

Hüseyin UZUNOĞLU\* – Erkan TAŞDELEN\*\*

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

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

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

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

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

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\* Arş. Gör. Hüseyin Uzunoğlu, Akdeniz Üniversitesi; Edebiyat Fakültesi; Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü; Kampus; TR – 07058 Antalya (huseyinuzunoglu@akdeniz.edu.tr).

\*\* Arş. Gör. Erkan Taşdelen, Akdeniz Üniversitesi; Edebiyat Fakültesi; Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü; Kampus; TR – 07058 Antalya (etasdelen@akdeniz.edu.tr).

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### The Settlement on Asargediği Hill (figs. 6–7)

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

#### The settlement at Asartepe

It is a classical castle as was the case with Asargediği Hill and surrounded by an outer wall, ca. 500 m south–west of Belenli village. In places the outer wall remains three meters high and the brick-work visible in some areas indicates it was repaired at some later date. The lintel of the entrance has fallen but the stairs remain firm. Within the castle with an internal area of ca. 250 m<sup>2</sup> there are some ruined buildings and a cistern.

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> Beaufort (Karamania, 13) mentions only the rock-cut tombs and many sarcophagi scattered on the hill and

settlement in later years was re-visited by many travellers. It was confused with Akroterion by Spratt and Forbes<sup>9</sup> and mistaken for the city of Phellos by Benndorf,<sup>10</sup> but Bean identified the settlement with the Sebeda mentioned by Stephanos Byzantios as a Lycian port.<sup>11</sup> The settlement is located on top of a steep cliff at an altitude of ca. 100 m above sea level and is enclosed by walls of polygonal masonry and many bastions.<sup>12</sup> On the highest point of the settlement, with a surface area of ca. 5400 m<sup>2</sup> established by Wurster<sup>13</sup> there stands a large castle, the remains of a few buildings, some cisterns and a house tomb surmounted by a Lycian sarcophagus dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. described in detail by Zahle.<sup>14</sup> Although the fortress of Bayındır was a dynastic settlement in the Classical Period, it was then incorporated into the territory of Phellos and was a *Phrourion* during the Hellenistic period.<sup>15</sup>

### The territories of Antiphellos and Phellos (fig. 2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>13</sup> Wurster 1993, 10.

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

<sup>15</sup> Zimmermann, Untersuchungen 65; Marksteiner, Limyra 93.

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

The mountain range lying to the north of Antiphellos, consisting of hills such as Kırdaçlık (691 m), Bakıçakbaşı (540 m) and Erendağ (627 m) form a natural border between the city and Phellos. To date no piece of land in the eastern part has been established as belonging to Antiphellos. On the other hand Phellos, being one of the most important powers in the region in the Classical Period managed to preserve her significance into the Roman Period in consequence of possessing large areas of fertile land, even though she lost her port Antiphellos in the Hellenistic Period.<sup>17</sup> These lands<sup>18</sup> situated in the southeastern part of the city, around the Bayındır village, were populated not only by the citizens of Phellos, but also by the citizens of neighboring cities such as Isinda, Antiphellos and even Patara (see inscriptions nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6).

The territory of Phellos has been to a large extent established through some funerary inscriptions which record that the penalties for tomb violation must be paid to the demos of Phellos.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, the territory of Phellos in the Roman Imperial Period extends to the Üsum and Fakdere landing stages and the Port of Bayındır and ancient settlement on it to the south and to Bağlıca and Kirandağı/Çardaklı to the east. Kirandağı and its neighborhood have been thoroughly investigated by the staff members of the Tübingen University Lycia Project under the leadership of F. Kolb and various ancient settlements in the region that were first recorded by Davies<sup>20</sup> in the late 1800s have now been published in detail.<sup>21</sup> In these settlements many groups of sarcophagi were recorded and, through the destination of the penalty fine recorded on the sarcophagi, this region is known to have been within the territory of Phellos. According to Chr. Schuler, Karakuzgediği hill located north-northeast of Kapaklı Sarnıcı (Peripolion Tyinda<sup>22</sup>) marked the border between the territories of Kyaneai and Phellos<sup>23</sup>.

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

<sup>17</sup> Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* 66–67.

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

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

<sup>20</sup> Davies 1895, 109–110.

