earlier? It seems reasonable to suggest that some were destroyed in natural catastrophe, such as an earthquake or a tsunami. But there is also the possibility that the Muslim coastal raids in the period after 655 AD may have destroyed them, as being easily accessible from the sea or, as may have been the case with Nautes, it may have been buried in a flood of alluvium into the lagoon, as the walls of the monastery of Saint Nicholas in Myra was buried under several meters of alluvium. The shrines of the Archangel and of Saint Demetrios were probably by the lagoon, or perhaps one of them stood at the mouth of the lagoon or in the lagoon on the islet; but this total loss should perhaps be considered unlikely as some ruins belonging to a church of the inhabitants of Lebissos, 6 km southwest of Fethiye (Telmessos), remained at Symbolon (Sipolo/Ölüdeniz) until the beginning of the 20th century⁶⁷. It is not difficult to imagine that more than one church was by or close to the lagoon (Symbolon) as these churches would have provided religious services for the Christian community and for those departing and arriving from maritime voyages. Furthermore it should be noted that there were at least five churches⁶⁸ serving the harbour settlement of Andriake, the port of Myra. As mentioned above, there are also four small churches dating from the late Byzantine period at the village of Yukarı Beymelek north of the lagoon and so in the 6th century two churches, if not more, in this area seem probable.

Nicholas' route would have followed a northerly direction after leaving Symbolon and Nautes and the remaining four stations following Nautes on his return journey, Serine, Trebendai, Kastellon and Hemalissos should therefore be within the mountainous area. Hemalissos should be the closest to the monastery of Holy Sion as it was the last station before reaching the monastery and it is already accepted that Kastellon was located somewhere between Myra and the monastery of Holy Sion (see below). The village of Muskar (most probably Trebendai, see below) was a road junction connecting these places: Turant Asarı, Alakilise, Devekuyusu, Karabel and Myra⁶⁹. Nicholas would not therefore have crossed over to the western side of the Myros River (Demre Çayı) after leaving Nautes. It seems that he would have ascended from Nautes near the coast or the lagoon to the

⁶⁶ Feld 1975, 419 – 424; Borchardt 1975a, 46 Abb. I; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 485 (Beymelek).

⁶⁷ Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 856–857 (Sipolo) refer to A. S. Diamantaras, Xenophanes 1 (1904) 87.

⁶⁸ Harrison 1963, 142–143.

⁶⁹ Harrison, Mountain and Plain 11.

mountainous area around the village of Muskar.

Trebendai is to be located at modern Muskar/Belören lying 7 km north of Myra due to the evidence provided by the newly discovered Hellenistic inscription (fig. 26) from Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi which necessitates this localization.

This inscription is today built into the lower left corner of the wall of a late antique building, lying directly to the south of the classical citadel, which became a castrum in the Byzantine Period, on the hill of Asarbelen, ca. 500 m to the southwest of the modern village of Muskar/Belören and 6 km north of Myra. The inscription is on a spolia block reused in the construction of this wall, but this block came from a Hellenistic temple dedicated to Eleuthera Trebendatike, as the last line of this inscription records. Although the inscribed block consisting of fifteen lines is well preserved, the letters are very faint and in part illegible, while that part at the beginning of lines 4–9 is broken. The style of the letters shows clearly that the inscription dates from the Hellenistic period.

Inscription size: H.: 50 cm; W.: 88 cm; D.: 61 cm; L.H.: 1.5 cm.

- [- - - - ca.12 - - - -]E[. .]A[- - - - ca.10 - - - -]THΣ[- - - - ca.10 - - - -]
 2 [- - - - ca.12 - - - -]E[. . .]E[. . .]E[. . .]E[. .]Σ[- - - - ca.15 - - - -]
 [- - - - ca.12 - - - -]Σ[- - - - ca. 12 - - - -]ΝΟΣΤΟΥΠ[- - - - ca. 11 - - - -]
 4 [- - - ca. 6 - - -] τοῖ[ι]ς [έα]υτοῦ [.]Ν[- - ca. 6 - -]ΟΥ[. .]ΠΕ[- - - - ca. 13 - - - -]
 [- - - - - ca. 23 - - - - -]ΜΕΝΟ[. . .]ΩΣΤΟ[- - - - ca. 11 - - - -]
 6 [- -4/5 - -]Α[- - - ca. 8 - - -]αι δ[ι'] ἡ[ς] ἔθετο διαθή[κ]ης [- - - ca.10 - - - δι]-
 καιο[ν δ' ἐπιφ]αίνεσ[θ]αι [έσ]τιν τ[οὺς] τοι[οῦ]τους [ἀγαθοὺς] ἄν-
 8 [δρας. ἔδο]ξ[ε] τῶι - - -6/7 - - -]τ[.]ν δήμω[ι] τοὺς [. .]Ε[.]ΝΟΣ δη-
 [μάρχους ἀν]αγ[ορεύ]σ[ειν] ἀ[ὐτὸ]ν ἐν τῇ πανηγ[ύ]ρ[ει] ἀ[ν]αγό-
 10 [ρευσιν τ]ήνδε στεφάνοις ὑ[πὸ] νεῶν. ὁ δῆμ[ος]]Ν[. .]
 [. .]Ε[.]Α[. .]ΙΟ[- - 5/6 - -]ΡΛΟΙ[- - ca. 7 - -]Ε[.]ΤΗΣ εἰς τὴν Ἐλευθέραν
 12 [- - - - ca.14 - - - -]Ε[.] οἱ δῆμαρχοι μὴ ἀναγορεύ[σωσιν] αὐτὸν
 [ὀφ]ειλέτ[ωσαν] τῶι δήμ[ω]ι ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου [. .]Α[. .]Α
 14 [- - - - ca.10 - - - -]ΔΕ[. .] τῶν δημάρχων [τοῦ] ψηφίσ[μα]-
 τος Ε[- -4/5 - -] τῇ παραστάδι τοῦ ναοῦ.

L. 1–5: The first lines are very faint and illegible. As can be understood from the following lines, the general content of the document is that a benefactor was honored by the demos of the city on the Asarbelen. The name of the demos taking this decision to award this honor and the record of the philanthropical activities undertaken by this wealthy man must have been recorded in the first lines of this decree.

L. 6: It is understood from the expression δ[ι'] ἡ[ς] ἔθετο διαθή[κ]ης that the benefactor bequeathed some things to either the demos, which honored him, or to a temple.

L. 7: It is recorded that charitable men should be introduced to the public, through the expression ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ἐστιν τοιοῦτους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας commonly employed in the Hellenistic decrees.

L. 8: The sentence of the decision taken by demos begins with ἔδο]ξ[ε] τῶι - - -6/7 - - -]τ[.]ν δήμω[ι] in this line. The Eleuthera recorded in the eleventh line and τῇ παραστάδι τοῦ ναοῦ in the last line of this inscription are good references with which to determine the ethnicon in the lacuna before

the word *demos* in the dative case. These allow one to think that there was a temple dedicated to Eleuthera within the settlement of Asarbelen. This cult must be the Eleuthera of Trebendai (Ἐλευθέρα Τρεβενδατικῆ) known from a votive inscription⁷⁰ from Simena. The ethnicon of Trebendai (Τρεβενδατῶν) is known from an inscription⁷¹ found in the city of Kyaneai which includes the letters of those cities honoring the benefactor Iason of Kyaneai. Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi has sufficient *in situ* remains⁷² dating from the Classical to the Byzantine period for it to be the localization of the Hellenistic city of Trebendai, also mentioned in the Vita of Nicholas of Holy Sion in the sixth century. Muskar has been already proposed for the localization of Trebendai by Zimmermann⁷³, as an alternative to Borchhardt’s proposal⁷⁴ which was the settlement of Gürses lying 4 km northwest of Myra. It is therefore possible to restore the lacuna in this line as ἔδο]ξ[ε τῶι Τρεβενδα]τ[ῶ]ν δήμω[ι].

L. 8–10: The lacunas in these lines can be restored as δη[μάρχους ἀν]αγ[ορεύ]σ[ειν] α[ὐτὸ]ν ἐν τῆι πανηγ[ύ]ρ[ει] based upon the conditional clause in lines 12 and 13. It is recorded that the demarchs have to proclaim him, who was benefactor honored by the demos, at the panegyric feast. This festal assembly would have been in honor of Eleuthera (Trebendatike). In the tenth line the ὑ[πὸ] νεῶν attests to the fact that there was an organisation of young men “*neoi*” in the city of Muskar–Asarbelen/Trebendai. This association of *Neoi* was an important society, often found in the cities of Asia Minor, and they had a president, a secretary and a treasurer within their organisation in each polis⁷⁵.

L. 11: The first part of the line needs to be restored, but this seems difficult. The line ends as εἰς τὴν Ἐλευθέραν. A possessive noun identifying the Eleuthera goddess may have been written at the beginning of the following line, but unfortunately there remains no trace of any letters. As stated above it must be Eleuthera Trebendatike. It can also be understood that the panegyris and the temple (of Eleuthera) mentioned in this inscription belonged to the cult of Eleuthera in Myra “Ἐλευθέρα Μυρικῆ *Eleuthera Myrike*”⁷⁶. But, even if this is correct, it does not prevent the restoration of the ethnicon in the eighth line as Τρεβενδα]τ[ῶ]ν and therefore the identification of Trebendai with the settlement of Muskar–Asarbel Tepesi.

L. 12–13: The penalty formulation of the decree records that if the demarchs did not proclaim the benefactor’s name at the festal assembly they would have to pay (?) of the silver coins of Rhodes to the demos in punishment. This demos (citizen’s assembly) having the power to issue penalty fines was probably the people’s assembly of the city of Trebendai at Asarbelen Tepesi. The demarchs (οἱ δήμαρχοι) would have been the administrators in some settlements having the status of the *demos* belonging to the polis territory of Trebendai during the Hellenistic period.

According to two epigraphic documents, Trebendai was an independent city for a considerable period of time, at least until the mid 2nd century AD. Trebendai is recorded as an independent city in the Iason inscription (dated AD 146) from Kyaneai⁷⁷ and it was within a *sympoliteia* with Myra

⁷⁰ Heberdey – Kalinka, *Reisen* 17 no. 53

⁷¹ IGR III 704 col. I l.10.

⁷² See above note 14.

⁷³ Zimmermann, *Zentrallykien* 115; Zimmermann 2002, 776 (Trebendai).

⁷⁴ Borchhardt 1975b, 82.

⁷⁵ Macro 1980, 681.

⁷⁶ TAM II 924; Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen* II 45.82; TAM II 905 XIII C l. 10, XIV D, XIX A ll. 9–11; and see Frei 1990, 1787–1791.

⁷⁷ IGR III 704 col. I l.10.

(Μυρέως ἀπὸ Τρεβένδων), as is known from a funerary inscription⁷⁸ (dating to the Roman Imperial Period) at Tristomon. Furthermore, it has been assumed that Trebendai minted coins⁷⁹ and was a member of the Lycian League⁸⁰. Ptolemaios listed Arabendai, to be understood as being in fact Trebendai, being a scribal–copyist’s error, as a polis amongst the cities on Masikytos⁸¹.

From these documents and this new decree it can be understood that Trebendai was certainly an independent city for at least the Hellenistic period and it should therefore be enquired into as to the extent of the territory that belonged to the settlement centre of Trebendai/Muskar at that time. A funerary inscription from Turant Asarı⁸² probably to be dated to AD 11/12 or to 94/95⁸³ can be understood as providing evidence for this territorial relationship between Trebendai (Muskar) and Turant Asarı, lying ca. 2 km to the east of the modern village of Muskar. The penalty formulation of the Turant inscription records that the violator had to pay six thousand *kitharephoroi* to *Eleuthera* in punishment. This Eleuthera is quite possibly the temple of Eleuthera (Trebendatike) mentioned in the newly discovered Hellenistic inscription from Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi and therefore, the settlement on Turant Asarı can be considered as lying within the territory of Trebendai during the Hellenistic period.

L. 14–15: These lines show that the decision taken by the demarchs was placed in the *parastasis* of the temple or written upon the wall of the parastasis. This inscribed block may well have been removed from a wall because the long lines are written horizontally on the rectangular block, which suggests it was employed in a building. There is today no temple visible in the area where this Hellenistic inscription is today. If there was a temple of Eleuthera in the settlement of Muskar–Asarbelen the question arises what happened to the temple. This temple may have been exposed to the same fate as the temple of Eleuthera at Myra, the violent hostility expressed against paganism during the early centuries of Christianity.

Asarbelen Tepesi and the village of Muskar should be considered as a single settlement, and have sufficient *in situ* remains dating from the Classical to the late Byzantine period for it to be the location of Trebendai. Therefore the Early Byzantine church standing in the modern village of Muskar/Belören was probably the shrine of the Archangel that was visited by Nicholas within the course 25–day journey.

⁷⁸ Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen* II 58.114 (= SIG III 1234).

⁷⁹ The coins of the Lycian League bearing the TP legend were probably minted by Trebendai; see Troxell, *Coinage* 39, 55–57.

⁸⁰ Jameson 1980, 842.

⁸¹ Ptolemaios, 5.3.3; Troxell, *Coinage* 57. Trebendai is incorrectly recored as Arabendai in the text of Ptolemaios. However, according to some scholars Arabendai was an incorrect recording of the name Arykanda; see Ruge 1937, 2267; Magie, *Roman Rule* II, 1391 note 59; Robert 1955, 206 note 6, rather than being a misrepresentation of Trebendai, the difference being two letters in the case of Trebendai and five in the case of Arykanda.

⁸² Schweyer 1993, 41–42.

⁸³ For the dating of this inscription see Alkan 2011, 36–40.



Map 2: The main roads, the paths and the suggested locations and the possible route taken by Nicholas of Holy Sion in his 25-day journey of sacrifice.

Serine: This place, where Nicholas visited the shrine of Saint Irene⁸⁴, is mentioned between the places Nautes and Trebendai. That is, Serine should be situated somewhere between the coast and Muskar village (Trebendai) and probably close to Trebendai. Turant Asarı, lying ca. 2 km to the east of the modern village of Muskar, could be identified as Serine, the station before Trebendai. An ancient path⁸⁵ descends from Alakilise towards Myra which divides at Turant Dağı, and Nicholas probably arrived at Turant Asarı (Serine?) by this road. The order of places given in the text seem reasonable, the east–west direction of the stations from Turant/Serine? and then Muskar/Trebendai, because the monastery of Holy Sion lies further to the west.

⁸⁴ The place name Serine was probably derived from Eirene “Holy Peace”, Zgusta, Ortsnamen 556 § 1200–1; Foss 1991, 333; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 840 (Serine); Blum, Vita 118.

⁸⁵ Harrison, Mountain and Plain 27 (s.v. Dikmen); Foss 1991, 312.

Kastellon: The issue of the localization of Kastellon, where Nicholas visited the shrine of Saint Nicholas⁸⁶, remains a difficult problem. This city is recorded in another journey taken by Nicholas when he, after completing this 25-day journey, travelled to Kastellon, which he reached through turning off the route from the monastery of H. Sion to Myra (ἐκκλιψεν ἐν τῷ Καστέλλῳ), in order to pray for the sanctuary of Saint Daniel in Sabandos which was in danger of collapse. “As he entered the shrine of Daniel the Prophet, and saw that the holy house of God was about to collapse, he summoned one of the clerics, by the name of Nicholas, from the hamlet of Damasei”⁸⁷. This narration suggests that Kastellon, Sabandos and Damasei, which was on the border of Sabandos⁸⁸, were close to each other. Foss wants to locate Kastellon at Asarbelen Tepesi lying 500 m southwest of Muskar and proposes that Sabandos should be placed in the village of Muskar and thinks that Damasei lay between Muskar and the fortress (Asarbelen)⁸⁹. But as proposed above, Asarbelen Tepesi and its surroundings should be considered to be a single settlement, Trebendai (see above). Kastellon can therefore be neither of the two localizations that have previously been suggested, the Dereāğzı fortress⁹⁰ or Muskar–Asarbelen Tepesi⁹¹, as both of these settlements date from the Classical period and “Kastellon/Castellum” would seem to be a place name dating rather from the Roman–Byzantine periods.

It is not clear along which road Nicholas was going to Myra, that within the Demre valley⁹² or along the Gâvur Yolu⁹³ in the mountainous area (see map 2). Nicholas turning off the road to Myra, to visit Kastellon, is indicated by the verb κἀμπτω, implying to take the road leading in another direction from the main one. In other words, Kastellon should be located in a place distinct from the immediate areas around these two main roads; and, if the route taken by Nicholas on the journey was as is described above, then Kastellon should be located in the mountainous area between Muskar and the monastery of H. Sion.

Nicholas’ route should have followed in a northwest direction from Muskar/Trebendai because the monastery of H. Sion was northwest of Muskar, located at either Asarcık or Alacahisar (which does not affect this point). If the dispersal of the churches in this area (see here maps 1–2) and the direction taken by Nicholas to return to his monastery in the 25-day journey are taken into consideration, it is possible to suggest that Kastellon was in or around the settlement of Devekuyusu, as Kastellon will be a place reached via a secondary way as is stated above. If this suggestion is correct, Sabandos and Damasei must also be near Devekuyusu because these two settlements are known to have been close to Kastellon. The ancient settlement in the village of Zeytin⁹⁴, ca. 2 km to the east

⁸⁶ Blum, Vita 118.

⁸⁷ VNS 58; the translation is quoted from Ševčenko, Nicholas of Sion 58.93.

⁸⁸ VNS 41.

⁸⁹ Foss 1991, 312–313, 331.

⁹⁰ Anrich, Nikolaos II 534–535; Robert 1955, 205 note 3. Dereāğzı has also been proposed as the location of Mastaura, a diocese and mentioned “in the *Notitiae Episcopatum* as a first place after the metropolis Myra in the province of Lycia from the 7th century to the 12th century”, see Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 716 (Mastaura).

⁹¹ Foss 1991, 312–313.

⁹² There is a Roman road on the left side of the valley extending from Dereāğzı to Myra (unpublished). It was discovered during our survey in 2011.

⁹³ Harrison 1963, 131 and note 96. This Roman road ascends from the village of Köşkerler 4 km to the north of Myra to Muskar and then extends directly to Arneai, passing through Karabel.

⁹⁴ Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 923 (Zeytin).

of Devekuyusu, can be suggested as the location of Damasei. Nevertheless, the suggestions for the localization of the settlements of Kastellon, Damasei and the nearby (although here unlocalized) settlement of Sabandos, should not be seen as either final or conclusive as these three settlements may possibly be around the modern village of Çağman as there are few early Byzantine churches in its vicinity (see the maps and below).

Hemalissoi: It should be located near the monastery of H. Sion, being the last station on this journey prior to Nicholas returning to his monastery. Nicholas visited the shrine of Melissa, from which name the place name Hemalissoi or Hemalissa was probably derived⁹⁵. The settlement of Devekuyusu, an hour to the east of Karabel, has been proposed as Hemalissoi by Foss⁹⁶. This may be correct but there is no evidence beyond its geographical proximity to the monastery of H. Sion to support or confirm this localization. If the suggestions above for the locations of Kastellon, Sabandos and Damasei are correct, the last station before reaching the monastery of Sion Hemalissoi can be identified as Karabel, because the Early Byzantine church closest to H. Sion is in the village of Karabel on the ancient road.

The most important result of this paper is that the places recorded in the 25-day journey seem all to lie in the area north and east of the Demre valley. It is not possible to determine how large the population of the places were that were visited in the course of this 25-day journey, as Nicholas slaughtered two oxen at every shrine except for Karkabo/Alakilise where three oxen were sacrificed. The status of most of the place names mentioned is not provided in the text. However, Karkabo was mentioned as a *kome*⁹⁷ in another passage in the Vita. The third station Nea Kome is a place name but it should also be considered as indicating a settlement with the status of village because of its name, New Village. There was no importance given to the size of the settlements visited during this journey as the Holy Spirit had told Nicholas to make a sacrificial offering of a pair of oxen at each holy shrine. We are able to obtain indications of the size of a population in only a few places in the course of the Vita⁹⁸.

It is clear that all of the churches near Holy Sion were not visited in this 25-day journey. The monastery of Saint Johannes at Akalissos and the shrine of Saint Georgos at Plenion were visited two years before this 25-day journey. These two sanctuaries and the shrine of Saint Daniel at Sabandos will lie in the vicinity of the monastery of H. Sion. As was mentioned above the monastery of Saint Jonannes at Akalissos should be identified with the three-naved large basilica at Asarcık. Sabandos, as mentioned above, might be in or around the settlement of Devekuyusu.

The settlement of Belen lying 10 km to the east of Myra can be suggested as the location of Plenion with its two hundred place settings, as this is a Classical–Hellenistic fortress, with more than twenty buildings around this castle, some of which are preserved to the top of doorframes and windows, and some cisterns amongst these buildings remain today on the Belen Tepesi, and there is a church with only its apse preserved to the northeast of the fortress. The necropolis of this settlement, including 12 Roman period sarcophagi, is on the north side of the hill. An ancient path climbs from the village of Yukarı Beymelek up to Belen and extends to Finike⁹⁹. The name Belen means “moun-

⁹⁵ Zgusta, Ortsnamen 556 § 1200–1; Blum, Vita 118.

⁹⁶ Foss 1991, 331–332.

⁹⁷ VNS 19.

⁹⁸ There were nearly three hundred people at Plakoma (VNS 16), two hundred place settings at Plenion (VNS 55) and about two hundred people at Tragalassos, see Blum 1995, 58–59; Blum, Vita 13.

⁹⁹ For the remains of Belen see: Borchhardt 1975c, 90–91 (with a topographic map); Zimmermann, Zentrally-

tain pass” in Turkish and the reason for calling the settlement on this hill Belen was because the ancient path passes this place and this path was still used by the villagers until a few decades ago. Although the word “belen” is commonly used as a description naming a mountain pass, the name of this settlement Belen may have been adapted over time from Plenion, as this settlement on the hill of Belen is still called Belos by the inhabitants living in the area of Myra. There is, however, no place name Belos in the ancient literary sources and epigraphic documents recording Lycian toponyms and the transformation from Plenion to Belos to Belen seems possible.

Finally, in addition, of those extant early Byzantine sanctuaries on the area near the monastery of H. Sion which may have been mentioned in the Vita there is: a three-aisled basilica¹⁰⁰ on Güceymen tepesi, lying 1.5 km to the west of Çağman (this is probably the Plakoma¹⁰¹ mentioned with the cypress tree in the Vita); a small basilica¹⁰² lying 1 km to the north of Çağman on the road to Ernez (Arneai) and a small church¹⁰³ at Karabol lying 5 km to the east of Çağman. There is also a newly discovered church¹⁰⁴ at Bağlararası about 5 km to the west of Karabel.

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¹⁰⁰ Harrison 1963, 136 no 14; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 550–551 (Güceymen Tepesi).

¹⁰¹ VNS 15, 16. For this identification see Foss 1991, 332–333.

¹⁰² Harrison 1963, 136 no 15; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 492 (Çağman)

¹⁰³ Harrison 1963, 136–137 no 16; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 597–598 (Karabol).

¹⁰⁴ It was seen during our survey of the Roman roads in this area. Only a part of the apse and foundations of this church remains standing on a slope in the village of Bağlararası, and it was built from rubblestone and mortar. Some capitals and columns remain inside the church and there is a large ancient cistern in a presently extensive field in front of this church.

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Özet

Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (8): Sionlu Nikolaos'un Hayatındaki Kurban Töreni Ziyaretlerinde Adı Geçen Yerler Üzerine

Bu makale, Sionlu Nikolaos'un, Vita'da kaydedilen kurban töreni ziyaretlerindeki güzergâhları belirlemek ve adı geçen yerlerin lokalizasyonuna dair bazı öneriler getirmek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. İlk olarak Tragalassos'un yeri hakkında daha önce yapılmış öneriler eleştirilmekte ve alternatif olarak Arapyurdu önerilmektedir. Tragalassos'un teritoryumunda olması gereken Pharroa için de, Alacahisar kilisesinin 1 km kuzeydoğusunda yer alan yeni bir yerleşim yeri teklif edilmektedir. Bundan sonra Nikolaos'un 25 gün süren kurban töreni gezisi incelenmektedir. Bu seyahatte adı geçen yerler sırasıyla: Karkabo, Kausai, Nea Kome, Partaessos, Symbolon, Nautes, Serine, Trebendai, Kastellon ve Hemalissoi'dur. Nikolaos bu seyahatte kendi manastırı Kutsal Sion'dan (büyük bir ihtimalle Alacahisar kilisesi) yola çıkarak başlamıştır ve ilk ziyaret yeri Karkabo'daki Aziz Cebrail kilisesidir. Alakilise'de ele geçen ve buradaki kilisenin Cebrail'e adandığını gösteren bir yazıt vasıtasıyla Karkabo'nun Alakilise'ye yerleştirilmesi gerektiği daha önceden önerilmiştir. Bu lokalizasyon son derece makuldür. Karkabo/Alakise'den sonra Nikolaos güney istikametinde bir güzergâh takip etmiş olmalıdır. Alakilise vadisi civarındaki mevcut kiliselerin konumu böyle bir rotayı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Nikolaos'un

ikinci ziyaret yeri Kausai'nin yeri için herhangi bir belge yoktur. Fakat Dikmen Tepesi Alakilise'ye en yakın olduğundan dolayı (1 km güneybatısında) Kausai için önerilebilir. Bir sonraki yer Nea Kome, Alakilise vadisinin 2 km doğusundaki vadide bulunan Karacaören–Günağı mevkiindeki yerleşime (yeni bir yerleşim ve bir kilise ilk olarak bu makalede tanıtılmaktadır) lokalize edilebilir. Nea Kome'den sonraki yer Partaessos, Alakilise'nin yakl. 3 km güneydoğusunda, Günağı kilisesinin 1 km güneydoğusunda yer alan Yılanbaşı ile özdeşleştirilebilir. Nikolaos'un, Partaessos'tan sonra aşağıya inerek gittiği yer Symbolon, büyük bir olasılıkla Myra'nın 4 km doğusunda yer alan lagünün adı idi. Altıncı sıradaki yer Nautes, "gemici" anlamında bir yer adıdır ve muhtemelen lagün civarında olmalıdır. Symbolon ve Nautes'ten sonra Nikolaos kuzey yönünde ilerleyerek yeniden dağlık alana çıkmış olmalıdır. Çünkü en son durak noktası kendi manastırındır. Nautes'in hemen ardından Aziz'in gittiği Serine için Turant Asarı önerilebilir. Bir sonraki ziyaret yeri, Hellenistik dönemde bağımsız bir yerleşim olduğu bilinen Trebendai ise çok büyük ihtimalle Muskar ile özdeştir. Muskar'ın 500 m güneybatısındaki Asarbelen Tepesi'nde bulunan yeni Hellenistik yazıttaki kısmi bilgiler bu lokalizasyonu gerekli kılmaktadır. Bu seyahatteki son iki yerleşim Kastellon ve Hemalissoi'un yerleşirilebilmesi için kesin bir belge yoktur. Kastellon'un Sion manastırı ile Myra arasında olması gerektiği zaten bilinmektedir. Hemalissoi da Sion manastırından önceki son istasyon olduğu için onun da manastır yakınlarında bir yerde olması gerekir. Bunlara göre, Nikolaos'un bu seyahatindeki muhtemel güzergâhı da hesaba katılarak, Kastellon için Devekuyusu veya yakınlarında bir yer, Hemalissoi için de Karabel önerilebilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Sionlu Nikolaos; Erken Bizans kiliseleri; antik yollar; Myra teritoryumu.



Fig. 1: Arapyurdu – remains of some buildings.



Fig. 2: Arapyurdu – a chamasonry in the settlement.



Fig. 3: Arapyurdu – the grape press.



Fig. 4: Arapyurdu – the acropolis.

