

A New Milestone from Cibyra

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The cylindrical column-shaped milestone made of limestone introduced in this article, carries two inscriptions carved in two different periods. The first dates to the Severan period (AD 198-209) and the other to the period of First Tetrarchy (AD 293-305). The original location of the milestone in question is unknown. It was discovered among the inscriptions exhibited in Gölhisar National Park during research carried out in the surrounding area in 2023. It is currently preserved in the Cibyra Excavation House.

Dimensions = Height: 1.54 m; diameter: 0.42 m.

A. The Severan Inscription

The inscription, which was meticulously carved, consists of nineteen lines (Fig. 1). The section between twelfth and fifteenth lines was erased later as the consequence of *damnatio memoriae* concerning Geta, the younger son of the family.



Fig. 1) 3D Rendering of the Milestone

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Letter Height: 0.03-0.065 m.

	τοῖς θεῶν ἐνφανεστάτ[οις]		νω Εὐσεβεῖ Σεβαστῶ
2	τοῖς Αὐτοκράτορι	12	[[[καί]]]
	Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ		[[[Ποπλίῳ Σεπτιμίῳ]]]
4	Σεπτιμίῳ Σεουρή-	14	[[[Γέ[τα, υἱῶ καί]]]
	ρω Εὐσεβεῖ Περτίνα-		[[[ἀ[δελφ]ῶ]] τῶν μεγάλων
6	κι Σεβαστῶ Ἀραβικῶ	16	βασιλέων ^{vac.} καὶ
	Ἀδιαβηνικῶ Παρθι-		Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῆς <μητρι> {μητέρα}
8	κῶ μεγίστῳ ^{vac.} καὶ	18	κάστρων ἀπὸ Κιβύρας
	Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρ-		μί(λιον) α'.
10	κῶ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνεί-		

For the most visible of the gods, Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus maximus and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta the son and brother of the great kings and Mater Castrorum Iulia Augusta. 1 mile from Cibyra.

Date: AD 198-209.¹

B. The Tetrarchic Inscription

The inscription, which dates from the period of First Tetrarchy, was carved on the other side of the milestone, which was turned upside down for its re-use (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2) 3D Rendering of the Inscription from the period of First Tetrarchy

¹ Septimius Severus became Parthicus Maximus in AD 198. Geta did not yet have the title of Augustus, which was given in AD 209 See Kienast – Eck – Heil 2017, 151, 160.

The first three lines of the inscription, which are very poorly preserved, are so worn that they cannot be read except for a few traces of obliterated letters. Letter Height: 0.03-0.065 m.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Ἀὐτο[κράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν]</p> <p>2 Γα(ίω) [Οὐαλ(ερίω) Διοκλητιανῶ]</p> <p>[καὶ Μ(άρκω) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Οὐαλ(ερίω) Μαξιμιανῶ]</p> <p>4 Σε[β](αστοῖς) κ[αὶ Φλα(ουίω)] Οὐα[λ(ερίω)]</p> <p>Κωνσταντίω ^{vac.}</p> <p>6 καὶ Γαλ(ερίω) Οὐαλε(ρίω) Μ[αξιμιανῶ]</p> <p>ἐπιφανεστ[ά]το[ις]</p> <p>8 Καίσαρσιν</p> <p>μί(λιον) α'.</p> | <p><i>For the Emperors Caesars Gaius Valerius Diocletianus and Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Augustus, and Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximianus, the most eminent Caesars. 1 mile from Cibyra.</i></p> |
|---|--|

Date: AD 293-305.