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

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

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

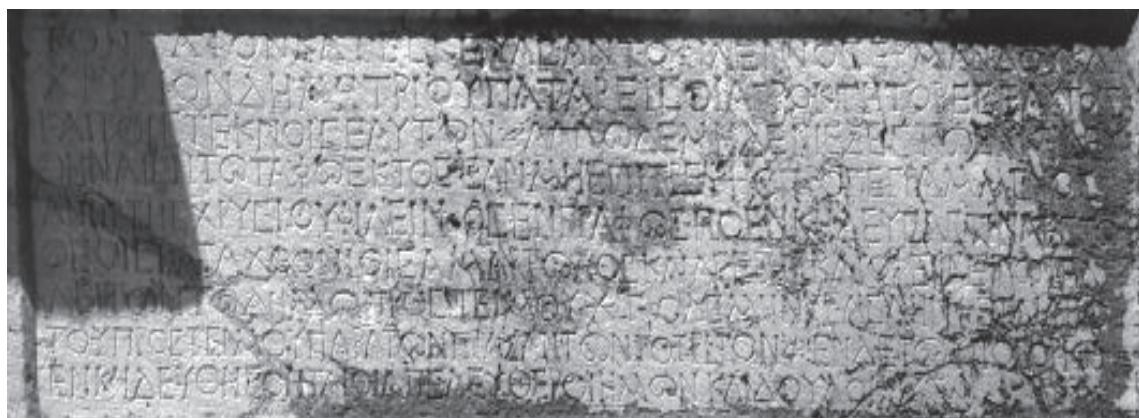
No data has been recorded from the north of Phellos to date, however the Hacıoğlan mevkii, north of Dereköy, due to its natural position might have marked the border between the territories of Phellos and Kandyba.

### Inscriptions

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

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

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



Tὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσαντο Φιλεῖνος Ερμανδου καὶ

- 2      Χρυσίον Δημητρίου Παταρεῖς οἱ ἀγροκτήτορες ἑαυτοῖς
- καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἑαυτῶν· ἄλλω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω ἐνκηδευ-
- 4      θῆναι ἐν τῷ τάφῳ, ἔκτὸς ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ ὁ προγεγραμμένος
- ἀνὴρ τῆς Χρυσίου Φιλεῖνος ἐνγράφως· ἢ ὁ ἐνκηδεύσας τινα ἔστω
- 6      θεοῖς καταχθονίοις ἀμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἀσεβῆς καὶ ὀφειλέτω Φελ-
- λειτῶν τῷ δήμῳ προστείμου Ξ, γ· ὁ δὲ μηνύσας λήνψεται ἀπὸ
- 8      τοῦ προστείμου παρὰ τῶν πραξάντων τὸ τρίτον· ♂ ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορίῳ
- ἐνκηδευθήσονται οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι ἡμῶν καὶ δοῦλοι.