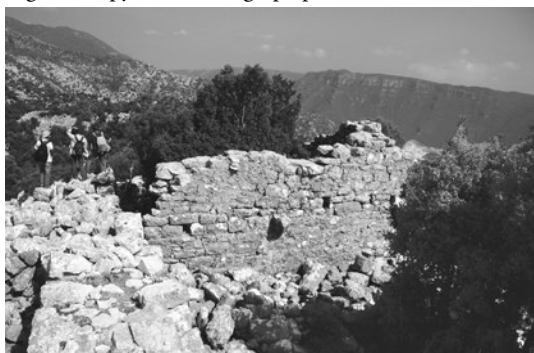


Fig. 5: Arapyurdu – the Byzantine building on the acropolis. In the background the tower in Fig. 6.



Fig. 6: Arapyurdu – Classical tower with L shaped plan.



Fig. 7: The ancient road climbing from Dereagzi to Arapyurdu.

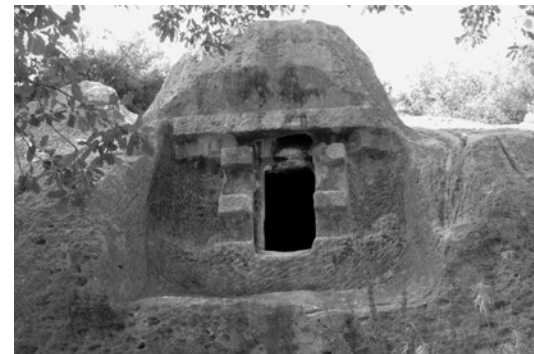


Fig. 8: A rock-cut tomb between Dereagzi and Arapyurdu.



Fig. 9: Ayıveliler – the Hellenistic tower.



Fig. 10: Alacahisar Church (in part rock-cut)
Sion Monastery.



Fig. 11: Detail of the rock-cut apse of the
Alacahisar Church.



Fig. 12: Alacahisar – cistern with a relief
carved cross above cistern mouth.



Fig. 13: Alacahisar – two storey house in the
settlement (Pharroa) 1 km to the northeast of
Alacahisar Church.



Fig. 14: Alacahisar – two storey house in the
hamlet of Pharroa.



Fig. 15: Karacaören – the settlement area.



Fig. 16: Karacaören – the remains of houses.



Fig. 17: Karacaören – a cistern within the settlement.



Fig. 18: A press stone between Karacaören and Günağı.



Fig. 19: Günağı – the area of the church.



Fig. 20: A view from the Günağı church down to the plain of Demre.



Fig. 21: Günağı – the apses of the church.



Fig. 22: Günağı – the northern apse with in situ fresco remains.



Fig. 23: Günağı – remains of the church entrance.



Fig. 24: A Corinthian capital at Günağı church.



Fig. 25: A fragmentary inscription in the Günağı church.



Fig. 26: The Hellenistic inscription at Asarbelen Tepesi.

Nuray GÖKALP*

Iulius Tarius Titianus, *proconsul* of *Lycia et Pamphylia*

Abstract: The inscription presented here was found in a quarter of Antalya and contains an honorary decree for Iulius Tarius Titianus. The honorand is called *proconsul* of the province *Lycia et Pamphylia*. As *proconsul* he is also mentioned in an inscription from Takina, where a bath was constructed during his governorship ca. 202–205 A.D. An unsolved problem was to which of the provinces – *Asia* or *Lycia et Pamphylia* – Takina belonged. From the new text we can now be sure that in the Severan Period Takina stood under the control of the *proconsul* of *Lycia et Pamphylia*.

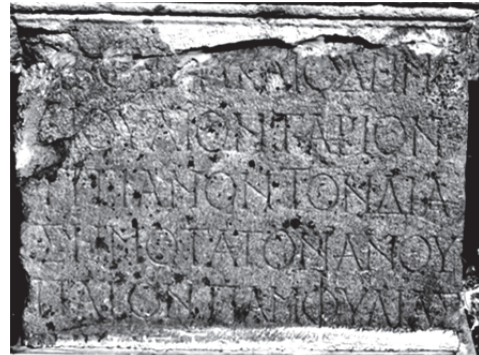
Keywords: Attaleia; Lycia–Pamphylia; honorary decree; *proconsul*; prosopography.

This profiled but otherwise undecorated limestone base was found in Antalya in the front garden of a building called Ege, in Gençlik Quarter, 19 Mayıs Road, 1403rd Street, in autumn 2011. The base was fastened with cement into the ground, and had been standing there for over sixty years. The upper part of the stone is hollowed out for a second use of the stone as a mortar. The left side of the stone is damaged. The inscription begins just below the moulding, fills the whole front shaft of the stone and consists of five lines. The letters are carefully ornamented, well ordered and clearly legible.

Dimensions: Upper profile: H: 0.59 m; W: 0.66 m; D: 0.70 m; Shaft: H: 0.54 m; Letters: H: 0.03–0.05 m. Characteristic letters: Σ, Ν, Τ, Υ.

Date: The beginning of the 3rd century A.D., during the reign of Septimius Severus.

- [H] βουλή και ὁ δῆμος
2 Ἰούλιον Τάριον
Τιτιανὸν τὸν δια-
4 σημότατον ἀνθύ-
πατον Παμφυλίας
6 [καὶ Λυκίας].



“The council and the people (honoured) Iulius Tarius Titianus, most distinguished proconsul of Pamphylia [and Lycia]”.

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I would like to thank Dr. Mark Wilson and Prof. Dr. Mustafa Adak, who informed me about the location of the inscription and Prof. Dr. Adam Łajtar, who kindly sent me copies of his two articles on the Syrian governorship of Titianus.

The person honoured in the inscription as ὁ διασημότετος ἀνθύπατος is surely identical with (Iulius) Tarius Titianus, mentioned in a building inscription from Takina (Yaraşlı), copied and published many times since its first discovery by Arundell.¹ The building of the bath was financed by Tryphon, a member of the local elite who dedicated it to the royal family during the governorship of Tarius Titianus. The inscription of Takina is dated 202–205 A.D.² Since the exact borderline between the provinces of Asia, Galatia and Lycia et Pamphylia was not previously known, the question to which province Takina belonged has long been discussed.³ Most scholars assign Takina to Asia and see in Tarius Titianus the governor of this province. However, a milestone⁴ found in Tepecik, only a few km. from Takina, and later brought to Senir/Burdur, records a road repair by C. Sulpicius Iustus Dryantianus, the governor of Lycia–Pamphylia in 198 A.D. This inscription indicates that Takina was part of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia during the reign of Septimius Severus.⁵

During the erection of the baths in Takina, Tarius Titianus was undoubtedly *proconsul* of the province Lycia and Pamphylia. The new inscription from Antalya removes any possibility that his proconsulship could have been in the province Asia, and fixes his proconsulship to Lycia and Pamphylia. An inscription found during the excavations of ancient Hippos in North Palestine in 2009 reveals another detail from the career of Tarius Titianus.⁶ Here he is honoured as ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡμῶν ὑπατικός, i.e. *vir consularis*. After his proconsulship in Lycia and Pamphylia Titianus contin-

¹ IGR IV 881: Ἀγαθῆ τύχη· [ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ [νείκης κ]αὶ [αἰών]ιου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἀ[νεικήτ]ων αὐτοκρατόρων | [Λ(ουκίου) Σεπτιμίου] Σεουήρο[υ καὶ] Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντωνεῖνου [καὶ] | Νέας Ἑρας Ἰουλίας [καὶ Π(ουπλίου) Σεπτιμίου Γέτας] καὶ τοῦ | σύνπαντος οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου | Ταρίου Τιτιάνου, τῆ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι, τῷ Τακινέων δήμῳ μετὰ πάσας ἀρχάς τε καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ διαποντίου[ς] | πρῆσβείας, ἃς ἤνυσεν ἐπὶ θεοῦ Κομμόδου, Τρύφων Ἀπολλωνίδου ὑποσχόμενος ἀπὸ προικὸς Ἰάδος θυγατρὸς ἰδίας ἡρω[ίδ]ος, καὶ προσφιλοτειμησάμενος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἄμμας Δάου καὶ εἰς τὸν Βασιλῶ τῆς | θυγατρὸς ἀ[ὐτ]ῶν λό(γ)ον ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ αὐτὰς διὰ βίου μετέχειν ἐκτελέσ(α)ς τὸ βαλανεῖον παρέδωκεν. Further editions: Arundell, *Asia Minor* II, 117 (ed. pr.); CIG III 3956b; Le Bas – Waddington III 1700; Smith – Ramsay 1887, 231–233 no. 12; Ramsay, *Cities* I 329–330 no. 138; Fagan, *Bathing* 340 no. 320; also Destephen 2007, 157–158.

For Tarius Titianus see Chapot, *Proconsulaire d'Asie* 317; RE IV A 2 col. 2323, s.v. Tarius 5; Lambrechts, *Sénat romain* 38; Degrassi, *Fasti consolari* 52; Magie, *Roman Rule* 1585; Barbieri, *Albo senatorio* 115 no. 496; PIR² VIII 1, 2009, T20; Thomasson, *Laterculi* I 233 no. 168; Leunissen, *Konsuln* 223; Camodeca 1994, 468–469; Demougin 1994, 329–330; Christol – Drew-Bear 1998, 155; Destephen 2007, 157–159; Łajtar 2009, 74–79; Łajtar 2010, 177–183.

² For the discussions on dating the inscription see Demougin 1994, 329–330; Camodeca 1994, 467–468; Destephen 2007, 157–158.

³ PIR² T 20: *proconsul Lyciae et Pamphyliae potius quam Asiae, ca. a. 202–205*; Christol – Drew-Bear 1998, 155 and fn. 50: “En revanche, pour che qui concerne l'insertion dans les fastes provinciaux de Tarius Titianus, on demeurera hésitant, car Takina n'est pas nécessairement dans la province d'Asie”. Camodeca 1994, 469; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer, *Πολιτικῶς ἄρχειν* 74–103; Destephen 2007, 158–159.

⁴ French 1991, 55–56 no. 5.

⁵ For publications supporting this view: Christol – Drew-Bear 1991, 404; Christol et alii 1992, 159–164; Camodeca 1994, 469; Eich, *Metamorphose* 305; Destephen 2007, 158–168; Demougin 2007, 156; Marek, *Kleinasien* 853.

⁶ Łajtar 2009, 75: Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη | Τάριον Τιτια|νὸν τὸν λαμ(πρότατον) | ἡμῶν ὑπατικὸν | Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡράκλειτος. Thanks to a fragment found in the same excavation, the restored form of the inscription is as follows: Łajtar 2010, 178: Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη | Τάριον Τιτια|νὸν τὸν λαμ(πρότατον) | ἡμῶν ὑπατικὸν | Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡράκλειτος τὸν π[άτρωνα] | καὶ κτ[ίστην] | τῆς π[όλεως].

ued his *cursus honorum* as governor of Syria–Palaestina.⁷ Adam Łajtar (2009, 77–78) dates the inscription from Hippos after 210 A.D.

Despite the fact that the honorary decree of Titianus was found in Antalya, we cannot be sure that the honoring *boule* and *demos* was that of the city of Attaleia. Many inscribed stones found in Attaleia were brought from Phaselis, Perge, Termessos, Side and other cities in the neighbourhood.⁸ As a matter of fact the stone now stands far from the agora, and even outside of the city walls on the road to Magydos. If the stone is originally from Attaleia, there arises the further question of whether it is *in situ* or not.

Titianus' *gens* 'Tarius' is rarely attested and Schulze has denoted it as Italic.⁹ It is also possible to find other members of the *gens*, i.e. Tarius Rufus, *consul* in 16 A.D.¹⁰ and Iulia Taria Strat[o]nice, who as matron brought an offering to Iuno in the secular festival of 204.¹¹

Abbreviated Literature

Adak 2006	M. Adak, Olbia in Pamphylien: Die epigraphische Evidenz, <i>Gephyra</i> 3, 2006, 1–28.
Arundell, Asia Minor II	F. V. J. Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor: including a description of the ruins of several ancient cities and especially Antioch of Pisidia, London 1834.
Barbieri, Albo senatorio	G. Barbieri, L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (193–285), Roma 1952.
Camodeca 1994	G. Camodeca, Un nuovo proconsole del tempo di Caracalla ei Gavii Tranquilli di Caiatia, <i>Ostraka</i> 3, 1994, 467–471.
Chapot, Proconsulaire d'Asie	V. Chapot, La province romain proconsulaire d'Asie depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin, Paris 1904.
Christol – Drew-Bear 1991	M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, D. Fonteius Fronto, proconsul de Lycie–Pamphylie, <i>GRBS</i> 32, 1991, 397–413.
Christol et al. 1992	M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear et M. Özşait, Trois milliaires d'Asie Mineure, <i>Anatolia Antiqua</i> 2, 1993, 159–169.
Christol – Drew-Bear 1998	M. Christol – Th. Drew-Bear, Un Nouveau Questeur et Un Nouveau Proconsul d'Asie Sous Septime Sévère, <i>Cahiers du Centre Gustave–Glotz</i> 9, 1998, 141–164.
Dabrowa, Governors	E. Dabrowa, The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus, Bonn 2008.
Degrassi, Fasti consolari	A. Degrassi, I Fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo, Roma 1952.
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Demougin 2007	S. Demougin, De Nouveaux Officiers Équestres, in: L. de Blois– E. Lo Cascio (edd.), <i>Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476)</i> , Leiden 2007, 149–168.

⁷ For examples of the proconsulship of Africa, Asia or Lycia–Pamphylia followed by the position of *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Syria see Dabrowa, *Governors* 26–27, 35–37, 42–43, 46–49 and 79–81.

⁸ Some examples mentioned by Adak 2006, 7–8.

⁹ Schulze, *Eigennamen* 97; cf. Łajtar 2009, 78.

¹⁰ RE IV A 2 col. 2320–2323, s.v. Tarius 3; Hurlet, *Proconsul* 43 fn. 92, 86–88 and 138–139; Łajtar 2009, 78.

¹¹ RE IV A 2 col. 2323, s.v. Tarius 5; Łajtar 2009, 78.

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Özet

Likya–Pamfilya Eyalet Valisi Iulius Tarius Titianus

Bu makalede, Antalya’da Gençlik Mah. 19 Mayıs Cad. 1403 Sok. Ege Apartmanı’nın arka bahçesinde altmış yıldan fazla bir süredir durmaktayken son yıllarda apartmanın girişine taşınarak çimento ile zemine sabitlenmiş profilli bir kaide tanıtılmaktadır. Taşın üst kısmı daha sonradan dibek taşı olarak kullanılmak üzere işlenmiştir. Kaidede yer alan yazıtta göre Danışma ve Halk meclisleri Lykia–Pamfilya valisi Tarius Titianus’u onurlandırmaktadır. Titianus’un, Takina’dan 202–205 yıllarına tarihlenen bir yazıtta göre vali olduğu bilinmekteydi. Fakat Takina’nın Asia, Galatia ve Lykia–Pamfilya sınırında oluşu Tarius Titianus’un uzun süre hangi eyaletin valisi olduğu sorusunun tartışılmasına neden olmuştur. Attaleia yazıtı, onurlandırılan Iulius Tarius Titianus’un şimdiki kadar düşünüldüğü gibi Asia Eyaleti *Proconsul*’ü olmadığını, Likya–Pamfilya *proconsul*’ü olduğunu açıkça ispatlamaktadır. Attaleia yazıtı Septimius Severus Dönemi’ne tarihlenmektedir. Yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir: “*Danışma ve Halk meclisleri, Pamphylia ve [Lykia]’nın pek seçkin proconsul’ü Iulius Tarius Titianus’u (onurlandırdı)*”. Antik Hippos kentinde yeni ele geçen iki onurlandırma yazıtından Titianus’un ayrıca Syria valisi olarak görev yaptığı bilinmektedir. Kendisi Likya–Pamfilya’dan sonra görevine Syria valisi olarak devam etmiş olmalıdır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Attaleia; *Lycia et Pamphylia*; onur yazıtı; *proconsul*; prosopografi.

Asuman COŞKUN ABUAGLA*

A revised gravestone from Pisidian Apollonia

Abstract: A gravestone from Pisidian Apollonia, published, with mistakes, by Sterrett, has been revised here with some corrections and notes about its content. This gravestone, set up by Aurelius Asclepiades for his children Auxanon and Zoticus, dates back to the first half of the 3rd century AD; the names suggest that it was erected after *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The patterns engraved on the stone show that Asclepiades and his family earned their living by farming and fishing.

Keywords: Pisidia; Apollonia; Uluğbey Türbesi; gravestone; fishing.

In July 2010, as a member of the Isparta Archaeological Survey team (IAS),¹ I visited Seyyit Veli Baba Sultan Türbe, which is near the ancient city of Apollonia (Uluborlu) in Uluğbey Village in Isparta. One of the nine inscriptions copied by us at Türbe was seen by J. R. S. Sterrett, who published it in 1888.² There were, however, some mistakes in this inscription which Sterrett had deciphered before. The objective of this article is to give a detailed explanation of this inscription.

Sterrett saw this tombstone, erected after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* by Aurelius Asclepiades for his sons, in the court of the mosque. Mustafa Kılınçaslan,³ keeper of the shrine, who had been working for this Türbe for 14 years, said that this stone, excavated by the inhabitants of the village from 6 metres beneath the fountain located opposite the Türbe, had been brought here some 60–70 years ago.

The triangular pediment features a Gorgon head, probably the head of Medusa. Heads of Gorgons are usually used on temples and tombstones as well as on shields of soldiers. The front (A) shows six figures: a man, a woman and four children.

The right-hand side (B) depicts two figures – *a man and a child?* – on a boat. The one figure seems to be rowing the boat, the other is holding a trident, apparently to catch one of two very large fish swimming under the boat. Their size is suggestive of some kind of carp which in Antiquity used to be hunted in Lake Eğirdir.⁴ In addition, after completion of scientific work in 2005, a search was conducted in the area of Bedre Koyu and Gençali – Kayaağzı (Senirkent) on the west side of the lake. It was found that especially Bedre Koyu and Senirkent Koyu became the cultural areas established on the bed of the former lake⁵, which probably once served to fishermen.

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¹ In 2008, with the support of Süleyman Demirel University, an archaeological survey was started by Assoc. Prof. Bilge Hürmüzlü in the district and county of Isparta under the name of Isparta Archaeological Survey (IAS). I should like to extend my thanks to Bilge Hürmüzlü for support and assistance in this Project.

² Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition 357 nos. 513–514.

³ I should like to thank Mustafa Kılınçaslan for informing me and my team about the history of this stone and for his kind hospitality.

⁴ Balık et al. 2007, 88–96.

⁵ Görmüş et al. 2005, 205–218.



The left-hand side

Front Side

The right-hand side

The left-hand side of the stone depicts two bulls harnessed to a plough. The reliefs suggest that this was a family of farmers and fishers. There is a total of eleven lines of text on this stone: seven on the front side (A) and four on the right-hand side. Published by Sterrett, the text contained some mistakes in the first line on front side and also some mistakes in four lines on the right-hand side (B).⁶ A correct version of the text is given below:

Front Side (A):

- Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀνδρόνικοε [τοῖς]
 2 ἰδίοις τέκνοις Αὐξάνωντι καὶ Ζω[τικῶ]
 καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις
 4 μνήμης χάριν.
 Αὐξάνων
 6 τὸ καλὸν
 [τέκ]νον.

“Aurelius Asclepiades, son of Andronicus, erected this stone in memory of his own children Auxanon and Zoticus, for both them and their children. Auxanon, his lovely child”.

Line 1: *Sterrett*: Ἀνδρόνικο<ς>. The spelling of Ἀνδρόνικοε instead of Ἀνδρονίκου is probably a textual error. The stone is broken after this name, but the text could still be safely restored: [τοῖς].

Line 5–7: The early death of Auxanon, one of the sons of Asclepiades mentioned in line 2, may have caused Asclepiades to set up this stele.

Line 7: *Sterrett*: τέκνον. All that remains of this line of text is the last three letters NON which should be completed as [τέκ]νον.

⁶ Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition 357 and 513–514.

Front Side (B):

[ὀ]ς ἄν τοῦτω τῷ μνη[μείω]
 2 [β]λαβεράν χίρα προσά[γη],
 ἔξι χῆρον βίον, οἶκον
 4 ἔριμον.

“Whoever touch this tombstone with his dreadful hand, may live a bereaved life and have a desolate home as well”.

Line 1: Sterrett restored the beginning of this line as follows: [--ἐποίη]σαν τοῦτο τὸ μνη[μείον]. However, it is quite obvious that there is room for only one or two letters. For this reason, I have corrected it in the way given above.

Line 2: Sterrett: [- - - ὅστις β]λαβε<ρ>άν χίρα π[ροσάξει]. Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi* 207 no. 301 suggests: [ὀς τοῦτω β]λαβε<ρ>άν χίρα π[ροσοίσι] | ἔξι χῆρον βίον οἶκον | ἔριμον. Since at the beginning of this line there is room for only one letter, ὅστις is not possible; π and ρ at the beginning of last word of second line are in ligature. The next three letter OCA are clearly visible, and since there is room for only one or two more letters, this line should be completed as προσά[γη].

Line 3–4: The line, completed by Sterrett as [ὀρφανὰ τέκνα] ἔξι {ξι} χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔρ<η>μιον, has been corrected as ἔξι⁷ χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔριμον. Imprecations like this are occasionally found on the right-hand side of ancient tombstones. For imprecations on tombstones found in Anatolia, see Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi*.

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Görmüş et al. 2005	M. Görmüş – H. Çoban – Ş. Caran – K. Uysal – C. Bircan – İ. O. Tunç, Eğirdir Gölü Batısı Pliyo–Kuvaterner Sedimanları, <i>Türkiye Kuvaterner Sempozyumu (TURQUA) V</i> , İstanbul 2005, 205–218.
Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition	J. R. S. Sterrett, <i>The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor</i> , Boston 1888 (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens III).
Strubbe, <i>Arai Epitymbioi</i>	J. Strubbe, <i>ΑΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ</i> . Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor, <i>A Catalogue</i> , Bonn 1997 (I.K. 52).
Wealkens, <i>Türsteine</i>	M. Wealkens, <i>Kleinasiatische Türsteine</i> , Mainz 1986.

⁷ For the future tense suffix –ξι, used in Pisidia and Phrygia, see MAMA VI 325 l. 15 (ἀνορύξι) and Waelkens, *Türstein* 398 l. 3 (προσάξι).

Özet

Pisidia Apollonia'sından Bir Mezar Yazıtının Revizyonu

2010 yılının Temmuz ayında Isparta Arkeolojik yüzey araştırmasında (IAS), Apollonia kenti yakınındaki Uluğbey köyünde bulunan Seyyit Veli Baba Sultan Türbesi'nde, Aurelios Asklepiades'in oğulları olan Auksanon'a, Zotikos'a ve onların ailesine ait olduğu anlaşılan bir mezar taşı bulunmuştur. Daha önce J. R. S. Sterrett tarafından yayınlanan bu mezar taşının üzerinde bulunan yazıtta bazı hatalar tespit edilmiştir. Bu makalede söz konusu hataların düzeltilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Taşın üzerinde yer alan figürlerden yola çıkılarak, söz konusu mezar taşının sahibinin ve ailesinin, geçimlerini hem çiftçilikten hem de balıkçılıktan kazandıkları tespit edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, söz konusu mezar taşının, dönemin ekonomik ve sosyal yaşantısına ışık tutacak bir nitelik taşıdığı anlaşılmıştır. Mezar taşının ön yüzünde (A) ve sağ yüzünde (B) toplam on bir satır uzunluğunda bir yazıt bulunmaktadır. Asklepiades'in, oğlu Auksanon'un ölümü vesilesiyle ailesi için yaptırdığı mezar yazıtının çevirisi şöyledir:

Ön Yüz (A): *“Andronikos'un oğlu Aurelios Asklepiades (bu mezarı), kendi çocukları Auksanon'un ve Zotikos'un, hem kendilerinin hem de çocuklarının hatırası için (yaptırdı). Güzel evlad(ımız) Auksanon”.*

Sağ Yüz (B): *“Her kim bu mezar taşına uğursuz elini sürerse, evi barkı olmasın, hanesi harab olsun!”.*

Anahtar Sözcükler: Pisidia; Apollonia; Uluğbey Türbesi; mezar taşı; balıkçılık.

Thomas CORSTEN*

Zu Inschriften aus Kleinasien II¹

Abstract: This article proposes thoughts and corrections to three inscriptions: 1. In a text from near Nikaia in Bithynia, the word “Leukes” after the mention of Zeus is interpreted as the genitive of the name of the village “Leuke”, not as a personal name. Thus, the inscription records a dedication to the “Zeus of Leuke”. 2. In a list of donors for the erection of a temple for Zeus Heliopolites (Iupiter Heliopolitanus) from Sazak near Yeşilova (province Burdur) the term “hypographe” at the beginning of the text is interpreted as “list”. Contra ed.pr., it is argued that the two oikonomoi (in lines 2 and 5) are not the sons of the estate owner, for whose salvation the stele was erected, but the latter’s slaves. The inscription is then placed in the context of estate management in Roman Asia Minor. 3. The name of the dedicant of a stele of Heracles (from Kozluca in the Burdur province) is corrected from a non-existing “Thyschemon” to “Euschemon”.

Keywords: Leuke; Bithynia; Pisidia; name list; hypographe; phratra; Euschemon.

Zeus Bronton von Leuke/Leukai?

Claude Brixhe und René Hodot haben vor einigen Jahren eine Inschrift publiziert, die in Fıranlar (bei Pazaryeri, etwa 50 km Luftlinie südlich von Nikaia in Bithynien) gefunden wurde und vermutlich ins 2. Jh. n. Chr. zu datieren ist:²

Ἀγαθῆ τύχη· | Διὶ Βροντῶντι | Λεύκης ἀνέσ[τη]σε Οὐάλης συ[v] | τοῖς τέκνοις.

Sie übersetzten: “*A la bonne fortune; à Zeut Brontôn; Oualès et ses enfants ont érigé (cette stèle) pour Leuké*” und erklärten die überraschende Nennung des weiblichen Namens Λεύκης im Genitiv damit, daß dieser Casus fälschlich für den Dativ gesetzt worden sei;³ die Stele für Leuke, “à la fois une épitaphe et une dédicace”, sei dem Zeus Bronton geweiht worden.⁴ Sie vermuteten vorsichtig, daß das Grab der Leuke mittels der Weihung an Zeus vor Grabräubern geschützt werden sollte.

Thomas Drew-Bear und Christian Naour schlugen dagegen vor, (ὑπέρ) vor dem Namen zu ergänzen

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¹ Fortsetzung von “Zu Inschriften aus Kleinasien”, *Epigr. Anat.* 37, 2004, 107–114.

² Brixhe – Hodot, *L’Asie Mineure* 9–11, Nr. 1 (SEG 38 1272).

³ Für diese Verwechslung verweisen sie auf Brixhe, *Essai* 97.

⁴ Als Parallelen für die Weihung eines Grabsteins an eine Gottheit führen sie folgende Inschriften an: Haspels, *Highlands I* 336–337, Nr. 103 und 351, Nr. 136. Allerdings besteht die erste Inschrift aus zwei Texten, nämlich einer Weihung an Zeus Bronton (a) und einer, vielleicht später hinzugefügten, Inschrift, die als Grabinschrift interpretiert wird (b): Ἀρίστων Α[...]*πιλαίου ἰδίᾳ μάνμη (= μάμη) εὐχὴν*. Es wird aber eher eine Art “Gedenkinschrift” als eine wirkliche Grabinschrift sein. Ähnliches sollte für Nr. 136 gelten (Διοφάνης κτλ. Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ πατρὶ εὐχὴν); siehe auch den Kommentar von Haspels, (*Highlands I* 202–204) zu der Formulierung der beiden Inschriften.

zen, d.h. sie rechneten mit einem Fehler des Steinmetzen.⁵ Den Namen Λεύκη habe ich dementsprechend in Band V.A des *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* aufgenommen, auch wenn mir damals schon nicht ganz behaglich dabei war.

