

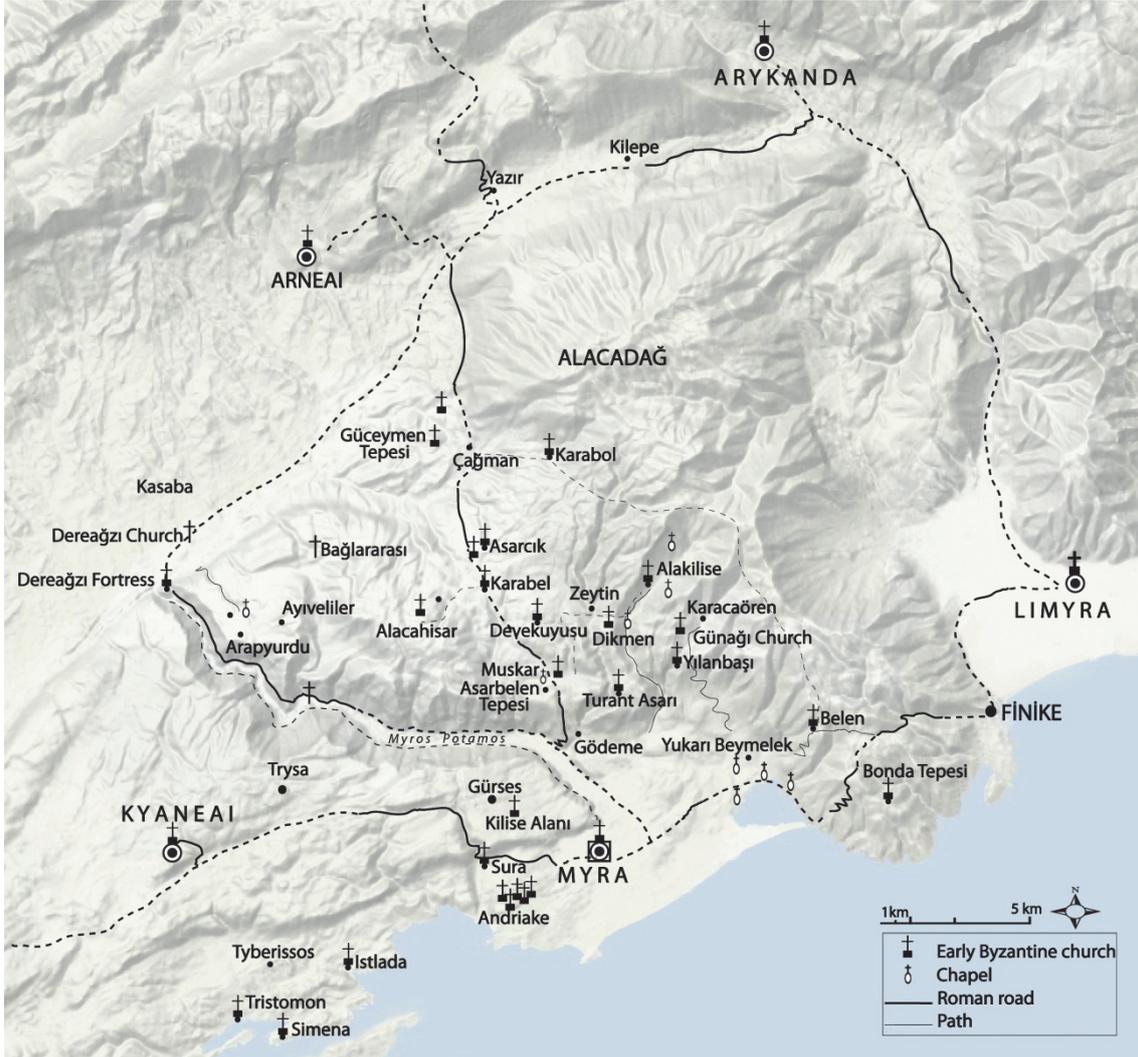
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Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (8):
On the named places in the journeys of sacrifice
recorded in the Vita of Saint Nicholas of Holy Sion

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 been 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 μονόλιθον)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-apsed 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.

cial offering of a pair of oxen and to glorify God”⁴⁷.

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 εὐκτῆριον 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]-
 και[ο]ν δ' ἐπιφ[α]ίνεσ[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[ορευ]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
 [ὄφ]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 ἐπιφ[α]ίνεσθαι ἐστιν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀγαθοῖς 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 “*νεοί*” 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).