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

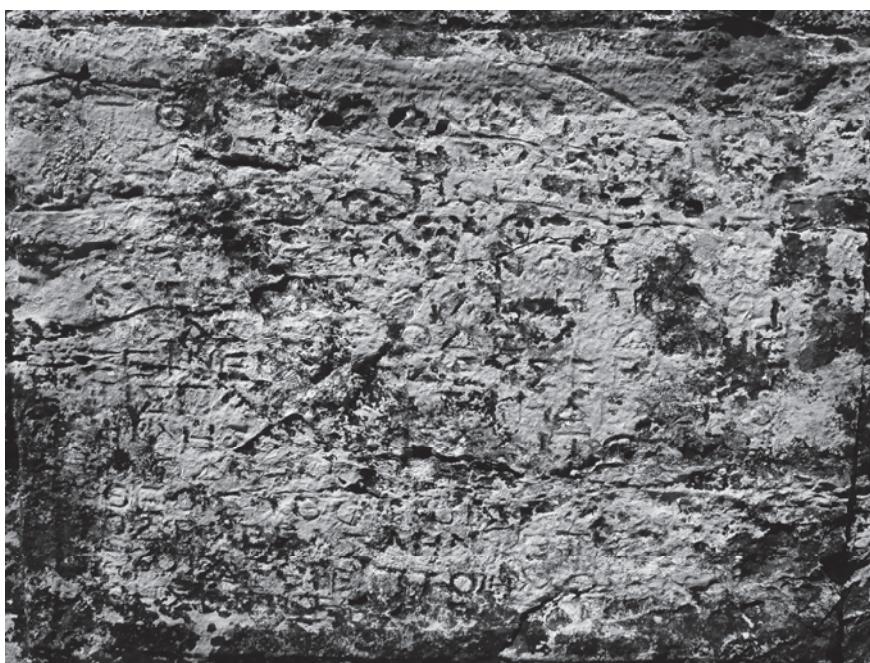
*"The land-owners Phileinos, son of Ermandas and Chryson, daughter of Demetrios, citizens of Patara set up this sarcophagus for themselves and for their children. Nobody is allowed to be buried in this sarcophagus unless Phileinos, the above-mentioned husband of Chryson, permits this in writing. Otherwise,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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Τὸν τάφον κατε[σκ]ε[ύ]-  
 2 άσαντο Σατηπιος Διομήδο[νς]  
 Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Εισίνδων κ[αὶ]  
 4 Αρσα[σ]ις Ἰάσονος Φελλίτις  
 [έσων]το[ὶς καὶ τ]έκνων καὶ γανβρῷ  
 6 Ἀλεξά[νδρῳ] καὶ μητρὶ αὐτῆς  
 Αρσασε[ι· ἀ]λλῷ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐ-  
 8 ξεῖνε ἐ[ν]κηδεῦσε· ἐὰν δέ  
 τις παρὰ [τα]ῦτα κηδεύσει, ὁ-  
 10 φιλήσ[ει τῷ Φ]ελλιτῶν δή-  
 μῷ δη[ν]ά[ρια ca. 2–3 καὶ ἔστω]  
 12 θεοῖς χθονίοις [ἀμαρτωλός]  
 ὁ δ' ἐλέξας λήνψεται[αι τὸ ἥμι]-  
 14 συ· οἱ δὲ θρεπτοὶ ἡμῶν [κηδευ]-  
 θήσονται[αι ἐν τῷ] ὑποσο[ρίῳ].

*"Satetios, son of Diomedes, the citizen of Aperlai from Isinda, and Arsasis, daughter of Iason, citizen of Phellos (set up this sarcophagus) for themselves, their children, their son-in-law Alexandros and her mother Arsasis. No one is allowed to bury anyone else (in this tomb). Whoever transgresses by burying someone (else), will owe to the demos of Phellos ... denarii and be a sinner against the gods of the underworld! The denoucer (of this sinful practice) will obtain half (of the fine). Our threptoi are to be buried in the hyposorium."*

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

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

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

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

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

L.10: Φελλιτῶν = Φελλειτῶν.

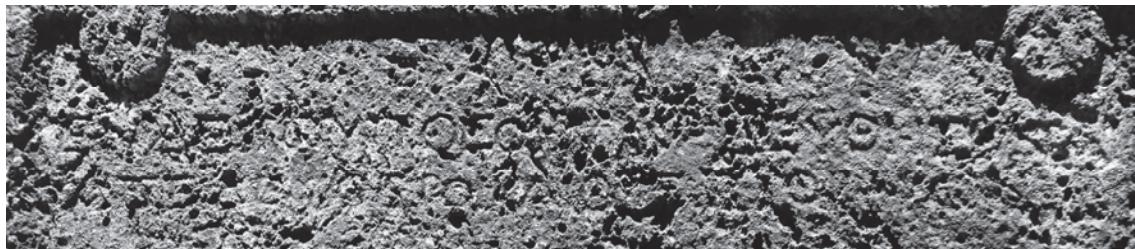
Date: 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (from the forms of letters employed).

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

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

gus there is the following two line inscription.

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



ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορ[ίῳ κη]δευθήσονται

2 ἀπελεύθεροι καὶ θρεπτοὶ ἡμῶν.

*"Our freedmen and threptoi will be buried in the hyposorium."*

Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. (from the form of the letters employed).

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

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

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



Μαύσωλος Ἀρίστωνος γ' Ἀντιφελ-

2 λείτης κατε{σ} σκεύασα τὴν σωμα-  
τοθήκην ἐ[μαν]τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου

4 Αρσασι Κρατέρου Ἀντιφελλείτιδι  
καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶν

6 αὐτῶν ἐ[ὺ]γένεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
τέκνοις μόνοις καὶ ώ ὃν αὐτὸς ἐγ[ὼ]

8 ἐνγράφως ἐπιτρέψω.