The mile number in both inscriptions is *alpha* (1 *mille passuum* = ca 1.5 km). The milestone was subjected to a secondary usage in the same location during the period of First Tetrarchy.² So, it should be the first milestone from Cibyra. Three milestones found *in situ* in the cities of Patara, Oenoanda and Termessus, 1 mile from the *caput viae*, give an idea of the localisation of the milestones here.³ The location of the Patara milestone, the earliest documented milestone in the region, which was erected as part of the extensive restoration work initiated in Lycia by the governor Marcus Priscus at the beginning of Vespasian's reign, indicates that the Arch of Mettius Modestus was the starting point, which also was the main entrance to the city from the north.⁴ The milestone discovered on the road route between Tlos and Oenoanda, is located approximately 1.5 km from the entrance of Oenoanda city.⁵ However, it is thought that the milestone identified in front of the

² Milestones from the First Tetrarchic Period suggest that road construction and repair work took place on the roads of Pisidia and Lycia. This could be due to frequent maintenance for heavily used routes, the hilly and elevated terrain of the area, and the harsh winter weather with frequent snow. For milestones from the Tetrarchy Period see, Via Sebaste: French 2014b, 32 no. 06 (A); 38 no. 09 (A); Conana-Via Sebaste: Iversen 2015, 68 ff. no. 60; Termessus-Isinda: French 2014b, 46 ff. no. 16; Xanthus- Balbura; Tüner Önen – Akçay 2022, 335; Xanthus-Choma: French 2014b, 59 ff. no. 24 (A); Xanthus-Sidyra(?): French 2014b, 62 no. 27; Avcu – Uzunoğlu 2019, 326-327 no. 1 b (also between Pinara and Xanthus); Aperlai-Myra: French 2014b, 72 no. 34 (A); Myra-Attaleia: Takmer 2004, 109 and French 2014b, 76 ff. no. 37; Onur 2023 (two new milestones); See Also Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 247 ff.; Cibyra-Isinda-Termessus: Arslan – Tüner Önen 2023, 63-73. Diocletian's construction of the royal palace in Nicomedeia increased the importance of the roads within Asia Minor (Destephen 2018, 175). So much so that one-third of the milestones on the Transanatolian highway connecting Constantinople to the Syrian Gates were erected or were reused during the reign of Diocletian or Constantine (Destephen 2018, 175 ff., fn. 17). On the reconstruction during the reign of Diocletian, see Anderson 1932, 24-32; Kuhoff 2001, 335-336.

³ For the zero point where the milestones begin to line up, see Onur 2016b, 95-96; Onur 2016c, 86-88.

⁴ Onur 2016a, 592 ff., fn. 5; Schuler 2019, 107-127; For the information that the milestone's distance indicated the Arch of Mettius Modestus as the starting point, see. 116 and fn. 36.

⁵ Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017, 393.

Termessus city wall gate took the city's agora as its starting point.⁶ Since the original location of the milestone presented here is unknown, it is unclear whether the starting point in Cibyra is the monumental city gate with round towers at both ends, directly in front of the stadium or the agora in the city centre.⁷ However, since the entrance to the ancient city is provided by the Savran Strait at the eastern end, which begins at the present district border, it can be predicted that the road leading down from the city passes near the monumental tombs located among the houses in today's modern district. The area around a grand mausoleum dating back to the late 2nd century AD, which the excavation team had uncovered and studied during previous seasons, may be thought to be a potential location for the milestone (Fig. 3).⁸ Predicting the location of the milestone is not possible if the city gate is thought to be the starting point.



Fig. 3) Map showing the Ancient Road Route from the Agora of Cibyra to the possible original location of the milestone

Cibyra's road networks

The location of Cibyra within the ancient road network was on the hills at the western edge of the present-day Gölhisar district, situated at the southwestern end of Burdur's provincial borders. Even today, Gölhisar still lies at the intersection of the motorways linking the Mediterranean, Central - Coastal Aegean and Central Anatolia Regions. The use of the road along the Laodicea - Cibyra - Isinda - Termessus route by Roman general G. Manlius Vulso during his campaign to discipline the Galatians in Asia Minor in 189 BC.⁹ indicates that Cibyra has functioned as a central hub for road convergence since the 2nd century BC, linking the east and west as well as the north

⁶ Arslan – Tüner Önen 2023, 65.

⁷ The distance between the Monumental City Gate and the Agora is measured as 500 m.