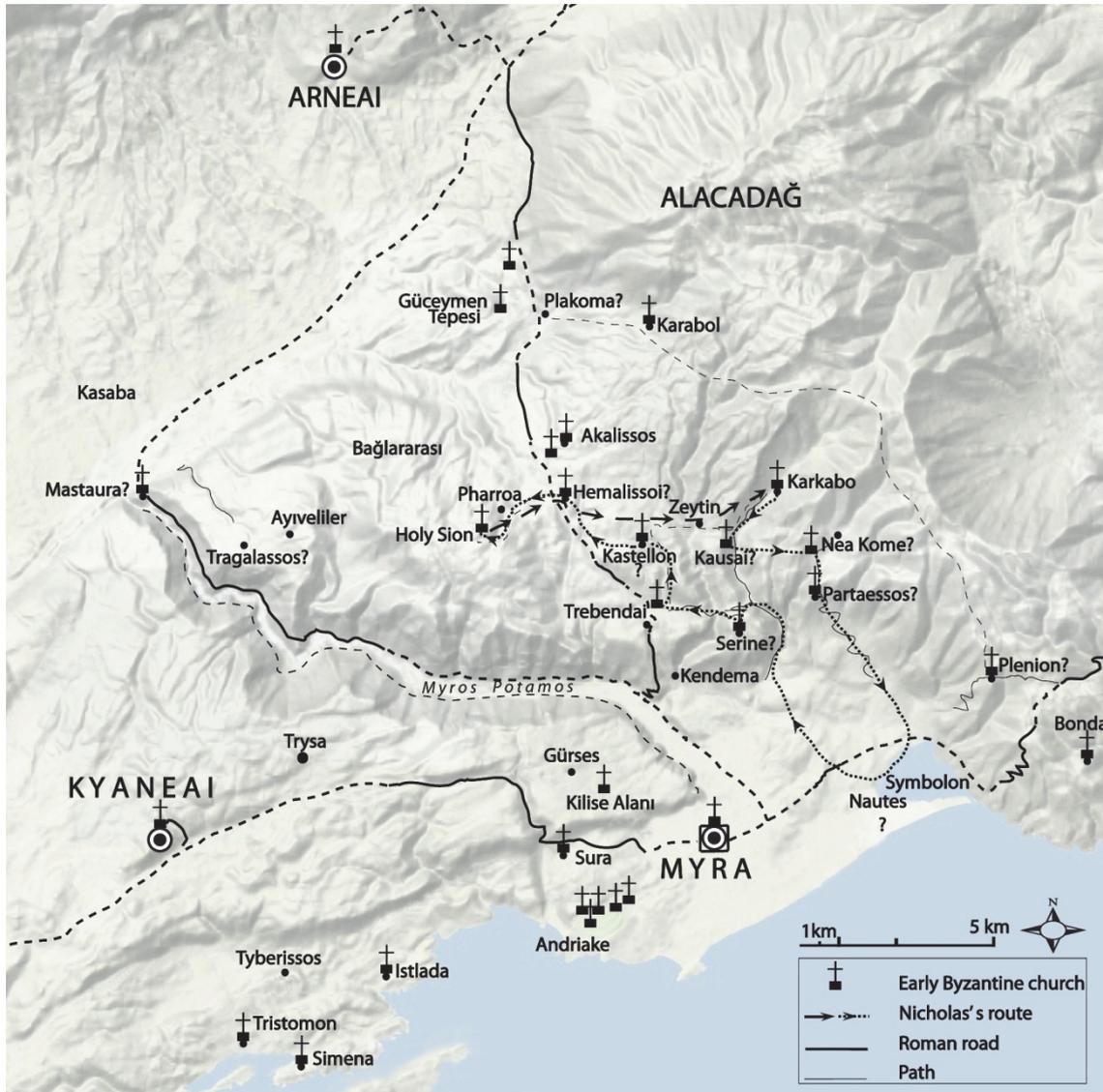
⁷⁹ The coins of the Lycian League bearing the TP legend were probably minted by Trebendai; see Troxell, *Coinage* 39, 55–57.

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.

Abbreviated Literature

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kien 113–114; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 482–483 (Belen).

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.

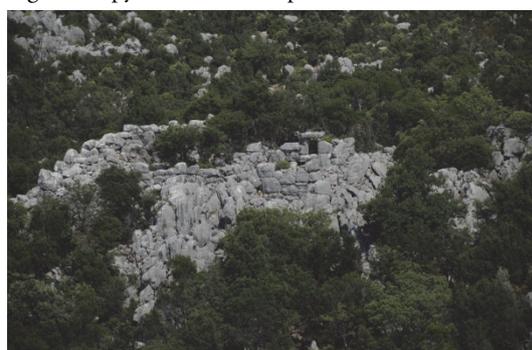


Fig. 6: Arapyurdu – Classical tower with L shaped plan.



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: Alcahisar Church (in part rock-cut)
Sion Monastery.



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



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



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



Fig. 14: Alcahisar – 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.