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

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

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

L. 4: Ἀρσασι· Ἀρσασει, see no. 2.

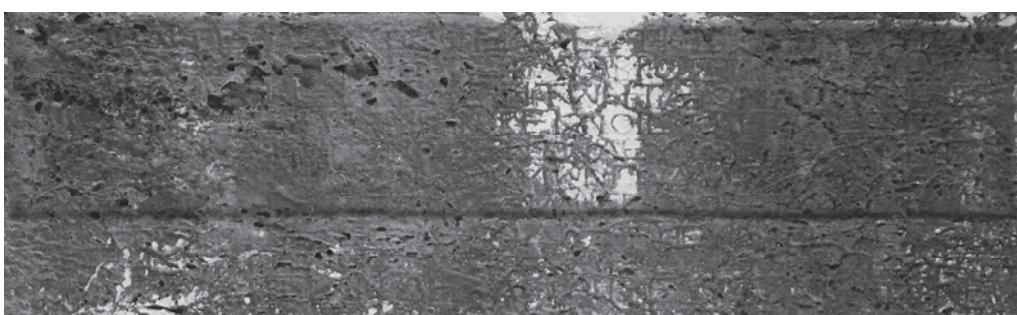
L. 6: Cf. TAM II, 905 XVII a: ἀνδρὶ εὐγενεστάτῳ.

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

### 5. Sarcophagus of Pappis, Midas and their family

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

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



[Π]απις Ἀρτεμιδ[ώρ]ου Φελλείτης καὶ Μίδας Ἀρ-

2 [ταπ]ατου Φ[ελλε]ίτης γαμβρὸς Παπιτος καὶ  
[-- ca. 3-4- -] κατασ <sup>vac</sup> κενάσασιν τ{ω}〈ο〉ν τάφον αἰαντοῖς κ-  
4 αὶ γ[υνειξι] αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνοις καὶ γυνειξὶ τῶν  
[τέκνων καὶ ἐγνόνοις· ἐν τῷ δὲ ὑποσορίῳ [ἐ]ν[κη]δ-  
6 [ευθήσετ]αι [τ]ὰ [κ]τητικὰ ύμῶν σώματα· [ἀλλῷ] δὲ οὐ-  
δενὶ ἔξὸν κηδεῦσε· εἰ μὴ ἔσται θεοῖς χθονίοις ἄ-

- 8 μα[ρτωλὸς· ἐὰν δέ τις το]λμήσῃ [- - -ca. 9–10 - - -]  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ]
- 10 τῷ Φ[ε]λλίτων δήμῳ δη[v. ca. 2–3] · λήψεται τὸ τρίτον [ca. 1–2]  
 . Ω [ca. 2–3] Α [- - -ca. 6–7 - - - -] Δ . Ο [- - ca. 9–10- - - -]

*"Papis, son of Artemidoros, citizen of Phellos and Midas, son of Artapatos, citizen of Phellos, the son-in-law of Papis and ..... set up this tomb for themselves, their wives, their children and wives of their children and their grandchildren. In the hyposorium will be buried your slaves Nobody is allowed to bury anyone (else). Otherwise (whoever buries someone else) shall be a sinner against the gods of the underworld! If whoever dares it, .....will pay to the people of Phellos — denarii.....(And the denouncer) will receive one third (of the fine)."*

L. 1. Παπῖς: To our knowledge, this indigenous personal name has not been documented to date in inscriptions, even though its various forms such as Παπεῖς, Παπῆς, Παπῆς, Παπᾶς, Παπῖος etc. are attested in many different cities of Asia Minor, see Zgusta (Kleinas. Personennamen § 1199– 1–17). Cf. LGPN VA 355–356. Midas, a Phrygian name, is attested in many Lycian cities, see TAM II 168; TAM II 606; TAM II 776–777.

L. 2: Παπῖτος: Even though it was recorded as Παπῖος by Zgusta (Kleinas. Personennamen, §1199–21, our new reading shows clearly that it was written as Παπῖτος in this inscription. This must apparently be the genitive form of Παπῖς mentioned in l. 1.