Die beiden vorgeschlagenen Lösungen sind sicherlich denkbar. Jedoch bietet sich eine weitere Möglichkeit, die ohne die Annahme eines falschen Casus oder eine Textergänzung auskommt, und die ich hier zur Diskussion stellen möchte. Götter werden bisweilen durch die Zufügung eines Toponyms näher bestimmt; damit wird der Ort angegeben, an dem der Kult des Gottes begründet wurde und den er schützte bzw., wie oft in Lydien, den er "beherrschte".⁶ Das könnte auch hier der Fall sein, und dementsprechend wäre ΛΕΥΚΗΣ als Genitiv eines Ortsnamens zu erklären.

In der Tat hat es in der Antike und im Mittelalter einen Ort in der Nähe von Nikaia gegeben, der Λεύκai geheißen hat; dieser Name wurde in neuerer Zeit, nach den Ausspracheregeln des späteren Griechisch, "Lefke" geschrieben, und dementsprechend führt das östliche Stadttor von Nikaia die Bezeichnung "Lefke Kapı". Er muß beim heutigen Osmaneli gelegen haben, ungefähr 25 km Luftlinie ost-südöstlich von Nikaia und etwa 40 km Luftlinie nördlich des Fundortes der hier besprochenen Inschrift.⁷ Daß in der Gegend von Osmaneli schon in der römischen Kaiserzeit eine Siedlung bestand, geht aus dort gefundenen Inschriften hervor;⁸ mit Namen belegt ist Leukai allerdings erst in der byzantinischen Zeit, nämlich bei Anna Komnena, Alexias XI 3, 4 und XV 3, 6, also in dem Werk, in dem die Autorin das Leben und die Regierung ihres Vaters Alexios I. (1081–1118) schildert. Leukai wird dort als Station auf dem Weg von Nikaia nach Dorylaion genannt.⁹

Nun wird der Ort bei Anna Komnena Λεύκai geschrieben, die Form ΛΕΥΚΗΣ in der vorliegenden Inschrift läßt sich aber nur auf Λευκή zurückführen. Das stellt jedoch kein Problem für die Identifizierung dar, denn bei den antiken Schriftstellern waren die Endungen -η und -αι bei Ortsnamen offenbar austauschbar. Das wird nicht in erster Linie an ihrer schon seit hellenistischer Zeit gleichen Aussprache gelegen haben, sondern es handelt sich hier wohl um einen Wechsel von Singular- und Plural-Endung. Eine gute Parallele bietet Strabon XIII 1, 68 (C 615) bei der Beschreibung eines Vorgebirges und eines Ortes an der kleinasiatischen Küste gegenüber Lesbos. Er nennt das Vorgebirge Κάνη und im folgenden Satz den dort gelegenen Ort Κάναι; kurz darauf spricht er von dem Berg, "der jetzt Kane und Kanai genannt wird": ὁ νῦν Κάνην καὶ Κάνας λέγουσιν. Bei Stephanos von Byzanz s.v. Κάναι heißen sowohl der Ort als auch der Berg gleichermaßen Κάνη und Κάναι: Κάναι ἑπολίχιον ... κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Λέσβου (Strabon XIII 1, 68) ... ἔστι καὶ ὄρος Κάνη καὶ πόλις καὶ λίμνη.¹⁰ Erhellend ist auch die Angabe desselben Autors im ersten Eintrag seines Werkes, Ἄβαι,

⁵ Drew-Bear – Naour 1990, 1954 Anm. 168. Die Präposition kann nicht am (beschädigten) Ende der zweiten Zeile gestanden haben, da diese ansonsten wesentlich länger als die anderen Zeilen gewesen wäre, wie Drew-Bear und Naour bemerkten.

⁶ Für die "Herrschaft" eines Gottes über einen Ort siehe z. B. Petzl 1994 Nr. 3, 6, 39 und 40 mit dem Kommentar zu Nr. 54.

⁷ Siehe die Kartenbeilage in INikaia II 3, wo auf s. 121–122 unter Nr. T 54 Leuke/Leukai besprochen wird; vgl. auch INikaia II 1 22.

⁸ INikaia II 1 1041 und 1061; INikaia II 2 1253; Avram 2006, 272 Nr. 8.

⁹ Vgl. auch die kurzen Bemerkungen bei Ramsay, *Historical Geography* 202 und 206, sowie Wittek 1935, 36; danach Georgacas, *Names* 116.

¹⁰ Zu Kane/Kanai und seinen zahlreichen Bezeugungen in der antiken Literatur siehe die gründliche Diskussion von J. Stauber, in *IAdramytteion*, S. 273–277.

der ausdrücklich sagt, daß diese Form vom Nominativ Singular ἸΑβη abgeleitet sei: ἸΑβαι, πόλις Φωκιική, ἀπὸ εὐθείας ἐνικῆς τῆς ἸΑβη.¹¹

Ich schlage daher vor, die Inschrift folgendermaßen zu übersetzen: *“Zum guten Gelingen! Dem Zeus Bronton von Leuke stellte Valens mit seinen Kindern (die Stele) auf”*.

Errichtung eines Tempels durch eine Kultbruderschaft

In *Anatolia Antiqua* 18, 2010, 74–77, hat G. Labarre eine höchst interessante Inschrift publiziert, die er in einem Dorf mit dem Namen Sazak gefunden hat, welches westlich des Yarıklı Gölü und südlich des antiken Ortes Takina im Verwaltungsbezirk der Kreisstadt Yeşilova im Westen der Provinz Burdur liegt.¹² Er gibt sie in folgender Form wieder:

Ἰπογραφή Διὸς Ἡλιοπολιτοῦ. ἸΑνθος
 Λίγυος οἰκονόμος, Μῆνις Καβαλος,
 Σάλυος Ἄρτάδος, ἸΑθηναγόρας Με-
 4 νάνδρου, ἸΑπολλώνιος Μενεστράτου,
 Εὐτακτος Λίγυος οἰκονόμος, Χάρης
 ἸΑσκληπίδου, Διονύσιος Μενεσθέος,
 ἸΥμμοσις Τατου, Τέρτιος Τερτίου,
 8 Μενεσθευς Διονυσίου, Φλογίος ἸΑντιόχου,
 Παπῶς Μήνιδος, Τατας Παπου, ἸΑρτᾶς Σαλύου,
 Κράτερος Μήνιδος, Σάλβιος Μενίπου, Τιμο-
 Ἰένης Εὐτάκτου, Χάρης Μήνιδος, Ξένων Τ-
 12 μοκράτου ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς Λίγυος
 καὶ γυνεκὸς καὶ τέκνων · τὸν ναὸν ἐποίησε
 ἢ προγεγραμμένη φράτρα· Ζώσιμος ἸΑπολλωνίου
 . ΛΠΙΟΝΕΜΕ[- -]

7 Ich bin nicht sicher, ob am Anfang nicht eher ἸΥμνος Ἰστάτου (?) zu lesen ist, wobei Ἰστάτου hier für Στάτου mit prothetischem Iota stehen würde. Ein Personennamen ἸΥμμοσις ist bisher nicht bekannt, während ἸΥμνος häufig ist (siehe die Belege in den Bänden des LGPN); andererseits ist ein Name Στάτος/ας ebenfalls nicht belegt. Für die Prothesis siehe Brixhe, *Essai* 115/116 § 6.2.6 (häufig in Phrygien und angrenzenden Gebieten). 11–12 Ich lese ἸΕρμοκράτου; das Epsilon ist auch auf Labarres Photo klar zu erkennen. 13 und 14 Ich lese am Ende von Z. 13 ἐποίησε und in Z. 14 προγεγραμμένη. Es ist zwar richtig, daß ἐποίησε und προγεγ-

¹¹ Vgl. auch z. B. Steph. Byz. s.v. ἸΑγρα καὶ ἸΑγραι.

¹² Seit Jahren führt G. Labarre im Gefolge des türkischen Prähistorikers M. Özsait Forschungen u. a. in einem Gebiet durch, für das ich eine auf die historischen Perioden bezogene Forschungserlaubnis der türkischen Regierung besitze. Trotz wiederholter Aufforderungen, dies zu unterlassen, und trotz mehrerer diesbezüglicher Zusagen erscheinen immer wieder Publikationen, die ich nicht nur als unkollegial betrachten muß, sondern die nach den Gesetzen des türkischen Staates eigentlich illegal sind. Zu diesen gehören auch die Aufsätze, in denen die beiden im folgenden besprochenen Inschriften enthalten sind, die ich ebenfalls gefunden habe und deren Publikation schon fortgeschritten war, als die Artikel des französischen Kollegen erschienen. Dennoch möchte ich G. Labarre danken: Er hat mir die mühsame Arbeit der Erstpublikation abgenommen, so daß ich mich hier auf die Verbesserung seiner Fehler und Unzulänglichkeiten beschränken kann.

ραμμένη den griechischen “Rechtschreibregeln” entsprechen würden, aber diese Formen stehen eben nicht auf dem Stein, wie man schon an dem kleinen Photo bei Labarre sehen kann, umso besser natürlich auf der Inschrift selbst; beide tatsächlich benutzten Formen sind äußerst häufig. 15 steht senkrecht von unten nach oben am rechten unteren Rand der Inschrift; ich lese ΚΑΠΠΙΟΝΕΜΕΥΣ, aber die Inschrift ist an dieser Stelle sehr schlecht erhalten.

1 Der Herausgeber übersetzt ὑπογραφή mit “décision”, begründet dies aber nicht. Offenbar hat er das Wort als griechische Übersetzung des lateinischen Terminus *scriptio* aufgefaßt.¹³ Dieser Begriff stammt aus der Amtssprache der kaiserlichen Verwaltung und bedeutet “kaiserliche Entscheidung”. Es ist vielleicht in der Tat nicht auszuschließen, daß diese Bedeutung – mutatis mutandis – auch hier vorliegen könnte, übertragen von der Sphäre des Kaiserlichen in die Sphäre des Göttlichen. Man hätte in diesem Falle bei dem Gott angefragt, was man für die “Rettung” des Ligys und seiner Familie (Z. 12/13) unternehmen solle, oder – direkter – ob man einen Tempel errichten solle. Die Antwort des Gottes wäre dann die ὑπογραφή, eine “göttliche Entscheidung”.

Allerdings ist meines Wissens diese Bedeutung von ὑπογραφή außerhalb der Amtssprache sonst nicht belegt. Tatsächlich gibt es auch andere Möglichkeiten der Erklärung, wobei gleich betont werden muß, daß auch dafür Parallelen weitgehend fehlen; ὑπογραφή scheint in einem Zusammenhang wie demjenigen in der vorliegenden Inschrift anderswo überhaupt nicht verwendet worden zu sein. Angesichts der auf das Wort folgenden Aufzählung derjenigen Männer, die den am Ende des Textes genannten Tempel erbauten, könnte man auch an die Bedeutung “Liste” denken. In einem Verzeichnis von συμβοληφόροι eines Kultes aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr., die im lydischen Koloe im Kaystros-Tal gefunden wurde, wird für “Liste” das Wort γραφή benutzt (Z. 1: Γραφή συμβοληφόρων).¹⁴ Es ist möglich, daß unser ὑπογραφή gleichbedeutend mit γραφή in der lydischen Inschrift ist. Jedenfalls wird in Inschriften bisweilen eine Aufzählung von Personen oder Siedlungen mit einer Form des Partizips ὑπογεγραμμένος eingeleitet. Das ist z. B. der Fall für Personen in einer Weihinschrift aus Termessos: Μύσται Ἡρακλέους ...· εἰσὶν δὲ ὑ οἰπογεγραμμένοι (= οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι) κτλ.; für Dörfer in einer Ehreninschrift, die in Yeşilova, also ganz in der Nähe des vorliegenden Textes, gefunden wurde: Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων τόπων οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι κτλ.¹⁵ Man würde dann verstehen: “Liste (des Vereins) des Zeus Heliopolites”.

Vielleicht geht die Bedeutung von ὑπογραφή jedoch noch über den neutralen Begriff “Liste” hinaus, indem die vorliegende ὑπογραφή nicht nur den Charakter einer Liste hat, sondern auch festhält, wer sich mit seiner Unterschrift zu einem Kostenbeitrag bereit erklärt hat, also gleichsam als Garantie für die Einhaltung des Versprechens. Insofern wäre der Begriff in einer Hinsicht tatsächlich in die Nähe der kaiserlichen *scriptio* zu rücken, denn der Kaiser bestätigte mit seiner Unterschrift seine Entscheidung. Nicht von ungefähr entsprechen sich die wörtlichen Bedeutungen von ὑπογραφή und *scriptio* genau. Beamte in griechischen Städten bestätigten natürlich auch mit ihren Unterschriften die Gültigkeit von Dokumenten, und in solchen Fällen wird sehr oft eine Form des Verbs ὑπογράφειν benutzt.¹⁶ Der einzige Unterschied zwischen den aufgeführten Fällen und unserer Inschrift ist, daß es sich bei den ersteren um offizielle Dokumente der Verwaltung und Regierung handelt, die durch die Unterschrift des Kaisers oder von Beamten Gültigkeit erhielten,

¹³ Für den Begriff *scriptio* in der kaiserlichen Verwaltungssprache siehe z. B. Haensch 2007, 215 und 224.

¹⁴ Herrmann – Malay, New Documents 126–129, Nr. 97 (SEG 57 1189). Dort ist συμβοληφόροι mit ‘bearers of sacred symbols’ übersetzt, während Jones 2008, 195 und 202–203 aus guten Gründen ‘bringers of contributions’ vorzieht.

¹⁵ Termessos: SEG 57 1474 Z. 5; Yeşilova: Corsten 2005a, 115–125.

¹⁶ Siehe die nützliche Zusammenstellung solcher Fälle bei Wörrle – Wurster 1997, 416–418.

während die vorliegende Inschrift als öffentliche Bekanntmachung einer Selbstverpflichtung aufgestellt wurde, die die Unterschriften auf der in einem Archiv, wohl demjenigen der Bruderschaft, hinterlegten Originalurkunde zitiert.

1–2 und 5 In der auf die Überschrift folgenden Namensliste wird zweimal ein οἰκονόμος genannt, in den Zeilen 1–2 und 5. Labarre übersetzt folgendermaßen: “Anthos fils de Ligus intendant” und “Eutaktos fils de Ligus intendant”. Das ist jedoch sehr wahrscheinlich falsch. Der Oikonomos war ein Verwalter, aber was die beiden Oikonomoi hier verwalteten, geht aus der Inschrift nicht hervor. Jedoch kann die Person des in den Zeilen 12–13 mitsamt seiner Familie genannten Ligys einen Hinweis geben. Er muß eine wichtige Person gewesen sein, wenn man für seine Rettung oder sein Heil keine Kosten und Mühen scheute, einen Tempel zu erbauen. Das nimmt auch Labarre an, und er möchte in Ligys einen Mann erkennen, “qui était certainement un personnage éminent dans la confrérie et la société de Takina”. Er bringt den dem Fundort nahe gelegenen Ort Takina hier ins Spiel, weil er – sicher mit Recht – den Kult des Zeus Heliopolites mit den aus Syrien stammenden Severern in Verbindung setzt und Caracalla den auf der kaiserlichen Domäne bei Takina angesiedelten Bauern Hilfe gegen Übergriffe von Soldaten versprochen hat, wie aus einem inschriftlich erhaltenen Dossier hervorgeht.¹⁷ Labarre geht sogar soweit, neben einer allgemeiner gehaltenen Datierung der Inschrift in die Severerzeit auch – allerdings vorsichtig – die Zeit Caracallas vorzuschlagen. Während eine Datierung in die Severerzeit sicher richtig ist, ist eine solche in die Regierungszeit Caracallas fast ebenso sicher auszuschließen, weil keiner der Männer den Aureliernamen trägt, den Caracalla bekanntlich schon zu Anfang seiner Regierung, im Jahre 212 n. Chr., einhergehend mit dem römischen Bürgerrecht fast allen Bürgern des römischen Reiches verliehen hat.

Das Land um Sazak muß aber nicht unbedingt ein Teil der kaiserlichen Domäne bei Takina gewesen sein, wie Labarre annimmt. Vielmehr nehme ich an, daß der Ligys der hier besprochenen Inschrift selbst der Besitzer eines Gutes war, und die in der Namensliste aufgeführten Männer waren die Bauern, die sein Land bewirtschafteten. Die Oikonomoi waren dann die Verwalter einzelner Teile des Gutes; sie entsprächen somit – zumindest in dieser Hinsicht – den *πραγματευταί* der drei Teile, in die der Grundbesitz der Ummidii in der Gegend der heutigen Kreisstädte Karamanlı und Tefenni, etwa 30 km nördlich von Kibyra und etwa ebenso weit südlich vom Fundort der hier besprochenen Inschrift, geteilt war.¹⁸ Dieses offenbar sehr große Landgut bietet darüber hinaus auch in anderer Hinsicht eine Parallele für die vorliegende Inschrift, denn auch dort errichteten zahlreiche Mitglieder eines religiösen Vereins (Mysten des Zeus Sabazios) eine Weihung für das Heil ihrer selbst, ihres Demos und der Gutsbesitzer.¹⁹ Im übrigen sind alle vergleichbaren Inschriften vom Landbesitz der Ummidii für das Heil der jeweiligen Gutsbesitzer aufgestellt worden, nicht aber für das Heil irgendwelcher anderer einflußreicher Personen; dasselbe gilt im Falle des M. Calpurnius Longus, der wahrscheinlich den Ummidii als Besitzer des Gutes vorausging.²⁰

Nun ist es kaum vorstellbar (und auch tatsächlich, soweit ich sehe, ohne Parallele), daß ein Sohn (oder gar, wie hier, zwei Söhne) des Gutsbesitzers als Oikonomos des väterlichen Guts – oder eines Teiles davon – diente. Vielmehr wird man verstehen müssen “Anthos bzw. Eutaktos, der Verwalter

¹⁷ Hauken, *Petition* 216–243.

¹⁸ Zu diesem Gut und seiner Verwaltung siehe Corsten 2005, 1–13.

¹⁹ RECAM III S. 48–50 Nr. 114 (mit den älteren Publikationen).

²⁰ Inschriften für die Ummidii: Sterrett, *Journey* 38–45 Nr. 38–40; 50–52 Nr. 43; 53–57 Nr. 44–46; 65–67 Nr. 52 (?); 67–79 Nr. 53–55; 91–92 Nr. 59. Inschriften für die Calpurnii: SEG 48 1604 und 1605. Für die Calpurnii als wahrscheinliche Besitzer des Gutes vor den Ummidii siehe Corsten, 2005, 19–21.

des Ligys". Die beiden Männer waren Sklaven, weshalb der Vatersname fehlt. In dieser Hinsicht sind sie damit vergleichbar den ἐπίτροποι, die jeweils das schon erwähnte Gut der Ummidii verwalteten.²¹

Der Name des Gutsbesitzers, Ligys (auch in Z. 12), ist selten. Im Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (das bisher Griechenland, Westgriechenland, die Ägäis, den Schwarzmeerraum, die Kyrenaika und Zypern sowie in Kleinasien neben der Nordküste auch Ionien und Lydien abdeckt) ist der Name nur einmal in Attika belegt. Einige weitere Beispiele kommen aus Tanaïs (nördliche Schwarzmeerküste), Laërtes (Kilikien), Apameia (Phrygien) und aus Kilter in der Gegend von Eumeneia (Phrygien).²² Die letztgenannte Inschrift ist eine Petition an Kaiser Commodus (über den Proconsul Asiae, wohl T. Flavius Claudius Sulpicianus), die wie die oben genannte Inschrift aus Takina Beschwerden über das Verhalten von Soldaten gegenüber Bauern eines Landgutes zum Gegenstand hat. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die beiden gleichnamigen Männer aus Apameia und Kilter miteinander zu identifizieren sind, und da Apameia nicht sehr weit vom Fundort unserer Inschrift entfernt liegt, könnte man ebenfalls an eine Identifikation mit dem hier genannten Ligys denken, zumal alle drei Inschriften aus ungefähr derselben Zeit stammen.²³ Jedoch ist eine Identifizierung durch den Zusammenhang ausgeschlossen, denn während unser Ligys ein Gutsbesitzer ist, ist der Ligys in Apameia und Kilter ein hoher Offizier, der in Kilter dem Beschwerde führenden Gutsbesitzer zu seinem Recht verhelfen soll. Es wäre zudem ungewöhnlich, wenn in eine Weihung für einen römischen Amtsträger seine Familie eingeschlossen wäre, wie es in der vorliegenden Inschrift der Fall ist.

3 bis 9 Σάλυος Ἀρτάδος (Z. 3) und Ἀρτᾶς Σαλύου (Z. 9) sind sicher Vater und Sohn, wobei nicht ersichtlich ist, wer der Vater und wer der Sohn ist; dasselbe gilt für Διονύσιος Μενεσθέος und Μενεσθεὺς Διονυσίου in Z. 6–9.

14 Die aufgeführten Männer, die den Tempel bauen ließen, sind Mitglieder einer φράτρα, wie wir in Z. 14 erfahren. Eine Phratra ist ein Verein, meist religiöser Natur, und hier wird es sich um einen Verein handeln, der sich die Ausübung eines Kultes für Zeus Heliopolites zur Aufgabe gemacht hatte. Mit diesem Namen bezeichnete Kultvereine sind im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien häufig belegt.²⁴

Bei dem Tempel, den der Verein hat errichten lassen, wird es sich um ein eher bescheidenes, ländliches Kultgebäude gehandelt haben. Dennoch ist es bemerkenswert, daß die bäuerliche Bevölkerung, aus der die φράτρα sich zusammensetzte, in der Lage war, die für ihre Verhältnisse sicherlich beachtlichen Geldmittel zum Bau eines "Tempels" aufzubringen. Aber wir befinden uns mit der vorliegenden Inschrift noch in einer Zeit, die für weite Teile Kleinasiens durch eine wirtschaftliche Blüte gekennzeichnet war, und daher sind derartige Weihungen des 2. und sogar noch 3. Jh. n.

²¹ Siehe Corsten 2005, 11.

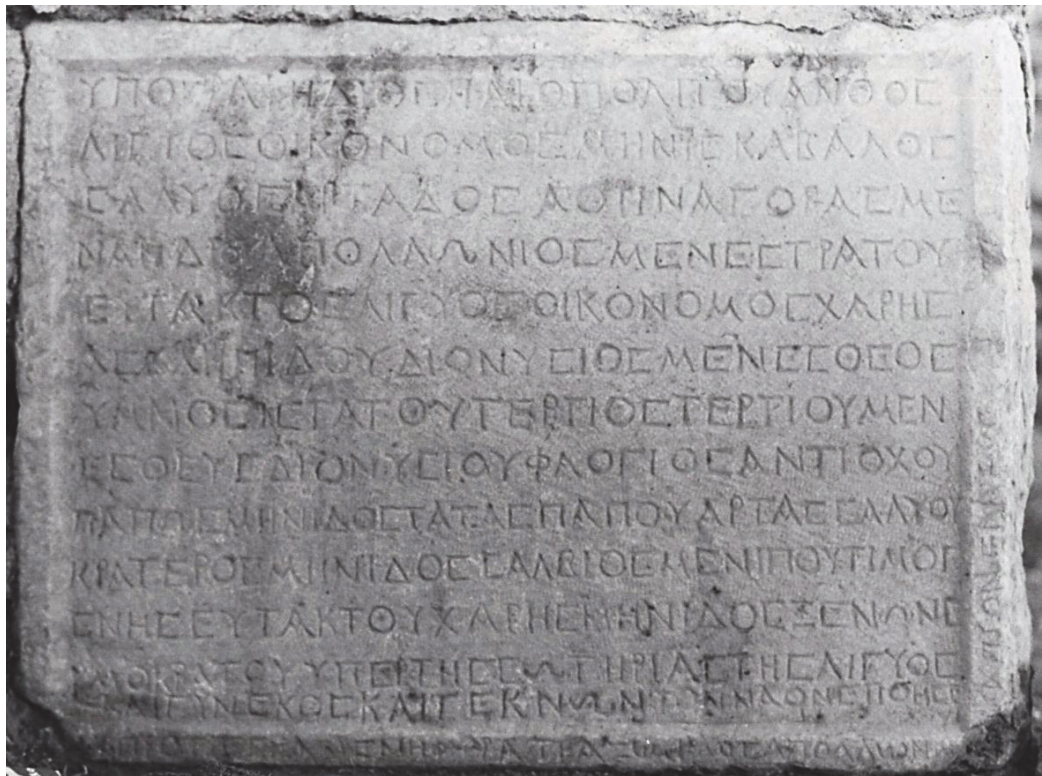
²² Tanaïs: SEG 55 881; Laërtes: SEG 20 81; Apameia: IGR IV 786; Petition aus Kilter: Hauken, Petition 188–202.

²³ Die Identifikation der beiden Männer aus Apameia und Kilter wurde von Hauken, Petition 199–200 vorgeschlagen. Nach Mitchell, *Anatolia I* 121 Anm. 27, könnte der Ligys in Apameia ein Kommandant des römischen Lagers bei Aulutrene gewesen sein, welches von Christol – Drew-Bear, Phrygie behandelt wird.

²⁴ Eine Auswahl: RECAM IV 34 mit Verweis u. a. auf GIR 4 mit Kommentar, und auf Hell. XI–XII 563; vgl. unter den zahlreichen weiteren Beispielen auch TAM V,1 451, 470a (SEG 28 893), 762 (φράτορες), 806; TAM V,2 1148 (φράτορες), 1320 (φράτριον); MAMA IX 89 und X 382 (beide φράτορες); SEG 35 1162; SEG 47 1649; IManisa 19, 244; Malay, *Researches*, Nr. 23; Nr. 109 und Nr. 136 (φράτορες); Ritti 2002, 48–50; MAMA IV 230; Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen* 225.

Chr. aus den ländlichen Gebieten alles andere als selten. So baute z. B. eine Kultgemeinschaft in Laodikeia Katakekaumene (Lykaonien) dem Zeus einen Tempel; in der Nähe von Kibyra wurde dem Herakles, dem Gott "Hosios und Dikaios" und der "Goldenen Jungfrau" ein Tempel errichtet; und nicht weit davon entfernt, auf dem Landgut der Ummidii, weihten ehemalige Priester des Sozon ihrem Gott einen Tempel.²⁵

Zum Abschluß gebe ich hier meine Lesung und Übersetzung der Inschrift:



- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Ὑπογραφή Διὸς Ἡλιοπολιτοῦ. Ἄνθος
 Λίγυος οἰκονόμος, Μῆνης Καβαλος,
 Σάλυος Ἀρτάδος, Ἀθηναγόρας Με-
 4 νάνδρου, Ἀπολλώνιος Μενεστράτου,
 Εὐτάκτος Λίγυος οἰκονόμος, Χάρης
 Ἀσκληπίδου, Διονύσιος Μενεσθέος,
 Ὕμνος Ἰστάτου (?), Τέρτιος Τερτίου,</p> | <p>8 Μενεσθευς Διονυσίου, Φλογίος Ἀντιόχου,
 Παπως Μήνιδος, Τατας Παπου, Ἀρτάς Σάλυου,
 Κράτερος Μήνιδος, Σάλβιος Μενίπου, Τιμογ-
 12 ενής Εὐτάκτου, Χάρης Μήνιδος, Ξένων Ἐ-
 ρμοκράτου · ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς Λίγυος
 καὶ γυνεκὸς καὶ τέκνων · τὸν ναὸν ἐπόησε
 ἢ προγεγραμμένη φράτρα· Ζώσιμος Ἀπολλωνίου
 ΚΑΠΙΟΝΕΜΕΥΣ[- - -]</p> |
|--|--|

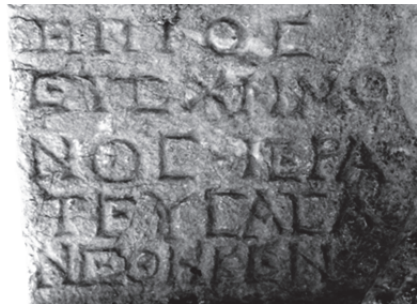
²⁵ Laodikeia Katakekaumene: SEG 51 1842; Kibyra: die Publikation dieses zuerst von L. Robert gefundenen, aber nicht publizierten und von mir wiederentdeckten Textes ist in Vorbereitung, siehe vorerst Riel 1991, 43 Nr. 94 (mit der älteren Literatur); Landgut der Ummidii: Collignon 1878, 246–250 Nr. 8 und Sterrett, Journey 38–45 Nr. 38–40, wobei in beiden Publikationen der Anfang der Inschrift mit der Weihung des Tempels fehlt (erhalten in einer Abschrift von J. Jüthner bei der Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, deren Publikation in Vorbereitung ist).