⁸ Mausoleum; immediately on the east side of the city, within the Gölhisar District, Çeşme District, Belen II street, on the side road separating the sheet and parcel boundary numbered 20, 6 parcels, and 20 island 25 parcels, III. It is among the residences outside the protected area. For the Mausoleum, see Özüdoğru 2018, 463-470.

⁹ Pol. XXI. 34. 11; See also Magie 1950, I, 241; II, 1122 no. 30; Hall 1994, 48; Milner 1998, xiii; Arslan 2000, 96-98.

and south. The road used by Vulso was a *via publica* (public road) during the Roman Period, providing transportation from the Aegean and inner regions to Pamphylia¹⁰. The provincialisation process of Anatolia led to an increase in the road networks, resulting in a rise in the number of roads that extended to Cibyra. The road built/renovated by Manius Aquillius between 129-126 B.C., connecting the cities of Pergamon-Laodicea-Side, and *Via Sebaste*¹¹ which built by Cornutus Aquila to connect the Latin colonies established during the reign of Augustus to pacify the Pisidians, especially the Homonadeis and which connects the Konya Plain to Antalya via the Lakes Region, also passed through the northeast of the city, although it was not directly connected to Cibyra¹². From here it was possible to reach Cibyra via regional roads.

The road originating from Apameia (Afyon/Dinar) northeast of the city and leading to the Themisonium - Eriza route through Tacina (Burdur/Yarışlı/Asar) has a connection to Cibyra as well¹³. The road, which reaches to Olbasa (Burdur/Belenli) through Tefenni and the Karamanlı plain via today's Çavdır and to Ascania (Burdur Gölü) via Tacina and Tymbrinassus (Burdur/Düğer) connects to the interiors of Lysinia (Burdur/İlyas) and to Pisidia continues in the east and northeast directions. It is thought that the same road started from Cibyra, made a junction where today's Arslanlı Stream meets the Dalaman (Indus) River, followed the stream bed until near today's Başpınar Village, and opened to the Tefenni-Karamanlı plains¹⁴.

The *Stadiasmus Patarensis* monument dating from the reign of emperor Claudius records the roads reaching to Cibyra from south and north. Cibyra is the last city given before Laodicea in the north of the road network built under the supervision of Quintus Veranius¹⁵, the *legatus propraetor* of the Emperor for the Province of Lycia. According to the road list on the monument, the roads leading from Tlos (Seydikemer/Yaka) and Araxa (Seydikemer/Ören) to Oenoanda (Seki/İncealiler), and from there to Balbura (Burdur/Altınyayla/Çölkayığı) and from Balbura to Cibyra via “Trimilin(d)a” (Burdur/Altınyayla/Dirmil)¹⁶ with a distance of 136 *stadia* (ca. 25 km)¹⁷ constitute a route connecting the northern part of Xanthus Valley to the Cibyratis. It is (highly) probable that the route between Bubon, a city of Tetrapolis, and Cibyra, passes through Çam Tepe, located in the south of the city. The locations of the tomb structures documented on this

¹⁰ The main road leading from Laodicea to Cibyra continued towards Tangara (Çavdır/Dengere), Lagbe (Korkuteli/Kırkpınar/Kemer), Isinda (Antalya/Korkuteli) and Termessus (Antalya/Güllük Mountain) and went down to the Pamphylia Plain, crossing the Taurus Mountains. For the route mentioned and the roads from Roman Period in the region, see Ramsay 1890, 49. 438; 1960, 47; French 1994, x; Milner 1998, xiii; Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 245, 249, 275; French 2014a, 25–26; for more recent survey results see also Özüdoğru 2016, 665; 2020, 38 ff.

¹¹ Levick 1967, 38-41; Syme 1995, 226-230; Belke – Mersich 1990, 152-153 (Route C 4); Takmer – Tüner Önen 2008, 110. For the common route between the road followed by M. Vulso and *Via Sebaste* and the road built by M. Aquillius with *via Sebaste*, see Takmer – Tüner Önen 2008, 124 fig. 4.