L. 3: κατασκευάσασιν: Act. Part. Aor. Dat. Pl. form of κατασκευάζω. This form otherwise entirely unknown in a funerary inscription, was presumably mis-spelt by either the patrons of this sarcophagus, or by the stone mason, the apprentice who copied the inscription from a handwritten document on to the face of this sarcophagus in paint, or by the copyist, prior to it being carved. What was meant here must have been the Act. Ind. Aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> Pl. form of the verb, namely κατεσκεύασαν. This inscription was carelessly written; for instance, in the same line there is another mistake, the article (τὸν) of τάφον in the accusative is here written in the genitive plural case (τῶν). αἰαντοῖς = ἔαντοῖς, Gignac, Grammar I 193. For other examples of this form, see MAMA I, 75; MAMA VII, 115; SEG XIX, 831.

L. 4: γυνεξί, γυνειξί = γυναιξί, Gignac, Grammar I 192.

L. 6: τὰ κτητικὰ σώματα: The Greek word σῶμα means not only "body", but it is also used for the slaves themselves, see LSJ. Even though the possessive pronoun ὑμῶν is clearly read in the inscription, it is ambiguous as to whom it addresses. It would most probably refer to the owners of the grave and was mis-spelt again, as was the case with l. 3. If this was really the case, it would then lead us to make another correction to the text and change it to ἡμῶν. But, a further possibility arises if we retain the original text in the inscription. In this case, the owners would call for their families to let their slaves be buried in the hyposorion. Consequently, this indicates that the inscription has omitted a line recording that their slaves were to be buried in the hyposorion, or somewhat improbably, that they possessed no slaves, but this latter seems to us to be a very slight possibility indeed.

Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. (from the forms of the lettering employed).

## 6. Sarcophagus of unknown persons

This limestone sarcophagus stands approximately 20–30 m south of the sarcophagus no. 5. It is of the same type and style as the other sarcophagi. On the west side of the sarcophagus is there a tabula carrying a seven line inscription.

H: 136 cm (chest), 118 cm (lid); W: 232 cm (chest); D: 113 cm (chest); LH: 2.5–3 cm.



Tò μνημ[εῖον - - - ca.16–17- - -] Ἀντ[ιφ]ελλο[ς] ελλ[είπει] - - ca.6–7 ] ΝΟΣ [-ca. 4–5-]

2 [- - - - - ca. 17–18 - - - - -] ΔΕΝΙ [ -ca. 4–5 ] ANTI [- - - - ca. 8–9 - - - -]

[τ]έ[κνοις] μόνοις· ἄλλο δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέσθαι! θά[ψ]α[ι] ε[ρ]ών τινα]

4 [ἐὰν δέ τις] θάψῃ[ι], ἀμαρτολὸς ἔστο θεοῖς χθονίοις κα[ι] απο[δώ]-  
σ[ει] [τῷ] δήμῳ τῷ Φελλε[ιτῶ]ν δράχμας ἑξακισχιλια[ς] προσ-

6 α[γγελίας] οὐσ[ης] ό [βο]υλόμενος ἐπὶ τ[ῷ] ήμίσει πρὸς τοὺς

[- - ca. 13] οἱ [δὲ θρεπτοὶ εἰς τὸ] ὑποσόριον [κ]η[δευθήσοντ]αι

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

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

L. 3: ἄλλο = ἄλλω.

L. 4: ἀμαρτολὸς ἔστο = ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω, see Gignac, Grammar I, 276–277.

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

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

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## Özet

### Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (7): Phellos Territoryumundan Yeni Yazıtlar

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

Yazıtların çevirisi şu şekildedir:

- 1) *"Bu mezarı Pataralı arazi sahipleri Ermandas oğlu Phileinos ve Demetrios kızı Khrysion kendileri ve çocukları için yaptırdılar. Khrysion'un yukarıda adı geçen kocası Phileinos yazılı olarak izin vermediği sürece başka birinin bu mezara gömülmemesine izin yoktur, aksi halde birini gömen kimse yeraltı tanrılarına karşı dinsiz ve imansız olsun ve Phellos demosuna yasal ceza olarak 3 bin denaria ödesin. Her kim ihbar ederse, bu cürümü işleyenlerin ödeyeceği ceza miktarının üçte birini alacaktır. Hyposoriona ise azatlılarımız ve kölelerimiz gömüleceklerdir."*
- 2) *"Diomedes oğlu Isindalı Aperlai vatandaşı Satetios ve Iason kızı Phellos vatandaşısı Arsasis bu mezarı kendileri, çocukları, damatları Aleksandros ve onun(Arsasis) annesi Arsasis için yaptırdılar. Başka hiç-kimseye defin yapmaya izin olmasın. Her kim bunlara karşı gelerek birisini gömerse, Phellos demosuna — dinar ödesin ve yeraltı tanrılarına karşı günahkar olsun. Her kim de ihbar ederse (bu miktarın) yarısını alacaktır. Beslemelerimiz ise hyposoriona gömülecektir."*
- 3) *"Hyposorium'a ise bizim azatlılarımız ve beslemelerimiz gömülecektir."*
- 4) *"Ben, 3. Ariston oğlu Antiphelloslu Mausolos bu lahdi yalnızca kendim ve eşim Krateros kızı Antiphelloslu Arsasis ve çocuklarımız ve onların iyi soylu eşlerine ve onlardan olacak çocuklarımız (torunlarımız) için ve bizzat benim yazılı olarak müsaade edeceğim kişi için yaptım."*
- 5) *"Artemidoros oğlu Phelloslu Papis ve onu damadı Artapatos oğlu Phelloslu Midas bu mezarı kendilere, eşlerine, çocuklarına ve onların eşlerine ve torunlarına yaptırdılar. Size(!) ait olan köleler ise hyposoriona gömülecektir. ....hiç kimse buraya gömü yapmaya izinli değildir. Aksi takdirde, yeraltı tanrılarına karşı günahkâr olsun. Şayet her kim buna curet ederse, ..... Phellos kasasına — dinar ceza ödesin.....(Bunu ihbar eden de ceza miktarının üçte birini alacaktır)."*
- 6) *"Antiphellos vatandaşı falanca kişi (veya kişiler) bu mezarı yalnızca ..... ve çocuklarına yaptırdı. Başka birini buraya gömmeye kimsenin izni yoktur. Eğer gömerse, yer altı tanrılarına karşı günahkâr olsun ve ..... Phellos demosuna 6 bin denaria ödesin. İhbar eden kimse ise cezanın yarısını (alacaktır). Beslemelerimiz ise hyposoriona gömülecekler."*

*Anahtar Sözcükler: Phellos; Antiphellos; Bayındır köyü; Roma yolu; Orta Likya; Limanağız; yazılı lahitler; Asargediği; Asartepe.*