L. 2 Καβαλος muß ein Genitiv sein, aber es ist nicht ersichtlich, von welchem Nominativ er abgeleitet sein soll. Wenn man eine Verschreibung für Καβαδος annimmt (das Lambda ist klar zu lesen, aber der Steinmetz kann die waagerechte Haste vergessen haben), könnte der Nominativ Καβας gelautet haben.

“*Hypographe des Zeus Heliopolites: Anthos, der Verwalter des Ligys; Menis, Sohn des Kabas (?); Salvos, Sohn des Artas; Athenagoras, Sohn des Menandros; Apollonios, Sohn des Menestratos; Eutaktos, Verwalter des Ligys; Chares, Sohn des Asklepidos; Dionysios, Sohn des Menestheus; Hymnos, Sohn des Istatos (?); Tertios, Sohn des Tertios; Menestheus, Sohn des Dionysios; Phlogios, Sohn des Antiochos; Papos, Sohn des Menis; Tatas, Sohn des Papas; Artas, Sohn des Salvos; Krateros, Sohn des Menis; Salvius, Sohn des Menip(p)os; Timogenes, Sohn des Eutaktos; Chares, Sohn des Menis; Xenon, Sohn des Hermokrates; für die Rettung des Ligys und (seiner) Frau und Kinder baute den Tempel die vorgenannte Bruderschaft. Zosimos, Sohn des Apollonios, ... (?) ...*”

Eine Weihung an Herakles

In *Anatolia Antiqua* 19, 2011, 118–121 mit Fig. 16 a und b hat G. Labarre ein Relief aus Kozluca in der Provinz Burdur publiziert, welches in grober und künstlerisch wenig befriedigender Art einen Herakles darstellt. Aus der unten links in sorgfältiger Schrift eingemeißelten Inschrift geht hervor, daß der Stein die Weihung eines gewesenen Priesters, sicher des Herakles, mit dem Name Epios war. Labarre gibt den Text der Inschrift wie folgt:



Ἡπιοϛ | Θυσχῆμο|νοϛ ἱερα|τεύσαϛ²⁶ ἀ|νέθηκεν. |

Der kurze Kommentar beschränkt sich auf einige Beispiele von Weihungen an Herakles aus der weiteren Umgebung und auf die Frage seiner Identifizierung mit dem einheimischen Kakasbos. Darüber ist dem Autor offenbar gar nicht aufgefallen, daß der Name des Vaters des Priesters erklärungsbedürftig ist – jedenfalls in der Form, die Labarre gibt: Θυσχῆμων. Dieser Name ist bisher nicht belegt, und ich bezweifle, daß man jemals einen Beleg für ihn finden wird. Denn wie soll dieser Name gebildet sein? Er klingt auf den ersten Blick (fast) griechisch, aber was soll seine erste Silbe Θυ- oder Θυσ- darstellen?

Die beiden beigegebenen photographischen Abbildungen des Steins und der Inschrift geben trotz ihrer geringen Qualität eine eindeutige Antwort (die meiner eigenen Lesung des Originals entspricht): auf dem Stein steht Εὐσχῆμο|νοϛ – eine Verlesung ist eigentlich überhaupt nicht möglich. Wir haben also den griechischen Namen Εὐσχῆμων, für den es zahlreiche Belege gibt.²⁷

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²⁶ Bei Labarre steht ἱερά|τεύσαϛ, aber das wird ein Druckfehler sein.

²⁷ Beispiele in allen bisher erschienenen Bänden des *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

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Özet

Küçük Asya Yazıtları Üzerine II

Corsten, ilkini Epigraphica Anatolica'da yayımladığı yazı serisine burada devam etmektedir. Yazar makalesinde üç konu edinmektedir: *Leuke/Leukai'in Zeus Bronton'u*: Antik Bithynia'da Fıranlar/Pazaryeri civarında ele geçen bir yazıt Διῖ Βροντωνῆ Λεύκης ithafını taşımaktadır. Λεύκης sözcüğünü yazıtı ilk yayımlayanlar bir kadın ismi olarak yorumlamışlar ve adağın Leuke'nin sağlık-selameti için sunulduğunu kabul etmişlerdir. Corsten ise, bunun genitif *casus*unda bir toponym olduğunu ve aynı bölgede bulunan bugünkü Lefke'yi (Osmaneli) karşıladığını belirtmektedir. *Dini*

bir Cemaatin Tapınak İnşası: Burdur'un Yarışlı Gölü civarında, antik Takina'nın güneyinde, Sazak Köyünde ele geçen yayımlı bir yazıtın anlam ve syntaks bağlamında düzeltme önerileri getirilmektedir. Yazıtın ilk yayımlayan tarafından Fransızcaya "décision" (tanrısal buyruk) olarak çevrilen ὑπογραφή sözcüğü, Corsten tarafından "Cemaat üyelerinin Listesi" şeklinde yorumlanmaktadır. Diğer taraftan yazıtta geçen Ἄνθος Λίγυος οἰκονόμος ve Εὐτάκτος Λίγυος οἰκονόμος ifadelerini ilk yayımlayan "Anthos fils de Ligus intendant" ve "Eutaktos fils de Ligus intendant" şeklinde anlarken, Corsten "Anthos, Ligys'ün vekilharcı", "Eutaktos, Ligys'ün vekilharcı" olarak düzeltmektedir. Sonuçta yazar, yazıtın düzeltilmiş metnini ve çevirisini vermektedir. *Herakles'e Sunu:* Yine aynı coğrafyadan ve aynı yazar tarafından yayımlanmış bir sunu yazıtında Θυσχήμενος olarak okunmuş gen. *casustaki* ismi Corsten, Θυ- ya da Θυσ- ile başlayan böyle bir ismin Eski Yunanca'da mevcut olmadığını belirterek, ismin Εὐσχήμενος (< Εὐσχήμεων) olarak düzeltilmesi gerektiğini belirtmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Leuke; Bitinya; Pisidya; isim listesi; hypographe; fratra; Euskhemon.

Terrance Michael Patrick DUGGAN*

An interpretation of some unpublished *in situ* and recorded Rum Seljuk 13th c. external and internal figural relief work on the Belkıs (Aspendos) Palace, Antalya

Abstract: This article is divided into four parts. Firstly, it notes the precedent provided by the conversion of the Roman theatre at Bosra in Syria into an Ayyubid Palace, for the conversion of the Roman theater into the Rum Seljuk palace at Belkis–Aspendos and the known extensive use made of Syrian trained architects for important architectural projects by Rum Seljuk Sultans in the first half of the 13th c. Secondly, the two bands of Seljuk low relief depictions of felines and a deer on a series of re-carved Roman limestone blocks on the exterior wall by the door leading to the southern köşk–pavilion erected above the parados and upon the lintel over this door, discovered by the author in 2007¹, extending over a length of nearly 10 m are described and the deliberate pecking of the surface of these low relief depictions it is suggested, was to provide bonding for applied painted stucco carved relief–work that completed this relief work on the exterior palace facade. The third section describes the painted Seljuk tympanum relief sculpture made of stucco plaster that concealed the Roman relief carving of Dionysus in the pediment of the scaenae frons in the 13th c. A sculptural relief depiction of a nude female figure which was fortunately recorded by Charles Texier early in the 19th c. in both his text and in the careful detailed drawings he made of it; and the surviving remains of the six carved stone frontal Seljuk busts on the re-carved cornice of the pediment of the scaenae frons are described, and both the recorded and the *in situ* indications as to the former appearance and the meaning of this 13th century interior palace relief work is noted, and why therefore the name of the settlement by Aspendos was it seems in the 13th c., and is today called Belkis. This painted plaster relief work seems to have decorated the inner wall of the Belkis Palace’s harem and it seems to be the earliest recorded depiction in any material of the scene made famous in later miniature paintings of Shirin bathing in a pool, made to accompany the text of the second

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I am indebted to the invaluable assistance provided by İ. Akan Atila, archaeologist and former curator at Antalya Museum, firstly for showing me his photo of the busts carved on the cornice of the pediment in 2000 and asking if they were Seljuk or Byzantine, and secondly for enabling the measurement, close inspection and for carrying out the detailed photography of this somewhat elevated exterior relief work in 2008 with the assistance of a fire engine’s crew and ladder.

I am indebted to the assistance provided by Dr. M. L. Champagne (1924-2008) in the work connected with this article and to whose memory this article is dedicated.

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¹ Retrieved from url: www.ilesam.org.tr/sdetay.asp?id=309&did=1133, accessed 04.07.2007; “The Lions of Ancient Aspendos”, Sunday’s Zaman, 07-07-07.

of Hakim Jamal al-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas b. Yusuf b. Zaki b. Mu'ayyad Nizam ud-Din of Ganja's (1140/1-ca.1208/9) five great works comprising the *Khamsa*, Nizami's famous *Keyhüsrev* and *Shirin*, completed in ca.1186. It is suggested that the former appearance of this sculptural relief-work was based upon a copy of a court miniature painting made to illustrate Nizami's text probably originating from the court of the last Great Seljuk Sultan Toghril III r.1176-94, who commissioned this work from Nizami and to whom Nizami dedicated *Khüsrev* and *Shirin*. As such it provides important information concerning a type of court miniature illustration otherwise unknown to us, as examples of 12th c. Seljuk court illustrated works have not survived the passage of the centuries. The *in situ* remains of this Rum Seljuk painted stucco high relief sculpture in the pediment recorded by Texier were largely destroyed in the mid-19th century by gunfire, although stucco traces remain in the pediment today and traces of paintwork of undetermined date remain on the Seljuk busts on the re-carved cornice, although the stucco plasterwork that completed these six busts as life sized attendant figures to the naked *Shirin* in the pediment, because of their more exposed location following the loss of the roof over this section of the palace, were lost long before the 19th c. Fourthly, reasons are given for the suggested date of the execution of this palace relief work to the period between 1236 to 1240, 1240 being the date of the arrival of Sultan *Keyhüsrev's* long awaited bride in the Rum Seljuk Sultanate, his *Shirin*, and for the conversion of this building into a Seljuk Palace to serve as a wedding gift given by Sultan *Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II* to his bride from the Caucasus, his *Gurcu hatun*, *Keyhüsrev's Shirin*, his *Belkis*, as Sultan *Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II* is recorded by contemporaries as a second *Suleyman* and his wife, his *Shirin*, was known as *Belkis*.

Keywords: Sultan *Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II*; Rum Seljuk sculpture; *Aspendos*; *Belkis*; *Nizami of Ganja*; *Keyhüsrev and Shirin*; 12th c. miniatures; stucco plaster; Islamic figural sculpture; Seljuk palace.

Part 1 A precedent for the conversion

The architectural and artistic connection to Syria under Rum Seljuk Sultans *Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev I*, *Izzed-Din Keykavas I* and *Alaed-Din Keykubat I* are clear², with the use of techniques such as *ablaq* work, cut stone pendant *muqarnas* in portals and designs such as the 8 pointed star³ and some of the figural designs on palace tile-work, elements that occur in Syria prior to their use in Rum Seljuk Anatolia that indicate a significant degree of Syrian influence passed into 13th century Rum Seljuk art and architecture, and, with the importance and the type of architectural commissions that were given to architects from Syria⁴, it seems possible that they or one of their pupils may have been responsible for designing the palace complex at *Aspendos*, of converting a Roman theater into the core of a palace complex. This is not only because of the important architectural commissions these Syrian architects executed for successive Rum Seljuk Sultans, but also because it is possible that a recently constructed Syrian palace-mosque complex built inside a Roman theatre on the haj road south of Damascus may to some considerable extent have provided the model for this Rum

² For example, Eser 2006, 67-73; Tabbaa, Transformation 160ff.

³ Duggan 2005, 172, fn. 190; 180.

⁴ Including work on the *Alaed-Din Cami*, Konya, work on the Konya Palace, on the Sinope castle, construction of the Sultanhan by Aksaray and of the Red Tower in Alanya and probably also the palace complex at Alanya, *Evdır Han* and probably also the design of the rebuilding of the Antalya citadel following the Seljuk re-conquest in 1216 and which was largely destroyed in the 1743 earthquake, all of these are important Seljuk buildings.

Seljuk conversion. The conversion of various Roman as also some Byzantine⁵ buildings by the Rum Seljuks during the first half of the 13th century, with the conversion of the Mausoleum of Trajan at Silenus into a hunting lodge – *sikarhane*⁶, the conversion of the Hıdırlık Mausoleum in Antalya into a köşk⁷, or the conversion of the Roman bathhouse at Hierapolis by Denizli⁸ into a tiled palace, indicate the conversion of the Roman theater at Aspendos into a Rum Seljuk palace, although an altogether larger structure than any of these Roman buildings, was not, in itself an exceptional architectural event⁹ during the first half of the 13th century. However, the closest parallel and the most likely precedent for the conversion of the Aspendos 2nd c. A.D. Roman theater into a Rum Seljuk Palace complex was in Syria.

Nova Trajana, Bosra (Busra or Eski Şam in the Ottoman period) became the capital of the new Provincia Arabia after the annexation of the region under Emperor Trajan in 105, when it was re-founded to house the Roman governor and garrison of the province¹⁰ Legio III Cyrenica. It achieved colony status under Alexander Severus, and became a metropolis under Marcus Julius Phillipus. It was sacked by Queen Zenobia and later was the seat of the Orthodox Archbishopric and of the Byzantine Governor of the Province of Arabia until it fell to Moslem forces led by Khalid b. al-Walid in 634. The Roman theater at Bosra, probably built about 106 A.D. or perhaps later¹¹, differs from the Aspendos theater of 161–9¹² in the form of the *sceanae frons* which is articulated by a series of three niches while that at Aspendos is flat. The Bosra theatre was fortified by the Omayyads, it was used by the Fatimids and then by the Seljuks after 1089, as also by the Ayyubids 1202–

⁵ For the conversion of Byzantine structures, a tiled köşkü was erected inside a part of the Kisleçukuru Byzantine monastery by Doyran, Antalya, Akyürek et al. 2003, 20, fig 15; there was the incorporation of the remains of a church apse into the Rum Seljuk enclosure wall of the Dim Çayı Mevkii enclosure by Alanya, Redford 1996, 455, Fig. 4, Photo. 4; the rest of this church was possibly destroyed in the 1222 earthquake, in addition to the conversion of the Byzantine *castrum* in Antalya into the Seljuk inner citadel prior to its almost total rebuilding after the re-conquest of 1216.

⁶ Karamut 2003; Karamut 2004; Demir – Türkmen 2006 and Demir – Türkmen 2008.

⁷ Alp, Mezar 23.

⁸ Where the 8 pointed star and cross Seljuk palace tile work was drilled off the walls to expose the Roman walls beneath, filmed and reported by Ali Ceylan at the IX. Müze kurtarma kazıları semineri 1998, Antalya, “Denizli Merkez, Pamukkale Roma Hamamı Kazısı”.

⁹ The conversion of disused ancient buildings for use as köşkü or palaces was a relatively common event, there are however no certain examples of the conversion of Christian churches into mosques during the 12th and 13th century in Anatolia. Rum Seljuk mosques were built from scratch although frequently employing spolia, usually in a prominent position on a rise or hillside and in a manner designed to attract the attention, interest and wonder of the population, as an expression of the superiority of Islam and of Moslem rulers, an architectural statement of belief. The conversion of churches into mosques in Anatolia occurred on a large scale during the later Beylik and Ottoman periods reflecting the later large scale conversion of the majority Christian population. For the typical 200 year plus time lag from the introduction of Islam to widespread conversion, see for example Bulliet, Islam 37ff, Fig. 3.1; who writes, 170, “The situation of Anatolia in the early thirteenth century is analogous, in terms of conversion, to that of Iran in the early ninth century, when the bandwagon period of Islamization (sic) commenced.” A bandwagon process that began but was then disrupted in the case of Anatolia by Mongol rule and considerable chaos for more than a century, that probably impacted upon the speed of conversion to Islam, given the loss of a centralized authority, power, security and prosperity, factors which are often cited as reasons for conversion.

¹⁰ Jones, Cities 293.

¹¹ Rossetto – Sartorio, Teatri 197. Sear, Theatres 309, records it as understood to have been erected under either Trajan (r. 98–117) or Severan.

¹² Sear, Theatres 367.

1251¹³, and then by Baybars and the Mamlukes after 1261. Following the Ottoman Sultan Selim I's conquest of Syria in 1516 and the building of Muzeayrib castle, which became the administrative center garrisoned by Ottoman troops, Bosra lost its administrative and military importance to Muzeayrib to become a village of 300 houses and a mosque as noted by Evliya Çelibi in the 17th century. After World War One it was garrisoned by French colonial forces. The importance of Bosra was two fold, that it was reported to have been visited by the Prophet of Islam during a trading trip as a youth where he conversed with the Christian monk Bahira¹⁴ and, in consequence of this visit, it had an early Omayyad mosque, repeatedly modified and restored and, secondly, because it was situated at the center of the trade route network of the entire region and on the pilgrimage road for those making the haj to Mekka overland from Anatolia and Syria. It was the place 141 km after leaving Damascus where, before the Ottoman conquest when the route was moved, a four day rest-break was usually held on the haj¹⁵ to collect stragglers, provisions and the latest news.

The three floor palace complex, bath house¹⁶ and mosque erected within the Roman auditorium at Bosra was completed by al-Malik al-Salih I Ismail b. al-Adil II Abu Bakr Sayf al-Din, Imad al-Din, the Governor of Bosra from 1218¹⁷ (later Sultan of Damascus 1237–38 and 1239–45), building on the construction inside this roman theater that had begun under Sultan al-Malik al-Adil I Muhammad from 1202 onwards¹⁸. As at the palace complex at Belkis-Aspendos, the Ayyubid citadel-palace at Bosra had its center in the former stage building of the converted Roman theater. A brief account of the appearance of the Bosra complex survives from the 1920's, before most of the evidence of the theater's use in later periods was removed between 1947 and 1950's¹⁹ during its "restoration" by French and then Syrian archaeologists that returned it largely to its Roman form, as has also unfortunately largely been the case for the Seljuk palace in the Aspendos theater in a process that began in the 1930's. It reads: "But the castle is the best of all. It is a mass of huge square buildings with a fosse round, and a bridge, and the Saracens²⁰ built it round a Roman theater... *The whole center of the theater is filled in and three great halls built in it; one above the other, the lowest not yet explored and none of them lighted (except perhaps the top one)*. We climbed down by the theater steps and along the subterranean passages which once ran around the tiers of seats. Here and there some marble columns gleam under the lamp, walled in the rough stone. The old porticoes were

¹³ Burns, Syria 65.

¹⁴ Lings, Muhammad 29–30.

¹⁵ Recorded by ibn Battuta in his haj of 1326 from Damascus.

¹⁶ Burns, Syria 65.

¹⁷ Burns, Syria 65.

¹⁸ TDV İA, "Busra", 471; İA, 1997, "Busra".

¹⁹ R. Burns writes, "The auditorium was filled with flimsy domestic and other buildings until it was cleared by the Department of Antiquities in the late forties, to reveal the (Roman) structure in full", Burns, Syria 76. Rossetto – Sartorio, Teatri 198. A photograph of the palace wall constructed at the inner edge of the auditorium, and entitled "The Islamic structure inside the theatre", bosra%2011[1] and of the palace building inside the auditorium, bosra%2001[1], are at www.bosracity.com (accessed 09–09–2011) taken prior to its demolition and records this palace was not any flimsy domestic structure but massive and it enclosed almost all of the area of the orchestra; while the photos of the destruction of the palace entitled, "Removing the Islamic structure out from the Roman Theatre", eg. bosra%2047[1], bosra%2042[1] and, bosra%2043[2], indicate quite how vast and well-built this palace was so perhaps the Aspendos palace originally covered a considerable area of the Roman auditorium at Aspendos.

²⁰ The large square towers located around the exterior wall of the theater are largely the work of Seljuk and Ayyubid rulers.

turned by the Arabs to defense. *In the heart of the palace is a dark damp mosque built by Saladin²¹, with an inscription; and there are Arabic lines running around the outer walls too²².*"

For comparison, there were a series of wooden floors, palace wall painting, tile-work revetments and painted calligraphy, the tiled palace mosque with its painted calligraphic inscriptions constructed inside the skene building in the Belkis–Aspendos Palace, all largely destroyed during the course of its 1930's restoration²³. The stage and part of the auditorium were also built across by the Seljuks, the wall of the scaenae frons forming an interior wall of the palace and the porticoes were likewise built over at Aspendos. However, unlike the palace at Aspendos, attached to the exterior wall enclosing the theatre–palace complex at Bosra there are a series of massive fortification bastions, whereas there were only probably four relatively small false buttresses applied to the exterior façade at Belkis–Aspendos, concealing the blocked Roman doorways, only one false buttress remains *in situ* today, and, in this respect, given its location and the raids made upon it by Crusaders and then the Mongols, the Ayyubid palace complex at Bosra was designed to served a more militarily defensive function than the Rum Seljuk palace complex at Belkis–Aspendos, which was relatively isolated from the frontier, but which may also have housed in the extensive palace compound a considerable garrison of troops in addition to the palace staff before its occupation by the Turkmen by 1261. This is because S. F. Erten records, "According to one dictionary's tale, in the Seljuk period Belkis city was flourishing and had 4,000 soldiers (garrisoned) there"²⁴. If one can assume that this citation from an otherwise completely unknown source is correct, then the settlement associated with the palace was known as "Belkis city"²⁵ in the 13th century, otherwise one wonders how did S. F. Erten recognized the settlement in the text as referring to Belkis? A flourishing Seljuk settlement containing 4,000 troops suggests a city–settlement of some considerable size involving a support staff in addition to families, a settlement of perhaps 10–12,000 people. Without an archaeological survey and excavations being conducted in and around Aspendos, not focused on the Roman or earlier remains but actively looking for 13th Seljuk remains and for evidence of the 13th century re–use of Roman–Byzantine structures before still more of this Seljuk evidence is removed in any

²¹ Rather by Abu Bakr Sayf al–Din, İmad al–Din.

²² Stark, Letters 18–2, letter 106, dated 19.5.28, Transjordan.

²³ Duggan 2008c, 497–511.

²⁴ Erten, Livas 151: "Bir dıksiyonerin rıvayetine göre Belkis şehri Selcuklular zamanında mamur olup dört bin askeri vardı."

²⁵ Belkis is not exactly a common name for a Turkish village, there is only one other in Anatolia today with the exception of the satellite village of Little Belkis (Küçük Belkis) established in the 20th century close to what is now known as Big Belkis – Aspendos (Büyük Belkis). The other Belkis is in Balıkesir by Erdek, the former Arctonnesus–Dindyus, although C. Texier records both Sagalassos and Kyzikos as associated with Belkis, the latter as Bal Kiz Saray at the start of the 19th c., see also Çelebi, Seyahatname 7–8 (Vol. II); 115 (Vol.VIII); 958 (Vol. X). There are indications that the village of Belkis by Aspendos was settled in the 17th century, Guçlu, Serik 2, 61, and it may be that the void in the records concerning this village was a result of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571. As a consequence of the depopulation of the island of Cyprus from plague, malaria and warfare, large numbers of people living in Karamania, İçel, Bozok, Alaiye (Alanya) as also Teke province, the province that included Belkis, were transferred to Cyprus from 1571 on into the 18th century, many from the port of Silifke, (for the firman ordering this first population transfer to Cyprus dated, 13 Gemaziyulevvel 980, 21 September 1571, see Gazioğlu, Cyprus 297–303; to resettle and farm the depopulated island, and it may be that the population of the village of Belkis by Aspendos were sent to Ottoman Cyprus by the Ottoman administration, where they re–founded the village of Belkis, renamed by the Greek Cypriots in the 1970's, as Belkis is by no means a common village name in either Anatolia or Cyprus. However, with the exception of S. F. Erten's possibly earlier indication mentioned above, the first record of the name of the village by Aspendos as Belkis only dates back to Texier's visit in c. 1833.

further “restoration–cleaning” work, it seems impossible to be entirely certain in this matter. However, the size of the palace itself and the structures re–used by the Seljuks on the acropolis, together with the probable size of the enclosure, extending eastwards from the facade to the river and southwards towards the Seljuk bridge and the buildings within this area, would indicate some considerable population and a garrison of 4,000 troops and therefore the use of the term city to describe this Seljuk settlement does not seem to be improbable.

Part II The re–carved Roman limestone blocks depicting animals and decorative motifs

On the south side of the east facing main facade of the exterior of the Aspendos palace there is a Seljuk brick arch that was erected over the blocked–in Roman *paradoi*, an arch that supported a platform–pavilion, like the brick arch and platform–pavilion that was erected on the north side of the former theater’s facade, balancing this facade conversion work. To the right of the southern Seljuk brick arch (Fig. 12), there are ordered in two rows below the two windows adjacent to this arch a series of re–worked limestone blocks that depict animals and there is also a feline and two square and two triangular devices carved upon the lintel block of the Seljuk door. There are no Seljuk carvings in these positions on the north side of the facade. The Roman door in the wall below the springing of the brick arch was blocked by the Seljuks during the theater’s conversion into a palace, as was the case for the *paradoi* entrances and for four of the five Roman entrances in the main facade, these four were then concealed by applied false buttresses, the other becoming the porticoed grand palace entrance.

Above the door which was opened by the Seljuks to provide access to this southern platform–pavilion – through the removal of two courses of Roman stonework – the former Roman window sill and the block beneath it – carved upon the former Roman window–Seljuk door’s lintel block, there is a silhouette relief of a feline, a “lion” moving to the left, one forepaw raised, together with decorative devices, two diamond–like squares and a triangle to the left of the feline and another triangle to its right (Fig. 1, Fig. 14, 15). This feline carved on the highest of these reliefs, resembles in shape the lions on Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhurev II’s dirhams struck in 1239–43 at mints in Konya and Sivas²⁶, with raised fore–paw, moving forwards (Fig. 2a), with a raised tail on that minted in 1242–3 at Sivas (Fig. 2b), and this lion relief also parallels the lions struck on his gold dinar of 1240–1²⁷ except for the raised tail. This lintel block measures 258 cms. long and is 86 cms. high.

On the row of limestone blocks directly below the window aperture to the right of this door are carved a series of silhouette reliefs of animals (Fig. 3). From the left there remain *in situ* today: the depiction of a feline moving towards the left on the first block (Fig. 4, Fig. 11, A). This block has a length of 86 cms. and a height of 58 cms. The second block is 80 by 58 cms and carries a carving of a feline facing left, just possibly with a depiction of a human–faced sun above its fore–paws (Fig. 5, Fig. 11, B). The face of the third block is today entirely missing (Fig. 11, C), measuring 74 by 58 cms. The fourth block in this row carries an animal moving to the right but with the head turned to look back to the left, the back of the head and the fore–feet are missing but which from the hind quarters and the fore leg is probably a depiction of feline (Fig. 6, Fig. 11, D). This block measures 89 by 58 cms. This row of Seljuk relief carvings extends over a length of 329 cms.