¹² Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, I. 245 vdd.; Şahin 2014, 424; Özüdoğru 2016, 664.

¹³ Ramsay 1890, 438; 1960, 490.

¹⁴ Özüdoğru 2016, 665.

¹⁵ Concerning the honorary inscriptions of Q. Veranius and his family members in Cibyra and the activities carried out by the governor, see Kileci – Tüner Önen 2024 (in print).

¹⁶ For Trimilinda, see Onur 2016b, 91 ff.; Onur 2016c, 78-80.

¹⁷ Şahin 2014, 422-428.

hill indicate that there was a mountain road leading in the direction of Bubon¹⁸. Additionally, the farm settlement situated near a naturally occurring freshwater spring in what is now known as Deliyaraz, approximately 3 km south of Cibyra, is regarded as a crucial intersection that indicates the southern route and links to the Bubon-Balbura route¹⁹.



Fig. 4) Cibyra's Roman Imperial Period Regional Road Networks Map (Özüdoğru 2016, 674, Fig.12).

Milestones from different periods are of great importance as data that provide clues about the roads reaching the city through these regional networks. It has been documented that seven milestones published to date give Cibyra as a *caput viae*²⁰. Five of this date from the Severan Period, and one dates from the reigns of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, while the seventh could not provide a date because it is very badly damaged. The findspots of three of the inscriptions from the Severan Period are known. One in the old Senir Cemetery, which is not in use today, in the new Armutlu District (the former name was Uluköy). Another in the Gencerli Cemetery, located east of Horzum give the distance to Cibyra as 2 miles²¹; another one was found in a field near

¹⁸ Özüdoğru 2016, 666.

¹⁹ Özüdoğru 2016, 667, fn. 54.

²⁰ Corsten 2002, 26–31 no. 14-17; French 2014a, 274-280 no. 151-157.

²¹ Corsten 2002, 28–29 no. 15-16; French 2014a, 275–277 no. 153, 154. Both cemeteries are located to the east of Cibyra and were erected close to each other in the same period. According to T. Corsten, the road from Cibyra passes through Gencerli Cemetery to Lagbe in the east; He thinks that the stone erected in Senir Cemetery may belong to the road leading to Bubon and Balbura in the south.

Tuluk Pınar, 4-5 km southwest of Büyükalan Village, which preserves the distance as 8 miles²². Another one, reported as found in Ece Village, records 20 miles from Cibyra²³. The milestone from reign of Theodosius II and Valentian III, which is dated between 425-450 A.D. was unearthed in today's Yusufça District of Gölhisar.²⁴ The milestone, which cannot be dated, was also found in Sorkun Village, which is very close to Gölhisar.²⁵ The milestones in question were erected at the intersections in the immediate vicinity of the city in the course of the Severan and later road renovations.

As result, Gölhisar and its surroundings, where Cibyra is located, were surrounded by different cultural regions in ancient times and formed the intersection point of these cultures. The region was called Cabalia or Cabalis (Hdt. III. 90, VII. 77) starting from the Iron Age, and then a narrower region (city and territory) called Cibratis. During the Roman Imperial Period, Cibyra was one of the main metropolises around and in neighbouring regions and for this reason she was called Greater Cibyra (Str. XIII. 4. 14-15)²⁶. The Cabalis Region is surrounded by Phrygia to the north, Lydia to the northwest, Mylias in the southeast, Lycia to the south and southwest, Caria to the west and Pisidia to the northeast and east. Cibyra was one of the junction points for the regional main roads connecting these different regions in antiquity²⁷.

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²² Corsten 2002, 30 no. 17; French 2014a, 278 no. 156. The distance given from Cibyra, which indicates a distance of approximately 12 km, coincides with the distance of the current location of the milestone from the ancient city. T. Corsten states that the distance from Büyükalan to Gölhisar is 12.5 km as the crow flies, and that the milestone was placed near the village of Büyükalan and was erected on the road extending in the north and northeast direction, towards today's Yeşilova and Burdur, Corsten 2002, 31.