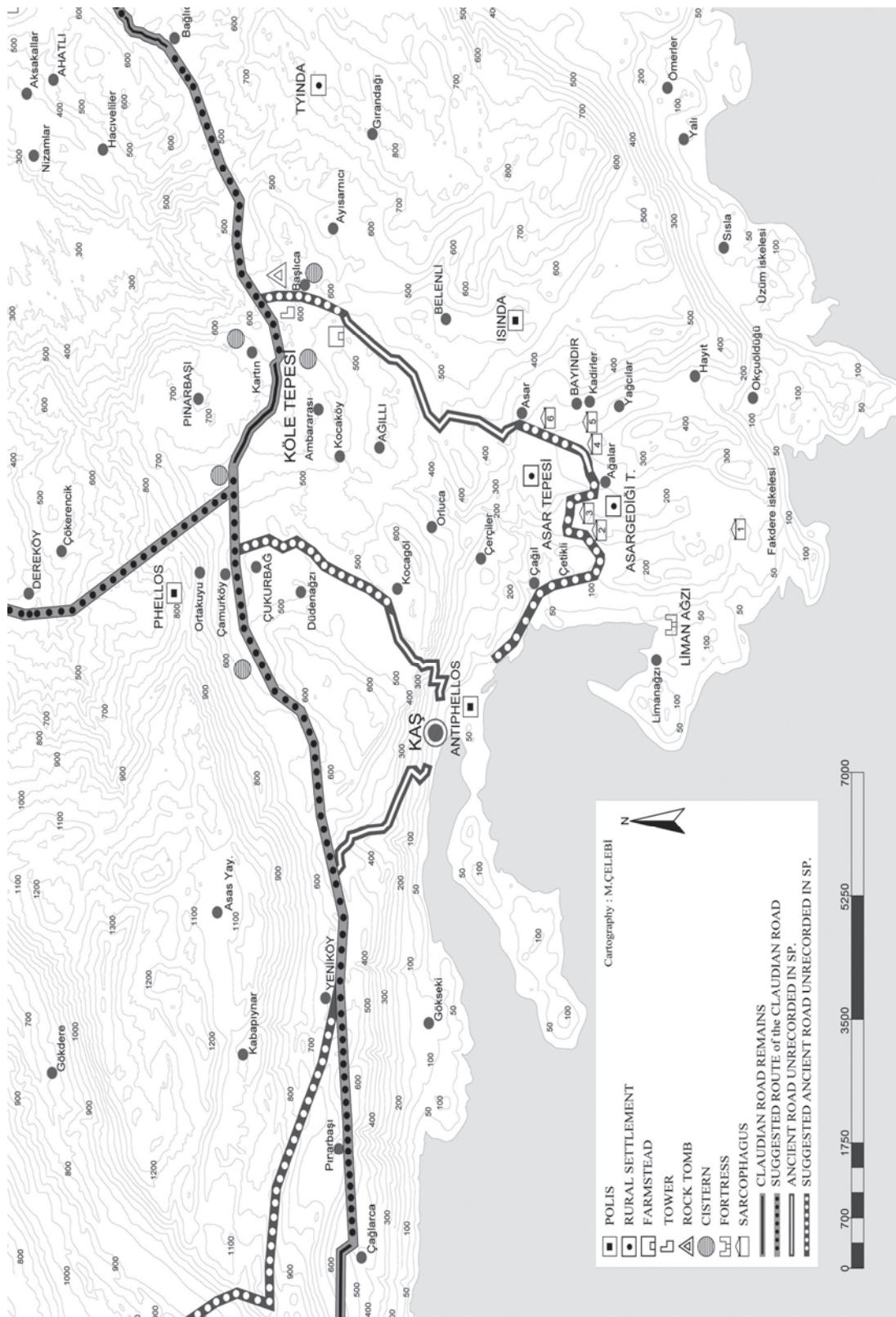


Fig. 2: The territories of Phellos and Antiphellos with their road connections



Fig. 3

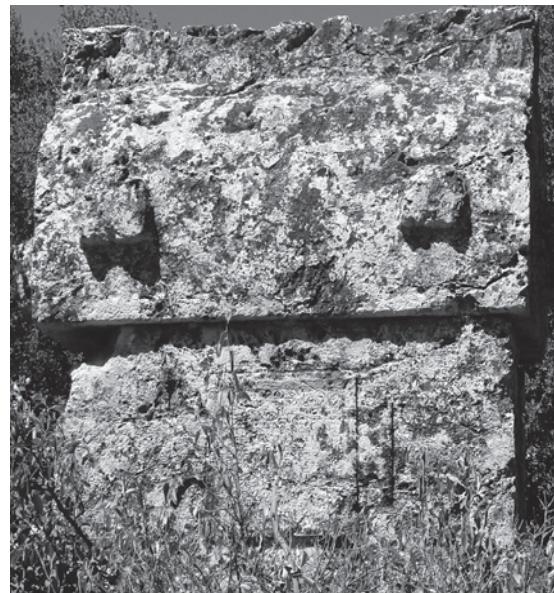


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 7: Hellenistic remains on Asargediği.

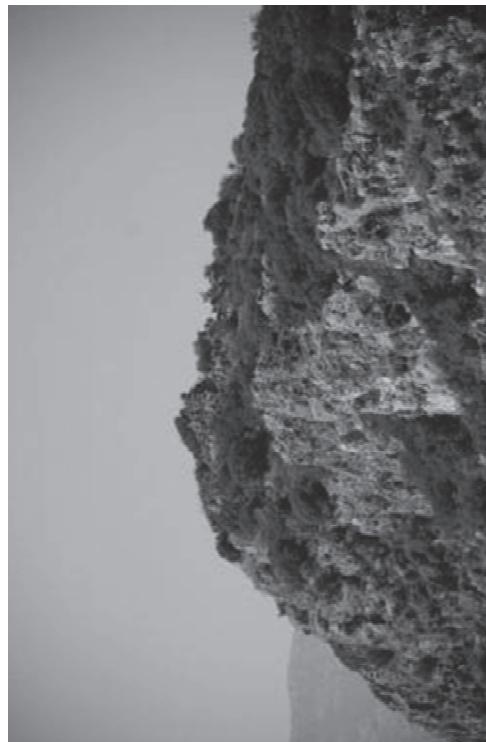


Fig. 9: Looking towards the settlement of Limanağzı from the southeast.



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



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