The band of limestone blocks beneath the Roman window directly below that described above carries the second row of silhouettes of animals in relief extending over a length of 341 cms, with the second, third and edge of the fourth re–carved blocks likewise forming the sill of the window, (Fig.

²⁶ Parlar, Sikke 74–77; Bartur Rainbow, Cat. Nos. 46–8.

²⁷ Bartur, Rainbow, Cat. No. 41.

7). They are from the left: on the first block of 83 by 59 cms, a carving of a deer, from the branched head of horns, moving to the left in profile (Fig. 8, Fig. 11, E). On the second block, 88 by 59 cms is carved a squatting feline with off-fore paw raised, facing left (Fig. 9, Fig. 11, F), similar in form to the squatting lion on the personal seal of Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I of 1222–8 found at Kubadabad by Lake Beyşehir²⁸, allowing for the difference in format of a rectangular rather than a circular field. The face of the third block is badly damaged but there seems to be another feline depiction or just possibly a hunting dog, head missing, moving to the left, with perhaps a bird over the animal's hindquarters and possibly a rock, hare or rabbit beneath, (Fig. 10, Fig. 11, G). This block measures 77 by 59 cms. The face of the fourth block of 93 by 59 cms is lost (Fig. 11, H).

Both horizontal bands of 4 animals in silhouette relief carving, together with the carved lintel block with its lion and devices, extend over a total length of 9.28 m. Two of these relief carvings are lost, and another two of these relief carvings have been badly damaged. From the formerly nine depictions on this south facing wall of the palace, seven of these animal carvings remain *in situ* today, five depicting felines, if that on block H is a feline rather than a hunting dog, and probably another, that at the end of the upper row and one depicts a deer. One can probably assume that the two missing reliefs also carried depictions of animals, that lost from the last block of the lower row was possibly turning to look over its shoulder like that on the last block of row above.

The majority of these *in situ* carvings depict felines which might reflect the fact that the majority of all animals carved on Seljuk state and religious buildings, in relief carving, on column capitals, as candleholders and drainpipe holders etc. are felines. The importance given to the lion as a symbol of Islam stemmed in part from the Koran, *Al-Maddath-Thir*, The Cloaked One, Sura 74:50 where the unbelievers are described as behaving like frightened asses, fleeing from the Lion of Prophetic revelation and also from the fact that the *hijrah*, the emigration of the Prophet of Islam from Mecca to Medina took place under the auspices of the constellation Leo, symbolized by the lion, that is, when the light of Islam began its spread from Mecca, and the Islamic calendar and Islamic history and culture began. Hence lions were depicted on the black banners of the Abbasid Caliphs that were sent to Abbasid recognized rulers²⁹ and lions were probably depicted on the seal rings sent by Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad to Abbasid recognized Sultans when they were enthroned, seal rings that legitimized the ruler, lions, possibly copies of the lions on the seal ring, formed the reverse of the Rum Seljuk sultan's own profile portrait seals, two differing impressions of which have survived³⁰, and it seems evident that a depiction of a feline-lion served as a symbol of both Islam and of the legitimacy granted by the Abbasid Caliphate to Rum Seljuk Sultans, as to rulers in the Jazira and elsewhere and was employed as a symbol expressing that legitimacy, distributed widely in both carvings on state buildings and in the applied arts, to mark buildings and objects including flags as belonging to the Moslem community as represented by the Abbasid Caliphate³¹. All of the surviving heads carved on these reliefs look towards the palace, towards the ruler and so to the Abbasid recognized legitimacy that the Rum Seljuk Sultanate represented. However, in this case it seems the choice of felines and deer may have been made for other reasons and an interpretation of the meaning of this series of reliefs of felines-lions and deer on this palace is given in section III below.

²⁸ Arik, Kubad, Fig. 276; Uysal 2001, 614; Duggan 2007, 315–6.

²⁹ For example the banner sent to the Ghaznavid Sultan from the Abbasid court, Bosworth, Ghaznavids 99.

³⁰ Duggan 2007, 309ff.

³¹ For further remarks and examples concerning this subject see, Duggan 2006, 188–190; Duggan 2007, 317–8 and also regarding lions, see Öney 1971, 1–64.

This collection of Rum Seljuk palace relief work of animals is both important and unique (drawing of the rows of relief carvings Fig. 11, blocks labeled A–H from top left to bottom right, a general view of the façade Fig. 12 and the carved lintel block Fig. 15), as is also the suggested technique employed in the completion of these relief carvings described below. There are no similar collections of bands of animal reliefs of this type surviving from the exterior of any other extant Rum Seljuk palace in Anatolia and no Rum Seljuk han or köşk has this quantity of animal reliefs of this size and silhouette type on its exterior façade. There is a row of 15 small animals and birds, much smaller fully carved stone reliefs, each separated by muqarnas, on the ayvan containing the fountain within the outer part of the Karatay Han that was completed during the reign of Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II³² and somewhat similar bands of animals do occur in other media, for example on a silver 13th c. Artukid belt today in the B.M., London³³.

The location of this relief work suggests the direction of approach to this palace complex was from the south, as there are no carvings of animals or other devices on the matching north side of the facade of the Aspendos palace, while south of the palace complex lay the route north from the Seljuk bridge over the Köprü Cayı, leading through a yet to be located entrance into the palace enclosure, presumably walled around.

The technique

All of these animal reliefs were carved into the surfaces of the outer face of the *in situ* Roman limestone blocks re-carved in the 13th century. These Roman blocks have an outer surface layer of limestone but, at least, in the case of block C, as also block D, beneath this outer limestone layer there is conglomerate stone. In two cases the entire outer carved limestone surface layer has been lost from the block (see Figs. 3, 7, 11, blocks C and H) and in the case of block H, probably together with the lower right corner of the adjacent block (Fig. 11, G). It seems from the degree of discoloration of the *in situ* surfaces of these two blocks that block C fell considerably earlier than block H, which seems to have been a relatively recent loss which seems not to have been the result of the separation of these two layers of stone as conglomerate stone is not visible and this relief may have been intentionally removed.

The technique employed to make these silhouette reliefs is noteworthy. A contour was drawn around the animal–device on the face of the *in situ* limestone block and an incision was made around this outline and this outline incision remains clearly visible in places today. Within the body of the animal–device, numerous points were struck with a hammer and pointed chisel, creating a stippled effect, a rigorous pecking over the surface of the stone (Fig. 13), and the flat face of the Roman slab outside the contour of the animal was cut away, leaving the animal in relief, a silhouette figure, contrasting a relatively smooth surround with the pecked surface filling the form of the animal–devices depicted on the block. These silhouette animal–devices remain today a height of 0.5 cms. above the level of the surrounding outer re-carved surface of these blocks.

It seems most improbable that this was the original appearance of these depictions in the 13th c., the rough pitted surface that is visible today was almost certainly not what met the eye of the visitor to the palace in the 13th c., as the surrounding exterior walls of this palace were covered in plaster and were painted, traces of which remain *in situ* today and the mortar joints and stonework still carry

³² For these reliefs, see Akalin 1989, 54–9.

³³ Akurgal, Kunst, Abb. 147, 222. However these rows of animals also include winged and human headed creatures that would have been understood to represent jinn, while there is no evidence to suggest jinn were represented on these reliefs at Aspendos.

traces of plaster and of red–sanguine masonry paintwork, for example on the left side of the upper joint along the large block forming the door lintel and also along the middle upper edge of the joint of the last block on the top row; and there are also, in immediately adjacent areas to these re-carved blocks, areas of *in situ* ochre yellow paintwork on plaster³⁴ (Figs. 14, 14a) that seems to have covered all the faces of the blocks surrounding these reworked blocks, with the joints between blocks outlined in red, on this wall of the façade of the palace, (Fig. 15). As is typical, the painted plastered inner area covering these stone blocks has been lost through surface separation and cracking, long before the painted plaster covering the edges of the surface of the blocks and the joints³⁵ is lost. Consequently the pits that cover the area that defines the body of the animal–device probably provided the required surface to key–in and firmly secure plaster–stucco relief work applied to the prepared surface of these blocks, forming a series of raised carved stucco–plaster animal reliefs. These stucco reliefs were then, given the paintwork on the surrounding blocks, painted in the colors usually employed to paint Seljuk stucco–plaster relief work: sanguine red, dark blue, turquoise blue, pale yellow and yellow ochre, white and black,³⁶ perhaps with some additional applied gold leaf. These stucco reliefs would therefore have formed a brilliant series of heraldic–emblematic banner–like devices, with the surrounding flat area coated in a layer of plaster and painted, with the red masonry outlining the edges of the stone blocks³⁷, the smooth plastered surface of the surrounding blocks painted in ochre yellow³⁸. Slight traces of the original stucco–plaster might possibly adhere to some small areas of these relief carvings today³⁹ although this seems doubtful. A 1909 photograph of this façade⁴⁰ shows no visible traces of stucco–plaster work remained on the feline above the door a century ago, and it was probably lost at a much earlier date, given the roofs later applied over this area of relief work above the door and it seems reasonably certain that almost all of the stucco work applied to the other relief carvings was also lost centuries ago.

It is probable that the stucco–plaster employed in this exterior location was lime based, being impervious, but weathering combined with subsequent modifications to the structure and repeated seismic activity in this region over the past 750 years ruined this applied stucco work, cracking it and causing it to fall from the surface of the stone. Amongst the major seismic events that may have impacted on these stucco reliefs were those of: 1347, 1480, 1489 and 1491, the 1540's quake that destroyed structures in Alanya including a Seljuk mosque and part of the fortifications, of 1743 that resulted in a tsunami wave and which damaged the city walls, destroyed the Seljuk citadel and other buildings of Antalya and damaged buildings in Cairo and led to the complete abandonment of the adjacent settlement of Turkmen at Perge and which may have brought down the later Ottoman pavilions erected either side of the façade at Aspendos; that of 1756, and again in 1911 in Antalya which measured 6.1 on the Richter scale, the March 1926 Meis Island 6.9, followed by the huge earthquake of June 1926 that measured 7.7 on the Richter scale that was centered on Rhodes and which was felt in Cairo, Libya and Italy, that severely damaged structures in Antalya and through-

³⁴ For reference to the Seljuk paintwork and plaster on Seljuk state buildings in the region see Duggan 2008a.

³⁵ See for example Duggan 2008a, Figs.18, 28, 29.

³⁶ Duggan 2008a, 345, an expanded form of *haft reng*, of red, yellow, blue, black and white, but with two blues and two or three yellows dependent upon if the gold leaf was termed a white or a yellow.

³⁷ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 3/6; 7.5R, 3/8, 10.R 3/6, Dark Red.

³⁸ Munsell Soil Color Chart 1998, 2.5Y, 8/6–7/8, Yellow.

³⁹ Just possibly traces remain on the last block on the upper row on the upper left face and on the lower row on the third block from the left, on the left lower edge.

⁴⁰ AKMED Photographic Archive.

out the region, and again in 1931, in a 6.2 on the Richter scale quake⁴¹. Amongst other seismic damage to this structure, the Roman buttresses on the north and south sides of the analemata wall were badly damaged, with stone blocks ripped out, the Roman stone staircases in the stage building collapsed and the stone facade had also been severely cracked in places, consequences of these significant seismic events, leading to considerable structural repair work carried out during the course of the 20th c., including repairs to blocks in the wall directly below the lower row of reliefs, the blocks repaired with a mortar mix and the joints re-mortared immediately below and adjacent to the eastern end of the lower row of these animal carvings (Figs.7, 12).

There are clear *in situ* indications of two later angled roofs over this platform. They pass over the surface of the feline relief carved on the lintel over the doorway, one roofline extending diagonally downwards and ending to the right of and below the feline, cutting across its hindquarters with the remains of mortar and tile work connected to the support for this roof *in situ* today, attached to the carved Roman lintel on its right hand side, which obscures the rear paw of the feline (Fig. 14 and Fig. 15) and the indications left on the surface of this block indicate that this roofline extended to the right of and below the top of the door. This angled roofline rises to join the east facing wall where there are further clear indications that a roof covered this area with traces and areas of thick plain plaster that formerly entirely covered this protected east facing wall remaining *in situ* today. A triangular area of mortar applied to the carved Roman lintel, to the left of the remains of the roof support described above, which conceals the lower part of the felines' forepaw and other *in situ* remains indicate another roof with a shallower pitch also in the past crossed this relief work, passing over the other forepaw and meeting the east facing rear wall at the same height as the other roof. Thus, two different roofs had at different times been added to this structure, and both were applied subsequent to the carving of this relief, at a time when this relief carving had lost its symbolic significance and when the stucco relief work covering the supporting stone carving had already been lost, or may in part at least, have been deliberately removed when the first of these roofs was erected, to enable the angled edges of these roofs to snugly fit against the stone face of the lintel block. At least one of these roofs were presumably erected during the Ottoman period reuse of this building, when the former palace may have been employed as the residence of a *Derebey* from the late 16th c. to perhaps 1743, while it seems probable the palace was earlier reused by the rulers of the *Teke Beylik* during the 14th–15th c. when perhaps the earlier of these two roofs was erected. There was no access to this area of the external façade following the collapse of the Roman stone staircases, in the 1743 earthquake if not before⁴², and it therefore seems possible, from the Ottoman mortar and tile, that the later of these two roofs, the higher roofline with a shallower pitch, was added in the period after 1571 and before 1743.

Part III The Seljuk pediment sculptural relief work⁴³

The Roman broken pediment in the center of the *sceanae frons* contains today in its tympanum a damaged relief carving of Dionysus in volute foliage (Fig. 18). However, the relief carving in this

⁴¹ For these seismic events in chronological order see: Duggan 2004, 123–170; idem, 2005, 357–398; and revised and amended in: idem, *Gizli Tarih*.

⁴² None of the 19th c. travelers including C. Texier, C. Fellows or G. Niemann obtained access to the upper floors inside the stage building as the two Roman stone staircases providing access to them and to the exterior pavilions had already fallen.

⁴³ With the assistance of İ. Akan Atila, Archaeologist and Curator, Antalya Museum, who first drew the heads carved on the cornice to my attention in 1990 and who photographed them.

pediment was understood to represent a female rather than a male figure and was said to represent Belkis, the Queen of Sheba⁴⁴, rather than Dionysus, when C. Texier visited Aspendos in the third decade of the 19th c.⁴⁵ and he relates the tale told to him by the villagers⁴⁶ concerning the Queen whose name was given to the village that had been recently re-established⁴⁷ by Aspendos, Belkis–Balkis. Texier clearly states this tympanum relief carving contains a, “*nude female figure carved in the pediment over the facade in the center with her hair hanging loose, the woman emerges from a vase and holds a stem in each hand. The villagers call this statue Belkis.*”⁴⁸ It is hard to believe that the local villagers either were unwilling or unable to discriminate between a male figure and a female figure in the relief work on this pediment, even with a possibly somewhat androgynous relief depicting Dionysus. With his classical education there can be little doubt that Texier must have been more than a little surprised to find a clearly female figure in this Roman pediment and the Queen of Sheba–Belkis was and remains otherwise unknown amongst the classical mythological figures associated with the Roman theater. Texier concurred with the villagers’ collective opinion as to the sex of the figure in this pediment, and to this author, to suggest that Texier imaginatively completed his drawing of this female figure on the basis of the villagers remarks is to suggest an exceedingly remote possibility. He was an educated man quite able to record accurately what he saw, and it seems what he actually saw in this pediment he recorded in both his text and in his drawing. This nude female figure was drawn as such by Texier (Fig. 16)⁴⁹, including recognizably female breasts which are certainly not visible on this relief today, wider hips and the omission of the square beam hole at the junction of the figures legs that today renders this figure’s sex somewhat indeterminate. However the beam holes to lower left and right are shown shaded in Texier’s drawing that records the central part of this pediment, indicating the central beam hole was not visible when Texier drew this relief. The 7 petal rosette lower left was mistakenly drawn by Texier with only 6 petals⁵⁰, while the defaced areas of the Roman relief carved volutes in this pediment were not returned to their original appearance in this drawing but instead were depicted as they appeared at the time of drawing and largely as they appear today, indicating that this was a drawing that consciously attempted to record the pediment’s appearance at that time, rather than being any fanciful attempt at reconstruction, with therefore implications in respect to the accuracy of the figure depicted in the tympanum. An attempt at the reconstruction of the Roman pediment and cornice was provided by Texier in a different drawing⁵¹. Further, regarding the accuracy or otherwise of Texier’s drawing of this relief, it should be noted that in four of Texier’s published plates⁵² a stage is drawn

⁴⁴ Queen of Sheba – Belkis IA, TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi, Vol. V, O. S. Yüçeturk, 420–421.

⁴⁵ Between 1833 and 1837.

⁴⁶ Texier, *Asya* 265–6.

⁴⁷ Re-established by 1623 from the find of a dated tombstone of 1636, Güçlü, Serik 2, 61, from a settlement that may have then been called “Surlar Kökez”, today’s Belkis Köyü, Güçlü, Serik 6.

⁴⁸ Texier, *Asya* 266–7.

⁴⁹ Texier, *Asya*, Plate. 241.

⁵⁰ It is drawn correctly by Niemann, Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte*, taf. 89, almost certainly from a photograph, Duggan 2008 (b), 33, citing Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte III*, recording the extensive use of photography both on the expedition and in the production of the engravings for publication. The time spent on site was entirely insufficient to permit the drawings and measured drawings that appear in the published text, disregarding the fact that the draughtsman Niemann was at the time suffering badly from malaria.

⁵¹ In Texier, *Asya*, Fig. 232, Texier depicts the cornice on the right side of the pediment intact and the left as is, damaged, a clear attempt at reconstruction.

⁵² Texier, *Asya*, Plate Nos. 232, 233, 238 and 239

between the front of the stage wall and the orchestra, a stage that did not in fact exist when Texier visited Aspendos, it had been removed when the Roman theater was used for wild beast and gladiatorial combats rather than for plays, but he thought it should be there and so he drew it in these plates. Consequently one can be reasonably confident that this relief of a naked female was there in the tympanum, otherwise Texier would not have drawn it, as there was in Texier's day and there remains today no known precedent for the presence in a theater's stage building's pediment of a "nude female figure carved in the pediment over the facade in the center *with her hair hanging loose, the woman emerges* from a vase and holds a stem in each hand." It seems therefore reasonable to suggest that although Texier may have inserted into his drawing what he expected but which was missing, such as the Roman stage, he did not insert into his drawings entirely unexpected things such as a naked female figure in the tympanum, unless he actually saw it there.

Consequently there is therefore every reason to suppose that the female figure that was recorded by Texier in both his text and his drawing, a figure which was also said by the local inhabitants to be a depiction of a female figure whom they described for some particular reason as Belkis, was actually there in the pediment and that Texier, despite his classical education accurately recorded in his drawing and text what he saw in this tympanum. Given the relative accuracy with which the rest of the volute decoration in this pediment was drawn, carved decoration that is nearly invisible to the naked eye, he almost certainly used an optical device⁵³, perhaps a telescope to check on the details of his drawing. Texier's drawing of the face of this relief figure also seems to have been accurate, as it resembles the depiction of the face that is in part recorded by G. Niemann in 1884 (Fig. 17)⁵⁴, but which has since been destroyed, yet Niemann records no female breasts, thinner hips and the central beam hole in the tympanum, all of which are today visible.

One therefore may wonder what had happened to this relief in the intervening half century between Texier's and Niemann's visits, where had the female breasts and the lower torso – which concealed the central beam hole – that which is recorded in Texier's drawing gone to in this relatively brief interval of time? They are not recorded by Niemann in his accurate, almost certainly photograph-based record of the relief in this pediment in 1884, yet Niemann seems to have recorded the same face, a face which today no longer exists.

It seems most probable to the author that a Rum Seljuk relief sculpture was made during the course of the conversion of this Roman theatre into a Seljuk palace, to cover over the Roman relief of Bacchus–Dionysus that is there today⁵⁵. In this 13th century conversion the stage wall became an interior wall of the palace and this relief was no longer seen from the ground but was viewed by people standing on the wooden floor inserted towards the foot of this pediment and the carved stone Roman naked male relief figure in this pediment was covered over by another figure, having a feminine face, a figure with wider hips and female breasts, during the course of this building's conversion, which also and deliberately concealed from view the beam hole in the naked male figure.

⁵³ For these devices see for example, Duggan 2008b, concerning the records made through employing the camera obscura, camera lucida and through drawings made from photographs, "technical drawings", engravings and photo lithographs.

⁵⁴ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte*, taf. 89. It seems certain that Niemann's record of this relief was based upon a photograph taken during one of his two visits to Aspendos and that therefore a photographic record of this head survives, copied onto the engraving to produce this plate, and the original may survive in the archive where the photographs taken by Lanckoronski's party are in Vienna.

⁵⁵ For an account of the *in situ* Roman relief see Can 2005, 98–100.

It seems evident this 13th century relief sculpture was made from stucco, a material that was commonly employed for relief work in Rum Seljuk 13th century palaces and other buildings as traces of this stucco plaster remain *in situ* today in the upper areas sheltered by the cornice and in the area around the head of the figure and there are areas of remaining stucco infilling between the relief elements of the Roman egg and dart border (Fig. 28), and indications that stucco also covered other parts of the tympanum and cornice.

Given the pecking of the face of the two courses of limestone blocks recessed on either side of the apex of this cornice, pecking which resembles that on the animal reliefs described above, these re-worked limestone blocks were also covered in stucco-plaster and presumably also carried stucco high relief-work, that was supported by the deep pecking of the surface of these blocks. The combination of stucco work with tile-work revetments is typical of Rum Seljuk palaces and köşkü and seems also to have been the case in this area of the palace, as the conglomerate stone blocks along this wall in places retain patches of mortar with unglazed pottery that typically formed the surface to which a tile revetment in this palace was applied⁵⁶, such as the patch of mortar and unglazed pottery that remain *in situ* by the upper left corner of the conglomerate block in the course directly above the busts on the left hand side of the cornice (Fig. 19).

Stucco had a long history of use in palaces throughout the Islamic world, in the palace-pavilions built by the Omayyads⁵⁷ in Syria-Palestine in the late 7th-8th century, where there were stucco-plaster figures modeled in the round of human figures and human faces, and life size, painted stucco slave girl-concubine figures that survive from Kirbat al-Mafjar, as also the stucco-plaster painted, life size standing frontal statue of the Omayyad Caliph Abu 'Abd al-Malik Marwan II (744-50), that follows the Sassanid tradition both in the use of stucco sculpture⁵⁸ and relief-work and in the clear indication of ruler-ship provided by the pair of lions beneath him; and two further stucco statues of Omayyad "Princes", from Qasr al-Hayr West, all dating from the first half of the 8th century. The Omayyad Caliph 'Abd ar-Rahman III (912-61) had a sculpture made of his favorite wife Zahra, which was placed over the gateway providing the entrance to the Madinat al-Zahra, the city-palace, by Cordova⁵⁹, and which stood for at least 70 years, until it was pulled down by the Berbers⁶⁰ which may have been a Roman stone sculpture of Venus, possibly remodeled through the application of stucco and then painted to portray Zahra. Stucco was commonly employed in palaces

⁵⁶ For example, this same bed of mortar and unglazed tile-work that formed the surface to which the Seljuk tile revetments were applied covers large areas of the walls of the south stairwell, to which surface there still remain attached today in the upper north-east corner of the stairwell *in situ* fragments of turquoise glazed Seljuk tile revetments.

⁵⁷ See for example Ettinghausen – Graber, Art 56-71, figs. 28, 30, 31; Hattstein – Delius, Art 81-87.

⁵⁸ An area of use of stucco that included from the 1st c. A.D. onwards, Mesopotamian and Persia, and the later Sassanid examples, as also Central Asia, such as the 7th-8th c. relief panels of Chal-Tarkhan, Varaksha by Bokhara, moulded stucco relief panels from Teshik Kala and the 8th-10th c. small carved stucco figurines from Mingoï near Sorçuk, a tradition that may stretch back to Chinese use before the 2nd c. B.C.

⁵⁹ Arnold Painting, citing Makkari (1577-1632)'s "Nafh at-Tib" 16. Barrucand – Bednorz, Andalusia, fn. 44, suggests this was a re-used classical statue of Venus rather than a portrait of Zahra, although numerous Omayyad precedents survive today of painted statues and reliefs of female figures from the Omayyad desert palaces, see above, admittedly not known from over a gateway to a city-palace, and depictions of rulers on major entrances such as at Qasr 'Amrah and Qasr al-Hayr are known that provide a clear precedent both for this depiction, as also for the location of Abd al-Rahman III's statue of Zahra.

⁶⁰ It is suggested it was pulled down in 1010 during the Berber sack of the Omayyad palace, Hillenbrand Architecture 443. Barrucand – Bednorz, Andalusia 61, suggests it was pulled down considerably later, but this seems less probable.

from Baghdad, Samarra and Persia to Afghanistan, North Africa, Syria and Andalusia⁶¹ for low relief work and also on occasion, for relief sculpture. Sadid ad-Din Muhammad 'Awfi writing in the early 13th century describes the palace of the Seljuk Prince Turanshah at Herat in the second half of the 12th c. as “decorated with sculpture, frescoes and of royal portraits in medallions which were located within the princely quarters of the palace”⁶² and it is probable that these sculptures were made of stucco, related to the well known, often life size and finely painted stucco sculptures of courtiers, palace guards and female dancers from the 11th – 12th c., attributed to Persia–Afghanistan, some illegally excavated from the Great Seljuk palaces at Rayy⁶³ and elsewhere, that are sculpted in the round, some are static depictions of standing figures (Figs. 23a–b, 31), others seated, some portraying movement, of human figures, some life-size, that had their place in the audience halls of some Islamic courts in addition to those attendant figures painted on the walls of audience chambers⁶⁴. The surviving paintwork indicates a range of brilliant, vivid colors were employed on these stucco figural sculptures including white, yellow, cobalt blue, black and crimson⁶⁵, the same range of colors as are employed on surviving Rum Seljuk paintwork⁶⁶ applied to plaster and stucco. Figured stucco roundel reliefs from 11th c. Rayy of enthroned rulers survive⁶⁷, as also stucco carved relief figures in 12th century Syrian palaces and at the Kara Saray in Mosul and there is the stucco palace relief panel dating from 1195 from Iraq⁶⁸, depicting the enthroned Sultan Tuğrul III and attendants to left and right backed by an eight pointed star and pointed cross design⁶⁹ (Fig. 25) with a stucco inscription; as also the 12th–13th c. stucco panel from Persia of two jousting or fighting cavalymen with braided hair, today in Seattle USA⁷⁰, on which much of the 13th c. paintwork remains today. Stucco relief work was frequently employed in 13th c. Rum Seljuk palaces and köşk⁷¹, as at the Kubadabad Palace, for relief decoration, window frames, decorative panels, cupboards and

⁶¹ From the 11th c. palace at Balaguer, stucco relief work that was painted, as also at the 11th c. Aljaferia Palace, Saragossa, Barrucand – Bednorz, Andalusia 122–3.

⁶² Hillenbrand, Architecture 414, no footnote, but presumably from the, “Jawami’ al-hikayat wa lawami ar-riwayat”.

⁶³ First made widely known from Riefstahl, 1931, Plates, 514ff.; also Rice 1968, 112–121; Aslanapa, Türk 309–311; Irwin, Islamic Art, fig 89; Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. Nos. 39, 41. The source for these attendant figures seems to be both from the tradition in the Islamic world stretching back to the Omayyads from the Sassanids, and from the tradition of Chinese life size attendant figures in terracotta, wood, stone and stucco, for example the 210 B.C. painted terracotta warriors of Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi, with stucco 13th c. examples surviving from graves and temples in Henan Province, Int. Herald Tribune, 31 March–1 April 2007, 9, Souren Melikian.

