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## 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 Kaş<sup>1</sup>. 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 inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. 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 AD<sup>3</sup>.

A funerary inscription of Tiberius Claudius Capitolinus, citizen of both Rome and Patara, may also indicate a road connection nearby<sup>4</sup>. 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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

<sup>3</sup> Şahin 2010b, 142.

<sup>4</sup> 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 ἐξέεστω.

[Ἀπολλ]ωνίδης Μηνοφίλο{φίλο}υ  
κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ  
γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις·  
4 μηδεὶν 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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 Hild<sup>7</sup>. They describe it as 18.50 m in length, consisting of three naves

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> Şahin – Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarensis* 253.

<sup>7</sup> Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 485–486, s.v. Bezirgân.

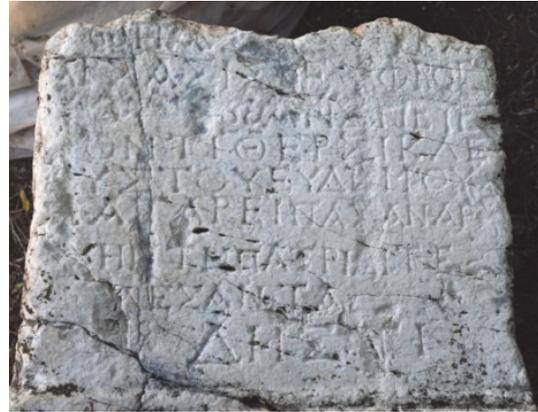
and without a narthex (fig. 8). Near to this, a smaller church and ancient cisterns were observed. At the top of Hisartepe rising to the south of the area where the ancient road meets the Bezirgân Plain, there are the remains of many pre-Roman and Roman buildings surrounded by a circular unmortered fortification wall, which was mentioned by Spratt and Forbes with disappointment<sup>8</sup>. 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.

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 ΩΠΑ- - - - - ή κα[ι]  
 2 Ἄρσασις <sup>vac.</sup> Ε[ὐ]φρο{γ}<σ>-  
 [ύνου] τῷ ἀνδρὶ Εὐέ[λ]-  
 4 [θ]οντι Θερσικλέ-  
 ους τοῦ Εὐδήμου  
 6 Παταρεῖ πᾶσαν ἀρ-  
 χήν 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 (Ϛ) 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 Delphi<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Spratt – Forbes, *Travels* I 56–57.

<sup>9</sup> 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): Though there is no sample of this use, it was abbreviated twice in an inscription from Athens, see IG II<sup>2</sup> 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 Patara<sup>10</sup> 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 road<sup>11</sup> 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 SP<sup>12</sup>. 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)<sup>13</sup>. 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 lake<sup>14</sup>. 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 “Sarıçbaşı”, 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

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

<sup>11</sup> Spratt – Forbes, *Travels* I 57.

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

<sup>13</sup> Büyükyıldırım, *Su Yapıları* 62–66.

<sup>14</sup> 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 Şahin<sup>15</sup> 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 Şahin<sup>16</sup>. 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 Ross<sup>17</sup> 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 Clow<sup>18</sup> 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.

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<sup>15</sup> Şahin 2011, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Şahin 2010b, 143.

<sup>17</sup> Ross, Kleinasien 43.

<sup>18</sup> 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 Niemann<sup>19</sup>, 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 identified<sup>20</sup> with the Sidake recorded as a city of Lycia (Σιδάκη, πόλις Λυκίας) by Stephanos Byzantinos<sup>21</sup>. 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 French<sup>22</sup>, 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–Sehili<sup>23</sup>.



Fig. 1: Sidek–Sehili. Sarcophagus.



Fig. 2 Sidek–Sehili. Sarcophagus. Inscription.

<sup>19</sup> Benndorf – Niemann, *Reisen*, 128.

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

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> French 1996, 3.

<sup>23</sup> 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 Παταρίς<sup>24</sup>. 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.<sup>25</sup> 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 owners<sup>26</sup>. 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.<sup>27</sup>

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 Patara<sup>28</sup>. 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

<sup>24</sup> Davies 1895, 108.

<sup>25</sup> Gardner 1885, 357 no.122.

<sup>26</sup> Zimmermann, Zentrallykien 58 fn. 20.

<sup>27</sup> 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 ...

<sup>28</sup> 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[νοις αὐ]τῶν | ἄλλω δὲ οὐδεν[ὶ ἐξ]ἑσ[τ]ω 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 Hoplon<sup>29</sup>.

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 Seroiata<sup>30</sup>. 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 ἐξὸν εἶ-  
 ναι ἐνκηδεύσαι τινα  
 8 ἢ ἀποτείσει τῷ ἱερῶ-  
 τάτῳ ταμείῳ Ξ ,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.”

<sup>29</sup> Zimmermann, Zentrallykien 57–58: “Aus der Errichtung des Grabes in Sidek durch zwei δοῦλοι τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων 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.

<sup>30</sup> Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 840–841.

After AD 211 (Constitutio Antoniniana). Since the fine should be paid to the imperial treasury<sup>31</sup> 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 French<sup>32</sup> 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 road<sup>33</sup>. 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.<sup>34</sup>

#### 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.

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> French 1996, 3 and photo 1.

<sup>33</sup> French 1996, 2.

<sup>34</sup> For the road connections between Phellos and Anthiphellos and new inscriptions from nearby, see Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen 2011.

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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 kurutulması 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 Hisartepi and Kışla Dağı.

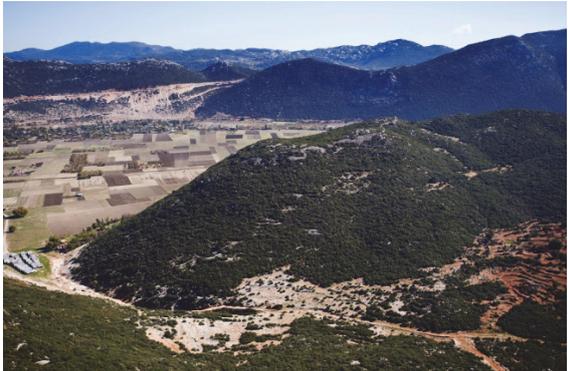


Fig. 10: Hisartepi, Bezirgân and "Ambarlar".



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: Saribelen/Sidek. View from the north.



Fig. 17: Pavement between Döşeme and Gökçeören.

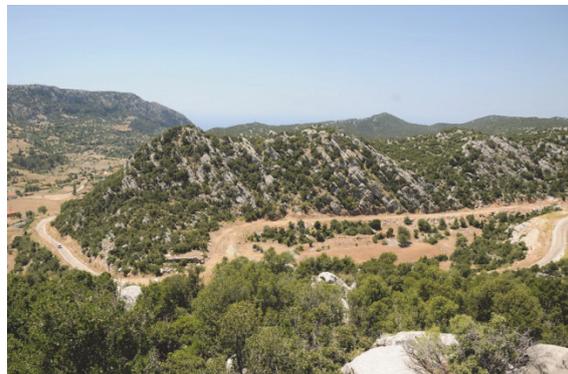


Fig. 18: The Hill of Gökçeören/Seyret. View to south.



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