²³ French 2014a, 279-280 no. 157. W. M. Ramsay states that the reading of the distance in question is highly doubtful, but that 20 miles, or 30 km, corresponds to the findspot. Ramsay 1895, 331 no. 141.

²⁴ French 2014a, no. 152.

²⁵ French 2014a, no. 155.

²⁶ For the publications on Cabalis and Cibratis, see Özüdoğru 2014, 171-188; Özüdoğru 2020, 24-25, fn. 47.

²⁷ Özüdoğru 2020, 25.

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Kibyra'dan Yeni Bir Miltaşı Özet

Burada ele alınan makalede buluntu yeri bilinmeyen, fakat üzerinde taşıdığı iki yazıt aracılığıyla Kibyra kent merkezine 1,5 km mesafede dikildiği anlaşılan bir miltaşı konu edilmektedir. Miltaşının kente yaklaşık 1450 m uzaklıkta bulunan ve daha önceki senelerde kazısı tamamlanan MS II. yüzyıl sonlarına ait görkemli bir anıt mezarın yakınında dikilmiş olduğu düşünülmektedir. Söz konusu miltaşı iki farklı kullanıma işaret eden iki yazıtı sahiptir. Her iki yazıt da Hellence'dir. İlk yazıt Severuslar Dönemi'ne (MS 198-209) tarihlenirken diğer yazıt Birinci Tetrarkhia Dönemi'ne (MS 293-305) aittir. Her iki yazıt da *caput viae* (yol başlangıcı) olarak Kibyra kentini verir ve aynı mesafeyi kaydeder. Böylece aynı miltaşının yüz yıl arayla yeniden kullanıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Makalede ayrıca Kibyra'nın ilişkili olduğu güzergahlar ve *caput viae* olarak Kibyra'yı veren miltaşları da ele alınmıştır. Söz konusu miltaşı her iki kullanımında da onarım ve düzenleme çalışmalarına işaret etmektedir. Bu durum Severuslar Dönemi'ndeki Doğu Seferleri ile Diocletianus döneminde gerçekleştirilen yeniden yapılanma çalışmalarıyla ilişkilendirilebilir.

Yazıtların çevirisi ise şöyledir:

I) Severuslar Dönemi yazıtı:

Tanrıların en görünürleri, İmparator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus Maximus ve İmparator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus ve büyük kralların oğlu ve erkek kardeşi Publius Septimius Geta ve Iulia Augusta, Mater Castrorum için. Kibyra'dan 1 mil.

II) I. Tetrarkhia Dönemi yazıtı:

İmparatorlar Caesar Augustus Gaius Valerius Diocletianus ve İmparator Caesar Augustus Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus ile en seçkin Caesarlar Flavius Valerius Constantius ve Galerius Valerius Maximianus için. Kibyra'dan 1 mil.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Roma Yolları; miltaşı; Severuslar Dönemi; Kibyra; I. Tetrarkhia.

A New Milestone from Cibyra Abstract

The article discussed here deals with a milestone whose location is unknown, but which is understood to have been erected 1.5 km away from the city center of Cibyra, based on the two inscriptions it bears. The milestone in question has two inscriptions indicating two different uses. Both inscriptions are written in Ancient Greek. While the first inscription dates to the Severan Period (AD 198-209), the latter belongs to the period of First Tetrarchy (AD 293-305). Both inscriptions give the city of Cibyra as *caput viae* and record the same distance. Thus, it is determined that the same milestone is reused after ca. hundred years. In the article, the routes related to Cibyra and the milestones that give Cibyra as *caput viae* are also discussed. In both uses, the milestone in question refers to repair and regulation works. This situation can be associated with the eastern campaigns during the Severan Period and the reconstruction efforts carried out during the Diocletianic Era.

Keywords: Roman Roads; Milestone; Severan Period; Cibyra; I. Tetrarchy.