⁶⁴ As at the Ghaznavid audience hall at Laskar Pazar, Afghanistan, and those painted figures referred to by Sultan Salad-Din Eyyub in a letter to the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir, dated the 7th of May 1183, who wrote that he had waged war beneath the black banners of the Abbasids and was, “not like those who wear arms for adornments or *were like figures painted on the wall*,” Lyons – Jackson, Saladin 192–3, and it seems lines of guards – courtiers painted on the walls of palaces in Baghdad and elsewhere were so common that Salad-Din could make this remark to the Caliph.

⁶⁵ See for example the color plates Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. Nos. 39, 41.

⁶⁶ See for example Duggan 2008a; Öney – Erginsoy, El Sanatları 85–6, as also on the Alara castle bath house fresco fragments, Öngel 1989, 120; Yetkin 1969–70, 69–88; Lloyd – Storm Rice, Alanya 48.

⁶⁷ In the Museum of Islamic Art and Architecture, Tehran Iran.

⁶⁸ Pennsylvania Museum, USA.

⁶⁹ A design employed for palace tile work revetments from Rum Seljuk palaces in Anatolia as elsewhere, to be associated like the 6 pointed star with the Prophet Süleyman, Duggan 2006, 177–181.

⁷⁰ Art Museum, Seattle, USA, Inv.No. 54.29.

⁷¹ See for example, Karaçağ 2006; Öney – Erginsoy, El Sanatları 83–5, resim 49–53.

shelves⁷²; painted stucco relief work furnished the Konya köşk⁷³ and seems to have been the material employed to sculpt the falcon that was in the ayvan entrance to the citadel gate of Konya⁷⁴; was employed in the Antalya region at the Alanya palace⁷⁵, at the Alaed–Din köşk–mosque at Korkuteli and in the Alara Bathhouse⁷⁶, as also elsewhere, and, it is suggested, on the animal reliefs on the exterior of this palace and was perhaps more commonly employed in the manner here indicated in Seljuk Anatolia than surviving examples of stucco relief work would indicate. It was also employed in a religious context⁷⁷ forming for example the decoration of the lost mihrap and other parts of the 12th c. Shah Arman congregational mosque at Van, painted in yellow, blue, green and red⁷⁸; the relief–work of the mihrap of the Alaed–Din mosque in Ankara, the mihrap of the Sahip Ata Hanikahı in Konya of 1279–80, and that of the Ankara Arslanhane mosque of 1290, and for window frames, as in the Tokat, Gök Medrese, as elsewhere in Rum Seljuk territory.

The coating with stucco of a stone sculpture, to re–work and transform an antique relief or antique statue, as may have been the case with the earlier statue of Zahra and seems to have been the case with this Roman figural relief work at Aspendos–Belkis, or a freshly carved 13th c. stone sculpture, that was then covered in stucco and painted, as has been suggested for the animal reliefs on the exterior façade described above, may also have been the case for a number of other extant Rum Seljuk sculptures. They include the series of relief busts carved to the right and left of the figure in this pediment, (see below); and the relief sculpture of a figure playing a necked musical instrument from the walls of Konya, today in Berlin, the relief carvings of a double headed bird of prey from the walls of Konya⁷⁹, and perhaps also the relief of the seated bearded falconer and a small figure, that carries a far from smooth background also in the IMM, Konya, amongst other works of Rum Seljuk sculpture that may well originally have been coated with stucco and were then painted⁸⁰. The somewhat rough appearance of some figural Seljuk carved stone relief sculptures today, including the above examples, where lines of chisel grooves and other remaining sculptural marks are clearly visible, is perhaps more a consequence of the loss of the painted stucco coating from the surface of these works over the course of the centuries, than the appearance of these sculptures today being either the intention of the 13th century designers and artist–craftsman or the finished result of the 13th century work of sculpture when it was first seen⁸¹, a comment that equally applies to mason marks, they were concealed when the structure was finished.

⁷² Arık, Kubad 177–181.

⁷³ Arık, Kubad 37–40; Sarre, Konya, pl. 8–16.

⁷⁴ Duggan 2008a, 337.

⁷⁵ My thanks to Z. K. Bilici for showing me some painted examples in 2003, these same examples were shown by Prof. O. Arık at the Güzel Sanat Fak. Symposium at Akdeniz Univ. Antalya, in May 2008.

⁷⁶ Yetkin 1969–70, 69–88.

⁷⁷ As earlier in mosques, medrese and tomb mausoleum, in Persia, in Iraq for example, the window frames of the Jami al–Nuri at Mosul of 1170–3, as earlier in Egypt, at ibn Tulun’s Mosque in Fustat, Cairo.

⁷⁸ Belli, Van 435.

⁷⁹ Pancaroğlu 2005, Cat. No. 69; Konya IMM, inv. 188.

⁸⁰ For the paintwork and indications thereof, see Duggan 2008a, 337–8.

⁸¹ Duggan 2008a, 326–7, for some remarks concerning Seljuk taste. Likewise much Byzantine limestone relief carving was covered with plaster, applied plasterwork that was then frequently painted, examples carrying this plaster coating have been excavated from Byzantine churches, including from the 6th c. basilica at Rhodiapolis in 2007 and a limestone bema screen carrying red and possibly traces of yellow paint was found there in 2008; while the exterior of many East Roman rubble stone buildings including churches would it seems most probably have been originally plastered and painted.

As it seems that a male figure, Dionysus, was changed through the application of stucco plaster into a female figure in this pediment at Belkis–Aspendos, so it is perhaps important when looking at the re–use of earlier sculpture, both Roman and Byzantine by the Rum Seljuks in the 13th century to realize that during the course of this 13th c. re–use of earlier sculpture, the appearance of a work of sculpture, its meaning, its sex, its actual form may have been entirely changed through stucco additions, consequently completely altering the meaning of the original work when it was refashioned and redeployed in a 13th century Rum Seljuk context. In the same way that the male figure of Dionysus–Bacchus could become a nude female figure in the 13th century, so antique carved stone lions could sprout 13th century wings and human heads, heads and wings grafted on to bodies through carefully applied stucco–work, completely altering the appearance and more importantly the meaning of the original work of sculpture, changing for example a Roman statue of a lion into a Seljuk jinn of the land⁸². Such a transformation may have been the case for example with the Roman statue of Hercules erected on a pedestal built into the outer face of the Citadel Gate of Konya during Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat’s restoration of these walls, that was headless when it was drawn early in the 19th c.⁸³ and which may well have been transformed through the application of stucco and paintwork into a figure more in tune with 13th century Rum Seljuk culture than Hercules, perhaps converted through the application of stucco plaster and paintwork to depict a well-known and a more culturally relevant figure for the 13th c. ruling elite, such as Rustem or Feridun. Exactly this same process of transformation occurred with this conversion of a Roman theater into the Belkis palace, as also the Hıdırlık Roman mausoleum in Antalya into a Seljuk köşkü, or of a Roman bath–house into a tiled palace. This process of transformation involves far more than a purely functional change of use; as it involves substantial changes to the object, item or structure’s original function, appearance and importantly to its meaning and its consequent integration into a different cultural–religious context. The process of re–fashioning and the transforming of an earlier form, place, structure, object or person into something or someone else, through the application of decoration and the reworking of various types and materials was a key Rum Seljuk artistic idea and practice, involving the process of transformation–conversion on a number of different levels, religious, spiritual, physical, through dress⁸⁴ etc. suggesting that there was a process of artistic⁸⁵ and cultural conversion that preceded and exceeded in its pace the process of conversion of the populations of Rum Seljuk Anatolia to Islam during this period. A later similar intention and outcome is also evident, the changes to meaning and to form, which can be associated with the later re–use of Chinese worked jade and ceramics and other culturally alien objects, conversion work that was likewise carried out

⁸² Often and for no reason apart from a superficial resemblance termed today a “siren”, as though the Seljuks, as well as the modern art historians who use this term, were both familiar with and chose to employ figures from classical mythology without changing their names and meaning, without converting them and incorporating them into their own religion and culture and so providing them with a new and relevant meaning. This use of terminology from the antique, “sphinx”, “siren” etc, to describe 12th–13th depictions of jinn of the land and the air, is due to a formal resemblance, not a resemblance in meaning, and is part of the whole orientalist–colonialist renaming process that steals meaning away from another culture’s artifacts on the basis of a superficial resemblance, and is, I think, to be rejected. The sense of the griffin–like figure deployed in the Seljuk period seems together with the dragon and the snake would seem also to be related to the jinn under the Prophet Süleyman’s command.

⁸³ Drawn by L. de Laborde, Laborde, Voyage, Pl. LXIV. Irwin, *Islamic Art* 211, attributes a talismanic function to this statue, while S. Redford draws attention to classical associations, Redford 1993, 148–56.

⁸⁴ As employed both metaphorically and physically for example in cutting the girdle–cord of Christianity on converting to Islam, new clothes, a change of dress associated with conversion.

⁸⁵ See for example Ibn Arabi’s advice to a Byzantine painter in Konya at the start of the 13th c., Austin, *Sufis* 40–41.

by court artists working for the Ottoman and other Islamic rulers, where an object coming from an alien culture was overlaid or included into something else to largely alter its original appearance⁸⁶ and, more importantly changing the original object's meaning, through converting it to carry a relevant and acceptable meaning and form within a different cultural climate.

It consequently seems very probable to this author that this drawing by Texier does record a Rum Seljuk 13th century palace stucco relief⁸⁷ that was applied on top of the defaced Roman relief sculpture of Dionysus and which survived relatively intact into the early 19th c. This stucco work was almost certainly originally painted and this stucco relief of a standing female figure, from the tips of the acanthus leaves rising to a height of 1.40 m., although probably cracked and damaged by seismic activity, had been largely protected by the stone cornice above it from any substantial damage by weathering over the preceding more than 500 years. Traces of this stucco work remain in place today in the upper parts of this relief around the defaced head and still fill some of the spaces in the Roman molding as noted above (Fig. 28) and so produced a different border pattern to this tympanum, one consisting of a row of balls, the intervals between balls of the Roman design in-filled, thereby producing a border resembling Abbasid painted and carved borders consisting of rows of circles, as at Samarra, a typical border design employed in a variety other materials including woven textiles and ceramics⁸⁸.

Stucco work almost certainly covered over other areas of this pediment including concealing the space that had been created in this tympanum by the earlier deliberate removal of the outer carved Roman volutes on the left hand side of the stucco female figure, although the matching volutes to the right remain *in situ* and the removal of the larger inner volutes on the right hand side of this figure, removed for some unknown reason. The date of the removal of areas of this Roman stone carved volute decoration from the tympanum is unrecorded, but was perhaps associated with the opening of the three large beam holes in the tympanum and the removal of the adjacent entire lower cornice blocks on either side and the removal of stone blocks from the lower sides of the broken pediment. Given the destruction of the depiction of Dionysus with the insertion of the central beam hole as also the defacing of the carved stone face of Dionysus, these alterations were of a post-pagan date and, given the indication that the central beam hole remained covered by the Seljuk stucco relief as late as the 19th c., this work was carried out before the Seljuk conversion of the structure, probably in the Late Antique period, prior to the mid 6th c. plague pandemic, associated in part perhaps with one of the waves of pagan statue smashing attached to the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity⁸⁹ but I can offer no explanation as to the intention or function of this

⁸⁶ Rogers – Ward, Süleyman, Cat. No 75, of two different Chinese bowls joined together in the late 16th c. to form a box covered with gold and gemstones with a rock crystal handle; as likewise, Cat. No. 77, a cut down Chinese 15th c. ewer with attachments to transform it in the 16th c. into a flask.

⁸⁷ A small stucco human head, wearing a three pointed “sikke” and bearded, not of the same quality, was found at Kubadabad, and is today in the Karatay Museum, Konya, illustrated in, Firat Seljuks, no page or photo numbers given.

⁸⁸ See for example, forming the border to the fresco from the Jawsaq al-Khaqani palace, Samarra, Ettinghausen – Graber, Art, fig. 107, figs. 87–8 the border design of dishes, on silks, figs. 138–40, painted on the borders around figures in the ceiling of the Capella Palatina, Palermo Sicily, of c.1140 and as ceramic decoration applied for example to bands around the Yivli Minaret in Antalya.

⁸⁹ On statue smashing see for example: Lane-Fox, Pagans 673, for earlier examples of attempts at statue smashing, see for example, Symphorian of Autun (c. 179) who threatened to take a mallet to this “image of a devil”, Workman Persecution, 162. For the Imperial legislation encouraging the destruction of pagan shrines, see for example, Mitchell, Anatolia 67, fn. 83.

post-pagan and pre-Seljuk work on this pediment. What was depicted on these deliberately defaced, the cleared areas of this tympanum during the 13th c. is suggested below. It is however evident from the areas of the tympanum that in the post 4th c. had been deliberately cleared of Roman carving and where there is no evidence of any substantial pecking of the stonework to indicate the direct application of stucco high relief-work⁹⁰, that no attempt was made in the 13th c. to replicate in stucco relief the formerly balanced Roman relief rosette composition. There is however a rectangular area of pecking that extends from the foot of the tympanum to the cornice, on the right side of the tympanum beyond the beam hole (Fig. 18), matching that to the left of the left beam hole, that would indicate the possible application of stucco to the surface of these areas of the tympanum relief, in addition to the stucco applied to and masking the central relief of Dionysus during this 13th c. conversion work.

The probable reason for the disappearance of the breasts and lower torso of this 13th century stucco relief of Belkis recorded by Texier in the period between his visit and that of Niemann's in 1884, who describes the relief figure in the pediment in 1884 as depicting the male figure "Bakkhus"⁹¹, Dionysos, and this attribution⁹² is certain for the defaced Roman relief figure that remains today in this pediment, was probably because this stucco relief had been used for target practice, bullets had smashed into it and cracked the stucco, much of what remained of the stucco relief covering had been cracked off and shattered, the pieces falling down from this pediment to expose the Roman limestone relief lying beneath in the half century that elapsed between these two visits. It is recorded subsequent to Niemann's visit, when the Seljuk stucco face still remained fairly intact from the evidence provided by his drawing, that target practice used to take place within the theater which had damaged the "carved stone head" of Bacchus-Dionysos⁹³, in fact destroying the 13th c. stucco face covering over the probably already largely defaced Roman head. It is bullet holes not stone pecking that pockmark the area around the head of this relief today (see Fig. 28). Such similar target practice seems to have happened in the period between the 1830's and 1884 causing the loss of the stucco breasts and the lower torso relief work. Other Seljuk carving has been a target for weapons practice in the past and has suffered damage as a result, see for example the bullet holes that pepper the stonework and have shattered parts of the carved relief work in the upper part of the inner portal of Karatay han outside Kayseri⁹⁴, as it would appear gunmen relish an enclosed space, such as inside the Aspendos theater or in the large sheltered courtyards of Seljuk hans to blaze away at carved relief work, particularly depictions of the human form and face located on high walls.

The relief in this pediment even after the stucco female relief figure was destroyed was stated by the Belkis villagers to depict Belkis⁹⁵, or a female, not a male figure⁹⁶; a tradition that continued to be related despite the physical loss of the female figure in this pediment, a continuity caused in part by

⁹⁰ Following the example of the bands of animal reliefs, as distinct from a thin coating of plaster applied in the 13th c. to a stone surface before the application of paintwork, as for example *in situ* on the portal of Evdir Han by Antalya, on and in the Belkis-Aspendos palace as elsewhere, Duggan 2008a.

⁹¹ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte* 114.

⁹² Özgür, *Aspendos* 30; Freely, *Eastern* 82; Akurgal, *Ancient* 101, upper photo; Bean, *Kleinasien* 64.

⁹³ Onat, *Antalya* 202, "Nişanlıklarını denemek için tabancalara hedef olan bu güzel rölyef...", In order to do target practice, gunmen with pistols used to take aim at this beautiful relief.

⁹⁴ Işin, *Aladdin* 69.

⁹⁵ Aziz 1933, 99; Onat, *Antalya* 202.

⁹⁶ Özgür, *Aspendos* 33-5.

the village itself being called Belkis and probably in part through tradition based upon the former appearance of this figure in the tympanum.

The busts

A series of Seljuk busts are carved on the earlier defaced cornice of this Roman pediment (Fig. 18). These busts on the pediment cornice were mentioned and roughly drawn by G. Niemann⁹⁷ who described them as probably Byzantine Saints⁹⁸, three to the left and one on the right, and these busts were also mentioned by S. F. Erten, who describes them as, “4–5 relief carvings of the heads of people in an irregular style”⁹⁹. They are also recorded without comment in various 20th c. general photographs of this area of the scaenae frons¹⁰⁰ and these busts have continued to be attributed to Early East Roman (Byzantine) 4th–5th c. art into the 21st c.¹⁰¹. These busts have not been specifically noted as Rum Seljuk 13th century relief carvings which they clearly are, given the distinctive Seljuk headdresses and hairstyles worn by these figures, indicating these heads date from the Rum Seljuk remodeling of the theatre into a palace in the 13th century. For example the braided hair of the upper two busts to the left of the Belkis–Dionysus figure in the tympanum are characteristic of Seljuk¹⁰² rather than East Roman (Byzantine art); as is the form of the dragon headed finials to the hair braids of the uppermost bust, a form which occurs for example: on the tail of a “griffin” on a Seljuk stucco fragment today in Berlin¹⁰³, as dragon headed wing finials of a doubled headed bird of prey (falcon or hawk) carved on the west portal of the Ulu Cami Divriği, 1228–9; on al–Jaziri’s drawing and on the doorknocker of the Cizre doors¹⁰⁴, as also as a finial to a letter on the calligraphic inscription incised on a 13th c. Artukid bronze drum¹⁰⁵, as earlier on two 12th c. Central Asian glass medallions of lions, the lions tails having dragon headed finials¹⁰⁶. Likewise there are parallels with surviving Great Seljuk stucco figures in the loops descending from the band of the headdress¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 23a–b, 31), as also on Rum Seljuk figures¹⁰⁸, with the loop descending onto the left shoulder of the uppermost bust on the right hand side of the cornice. There are also Rum Seljuk parallels for the cen-

⁹⁷ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte*, Fig. 85, Pl. XXV.

⁹⁸ Lanckoronski, *Die Stadte* 119.

⁹⁹ “Resmin etrafında dört beş tane kabartma insan başı varsada muntazam değildir.”, Erten, *Livas* 153.

¹⁰⁰ Eg. Freely, *Eastern* 80; Sear, *Theaters*, pl. 124; Atila, *Aspendos* 19.

¹⁰¹ Can 2005, res. 18–19, 97–8, fn 56, citing J. İnan – E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, 1970, 179, dn, 48–9. Somewhat closer parallels than these examples cited by Can are to be found in the long row of heads carved on the western part of the north façade of the Armenian 8th c. Church at Ahtamar, one with center parted hair having some similarities to the bust with centre parted hair on the right hand side of this cornice, although the Ahtamar head is carved in lower relief, eg. İpşiroğlu, *Ahtamar*, Figs. 41, 52.

¹⁰² Numerous examples of örgülü – braided hair worn by courtiers are provided in Süslü *Tasvir*, 149ff, on palace tiles from Kubadabad as elsewhere, as also worn by Gulshah in manuscript illuminations to *Varka wa Gulshah*, T.S.M. *Hazine Ktp.* 841, as earlier in the art produced under the Great Seljuks, for example on many court figures depicted on luster ware and on figures depicted on minai decorated frit-ware vessels

¹⁰³ Çaycı, *Gezegen* 41a–b.

¹⁰⁴ For the drawing in al–Jaziri T.S.M. *Kütüp. Ms.A.* 3472, fol. 165b, Pancaroğlu 2005, 113, Fig.33; Dorsay et al., *İlim, Şekil* 2.148.

¹⁰⁵ Akurgal, *Kunst, Abb.* 150.

¹⁰⁶ Carboni, *Glass* 280–1, *Cat No.*, 73, m, n.

¹⁰⁷ On a standing Seljuk stucco figure in the V&A museum, London, illustrated in, Aslanapa, *Türk* 311; Pancaroğlu 2005, Fig. 39, 61, 62.

¹⁰⁸ As in *Varka wa Gulshah TSM. Hazine Ktp.* 841, fol. 31a, and Süslü, *Tasvir*, Res. 99, 104c, desen 63 and 56.

ter parting of the lower bust to the right of the central figure, either hair¹⁰⁹ or a headscarf¹¹⁰, given this bust's damaged condition it is impossible to tell which was represented.

These 13th century busts that are carved on the previously defaced cornice of this Roman pediment, three *in situ* on the cornice to the left of Belkis–Dionysos (Figs. 19, 21) and two remain *in situ* on the right, together with a fragment of a third (Figs. 20, 22) are of various sizes and in their present condition depict the basic forms of the face, types individualized through headdress and accessories, like the faces of court figures depicted in contemporary manuscript illuminations.

To the author the meaning is unclear of the marks that seem to resemble script between two uppermost heads on the left side of the cornice, although the upper element at least seems to have been deliberately carved.

The damage to the cornice below the second head on the right, probably caused by a block of masonry falling from above in an earthquake, has resulted in the near total loss of the third head balancing the third head on the left hand side, nothing remains except for a fragmentary indication of a lock of hair or a roll of cloth of a headdress to indicate this bust had existed at all. The leftmost head is the most summarily carved and lacks any indication of the location of the mouth, suggesting its completion with applied stucco and those on the left side of the cornice are carved in lower relief than those *in situ* on the right.

It seems reasonable to suggest these busts were also coated in stucco and painted but, unlike the female figure in the tympanum of this pediment, these heads were unprotected from the elements once the protecting roof over this entire interior wall of the palace fell in or was demolished¹¹¹, and the painted stucco covering of these busts has been almost entirely lost through weathering. However, the *in situ* bust furthest to the right on this cornice perhaps has retained some of the paintwork on plaster in both of eyes, protected from the elements by the protruding eyebrows (Fig. 30, detail of photograph by A. Atila).

These busts are all on approximately the same level as the head of the figure in the tympanum, with the uppermost head on either side of the cornice nearly level with the head in the tympanum, completing this group of seven heads. It seems to the author most probable that these *in situ* carved stone relief busts are only the surviving remains of originally far larger works of Rum Seljuk palace relief sculpture, as it seems probable these busts were attached to bodies approximating in height to that of the Seljuk stucco relief figure in the pediment. The bodies of these figures, presumably attendant figures to the female figure in the pediment, would have been made from stucco (Figs. 24, 32 Speculative reconstructions), and would therefore have been similar in size to the well known life-sized stucco figures from Rayy and elsewhere (Fig. 23a–b, 31) as also to the figure in the centre of the tympanum. One can suggest that the outermost of the bodies of these relief figures on either side was attached to the face of the tympanum, given the area of stone pecking below the outermost busts on either side, while the other bodies of the stucco attendant figures concealed the Roman relief work and would have concealed the beam holes to left and right of the central figure in the

¹⁰⁹ See for example Süslü, Tasvir, desen 73–5 from the Kubadabad tiles and Varka wa Gulshah T.S.M. Hazine Ktp. 841, fol. 40.

¹¹⁰ Süslü, Tasvir, res. 130 from the Kubadabad tiles.

¹¹¹ There is no *in situ* evidence to indicate there was a fire in the palace that brought down this western extension out over the orchestra – no evidence of heat shattered stone blocks on the tower staircases or the skene wall nor indications from the early photographic record of any fire damage. The thick layer of white plaster on the skene wall remained largely intact in early photographs, as also the glazed tiles in the staircase rooms, also indicating there was no major fire.

pediment. This stuccowork has been entirely lost due to the loss of the protecting ceiling above, leaving only the stone carved busts, disembodied isolated relief carvings on the re-carved cornice. Stucco work may also have concealed from view the defaced and the *in situ* volutes on either side of the central figure, given the *in situ* stucco remains around the head of the central figure, to the same end as the Seljuk false buttresses erected on the exterior façade concealed the in-filled Roman doorways. Exactly what was depicted on the areas adjacent to the central figure in the 13th c. is unknown although the absence of pecking indicates the missing carved stone volutes were not replaced by stuccowork.

In addition to the pecking on the face of the tympanum below both outermost busts, there remains visible evidence of the pecking of the stone surface of the cornice directly below and to the side of these busts, beneath the two furthest left busts and the two *in situ* on the right, similar to, although less close and deep than the pecking of the stonework of the exterior animal reliefs, presumably because these figures were not exposed to weathering, being originally located on a protected interior palace wall and because the weight of this stucco work rested on the wooden floor, rather than relying upon close and relatively deep pecking of the stone work to firmly secure otherwise unsupported stucco relief work to the exposed surface of an exterior wall.

The subject of this Rum Seljuk stucco relief composition and the exterior relief work

There unfortunately is no certain proof as to the subject matter of this stucco relief-work in this pediment, due to the loss of protection afforded by the roof allowing the elements to destroy most of this 13th century stucco relief work before the 19th c., leaving just the busts on the re-carved Roman cornice and the protected stucco relief in the center of the tympanum which was recorded by Texier. However, the subject matter of the entire reworked “pediment” relief on an internal wall of this palace presumably related to the central figure in the pediment which, if the line of reasoning drawn from Texier’s drawing is correct, depicted in stucco relief a naked or a diaphanously covered standing female figure, without any of the possible traces of remaining paintwork having been recorded by Texier, it is impossible to tell which.

This figure in the pediment was known as Belkis, as the villagers stated to Texier, the name that had already given to the adjacent village at the time of Texier’s visit and which seems also to have been the recorded name of the Seljuk settlement at Aspendos¹¹², and Belkis inevitably figures in the relationship cited in contemporary literature between Rum Seljuk rulers and the Prophet Süleyman, who provided the model that was adopted by Rum Seljuk rulers amongst other Islamic rulers of the wise and powerful ruler, ruling on behalf of the Almighty¹¹³. However, there seems to be no record-

¹¹² Op. cit. fn. 24.

¹¹³ Ibn Bibi describes Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II as Süleyman, Bibi, *Evamiru’l-Ale’iye* 37 (Vol. II). An attribute also given by ibn Bibi to Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I, Bibi, *Evamiru’l-Ale’iye* 232, 238, no. 594 (Vol. I), also given by him to other Rum Seljuk Sultans, Kılıc Arslan II, Giyathsed-Din Keyhurev I and Izzed-Din Keykavas I, *idem* 79, 89–90 (Vol. I). It had earlier been given by Abu l-Faraj Runi to the Ghaznavid Sultan Ma’sud III (1099–1115) “The Solomon of the Age”, Bosworth, *Ghaznavids* 89; given by Mas’ud-i Sa’d-i Salman to Sultan Malik Arslan Ma’sud b. Ma’sud III (1116), “With the power and omnipotence of Süleyman since I am from the origin and progeny of Da’ud”, *ibid* 91; it was given to the Salghurid ruler of Fars, Abu Bakr Muzaffarud-Din, Qutlugh Khan b. Sad I b. Zangi (1226–1260) by the poet Sadi in his dedication of the “Gulistan”, “The Lord of the Earth, The Axis of the Revolution of Time, *the Successor of Sulaiman*, the Defender of the People of the True Faith, the Puissant King of Kings, the Great Atabak”, and the Atabak is again described as “*Heir to the Throne of Sulaiman*”, trans. Eastwick, *Sadi* 6, 15. As in the 14th c. when the rulers of Fars adopted the title, “*Heir to Soloman’s Kingdom*”, Blair – Bloom, *Art* 23; For a 13th c. commentary on the verses from the Holy Koran on Süleyman and Belkis, see the chapter on Süleyman in Muhyi-d-Din Ibn Arabi’s *Fusus al-Hikam*, written in Damascus in 1229,

ed incident in the life of Belkis—the Queen of Sheba, which this depiction could be understood to represent, while it seems almost certain that the wife of the Prophet Süleyman would not have been depicted in the 13th c. in this revealing manner. In the later manuscript illumination tradition Belkis is usually depicted as an enthroned, crowned and fully dressed Queen, consort to the enthroned Prophet Süleyman¹¹⁴, while in some illustrated religious texts she is depicted baring her covered legs in front of the Prophet Süleyman, illustrations to the verse from the Holy Koran Sura *An-Naml* (The Ant), 27, Ayet 44¹¹⁵. Neither tradition of manuscript illumination includes any depiction of a naked or diaphanously dressed Belkis, she is depicted fully clothed and, at the most, baring her legs. Therefore, although the palace complex—settlement was most probably called Belkis in the 13th c.¹¹⁶, the subject of this relief seems to be not directly connected to Belkis, to the Queen of Sheba, and this relief has on the face of it, been wrongly, although by association logically, identified by the local villagers as depicting Belkis, that being the name of their own adjacent village.

It seems far more probable, to this author at least, that the subject of this stucco relief was Shirin bathing in a pool in the forest, attendants—guards represented by the bust—figures, a scene taken from the near contemporary work, “Khüsrev and Shirin”, completed in ca.1186, the second of Hakim Jamal al-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas b.Yusuf b. Zaki b. Mu’ayyad Nizam ud-Din of Ganja’s (1140–1 – ca. 1208–9) five great works comprising the *Khamsa*¹¹⁷. The works of Nizami who lived in the Caucasus, in adjacent Azerbaijan, were well known to the educated of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate¹¹⁸ and Ibn Bibi El-Hüseyn b. Muhammed b. Ali El-Ca’feri Er-Rugadi, employed extensive quotes from Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin” in his *El Evamiru’l-Ale’iye Fi’l-Umuri’l-Ala’iye*¹¹⁹. It is possible that the young prince Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev, became influenced by Nizami’s work when he was placed in nominal charge of Erzincan¹²⁰, a city that had close connections to Nizami’s

Arabi, Al-Hikam 83–95, a work that was certainly known in Konya in the 1230’s from Sadred-Din Konevi’s teaching of it. Both the founder of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate and one subsequent Rum Seljuk Sultan were called Süleyman, Süleyman b. Kutulmuş and Rukned-Din Süleyman II, and it has been suggested that the Prophet Süleyman was of considerable importance in Rum Seljuk Palace iconography, Duggan 2006, 206–7, fn. 505–6, including the tiled revetments from this palace, with depictions of: the Jinn, animals, birds and people, and also including finds of 6 sided, hexagonal tiles that can be associated with the Seal of Süleyman, as also with the 8 pointed palace tiles. Solomon knew the language of birds, of jinn and of ants and controlled the winds and his 4 armies, the Jinn, animals, birds and people, forming the model Moslem ruler, ruling on behalf of the Almighty and summoning others to the faith in the One God.

¹¹⁴ For example, the c. 1500 Turkish copy of the *Süleyman-name* by Firdaws, with full page miniatures of Belkis enthroned and Süleyman enthroned, with the troops of men, jinn, birds and animals, in the Chester Beatty Lib. Dublin; Süleyman and Belkis enthroned on the same throne, surrounded by the armies of jinn, animals and birds, c.1600, school of Isfahan, Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. S86.0186, illustrated in, Barry, *Figurative Art* 364.

¹¹⁵ Arnold, *Painting* 108, Plate XXXIII.

¹¹⁶ Op.cit. fn. 24.

¹¹⁷ Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, was commissioned by and was dedicated to the last Great Seljuk Sultan Toghril III (1176–94) for which Nizami was given the village of Hamduniyan, Rypka 1968, 578ff. Nizami’s Khüsrev was based in part upon the 6th c. Sasanid King and Shirin on the 6th c. Queen of Armenia (rather the niece of Mihin Banu, the Great Lady—Queen) as recorded in Firdawsi’s *Shahname*.

¹¹⁸ See for example Jelad-Din Rumi’s *Mathnavi*, Bk. V, v. 1204 and 2525, 2531; *Divan-i Shams-i Tabrizi*, “If you have newly become a lover, take the bitter medicine and drink it, so that Shirin may make you sweeter than Khusraw’s honey.”, Chittick, *Rumi* 307; and Rumi’s remarks, mentioning Shirin recorded in the *Manaqeb al-Arefin*, “Speak in any tongue, oh Khosrow with Shirin’s lips!” and , “He was loved like Shirin”, Aflaki, *Manaqeb al’arefin* 202, 579.

¹¹⁹ Bibi, *Evamiru’l-Ale’iye* 7 (Vol. II); see also Bibi, *Evamiru’l-Ale’iye* 92 (Vol. I).

¹²⁰ Bibi, *Evamiru’l-Ale’iye* 368 (Vol. I); Uyumaz Alaeddin 92.

Azerbaijan, following the incorporation in 1227–8¹²¹ of this territory into the Rum Seljuk Sultanate by his father.

Further, the ants in Nizami's "Khüsrev and Shirin", recalling the ants spoken to by the Prophet Süleyman¹²², describe, "Khüsrev as like Süleyman, and Shirin as like Belkis"¹²³, and so the villagers who told Texier that the stucco relief in the pediment depicted Belkis were probably unwittingly repeating to Texier what the great Nizami had written more than 600 years earlier, that Shirin was recognized as a second Belkis as Khüsrev was recognized as a second Süleyman. It seems most probable, given the evidence for the date of this conversion work presented in Part IV below, that Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II was recognized at court as the Heir to Süleyman and that his queen from the Caucasus, his "Shirin", was known as his Belkis, his Queen of Sheba, and some confirmation of this association comes from ibn Bibi who describes the newly wedded pair, Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II and the Lady from Georgia, "Gürcü hatun" in 1240 as, like the enthroned Süleyman and Belkis¹²⁴.

If the central part of this Seljuk stucco relief as recorded by Texier is understood to represent the scene of Shirin surprised bathing in the forest by Khüsrev, a subject of endless subsequent and probably of earlier but no longer extant 13th c. miniatures of Nizami's text, the moment of the first glance between future lovers, the pool symbolized by the luxuriant vegetation at the pools edge, Texier's "vase" (see Fig. 16), it would certainly be a more appropriate subject for depiction on the inner walls of a palace than the naked or near naked depiction of the Prophet Süleyman's wife or of Eve, and, if this was the case, then the stucco relief that was recorded by Texier was probably the remains of one of the earliest, if it was not the earliest sculptural depiction of this subject, produced little more than 50 years after Nizami's work was first illustrated.

This subject of Shirin bathing is perhaps the only possible reason for creating this depiction of a naked or near female figure on this wall of the palace, and was a subject that has permitted artists at Islamic courts to depict the naked or near naked female form for centuries and which is certainly the most common reason for the depiction of a naked or near naked female in later palace book illustrations¹²⁵.

The composition of this relief work was probably based, in part at least, on no longer extant illuminations of this scene in manuscript copies of this text originating from the court of the last Great Seljuk Sultan Toghril III r.1176–94, who commissioned this work from Nizami and to whom Nizami dedicated "Khüsrev and Shirin". It is therefore perhaps possible to suggest, on the basis of a

¹²¹ Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin 65.

¹²² Holy Koran Sura 27, An–Naml (The Ant), Ayet 18–19, "Till, when they reached the Valley of the Ants, an ant exclaimed: O ants! Enter your dwellings lest Solomon and his armies crush you, unperceiving. And Solomon smiled, laughing at her (the ant's) speech, and (Solomon said) said: My Lord, arouse me to be be thankful for Thy favour wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents, and to do good that shall be pleasing unto Thee, and include me in (the number of) Thy righteous slaves." Also for example Rumi, Mathnavi, Bk. IV, v. 871–2.

¹²³ Nizami, Chosrou 78–9, "Some ants spread secretly the news: This is Belkis (Shirin), that one is Süleyman (Keyhüsrev)".

¹²⁴ Ibn Bibi directly refers to the Georgian wife of Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II, as Belkis and describes the Sultan as Süleyman sitting on the throne, Bibi, Evamiru'l–Ale'iyeye 37 (Vol. I), "Keykubad'ın ruhunun şad olacağı bir görkem içinde zamanın Belkis'inin tahturevanının (mehd) yanında Süleyman mekanlı ve Feridun yapılı Sultan'ın huzuruna yöneldiler."

¹²⁵ The other frequently encountered depiction of a naked female figure portrays Eve (Havva) in religious illuminations but there seems no possible reason for there to have been a stucco sculpture made of Eve on this palace wall in the 13th c. and Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II was not described as Adam.

partial reconstruction of this relief work (Figs. 24, 32); the compositional type of the earliest palace illuminations to “Khüsrev and Shirin” that originated from the court design studio – *nakkashane* of the last Great Seljuk Sultan at the end of the 12th c., illuminations of the earliest manuscript copies of “Khüsrev and Shirin” that are no longer extant. The earliest surviving copies of Nizami’s “Kham-sa” date from the 14th c.¹²⁶ more than a century after it was first written and almost inevitably was first illuminated, given that “Khüsrev and Shirin” was commissioned by and was dedicated to this sultan and it rapidly became famous. It is possible, given the tentative reconstruction of the relief composition at Belkis–Aspendos to suggest that the late 12th –early 13th c. manuscript illuminations of this scene of Shirin bathing in the forest were rectangular in format, with the central figure of Shirin balanced by groups of attendant figures on either side and were therefore of a composition similar to the rectangular composition of the palace stucco relief depicting Sultan Toghril III enthroned and four attendant figures to left and to right, attendant figures that in part overlap each other, that is today in the Pennsylvania Museum in the U.S.A., also a product of Sultan Toghril’s *nakkashane* (Fig. 25). This same rectangular compositional type of a central figure with attendant figures to either side also occurs in the illuminations in the manuscript by Badi’ al-Zamman Isma’il ibn Razzaz Abu’l-‘Izz al-Jaziri, “A compendium of theory and useful practice in the mechanical arts”, *al-jami bayn al-ilm wa’l-a mal al-nafi fi sin’at al-biyal*¹²⁷ of ca.1206, that records various court automata in a manuscript produced in the Artukid state, and also in the later Seljuk Konya copy of *Varka wa Gülshah*¹²⁸. This type of composition is also found on various ceramic works in the *minai* technique from Kashan and elsewhere where however, the format of this composition for obvious reasons is often more square than rectangular. This compositional type is of course far older than Nizami’s work but may have been consciously chosen as an ancient type of composition, ultimately derived from Sasanid art including relief carvings, given the “Ur” nature of Firdawsī’s *Shahname*, of Khusrev Parviz and the history of the Sassanid–Kayı dynasty that in part underlies Nizami’s work. The reason for the inclusion of the attendant figures was possibly to reinforce the majesty of the primary subject, none of the attendant figures are looking at the naked figure, although in this inclusion of the attendant human figures it thereby differs from both Nizami’s text and from later depictions of this scene, where Shirin is described and depicted as bathing in a pool alone.

Due to the revealing nature of the female figure depicted in this relief, the suggestion can certainly be made that at this height in the western part of this palace building, separated by the Roman wall of the *sceanae frons* from the eastern section that contained the palace mosque until its destruction in the theater’s 1930’s “restoration”¹²⁹, there may well have been located the private quarters of the palace – the harem, with this relief on the interior west facing wall and with the rooms extending out westwards over the palace pavement constructed over the infill on top of the Roman orchestra pavement. Unfortunately the complete removal in “cleaning work” in 1960 of the then still *in situ*

¹²⁶ Muzaffarid by 1350? Tehran Univ. Lib. Ms. 5179, Titley 1972, 120–5, having a simple composition of scenes; Muzaffarid (?), Keir col. III.7–27, the scene of Shirin surprised bathing from this mss. is illustrated in, Canby, Painting, Fig 21. The next being of c. 1420 in the Freer Gallery, 31.32–37, “Khurev and Shirin”, Baysunghur, Herat, with 20 more surviving illuminated copies of the Khamasa produced during the 15th c., Robinson, Persian 84–5.

¹²⁷ Dorsay et al., Ilim, Şekil 1.55, 1.56, 2.34.

¹²⁸ T. S. M. Kütüp. H. 841, fol. 4b, 69b

¹²⁹ Op. cit. fn. 23.

Seljuk palace floor that overlay the Roman orchestra floor¹³⁰, and the complete lack of records of this “cleaning work” that should have detailed these markings, means that the footings cut in the Seljuk palace floor, that would almost certainly have revealed the width and the extent of the west facing Seljuk additions extending out from the *sceanae frons*, perhaps across much of the orchestra, as has also been the case at Bosra, have been recently lost.

The suggested choice of this subject by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II for the private quarters–harem of the Belkis palace may reflect not only both an interest in his namesake Khüsrev¹³¹, and a real interest in Nizami’s work “Khüsrev and Shirin”, but can also be related directly to his own life, to his long intended bride¹³², the Lady from Georgia (Gürcü hatun) coming from the Caucasus, his “Shirir from the Caucasus”.

Further, it can be suggested that the choice of subject of the palace exterior relief work described in Part II above may also reflect Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, as lions and at least one deer were depicted in these reliefs and Nizami describes Khüsrev as playing the lion and Shirin the deer¹³³, with the lovers represented by these two creatures¹³⁴, an allusion that was almost certainly picked upon as a significant symbolic motif and employed in the design of the exterior palace relief–work.

¹³⁰ The orchestra floor recorded by Texier, *Asya* 267, where the “empty orchestra” is noted, the same floor that is recorded by G. Niemann in 1884, Lankoronski, *Die Stadte*, Tafel XX, was in fact the Seljuk palace floor, not the Roman theater floor, hence the problems in the text and in the published reconstruction of the theater in Lankoronski’s work concerning the floor of the theater, stemming from the higher Seljuk floor being mistaken for the original Roman floor. Niemann consequently failed to record the openings lying beneath the floor of the Roman stage in his measured drawing, as they were completely buried beneath this palace pavement which was only covered by a, “thin layer of earth”. In consequence Niemann failed also to indicate the correct height of the stage above the orchestra, as he mistook the pavement covered with “a thin layer of earth”, Lankoronski, *Die Stadte* 104, “Im Innern des Theaters können in der dünnen Erdschicht, welche das Plattenplaster der Orchestra bedeckt...”. for the Roman floor of the orchestra, he did not discover the Roman floor lying below it, and this resulted in the depiction of the extremely tall door into the north tower in the section through the theater on Tafel XXIV of Lankoronski’s work amongst other oddities. Unfortunately Niemann’s record of this 13th century palace floor is decidedly skimpy, he records only one feature, a 25 cm wide groove in a limestone slab towards the outer edge of the pavement in the middle, Lankoronski, *Die Stadte* 104, Fig. 84, possibly indicating the outer edge of the Seljuk buildings extending from the stage across the palace floor–orchestra as that at Bosra certainly did. There should have been other revealing marks on this pavement, indicating the location of bases and other supports for the Seljuk structures that were built on top of it, but, instead, Niemann draws a comparison from this groove to a corridor in the theater of Dionysos in Athens. Unfortunately in the “cleaning” work carried out by Antalya Museum to expose the Roman orchestra floor it regrettably seems that no record, plan or photographs were made of the 13th c. palace floor that was at this time removed and disposed of. A similar thing has happened to the 14th c. Beylik and possibly initially Seljuk palace that stood within the Roman theater at Myra, as also at Bosra etc. op. cit. fn. 19.

¹³¹ The inscription on the Eğridir Taş Han records it as “adil Hüsrev’in koruyucusu”, “Founded by the Just Khüsrev”, Durukan 2001, 100, The Just Khüsrev, rather than the Victorious Khüsrev, Khüsrev Parviz, perhaps implicitly also referring to the Just Süleyman.

¹³² As ibn Bibi relates, it was his father Alaeddin–Din Keykubat I who having been offered a Georgian princess for his eldest son in 1232, Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin 68, confirmed this engagement in 1236, Bibi, *Evamiru’l–Ale’iye* 424 (Vol. I), and the marriage took place a long four years later when Giyathsed–Din was aged 17.

¹³³ Nizami, *Chosrou* 83. The analogy of Shirin to a deer was due to the glance of a deer with the eye of love, for example: “She appeared (like) a moon, swayed (like) a willow, exhaled fragrance (like) ambergris and gazed (like) a deer”, by Abu Bakr ‘Abd al–Qahir b. ‘Abd al–Rahman al–Jurjani by 1071, Abu Deeb, *Al–Jurjani* 120.

¹³⁴ Lion chasing deer occur for example on the handle of a late 11th–12th c. cauldron signed by Mahmud al–Qazwini, Hermitage, Inv. No. TP 162, as later in the borders to f. 72a depicting Keyhüsrev defeating Bahram Chubin and f. 102a of Shirin killing herself at Keyhüsrev’s tomb in Akbar’s 1595 copy of Nizami’s works in the British Museum.

This interpretation of the meaning embodied in this relief work in and on the Belkis palace leads one to suggest that the Belkis–Aspendos palace was designed and was constructed for Giyathsed–Din Khüsrev’s love, a distant and long awaited love, like that described in the first part of “Khüsrev and Shirin”¹³⁵, and that the palace at Aspendos was probably constructed as a gift for his bride, for his Shirin, his Lady from Georgia, his consort, his Belkis, hence the name Belkis given to both the Seljuk and the modern settlements at Aspendos. This choice of subjects chosen from “Khüsrev and Shirin” for elaboration through the relief decoration applied to areas of the enormous Belkis–Aspendos palace may not only reflect the Sultan’s interest in Nizami’s “Khüsrev and Shirin”, but also his youthful romantic and extravagant, irresolute and impulsive temperament, at odds with his father who did not want his eldest son’s succession to the Sultanate¹³⁶, a temperament that would play some small part in the loss of the independence and power of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate during his reign¹³⁷, but then, only a romantic and truly extravagant disposition could have envisaged, desired or approved at the age of 17, the conversion of this vast Roman factory–like abandoned theater structure into a wedding present for his bride.

Part IV The probable date of this 13th c. palace relief work

Given the length of time Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I spent in the Antalya region in winter and the possibilities for hunting and for wildfowling by the marsh–lake and along the river banks of the

¹³⁵ The first part of “Khüsrev and Shirin”, in a remarkable case of life imitating art, can almost be read as the lived destiny of Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II. The parallels between this work of great art and the subsequent life of this Sultan are so striking if not frightening that one feels Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II not only knew this work by heart and internalized it, but perhaps felt that his own destiny was written in it. “Khüsrev and Shirin”, a moral poetic romance on ruler–ship, love and the treatment of the beloved by the lover, can be read almost as the prefiguring of the fortune of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate under Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II, paralleling the collapse of Khüsrev Parviz’s kingdom related in Nizami’s tale, with the wine drinking son and the righteous unbending father, as in the text; with charge of poisoning his father, Uyumaz, I. Alaeddin 94, as in the text; Khüsrev’s excessive generosity, as in the text; the long looked for bride from the Caucasus, as in the text; the assassination of the great Emir Sadred–Din Köpek in 1240, followed by the Baba İřak rebellion, like the uprising–rebellion of Bahram Chübin against Khürev Parviz in the text; and then the Mongol invasion and the loss of Seljuk independence in 1243. Have some people consciously modeled their lives, with varying degrees of accuracy and authenticity on a written text? Undoubtedly, as it is and has been the intention of religious texts and histories to provide accounts of exemplary lives for the reader to imitate, internalize and to understand to their capacity. However, to read and internalize, as Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II may have done as a youth, an account of Khüsrev Parviz’s life that over the course of a few years will seem to mirror his own subsequent fate as prince and ruler, written by a man who was deceased by the time he was born, a text that on the surface is not a religious text but a reworking of a historical text, well that seems to be quite a remarkable thing.

¹³⁶ It seems Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat wanted one of his two younger sons, Rükned–Din or İzzed–Din from his Ayyubid wife Gaziye Hatun, whom he married in 1227, to succeed him, not his eldest son Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev from his first wife, Bibi, Evamiru’l–Ale’iye 20, 21 (Vol. II).

¹³⁷ It should be noted however that it was the eastwards and southeastwards expansionist policy of his father in the second part of his reign, his father’s unawareness of Turkmen discontent or his inability to resolve this problem through co–option or through sürgün, together with his hosting of the Khwarizm Shahs forces on Seljuk territory, while knowing that the Mongols would not be amused by this action, that doomed both his successor, and the Sultanate. It can be argued that the character of Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II played a part in the collapse of the Sultanate, but the ink had already dried on the underlying issues by the time of his accession in 1237. The vital damage was done in the second half of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat’s reign, fundamental damage to political relationships both internal and external that was masked by an evident but temporary economic prosperity. The “golden age” of Alaed–Din Keykubat was rather the golden glow of a setting sun, with the “noonday sun” under Sultan İzzed–Din Keykavas I, extending only into the first part of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat’s reign.

Köprü Çayı, when combined with the absence of Seljuk köşk structures along the route from Antalya to Alanya–Ala’iyye until one reaches Manavgat, some of the Seljuk conversions of structures on the Aspendos acropolis may date from the reign of Alaed–Din Keykubat I¹³⁸ and it seems most probable that he would also have ordered the construction of a bridge across the river to connect the route from Antalya to his newly conquered city of Alanya. The importance of the coastal route between Antalya and Alanya following the conquest of the region from Manavgat to Alanya in 1221, conquests extended eastwards by 1225 to Silifke, for the transit of troops as well as possibly state and trade caravans, means that a bridge was certainly erected by Alaed–Din Keykubat I here, and, although the remaining inscription on the Seljuk bridge provides no evidence for it, there is the strong possibility that the largely *in situ* inscription on this bridge today marks the subsequent repair of this bridge, rather than its construction from scratch by 1239–40¹³⁹ by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhusrev II. That the inscription was built into the outer face of the parapet, not within the body of the bridge, may also indicate possible restoration, but not necessarily so¹⁴⁰. The probable renovation rather than construction by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II in 1239–40 of the Seljuk bridge may have become necessary for a number of reasons including the completion of this palace, and, given the mention of a prosperous city and 4,000 Rum Seljuk troops stationed at Belkis¹⁴¹ in addition to the palace staff and officials, the maintenance of this bridge was important, ensuring connections between Antalya and Alanya and further east, as in the absence of a bridge when the river was in spate, this body of troops would have been marooned, restricted to the western bank.

Ibn Bibi relates in his work considerable information concerning the palaces and pavilions that were constructed and used during the reign of Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I, however, he fails to mention the construction, nor does he make any reference to the use of this huge palace complex during this Sultan’s reign, a palace only rivaled in area by that at Kubadabad. Its absence from Ibn Bibi’s text would suggest, given his references to this Sultan’s construction activity and his record of this Sultan’s visits to palaces, that it did not exist as a palace during his reign and it would seem most improbable that it would have been constructed earlier, given that it stood at the edge of Seljuk territory prior to the conquest of Alanya. It is noteworthy that Ibn Bibi is altogether far less forthcoming concerning the continuation of construction activity under Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II, who was doubtless influenced in this activity by Sadred–Din Köpek until he was murdered in 1240. Ibn Bibi does not mention the construction of any building ordered by Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II during this Sultan’s entire reign of 9 years, with the exception of the

¹³⁸ These include, buildings on the acropolis “painted with red patterns in a rude style” and the Nymphaeum which still had Seljuk sky blue tile–work in its niches, like those in the stage wall, both areas of Seljuk tile–work mistaken by Fellows for Roman paint work, “the plaster of which still retains its colouring of beautiful light blue”, Fellows, *Travels* 148; G. Niemann of Karl Graf von Lanckoronski’s party deliberately removed the last remaining visible and accessible pieces of Seljuk tile–work from the theatre, Seljuk tile–work that was found in a niche on the scaenae frons in 1884, and this tile–work consisted of 3 tiles and fragments of plain turquoise blue under–glazed border tiles which were loosened off and taken to Vienna, by Karl Graf von Lanckoronski’s party, *Lanckoronski, Die Stadte* 116, this was the remains of “the beautiful light blue paintwork(sic)” noted by Fellows in the niches of the theater.

¹³⁹ Bilici 2001/2, 173–86, for the inscription from the bridge and the date of 1239–40, 177; for the bridge construction, see Kessener – Piras 1998, and also, Goodwin 1994.

¹⁴⁰ For examples of the location of inscriptions on Seljuk bridges, see Çulpan, *Köprüler* 1975.

¹⁴¹ *Op. cit.* fn. 24.

city entertainment pavilions—köşkü constructed on the orders of this Sultan¹⁴². However, the surviving building inscriptions from this Sultan's reign paint a entirely different picture of construction activity between 1237 and 1240 including the buildings constructed in this region mentioned below and also including for example, the construction of the vast Ağzıkara Han and the completion of the greater part of the massive Karatay han by Kayseri in 1240, the construction of which was only begun under Sultan Alaed–Din Keykubat I.

It is the combination of a number of factors that leads me to suggest that Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II was responsible for the construction of this palace, not only its absence from ibn Bibi's text, but also the completion of the bulk of the Kubadabad palace complex and the Kubadiye by 1236, which would have freed up craftsmen trained in tile production and in executing the same repertory of palace designs on tile work, as also the painters and stucco workers to work elsewhere, who probably then it is suggested here, worked on the tile–work, stuccowork, plastering and paintwork of the huge palace at Belkis–Aspendos; as also the importance that Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II attached to this entire region, made clear from the structures he and his officials ordered constructed within it. The majority of the structures that Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II directly ordered to be erected during his reign lay within this region of south western Anatolia; in addition to the bridge or repair thereof at Aspendos of 1239–40¹⁴³, they include: Şarapsa han¹⁴⁴ on the Antalya–Alanya road, the large Eğridir Taş han of 1237–8 built outside Eğridir¹⁴⁵, Kargi han by Manavgat¹⁴⁶, Kırkgöz han¹⁴⁷, İncir han and Susuz han on the Antalya–Burdur road¹⁴⁸ and the Seljuk köşk at Kemer, Antalya¹⁴⁹. He also built a tower in the main city wall of Antalya dated 1244¹⁵⁰ and his Emir(?) Abu Bakr Saidoğlu built another tower dated 1244–5. His Atabeg, Mubariz ed–Din Armağanshah built his medrese in Antalya, completed in 1239–40¹⁵¹ before being killed by Turkmen at Amasya during the Baba Işak uprising, while the turbe of Şeyh Şücaed–Din was also completed in Antalya in 1238–9 and the Dadil han in the Gelendost district of İsparta was completed in 1242. The bulk of the dated construction activity in his reign seems to have occurred within its first 4 years¹⁵², prior to the later stages of the Baba Işak (Baba Rasul) Turkmen rebellion that began in 1240 which was followed by the Mongol invasion and Rum Seljuk defeat at Köseadağ on the 26th of June 1243 and it seems reasonable to suggest the conversion of this huge palace would not have begun in the period after the Seljuk defeat of 1243 and was probably begun well before 1240. His considerable construction activity in the Antalya region, including it is suggested of this palace, was doubtless in part due to the influence of his Atabeg Mübarized–Din Ertokuş, under successive sultans long in charge of Antalya and the Antalya region following its conquest in 1207, who was sent by Sultan Alaed–

¹⁴² Bibi, *Evamiru'l–Ale'iy*e 37 (Vol. II).

¹⁴³ *Op. cit.* fn. 139.

¹⁴⁴ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 101, where this Sultan is named.

¹⁴⁵ Durukan 2001, 63. It measures approx. 34,000 sq. m.

¹⁴⁶ Durukan 2001, 64.

¹⁴⁷ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 89, the inscription names this sultan but the date is defaced.

¹⁴⁸ Durukan 2001, 64.

¹⁴⁹ Yavuz 2000; T. M. P. Duggan, *Turkish Daily News*, July 11th, 1998, "Rediscovered". The limited and severe style of carving on the exterior lintel of this köşk parallels those found over doorways in the hans erected by this Sultan, as around the portal of İncir han and in the carving beside the entrance door at Susuz han. The inset in the wall over the entrance to the Kemer köşk for its inscription remains, but the inscription is lost.

¹⁵⁰ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 80.

¹⁵¹ Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* 86–7.

¹⁵² See Durukan 2001, 99–101.

Din Keykubat to Erzincan with the young Giyathsed–Din to administer Erzincan on his behalf. In addition to the above indications, there is also the very close parallel between the form of the feline carved on the lintel on the exterior façade with the depiction of the feline struck on some of Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II’s dinars and dirhems in the period between 1237 and 1243, (Figs. 2a–b); and there are also the remains of the palace tile–work revetments from Aspendos today in the Antalya Museum, which seems to date from this reign, subsequent to the completion of the Kubadabad tile–work, to which there are variant designs and perhaps the brushwork is at times somewhat less controlled than at Kubadabad¹⁵³.

In consequence of the above indications one can therefore suggest that the conversion of the Roman theater into the Seljuk palace probably occurred during the first part of the reign of Sultan Giyathsed–Din Keyhüsrev II between 1237 and 1240 and one can surmise that the construction may have begun in the winter of 1237–8, associated with his forthcoming and long awaited marriage, when the new Sultan spent the entire winter in the Antalya region¹⁵⁴ before his return to Konya in the spring of 1238. The suggested date for the Seljuk palace relief work that is described in this article, as also for much of the exterior and interior paintwork and for the tile–work revetments of the stage building, staircases and rooms, is therefore to the three year period between 1237 and 1240, as this palace was it seems, most probably constructed to impress his bride, his Shirin, his Belkis from Georgia and would therefore have had to have been completed in time for her arrival in the Rum Seljuk Sultanate in 1240.

The Belkis–Aspendos palace was certainly under Turkmen control by 1261 at the latest, but the insecurity of the surrounding region from ca. 1245 onwards meant that the palace may have fully functioned only in the period from its completion by 1240 to ca. 1245, that is during the reign of only this sultan, with this very brief period of use explaining the absence of references to the palace complex of Belkis in the sources, with the single exception of its mention in a text noted by S. F. Erten. Further, with this sultan described as “Süleyman”, the just ruler and his queen from Georgia as “Belkis”, it seems reasonable to suggest, given that the city in the 13th c. and the township today still retains the name Belkis, that this palace complex may have been constructed as a marriage gift from the 20 year old Sultan in 1240 to his bride¹⁵⁵, to his Belkis, whose likeness may even have been depicted in the stucco relief in the tympanum¹⁵⁶, as it was also reportedly depicted on some of the dinars and dirhems struck during his reign, the face within the sun, with the Sultan being represented by the lion or lions illuminated by the light of love¹⁵⁷ (see Figs. 2a–b). The same relationship

¹⁵³ For this tile–work see Okay, Çiniler passim, color photo in, Demirer, Antalya, Cat. No. 188; Antalya Museum 1988, Cat. No 169. The first Seljuk tile–work entered the museum’s collection in the 1920’s but a full inventory was unfortunately not made of this material at the time of its accession and for decades afterwards, leading to possible loss from the museum’s collection and confusion concerning the find–spots of Seljuk tile–work in Antalya, some repeated in Okay, Çiniler, who attributes some tiles to Aspendos that were certainly found in Antalya as was stated by Riefstahl, Turkish Architecture 52, and photographed, pl. 97, that is, prior to the discovery of the remaining *in situ* ceramics at Aspendos after the 9th of March 1930.

¹⁵⁴ Turan, Selçuklular 409.

¹⁵⁵ A distorted echo of this gift by the sultan of the palace of Aspendos to his bride may be retained in the story told to Texier, that the King of the Snakes built the Aspendos castle for his only daughter (only love), Texier, Asya 461.

¹⁵⁶ For some examples of Rum Seljuk portraiture, see Duggan 2007, 328–335.

¹⁵⁷ As recorded by Ibn Bibi, Bibi, Evamiru’l–Ale’iye 38(Vol II). Mention is made of a naturalistic portrait of Keyhüsrev’s queen by A. Denti di Pirajno, in a reference to the interests of the Bishop of Tripoli, Libya in 1930, a portrait that was struck on a silver dirhem, but I am unable to determine if the coin that is referred to in the follow-

that was expressed on his coinage bearing the lion(s) and face in the sun, was expressed through the silhouette lions and deer carved on the façade of this palace originally covered by painted stucco relief work and by the depiction of Shirin–Belkis from Nizami’s text in the stucco relief in the re-worked pediment, that is the relationship of lover and beloved.

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Özet

Bazı yayımlanmamış *in situ* ve 13. yy. Rum Selçuklu dönemine kaydedilmiş Antalya Belkıs (Aspendos) Sarayı'nda dış ve iç duvarlardaki kabartma figürlerinin yorumlanması Bu makale dört bölüme ayrılmıştır: İlk bölüm, Suriye Busra'daki Roma tiyatrosunun Eyyubi Sarayına dönüştürülmesinin, Belkıs–Aspendos'taki Roma tiyatrosunun Rum Selçuklu Sarayına dönüştürülmesine emsal teşkil ettiğini ve 13. yy'ın ilk yarısında Rum Selçuklu Sultanları tarafından önemli mimari projelerde, tanınmış Suriyeli eğitilmiş mimar kullanımını incelemektedir. İkinci bölümde, 2007 yılında yazar tarafından keşfedilmiş, boyu yaklaşık 10 metreye kadar uzanan kedi türü hayvanlar ve bir geyik-

ten oluşan iki sıra Selçuk hafif kabartma tasvirleri betimlenmektedir. Bu tasvirler, parados üzerine kurulu köşkün güneye açılan kapısının dış duvarında, yeniden oyulmuş bir dizi Roma kireçtaşı bloğu ve kapının lentosu üzerinde bulunmaktadır. Bu hafif kabartma tasvirleri yüzeyindeki incelikli murç izlerinin, sarayın dış duvar yüzeyindeki sıva, boya ve oyma uygulanarak yapılan kabartmayı tutturma amaçlı olduğu önerilmektedir. Üçüncü bölüm, 13. yy'da *sceanae frons* alınlığındaki Roma Dionysus kabartmasını gizleyen alçı plasterden yapılmış, boyalı Selçuk tympanum heykel kabartması ile ilgilidir. 19. yy'in erken dönemlerinde, Charles Texier tarafından hem metninde hem de özenli ve detaylı bir şekilde yapmış olduğu çizimlerinde tesadüfen kaydedilmiş çıplak kadın figürlü heykel kabartma tasviri ve aynı şekilde *sceanae frons* alınlığında yeniden kazınmış korniş üzerinde bulunan altı adet taşa oyulmuş Selçuk büstlerinden kalan kalıntılar tanımlanmaktadır. Önceki görünümüne dair hem kaydedilmiş bu *in situ* bulgular, hem de bu 13. yy saray içi kabartmasının anlamı ve yine buna bağlı olarak Aspendos yakınındaki yerleşim yerinin neden 13. yy. da olduğu gibi bugün hala Belkis olarak adlandırıldığı belirtilmektedir. Bu boyalı plaster kabartmanın, Belkis Sarayı haremünün iç duvarını süslemiş olduğu ve bu, "Pınarda Yıkılanan Şirin" temalı geç minyatür boyamalarında ün kazanmış ve yaklaşık 1186 yılında tamamlanan Nizami Gencevi'nin Hemse'sindeki beş büyük eserinden ikincisinin, yani Nizami'nin ünlü Hüsrev ve Şirin metninin beraberinde verildiği sahnenin bütün örnekleri arasında en erken kayıtlı betimleme olarak görünmektedir. Bu heykel kabartmasının, ilk görünümünün büyük olasılıkla, bu işi Nizami'den sipariş eden ve yine Nizami'nin "Hüsrev ve Şirin" eserini ithaf ettiği 1176–1194 yıllarında hüküm süren son büyük Selçuklu Sultanı üçüncü Tuğrul'un sarayına ait Nizami'nin eserinden resmedilmiş saray minyatür resminin bir kopyasına dayandığı ileri sürülmektedir. Bu bakımdan, aksi halde bilemeyeceğimiz Selçuk saray minyatür resmine ilişkin önemli bilgiler sağlar, zira 12. yy Selçuk saray resim işçiliği örnekleri yüzyılların akışı içerisinde hayatta kalmamıştır. Texier tarafından kaydedilen alınlıktaki bu Rum Selçuk boyalı sıvası, yüksek kabartma heykelinin *in situ* kalıntıları, bugün hala alınlıktaki sıva ve yeniden oyulmuş korniş üzerindeki Selçuklu büstlerinde belirlenemeyen bir tarihe ait boya işçiliği izleri kalmışsa da, 19. yy'ın ortasında silah atışıyla büyük ölçüde tahrip edilmiştir. Yine aynı şekilde, alınlıktaki çıplak Şirin figürüne eşlik eden gerçek ölçülü figürler olarak bu altı adet büstü kaplayan alçı, sarayın bu bölümünün üzerinde duran çatının kaybını takiben daha korunmasız hale gelmesinden ötürü, 19. yy'dan uzun zaman önce kaybolmuştur. Son bölümde ise bu saray kabartma işçiliğine dair 1236–1240 yılları arasına yapılan tarihlendirme önerilerinin nedenleri verilmektedir. Rum Selçuklu Sultanlığında, Sultan Keyhüsrev'in uzun zamandır beklenen gelininin – Keyhüsrev'in Şirin'inin– gelişi ve Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev tarafından Kafkas eşine, Keyhüsrev'in Şirin'ine, "onun Belkis'ına" –zira ikinci Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev çağdaşları tarafından ikinci bir Süleyman ve eşi Şirin ise Belkis olarak biliniyordu– düğün hediyesi olarak sunulan bu yapının Selçuklu Sarayına dönüştürülmesi 1240 tarihine rastlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sultan ikinci Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev; Rum Selçuk heykeli; Aspendos; Belkis; Nizami Gencevi; Keyhüsrev ve Şirin; 12. yy. minyatürleri; sıvalı plaster; İslami figürlü heykel; Selçuklu Sarayı.



Fig. 1: Lion carved on the lintel above the door.



Fig. 2a: A dirham struck by Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II, from Batur Rainbow, Cat. No. 46.



Fig. 2b: A dirham struck by Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II, from Batur Rainbow, Cat. No. 48.



Fig. 3: Upper row of relief carvings.



Fig. 4: Feline to left.



Fig. 5: Feline, with sun symbol between forepaws?



Fig. 6: Feline.



Fig. 7: Lower row of relief carvings.



Fig. 8: Deer.



Fig. 9: Seated feline.



Fig. 10: Feline or just possibly a hunting dog pouncing.



Fig. 12: General view of this façade.

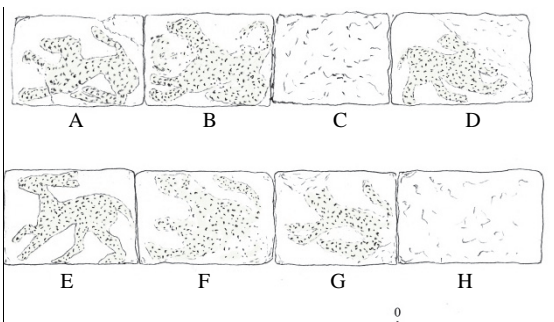


Fig. 11: Measured drawing of these silhouette relief carved blocks (A. Aygün).



Fig. 13: Detail of the pecking.



Fig. 14: The indications and *in situ* remains of the two roofs remaining on the lintel.

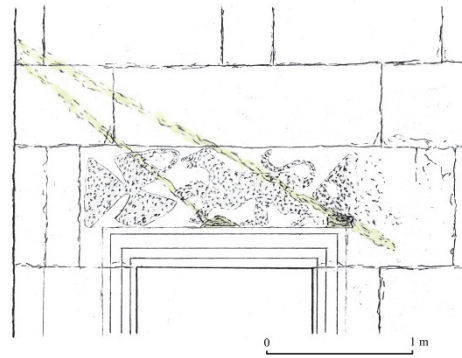


Fig. 15: Measured drawing of the *in situ* remains of the later roofs on the lintel (A. Aygün).

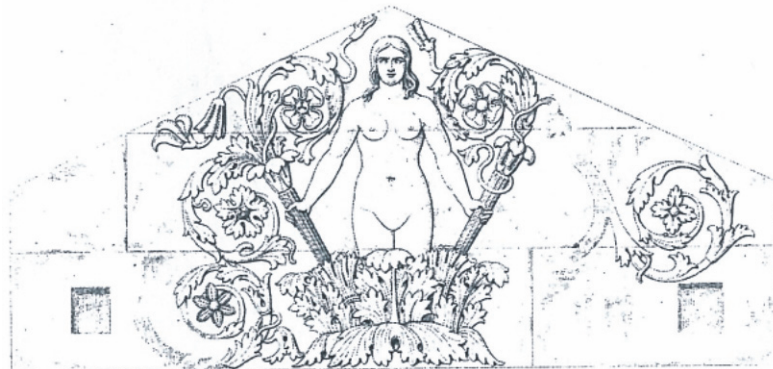


Fig. 16: Texier's drawing of the tympanum relief.

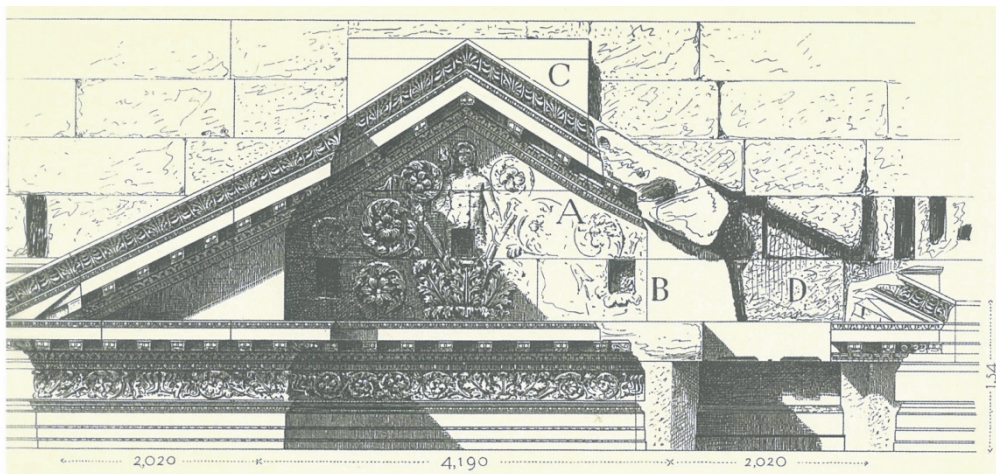


Fig. 17: Niemann's record of the tympanum relief.



Fig. 18: General view of the busts carved on the cornice and the area of pecking below the outermost busts on either side.



Fig. 19: The busts to the left of the central figure, the pottery and mortar attached to the conglomerate block to the left of the cornice



Fig. 20: The busts to the right of the central figure



Fig. 21: Drawing of the busts to the left of the central figure



Fig. 22: Drawing of the busts to the right of the central figure



Fig. 23a: Near life size Seljuk painted palace stucco figure (from Aslanapa Turk)



Fig. 23b: Near life size 13th c. Seljuk painted palace stucco figure (from Ettinghausen Art)

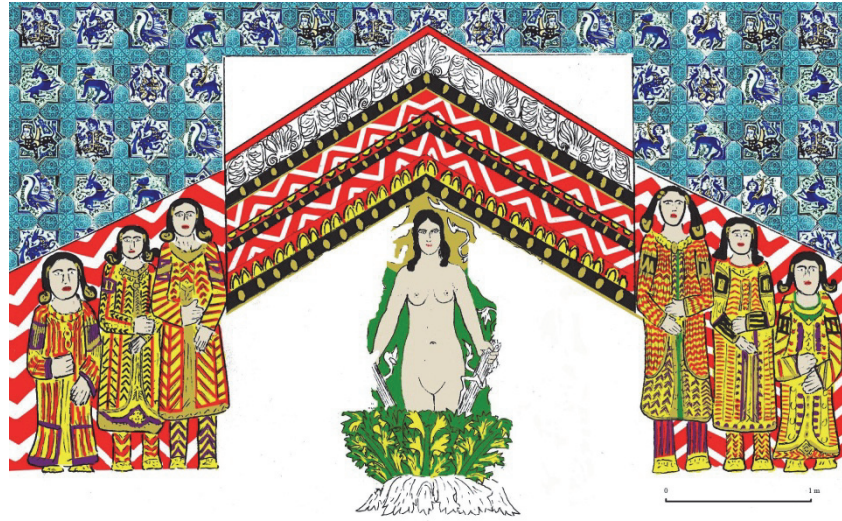


Fig. 24: Speculative reconstruction of the appearance of the palace tympanum relief, with and without rosettes (computer images generated by A. Aygün). The area un-tiled above the pediment cornice was covered, from the *in situ* pecking, in high relief stucco-work although the subject of this stucco work is unknown and this area is left blank. The area between the central figure in the pediment and the attendant figures to either side in the 13th c. was at least in part, from the *in situ* stucco remains by the head, covered in stucco, and I suspect the area of volutes may, given the areas of earlier defacing, have also been concealed, the stucco-work presumably extending from the attendant figures towards the central figure, free-standing or tied to the volutes for support, but representing what forms and in what manner I am unable to hazard, although almost certainly with some indication of foliage-forest and perhaps carrying indications of the water of the pool, possibly even the horse Shadib.

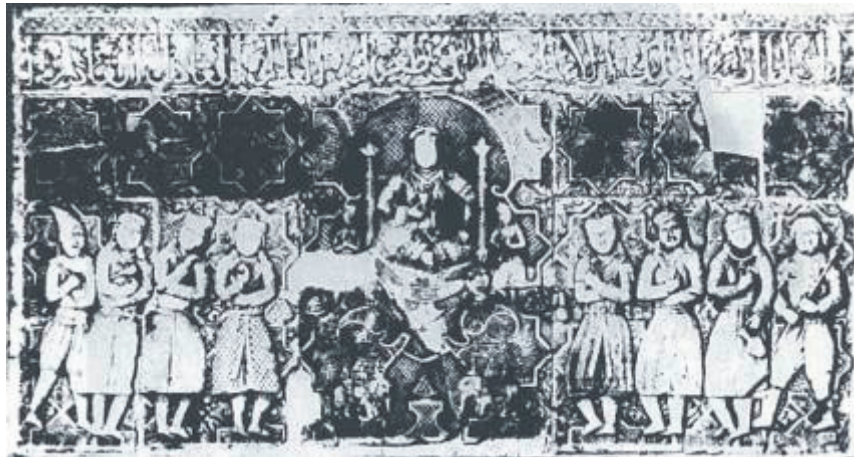


Fig. 25: The stucco relief depicting Sultan Togril III enthroned with courtiers to right and left, (from Süslü Tasvir, res. 274).



Fig. 26: Areas of yellow paint and red painted stone block outline on the block adjacent to the end of the upper row.



Fig. 27: Traces of a red border and yellow areas of paint in the upper right corner of the block directly above the first feline in the upper row.



Fig. 28: The remains of stucco infilling in the border to the tympanum and around the head together with surrounding bullet marks.



Fig. 29: A line of red paint still attached to the upper edge of the re-carved block shown in Fig. 6, block E



Fig. 30: Detail of paintwork in the eye of the lower bust.

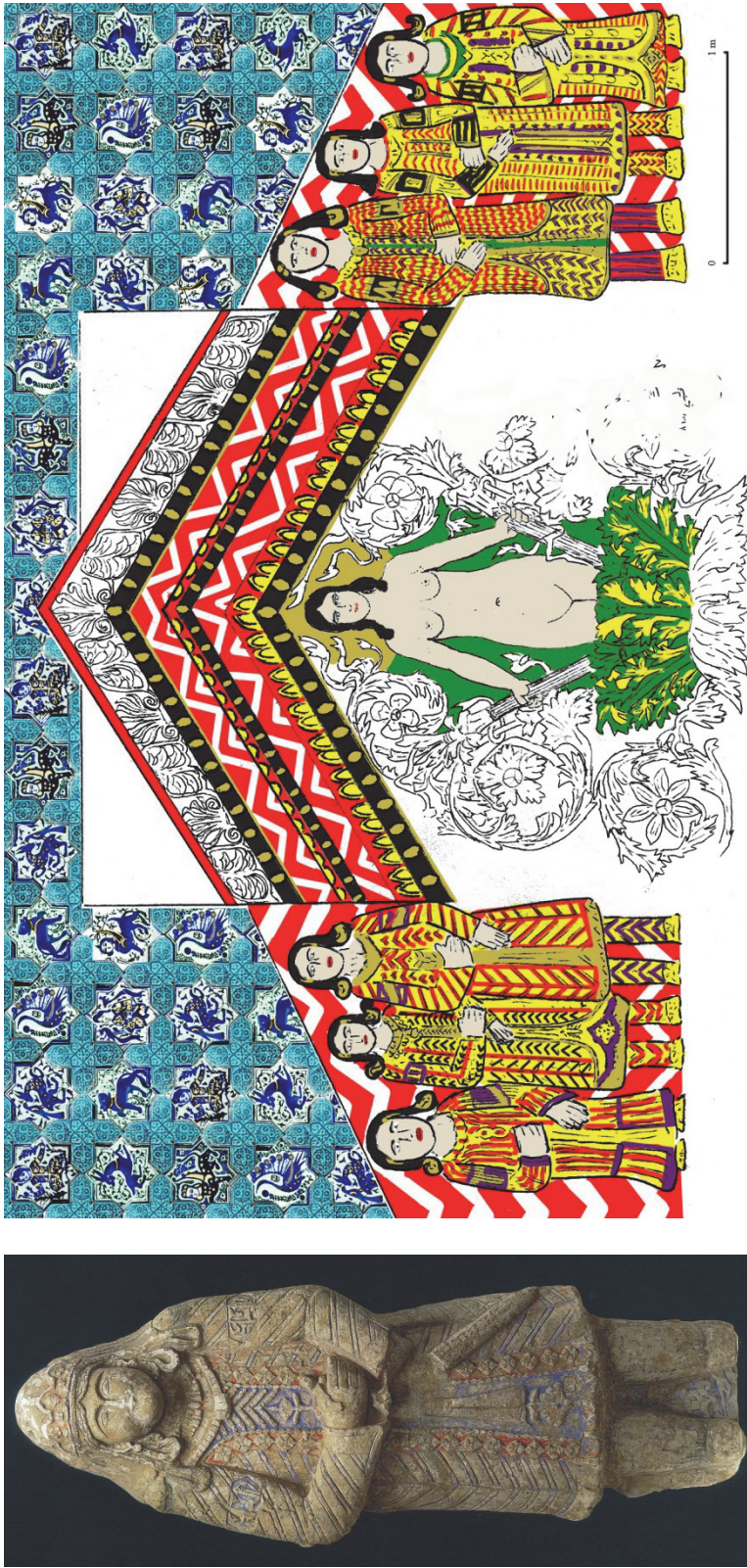


Fig. 32.

Fig. 26c: Near life size Seljuk 12th c. painted palace stucco figure measuring 144 cms. in height (from Pançaroglu 2005)

GEPHYRA (Köprü) Türk ve yabancı meslektaşlarla Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesi Epigrafi, Nüvizmatik, Arkeoloji, Sanat Tarihi ve Tarihi Coğrafya sahalarındaki uluslararası işbirliğini ve dayanışmayı yoğunlaştırmak ve bu sahalarda ele geçen öncelikli olarak yeni belgeleri makul bir hızla ve uluslararası düzeyde yayımlamak amacıyla. Dergi yılda bir kere yayımlanmakta olup, başvuruların dergi yayın ilkelerine uygun bir biçimde her yılın Ağustos ayının sonuna kadar iç kapakta verilen adreslere ulaştırılması gerekmektedir.

YAYIN İLKELERİ

- Yazılar Microsoft Word (2003 ve sonrası) formatında olmalıdır.
- Metin için çoklu dil desteği sağlayabilen Unicode bir font seçilmelidir (örn. Times New Roman, Garamond, Palatino Linotype vs.).
- Gövde Metni 11 punto, dipnotlar ise 9,5 punto olarak ayarlanmalıdır.
- Yunanca metinler için politonik Yunanca destekli bir Unicode font kullanılmış olmalıdır (örn. Vista ile gelen Times New Roman, Palatino Linotype, Arial Unicode MS vs.).
- Metin içerisinde “- (tire)” ile manuel sözcük bölme kullanılmamalıdır.
- Kullanılacak fotoğraflar özenle seçilmeli ve makalede gereksiz yer işgal edecek fotoğraf kullanılmamalıdır. Fotoğrafların yoğunluğu metni bastırmamalı, makalede gereğinden fazla fotoğraf kullanılmamalıdır.
- Yazıt fotoğrafı ilgili metnin sağında ya da altında olmak üzere, metin içi fotoğraflar uygun bir şekilde yerleştirilecektir.
- Dijital görsel öğeler yüksek kalitede olmalıdır. Örneğin, fotoğraflar 300 dpi’den aşağı olmamalıdır.
- Metinler aşağıda verilen adrese hem e-posta hem baskı hem de CD/DVD olarak iki kopya halinde ulaştırılmalıdır. Bu CD/DVD içerisinde hem PDF hem de DOC(x) formatındaki metin, kullanılan fontlar ve foto/çizim/tablo vs. bağımsız olarak bulunmalıdır.
- Epigrafik ya da benzeri metinlerde kullanılacak olan her türlü işaret ve değişik karakterlerin içerildiği (alt noktalı ya da yıldızlı harfler de dâhil olmak üzere) fontlar da dâhil olmak üzere, metinde kullanılan tüm fontlar ulaştırılmalıdır.
- E-posta olarak gönderilen metinler hem PDF hem de DOC(x) formatında olmalıdır.

Atıflar

Gephyra, yaygın atıf sistemleri (APA, MLA, Chicago, Turabian etc.) alanın ihtiyacına tam cevap veremediğinden bunları uygulamamaktadır. Bu ihtiyaçlara yönelik ölçütler göz önüne alınarak, ulusal ve uluslararası Eskiçağ Bilimlerinde kullanılan atıf sistemlerini benimseyerek, özel bir atıf sistemi kullanmaktadır. Başvuru sahiplerinin yazılarını aşağıda belirtilen atıf kıstasları doğrultusunda hazırlaması beklenmektedir. Temel olarak dikkat edilecek hususlar:

Dergi Makaleleri:

Dipnotta: [Soyad] [yıl], [sayfa(lar)].

Kaynakçada: [Önad İlk Harf(ler)]. [Soyad], [Başlık], [Dergi kısaltması] [Sayı], [yıl], [sayfa aralığı].

Editörlü Kitaplardaki Makaleler / Bölümler

Dipnotta: [Soyad] [yıl], [sayfa(lar)].

Kaynakçada: [Önad İlk Harf(ler)]. [Soyad], [Başlık], [“şurada”]: [Önad İlk Harf(ler)] [Soyad] [“(ed/d.)”], [Başlık], [Basım Yeri] [yıl], [sayfa aralığı] [(Varsa Seri Adı ve No)].

Monografiler

Dipnotta: [Soyad], [Başlık Kısaltması] [Sayfa(lar)].

Kaynakçada: [Önad İlk Harf(ler)]. [Soyad], [Başlık], [Basım Yeri] [yıl] [(Varsa Seri Adı ve No)].

Derlemelere (Corpora) Atıf

Metin içinde veya dipnotta Numaralı Öğe Atıf: [Corpus Kısaltması] [Cilt] [No].

Metin içinde veya dipnotta Sayfaya Atıf: [Corpus Kısaltması] [Cilt], [“s”]. [Sayfa], [“nr”]. [Öge No.]

Antik Yazarlara Atıf

Metin içinde veya dipnotta eserin kendi düzenine göre verilir: [Yazar kısaltması]. [varsa eser kısaltması]. [kit. no], [böl. no], [prg. no], [sat. no].

Metin kritiği gerektirmedikçe antik yazarlar kaynakçada gösterilmeyecektir!

Makaledeki Numaralı Ögelere Atıf

Metin içinde veya dipnotta: [Soyad] [yıl], [sayfa(lar)] [“no”]. [No].

Kaynakçadaki gösterimi dergi makalesi formatındadır.

PS: İki den fazla yazarlı çalışmalar için lütfen “İlk Yazar et al.” kullanınız.

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